

The Irish of Iorras Aithneach
County Galway
Volume III

**The Irish of
Iorras Aithneach
County Galway**

Volume III

by
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SCHOOL OF CELTIC STUDIES
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Do mo chuid den tsaol
Mairéad, Dara, Brian agus Muireann

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7 Prepositions

Simple prepositions (7.1 ff.) are typically unstressed and followed by the nominative of the noun although there is some residual dative use. Compound and nominal prepositions (7.103 ff.) can typically carry greater stress and take genitive case and possessive constructions or follow the use of their compounded simple preposition.

Simple prepositions

7.1 General

Simple prepositions can be divided into two morphological categories; those that inflect for person:

ag, ar, as, chuig, dhe, dho, (eidir), faoi, i, le, ó ~ uaidh, roimh(e), tha(i)r, thrí;

and those that do not:

ach ~ nach, bhuil, doir, (eidir), gan, go, mar, marach, seachas, tharas ~ thaireas, un.

Exception: one preposition, *eidir*, inflects optionally, and only in the plural (cf. innovative *tha(i)r*, 7.75). For an alternative analytic construction with emphatic pronouns, e.g. *uaidh mise* for more usual *uaimse*, see 6.26. These two categories of simple prepositions are of general relevance for initial mutations. When in conjunction with the article, all inflecting prepositions, except *eidir*, cause mutations on dependent nouns. The only non-inflecting prepositions to cause mutation in conjunction with the article are *doir* (i.e. *doir an*) and *go* (i.e. *'s an* or *sa(n)*). The preposition *un* takes the genitive case.

Simple prepositions are described in the following sections under **I** their independent prepositional form, and, for those prepositions that inflect for person, **II** their inflected form as prepositional pronouns.

Prepositions can occur in series, e.g.

b'ín 'krusó:gi: 'd'ínt ó: sán 'i:hə 'rív'ə | 05M

*bíonn crosógaí déanta ó SAN oíche roimhe, '... from (in) the previous night';
coinnigheann sí a drioball fillte ó am go ham aniar ós cionn na n-eochraí
SUAS LE AR FEADH bliadhna. Clad185.*

7.2 *ag*

I

eg', ig', əg' ag.

Note the stressed example in:

hu: tʃumpə:l' 'ig' dín'ə S thú jumpáil AG duine.

ag 'at, toward' is used most frequently by most speakers as the simple preposition which corresponds to the prepositional pronouns *chugam, chugad*, etc., e.g.

haidʒe gə l'or' eg' tobər b'æ:ni:ə | mahər' | 04Br

théadh sé go leor AG (= chuig) tobair beannaíthe, m'athair.

The prepositional pronouns *chugam, chugad*, etc., have a recessive simple preposition **heg' chuig** 'toward' (7.8).

II

	Singular	Plural
1	am, agəm, agu'm, əgəm, (ə'gum)	ań', (an'), agəń', ə'gin'
2	ad, agəd, əgəd, əd, 'ə'gut, (ə'gud)	agi:, ugi:, əgi:
3m	eg'ə, ig'ə, 'e'g'e	akəb, aku:, akəβ, ukəb, uku:, okəb, oku:, əkəb, əku:, ə'ku:, apək, apu:, opu:, əpu:, aku:b, apu:b, (ə'kub)
f	ek'ə, ik'ə	

(a- here is phonemic, often realised a:m, æ:d, etc.)

3pl apək acub (through metathesis and devoicing of b) was heard from speaker 46S only. For other forms containing internal p (speaker 71D) and forms in -u:b, see 7.98–7.101.

7.3 Vocalisms

[e, i] in simple ag and 3sg aige, aici

Generally e is prevalent but i is not uncommon. Examples of i are:

ya: r ig' ə 'sæ:sənəx ə'f' i n' 'fo | 892M3516

dhá raibh AG an Sasanach istigh anseo;

gə wa:d' ig' ə 897S1 *dhe mhaide AIGE;*

er' ə | 'wra:mə 'bəd' ə v' i: ig' ə 01C6066 *ar an bhfráma báid a bhí AIGE;*

ig' ə, ik' ə 71Dt.1 *AIGE, AICI.*

Recall the stressed example in hu: ɟumpə:l' 'ig' dín'ə S thú jumpáil ag duine. The quotation form of 3m aige for both Máire (16M) and 66N is eg'ə, although ig'ə is common in their speech. In SID in general ig' is commonly transcribed for ag; SID.46 seems to have mostly i- (probably at least some in error for e-), e.g.

ig' 'təs ig' 'xil' ě yin'e, ... 46.741 *tá fhios AG chuile dhuine;*

təs ig' ə 'mæ:f' t' ə r' ... 46.740 *tá fhios AG an máistir;*

... 't'in' ig' ən 'a:m 'x'e:ənə 46.710 ... *tinn AG an am chéanna;*

tə: t' ax mɔ:r ,ig' mō 'y' r' ə'f'u:r, 46.347 *tá teach mór AG mo dhreofúr;*

eg' xuə m' è eg' ən 'i: nəx 46.1164 *chuaigh mé AG an aonach.*

[a, u, o, ə] vocalisms

In the pronominal paradigm the a-initial vocalism is by far the most frequent for all persons (except of course the 3sg). Examples of initial u, o, ə are listed here.

1sg əgum 23B. Cp. in weak stress:

tə: 'f'k' r' i:f ɔ:m, ig' tahər' SIDIII.45.338 *tá scríofa A'M ag t'athair.*

2sg wil' əgəd 16P *an bhfuil AGAD? 'are you ready?'*

Unstressed təs əd 892M1471 *tá fhios A'D;*

wil' əs əd 66N *an bhfuil fhios A'D?*

2pl b' i:ts ugi: ~ b' itsəgi: M *bíodh fhios AGAIBH;*

wil' 'əgi: 52J *an bhfuil AGAIBH? 'are you ready?'*

3pl f'k' elti: a:lən' ukəb 11Ct

scéaltaí álainn ACUB;

N' i raus əkəb b' o: ... 32J

ní raibh fhios ACUB beo;

fə:r' t' i: ukəb ə'n 52J *fairtí ACUB ann;*

tə uku: 19P *tá ACÚ;*

gə L' o:r okəb 20M *go leor ACUB;*

raus uku: 12S *raibh fhios ACÚ;*

n̄:æ:rtəku: [sic] **12S** *neart ACÚ*; gə l̄ o:r oku **47L** *go leor ACÚ*.
 ji uku: *M dhe ACÚ*; iəsk oku, **47L** *iasc ACÚ*;
 gə l̄ o:r ukəb **66N** *go leor ACUB*; n̄'i rausəkəb [sic] he:n̄' **52Cr**
 ní raibh fhios ACUB héin.

7.4 Stress

Stress is rarely placed on the second syllable. Tokens noted in the 2sg occur in the idiom *tá ag* 'to be right or ready' (cp. the **u** and **ə** initial vocalisms above, at one level related to loss of stress).

2sg **wil'** 'ə'gʊt **36S** *an bhfuil AGAD?*

3m ... v̄'i 'e'g'e | **12S** ... *bhí AIGE*; ... e'g'e **52J**.

1pl ... huəs ə'gɪn'ə | **52C** ... *thuas AGAINNE*.

3pl n̄'i:l' en ɤe:l'g'ə xə ma: ʃin' ə'ku' (heard from one of **24P**'s eldest sons)
níl aon Ghaeilge chomh maith sin ACÚ.

Máire permitted double syllable stress in emphatic 2pl 'a'ku: sən [sic] Mq *acúsan* and 3pl 'a'gɪ:fə Mq *agaibhse*, but she did not permit second syllable stress in 3m *e'g' esən MØperm *aigesan*.

Mícheál Ó Hoipicín, 60M

Speaker **60M** regularly uses ə'gʊm (also gəm), ə'gud ~ ugəd, ə'gɪn', ukəb ~ ə'kub. This is a feature of his mixed idiolect having acquired extraneous features from his father who comes from Doire an Locháin in East Cois Fharraige. His sister, **52M**, seems in contrast to have only local usage in inflected *ag* (and in general). In fact during a translation query session with **60Mq**, his sister emphatically proffered the more usual local forms of *ag* apparently correcting **60Mq**. Table 7.1 shows the tokens and their frequency from one of his recordings (**60M1**); the number of tokens of the most frequent variants for each grammatical person is in bold type. From these limited data certain collocational tendencies are immediately discernible: *níl fhios* with 1sg, for example, occurs only as n̄'i:l'əs / n̄'is am (8 tokens). His scaling for person with regard to the phonetic distance of his major variants from the traditional Iorras Aithneach dialect on a closest-to-most-distant scale is as follows:

1sg — 2sg — 3pl, 1pl.

That is to say, his 1sg forms are closest to general Iorras Aithneach usage, whereas his 1pl and 3pl are most divergent. If one excludes the context of *tá fhios a'm / a'd*, etc., one can scale only 1sg, 2sg — 3pl, 1pl.

Table 7.1 *ag > am ~ ə'gʊm, etc., 60M1's mixed idiolect*

1sg		2sg		1pl		3pl		
am	agəm	ad	ugəd	aŋ'	ə'gɪn'	akəb	ukəb	ə'kub
10	(1 trans.)	6	1	8	2	9	1	8
							8	1

7.5 1sg, 2sg and 1pl: am, ad, aŋ' ~ agam, agəd, agəŋ'

This section addresses the variation found between monosyllabic **am**, **ad**, **aŋ'** (**a#** variants) and the corresponding disyllabic **agəm**, **agəd**, **agəŋ'** (**ag#** variants); abstractly **aC** ~ **agəC**, the only constant **-g-** being in 2pl **agi:**. Speaker **10C** from An tOileán Máisean is the only speaker I have heard with general unmarked

usage of **ag#** in **agum**, **agəd** and **agə́n'**. For many speakers **ag-** belongs to a higher style or register; its use can add a degree of solemnity, distance or seriousness to an utterance. Speaker **869P2–5** generally uses **a#** variants but at least some of his use of the **ag#** variants is suggestive of added formality. For instance, a gateman remarks in one of **869P**'s tales '... *ceadúch agam* ...' in the formal context of permission. In another exchange formality between strangers is marked by **ag#** forms:

A 'Bhfuil sé AGAD fós?' ... B 'Níl sé Á'M fós' ...

A 'Bhfuil sé AGAD fós?' ... B 'Tá sé AGAM anois.' **869P2–5**.

Speaker **869P**'s daughters also use predominant **æ:d** but the **ag#** variant adds solemnity in the toast:

slæ:nt ə wāh agəd 04Br *sláinte mhaith AGAD!*

and the exhortation:

gə ro nolək' wāh agəd 04Br *go raibh Nollaig mhaith AGAD!*

(Similar to her father's **sl̩:ŋ n̩ agəd 46.928** *slán agad!*) This stylistic use is evidenced in the short recording of our oldest speaker **852S** and corresponds to the use of **ag#** in higher register (10.81). Seán (**12S**) uses **am** far more often than **agəm**, although he does seem sometimes to use the latter without any added formality. He often uses stressed **agəm**, however, in the introductory discourse device:

fəŋ xi: wil' fe 'a:gəm | ... S Sé an chaoi a bhfuil sé AGAM, ...

A similar use of a stressed **agəd** by **21Pt**, who generally uses **ad**, occurs in an introductory explanatory mode:

bə jɛrd ə v' ex snə poti: 'a:gəd | poti: slat ə ... 21Pt1

badh éard a bheadh sna potaí AGAD, potaí slat a ...

Similarly, the forms with emphatic clitics are more likely to take disyllabic **ag#** variants. For example, speaker **03V** was noted with **am ad æn'** and stressed **agə́n'ə** in conversation (though he has **agəm** and **agəd** in song). The youngest native speaker from Iorras Aithneach I have heard using **ag#** stylistically is speaker **79S** showing that **ag#** has remained a relatively stable stylistic feature in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Speakers recorded using **a#** and / or **ag#** forms are given in Table 7.2, with the number of tokens noted when available (✓ = attested but number not available).

Table 7.2 **ag**, **ag#** vs **a#**, various speakers

Speaker	agəm	agəd	agə́n'	am	ad	án'
SID.46	1	2	3	7	3	4
893P				5+		5+
894B1				5+, incld emph.	5+	5 incld emph.
894C2.13-103	∅	∅	∅	43	26	11
897S1	a'gum 1	a'gəd 1		3		
898P1, 2	1			2 incld emph.	5	
00CDO	1		1?	3+	1	often
00T				✓ incld emph.	✓	
03V			emph 1	✓	✓	✓
04B		a'gədsə 1 Smds		✓	✓	c. 10 in 1
04Br		✓		✓	✓	✓
06M				✓	✓	✓
07P				(✓)	(✓)	✓
10COM	✓	✓	✓			
11C	a'gə/um			✓	✓	✓

Speaker	agəm	agəd	agəN'	am	ad	aN'
11P					5+	3
13P					✓	
15Pr1				✓	✓	✓
16P					5+ incld æ:dsə	2
17M					✓	✓
20A(RnG)				2+	2	
20C (cnvrs x2)				✓	✓	✓
20MI				5+	5+	
23J				5+	5+	5+
24M				✓		✓
26Ps				✓	✓	✓
27Cl				✓	✓	
30M				✓	✓	✓
30Ms				✓	✓	✓
31D				5+	5+	5+
35E1				✓	✓	✓
36P				✓	✓	✓
43J				✓	✓	✓
47L				✓	✓	✓

SID.46 ag# vs. a#

The examples noted from SID.46 are given here.

	ag#	a#
1sg	'tə:s ə:gəm (s.v. <i>agum</i>) <i>tá fhios AGAM</i>	n'í:l' 'is əm vɪl tu: ... 742 <i>níl fhios A'M an bhfuil tú ...</i> n'í:l' 'is ə:m tə:də fi: 'jɪn', 965 <i>níl fhios A'M tada faoi sin</i> n'í:l' 'is ə:m (s.v. <i>agum</i>) <i>níl fhios A'M</i> tə: su:l' əm gə ... 340 <i>tá súil A'M go ...</i> tə: ə:ʃt' əxt 'nəh ə:m, 392 <i>tá éisteacht maith A'M</i> tə: 'dɾox ə:ʃt' əxt ə:m, 393 <i>tá drochéisteacht A'M</i> tə: ən' hɛ 'vəh ə:m èr', 931 <i>tá aithne mhaith A'M air</i>
2sg	'k'e v'ed 'bɔ: ə:gəd, 30 <i>cé mhéad bó AGAD?</i> corresponds to ə:gəd Mp 10 <i>AGAD</i> slə:n ə:gəd 928 <i>slán AGAD</i>	əd Mp 10, 74a, 752, 756 A'D vɪl' kɪ:v rə ət er i:h'ə nə tɔ:r'hən 703 <i>an bhfuil cuimhne A'D ar oíche na tórramh(n)?</i> [tá] n' muhu: kə:l' f' é aʃ (s.v. <i>mothú</i>) <i>an mothú caillte A'D</i> ə:gəɾə 'mɔ:s 'fəd 'sɪ:l' è, 938 <i>go raibh maith is fad saoil A'D (1.425)</i>
1pl	tə: 'iəsk gə 'l' o:r ə:gɪN' əN'ɪ 1130 <i>tá iasc go leor AGAINN inniu</i> ... ə:gɪN' ə 'm'ɪ:l' i:əɳə 669 ... <i>AGAINN i mbliana</i>	əN' 844 A'INN f'e: f'ek' ə:l' əiN', 485 <i>le feicedál A'INN</i> tə: ə 'no:hɪn' əiN', 754 <i>tá a ndóthain A'INN</i>

Note the alternation in the 1pl between **agin'** and **ain'** in the following quotation in a tale:
kəhə tu: dʊrɪt ʃiəd brɛhʊ:nəs ə jɪ:nə k'e: əgɪn' mɔ:l'hə tu: n' tu:l' hɔ:gəl, n'i:
f'e:d'ər f'e: əmɪn' aɪn' e: hɔ:gəl gə ... 46.I.20-2 [sic] '*Caithfidh tú, dubhairt siad,*
'breithiúnas a dhíonamh cé AGAINN molfaidh tú an t-úbhal a thógál; ní féidir lé aon-
nduine AGAINN é thógál go ... (Orthography follows SID here.)

Airneán

In Hartmann et al. (1996; Airneán) II §125 the number of occurrences of *a#* and *ag#* forms is given as well as those speakers who use *ag#*. Table 7.3 presents the results and percentages in descending order, showing a very low use of *ag#*.¹

¹ One caveat regarding Airneán II: some transcribed *ag#* tokens may in fact be forms of *chui*g.

Table 7.3 *ag > a'm vs. agam, etc., in Airneán II*

	<i>a#</i>	No.	<i>ag#</i>	No.	% <i>ag#</i>	Speakers
1sg	<i>a'm</i>	161	<i>agam</i>	9	6%	11C, 01C, 899D , verse
1pl	<i>a'inn</i>	124	<i>againn</i>	5	4%	11C, 18J , verse
2sg	<i>a'd</i>	181	<i>agadlt</i>	3	2%	11C, 899D , verse

7.6 *ar*

I

er', *ər'* *ar*^L.

Regular sandhi may frequently cause depalatalisation of the *r'* and backing of *e* to *o*, e.g.

or d'er ə 04B10 *AR deireadh*;

ni: ni:nvər or luəs ə gos (Lam)04B *naoi naonbhar AR luas a gcós*.

There is an example of *or'* (analysable as *e > o /x_*) in:

ər b'in' e: n tən'əm' ə v'ox or' | də x'e:l'ə | 894C

gurb in é an t-ainm a bheadh AR do chéile.

Note the nonpalatal *r* (which corresponds to the historical quality) in **yr'æ:məmər | or' e:n 04B1** *ghreamamar ar aon* [FGB *araon*]. This is perhaps a phonetic depalatalisation caused by the weak rolling of the *r* in *ar* in this instance.

A nonpalatal stressed example occurs before a semantically weak noun in:

... b'æli: gə l'or ə d'ikə 'or ə rud mar ə d'er:ha 25M

... bealaí go leor a dtíochá AR an rud mar a déarthá.

There is a stressed token, preceding a 'given' noun phrase, in:

v'i:x b'ir'in' eg' xil' 'ær | əgs 'pu:k'in' ən'jin' 'er' xil' ,ær | 35E9134

bhíodh birín ag chuile fhear, agus púicín ansin AR chuile fhear.

The vowel is sometimes weakened to schwa: *ər'*, *ər*, e.g.

,b'èr' ər' ə 'læi, 46.635–6 *beir AR an lá!*

ə hiəxt ər nə stipo:gi s or nə l'ær:həxi fo 'l'æg 892M1572

a thíocht AR na stopógaí is ar na leathrachaí seo uiliug;

mad'ər l'e b'æhū: ðr' ə 'wærəg'ə 892M1573

Maidir le breathnú AR an bhfarraige;

du:ru: l'o:b | ə gæf'ir' pu:k'in' ə xir' ər' ə su:l'ir' | 894C

dúradh leothub go gcaithfí púicín a chuir AR a súil;

hæ:rt ər yə: vl'ian' S thart AR dhá bhliain;

l'æg m'e ər v'e:l ə fot e M leag mé AR bhéal an phota é.

II

	Singular	Plural
1	orəm , (ə)'rum	orən' , (ə)'rin'
2	ort	A orəb' , B ori:
3m	er' , ir'	orhəb , orhu:
f	orhə , rə	

h is often absent in 3f **orə**, 3pl **orəb**, **oru:**.

3m is generally **er'**. The vowel is sometimes centralised and raised, e.g.

tə ku:əx ən daun' ɪr' (Suda)04B *tá cuthach an domhain AIR*.

2pl **A orəb'** is attested once only in: **orəbjə ~ ori:fə** Mq *oraibhse* (produced when queried on emphatic form).

3pl Forms from SID.46: **ərhuɓ** 46.11a, **orhɔɓ** 46.823.

Stress

Unstressed or elided first syllable has been noted in 1sg, 3f and 1pl:

1sg ... **ŋohə fjəd fɪ:s er' ə gr' iərɬəx rum** M

... *ngothaidh siad síos ar an gcriathrach ORM*.

Cp. **ɲ'i: i:l'hə fe rum gə brə:x** 11Cta13 *ní fhillthidh sé ORM go brách*;

cp. **ta buər' o'rumsə ruək'əx əd'ər fe nə fruɬa:n' ən ai n aird' !11Ct**
'Tá buaireamh ORMSA a ruaigtheadh,' a deir sé, 'na srutháin in aghaidh an aird.'

3f **ɲ'i:l' e: d'u:l' ək'i:n'i: rə** M *níl aon dúilicíní UIRTHI*.

1pl **ta ro:si: fɪ:ks ə'ri:n' ə'noxt** S *tá 'rosy cheeks' ORAINN anocht*;

v'idər ri:n' fruʃin' S *bhíodar ORAINN froisin*;

... **v'e br' æ:nu: er' nɑ: n kumə v'i: ʰri:n'** [sic] S

... *bheith ag breathnú air ná an cuma a bhí ORAINN*.

7.7 as

I

as *as*. Sometimes reduced to **əs**:

á cuir as əs an mbealach 892M3140; **əs mi:rəs** 15W *as Maoras*.

Sometimes voiced, e.g.

nax az æ'l' æ:s-k' ə | 892M4742 *nach as Aleasce* [< Alaska].

II

The general paradigm can be compared with **23B** and **66N**'s (unique) forms.

	Singular			Plural	
	General	23B	66N	General	66N
1	asəm		astəm	asən'	æ'su:n', æ'stu:n'
2	asəd	astəd	asəd, əsəd	A asəb', B asi:	æsti', æft'i:b'
3m	as		æs	astəb, astu:	æstəb
f	əft' ə		əft' ə		

Speaker **23B**'s example: *tá muid ag baint obair astad, a Bhraidhean*. Cp. her *thartam*, etc., *tha(i)r* II (7.74).

Source for **66N**: 1sg, 3m, f: conversation; 2sg and all plural: in query, i.e. **66Nq** 3.1994, except conversation: **ban't' ka:n't' æ'su:n'** **66N** *ag baint caint asainn*. It is striking that the endings in three out of four of **66N**'s innovative forms resemble personal forms of the preposition *dho* (and therefore also innovative *dhe*): 1sg **dum**, 1pl **du:n'**, 2pl **d'i:b'**. The similarity to inflected *dho* is also apparent in innovative forms of *thar* (7.74 ff.): 2sg **ha^æ:rdət'** **52P**, 2pl **hard'i:b'** **66Nq**. Note that 2pl **æsti:** and hypothetical 2pl ***æstəb'** are impermissible for MØperm.

7.8 *chuig*

I

The simple preposition **heg'** *chuig* is relatively rare. It is not used by the majority, even of older speakers. The youngest speaker heard using **heg'** was born in 1924 (24Mt). As simple preposition **eg'** *ag* is by far more common. Most instances of simple **heg'** *chuig* have personal objects, but not all (*chuig an bhfuinneog*, *chuig báid*).¹ Many of the few speakers I have noted or heard using **heg'** are cited here:

x̄ir fe: f' ar l' e:hə gǒ vru:ntənəs heg' ẽ rı: nə trı: 46.I.47-8
chuir sé fear léithi dhe bhronntanas CHUIG an Rí na Traí;
| ən' f' ar ə hā:n' ək' əʃt' a:x | 'h'eg' ə 'vel'əm' e:rə | 869P
an fear a tháinig isteach CHUIG an bhfeilméara;
l'ík' ə m' e' 'heg' də 'v' æ'n' sə | ... -Lighthidh mé CHUIG do bheansa, gur
cailleadh thú, tá tamall ó shuin, agus nach maith liom é. 875P;
go 'bhaile CHAIG do mhátháir 894C2;
hā:n' ək' f'i: heg' ə wɪn' o:g 05M tháinig sí CHUIG an bhfuinneog;
hug fe: 'ʃt' æ:x | heg' ə 'mā:ʃt' ə'r' e' | 11C
thug sé isteach CHUIG an máistir é;
... mu:nə heg' bā:d' 18B.RnG ... móna CHUIG báid;
nu: heg' æ:n' 20My nó CHUIG Ain; ... heg' ... 24Mt ... CHUIG

Given the e ~ i variation in forms of *ag* and personal forms of *chuig* (3m) it is possible that a form ***hig'** is also found in the dialect.

II

	Singular	Plural
1	(h)ugəm, 'u'gum, (h)u'gum, (h)ə'gum	(h)ugən', əgən', '(h)u'gin', hu'gin'
2	(h)ugəd, ə'gud, xugəd	(h)ugi:
3m	(h)eg'ə, hig'ə	(h)ukəb, (h)uku:, 'u'kəb, ə'kub, hə'ku:, hukuφ
f	(h)ek'ə, hik'ə	

7.9 Stress and h- ~ V-; 1. Single stress

Variants are exemplified under the following headings:

1. Single initial stress in a. **h-** b. **u-**;
2. Double stress in a. **h-** b. **u-, ə-**;
3. Single final stress in a. **h-** b. **ə-**.

In the 3sg, vowel-initial forms are indistinguishable from inflected *ag*. I took particular note of non-initial stress. As a result, the sample is not proportionately representative of the stress variants.

¹ The preponderance of personal objects can be related to the actual origin of the simple preposition *chuig* from the prepositional pronoun (3m *chuige*). In CGT §265(f) *chuig* has personal objects only. Compare, however, the slightly ambiguous evidence in Ó Baoill (1996: 92, 129) *eig* (= *chuig*, homophonous with *ag*), *go maith chuig* [i.e. *eig* ?] *slaghdán*. Cf. J. N. Hamilton (1971–2: 128).

1. Single initial stress**1a. h-, x-**

- 1sg **í**íl'ə d'aul' hugəm S *tuilleadh deabhail* CHUGAM!
... fʃt'æ:x hugəm | 37J ... *isteach* CHUGAM.
emphatic **í**æ:g hugəmsə n'íj i: **16B** *leag* CHUGAMSA *anois í!*
- 2sg **í**ʃk'ə hugəd **898P** *uisce* CHUGAD; **h**á:rənt' hugəd **13P** *tharrait* CHUGAD;
há:n'ək' fe: n'íər hugəd **43M** *tháinig sé aniar* CHUGAD?
tá:rən' hugəd e S *tarrainn* CHUGAD *é!*
kaur' o **ji**ə hugəd S *cabhair ó Dhia* CHUGAD!
| f'íəxt ə 'lɑ:hər' ,xugəd | **881Jm** *ag tíocht i láthair* CHUGAD.
- 3m *heige* **852S4**, **h**eg'ə (Lam)**04B1**, SM; **h**ig' ə **20C**.
- 3f **h**ek'ə M; **t**or' ən'is sp'u:nog' **h**ik'ə **66N** *tabhair aníos spúnóg* CHUICI (i vocalism is perhaps influenced by spelling).
- 1pl **h**ugən' M; common in *seo* CHUGAINN, e.g.
fo hugən' >> **f**o ugən' **43M**, **f**o 'əgən' M, **f**ugən' **43M**.
- 2pl **h**ugi: M, **60S**.
- 3pl **h**ukəb SM; **h**uku: S, **56B**, **69S**.

1b. u-

- 1sg **ə**noxtugəm **03V** *anocht* CHUGAM; **x**ir' g'æ:n'si: ugəm M *chuir geansaí* CHUGAM;
fi:n' ugəm ə sa:lən S *sín* CHUGAM *an salann!*
emphatic **f**i:n' ugəms e M *sín* CHUGAMSA *é!*
- 2sg **h**o:rt' ugəd **898P** *thabhairt* CHUGAD;
sig' ə'ret's hug **f**i: ugəd M *suigearéits a thug sí* CHUGAD.
- 1pl often in phrase *cabhair ó Dhia* CHUGAINN, **k**aur' ə **ji**ə ugən', ... o **ji**: ugən' SM.
Cf. 1pl 1a. above.
- 3pl ... **k**á:rti: ukəb í'ehi: ... **04Br** ... *cártaí* CHUCUB *le haghaidh* ... ;
gol' ə kuərtiəxt ukəb **15W** *ag goil ag cuartaíocht* CHUCUB;
ə gá:hə: sə ŋá:ri: ukəb e S *dhá gcáitheá sa ngarraí* CHUCUB *é*;
... **h**á:rən' o:s ə rud **f**in' ukəb he:n' S ... *thairneós an rud sín* CHUCUB *héin*.

7.10 2. Double stress**2a. h-**

- 1sg **h**ai'n ə kuərtiəx gə d'í: e | **h**ə'gəd fe he:n' ə kuərtiəxt 'hu.gum **19P10**
théinn ag cuartaíocht go dtí é, thagadh sé héin ag cuartaíocht CHUGAM.
emphatic **m**á xur'ən tu: 'hu'gums iəd **11P** *má chuireann tú* CHUGAMSA *iad*.
- 1pl **k**aur' o **ji**ə 'hu'gən' S *cabhair ó Dhia* CHUGAINN!, this was perhaps a slow explanatory pronunciation.

2b. u-, ə-

- 1sg **ə**r' kuərt' 'u'gum **03V** *ar cuairt* CHUGAM;
gə dugəd fe ma:d'ə 'u'gum **14M** *go dtugadh sé maide* CHUGAM;
íæ:g fe nɑ:l 'u'gəm e S *leag sé anall* CHUGAM *é*;
ən'fə 'u'gum M *anseo* CHUGAM;
to:r' ə'f'æ:x baurd ə wuk'e:d' gə wu:n' 'u'gəm M
tabhair isteach bord an bhuicéid dhe mhóin CHUGAM!
... ə **h**ægəns ən'is u'gum **21Pt** ...
a theaganns aníos CHUGAM (contrast **h**ukəb [x3] **21Pt**).
- 1pl **ə**nu:n 'u'gin' S *anonn* CHUGAINN;
ən' f'axtən' fə, 'ə'gin' ən'íj M *an tseachtain seo* CHUGAINN *anois*.
- 3pl **o**gəs xín'ək'ədər 'f'ær ə 'f'axt 'əkub ə'f'əx | **866E**
agus choiniceadar fear ag teacht CHUCUB *isteach*;
ííl'ə d'aul' 'u'kəb M *tuilleadh deabhail* CHUCUB! cp. *tuile deabhail* ACU Mlt.

7.11 3. Final stress

3a. h-

- 1sg **ta** jæŋk' s ə t' axt hu'gum | M *tá Gheaincs ag teacht CHUGAM*;
 emphatic ə ho:r't hu'gumsə (SmDs)04B *a thabhairt CHUGAMSA*;
 f'kr' i:v fe hə'gumsə wil' əs æd M *scríobh sé CHUGAMSA an bhfuil fhios a'd?*
 ... hu'gumsə 12J, M.
- 1pl **hug** br'i:d' hu'gin' e M *thug Bríd CHUGAINN é*.
- 3pl **gəg** kir' hək'u: nə wəhəb S *gan cuir CHUCÚ ná uathub*.

3b. u-, ə-

- 1sg **ə** dug f'i: u'gum nə rudi: f'in' M *an dtug sí CHUGAM na rudaí sin?*
 f'i: n to:n'l'i: dín' ə f'kr' i:vəns ə'gum i' M
Sí an t-óinlí duine a scríobhanns CHUGAM í;
 n' u' hug f'i: ə'gum iəd M *inniu a thug sí CHUGAM iad*;
 go f't' a:x ən' f'o gum M *gabh isteach anseo CHUGAM*;
 ... 'mach a' ceann sin is thug se ceann eile 'steach CHUGAM ə'gum M;
 goL' ə gum goL' ə gum M *goille CHUGAM! goille CHUGAM!*
 v' i: f'i: ga xahə gum s ga xahə gum M
bhí sí dhá chaitheamh CHUGAM is dhá chaitheamh CHUGAM;
 t' u:r'hə tu gum n' is mū: iəd M *tiúrthaidh tú CHUGAM níos mó iad*;
 k' e x' u:rəs ə'gum e marə d' u:r'hə ttsə gum e [sic] M
cé thiúrthas CHUGAM é mara dtiúrthaidh tusa CHUGAM é?
 ta n' umərkə kurh əd ə'gumsə vrain ... ta n' umərkə kurh əd ə'gum M *tá an iomarca curtha a'd CHUGAMSA, a Bhraidhean ... tá an iomarca curtha a'd CHUGAM*;
 ... ho:rt' ə'gum | M ... thabhairt CHUGAM; sə t' a:x ə'gum, 37J *sa teach CHUGAM*.
 emphatic to:r' k' a:n e'l' ə gumsə M *tabhair ceann eile CHUGAMSA!*
 ... f'iə'r u'gumsə sə fu:mrə M ... *siar CHUGAMSA sa seomra*;
 nə kir' ə'gumsə n' is mu: ə vrain M *ná cuir CHUGAMSA níos mó, a Bhraidhean!*
 ta n' umərkə kurh əd ə'gumsə vrain ... M
tá an iomarca curtha a'd CHUGAMSA, a Bhraidhean ...
- 2sg **re:r** mar v' ox ə t' axt ə f't' a:x ugəd ~ ə'gud S
dho réir mar bheadh ag teacht isteach CHUGAD;
 ə gir' həx dʊŋkən f'k' e:lə gud M *a gcuirtheadh Diuncan scéala CHUGAD*;
 ə'gud Mq CHUGAD.
- 1pl **sə:wə:lə d' iə | ən f' æ:r ə xir' ə'gin' i' M**
(go) sábhála Dia an fear a chuir CHUGAINN í.
- 2pl Final stress in 2pl forms was produced by Mq while discussing disyllabic 2pl prepositional pronouns in -əb' (i.e. stress was not an issue). The impermissible forms ə'gib', hu'gəb' MØperm *chugaibh* were given. The non-attestation of final stress in the general 2pl **hugi:** form would imply that the consonantal coda is a more favourable conditioning factor for stress to shift, although not necessary in, for example, 3pl **hək'u:** (the form presumably influenced by ə'kub).
- 3pl **kahə f' e:r t' e'r əm' ə'kub** M *ag caitheamh féar tirim CHUCUB*;
 e: xa:ə kub M *é a chaitheamh CHUCUB*;
 kuərtiəxt ə'kub M *ag cuartaíocht CHUCUB*.

Initial stress is probably the most frequent realisation in all persons. Forms of *chui*g in **ug-** are quantitatively differentiated from similar pronominal forms of *ag*. That is to say that both the **ug-** vowel and the anomalous stress patterns are far less frequent in forms of *ag* than in inflected *chui*g.¹ Speaker 894C2–9's usage

¹ This facultative distinction may have escaped de Bhaldraithe's attention in his transcriptions of Iorras Aithneach speech, particularly given that *chui*g is marginal in the Cois Fharráige dialect (on

is quite typical, varying between *ch-* and vowel-initial forms, as shown in Table 7.4.¹ Examples from Seán and Máire, given above, also show this variation (**h-** ~ **V-**) with the additional indication of stress variation available from field data. In reply to query, Máire produces initial stress. She seems unable to distinguish in elicitation initial and final stress on 1sg, 2sg, 1pl and 3pl. It is noteworthy that of the ten 1sg emphatic tokens listed above only two have single initial stress. It is my impression that this is not due solely to a bias in noting the variants with non-initial stress. It is likely that forms with emphatic clitics tend to have forward stress more than their non-emphatic equivalents. In query Máire permits **h-**less variants, and comments that the variants with **h-** are preferable: *is fearr, an bhfuil fhios a'd?* M.

Table 7.4 *ch-* vs. *u-* in inflected *chuig*, 894C

	<i>ch-</i>	V-
simple	<i>go 'bhaile chaig do mhátháir</i>	<< <i>aig</i>
1sg	<i>óil chugam</i>	<i>a chuir 'ugam</i> 894C9
	<i>chugamsa</i>	<i>an tsail 'ugamsa</i>
2sg	<i>stábla chugad</i>	<i>do dhínnéar ugad, amach 'ugad</i>
3m	<i>chaige</i>	<i>aige</i>
3pl	<i>chucub (féin), chucú</i>	<i>tharnaíodar 'ucú héin, mé héin 'ucú</i>

7.12 Replacement by *ag*

A fairly slow depletion in the use of inflected *chuig* forms is taking place. There is some evidence that this depletion is implicationally conditioned. The category of grammatical person is a likely condition. The simple preposition itself is obsolescent. Of the inflected forms, the 3sg is the least resilient. In both these cases, i.e. in the simple preposition and the 3sg, when initial **h-** is elided, any distinction with *ag* is lost. In other persons, on the other hand, both stress and the initial vocalism quantitatively distinguish *chuig* inflection from *ag* inflection. For example, in the following exchange 3sg *aige* corresponds to 1sg *chugam* and 2sg *chugad*:

-**hug** f*i*: buskə swi:t s ugəm M *Thug sí bosca svuít* CHUGAM.

-**k' e**: eg'ə S *Cé AIGE?*

-**hug** f*i*: ... M *Thug sí ...*

-**hugəd** he:n' əb' æ S *CHUGAD héin ab ea?*

Examples of 3f *ag* forms, where *chuici* would be possible, are:

f*k' r' i:w* ěk' ě 46.341 *scríobh AICI* [emended from ěk' ě];

e: ha:rənt' 'ek' ə | wil' əs əd | e ha:rənt' 'ek' ə | M

which de Bhaldraithe was the acknowledged expert). This is apparent from my own discussion with him and from his citations of the Iorras Aithneach dialect in FFG. In his transcriptions of Carna (i.e. Iorras Aithneach) material published in FFG, examples of *ag-* forms occur with *chuig* meaning, so that, for example, in *Éirí Chuinn faoi na gabhair agat!* FFG (s.v. *Com*) one might well suspect a pronunciation such as **ugəd** which may have been misinterpreted as *agat* rather than (*ch*)*ugad*. The form **ugəd** is indeed common in curses, e.g. *f'íl'ə d'aul' ugəd tuilleadh deabhail chugad!* It is suggested here that one could well emend to ... *gabhair 'ugad* in this example and elsewhere in the Carna material in FFG. There is evidence for the quantitative use of differentiated stress patterns in *chuig* vs. *ag* inflection in other Connacht dialects. I hope to discuss this topic elsewhere.

¹ Source 894C2 unless otherwise indicated.

é a tharrait AICI, an bhfuil fhios a'd, é a tharrait AICI,
nax da:n'əg' ʃe ek'ə M nach dtáinig sé AICI,
Níil' m'e kur ek'ə na wohə M níl mé ag cur AICI ná uaithe.

Although the overall totals are small, the list of individual speakers and corresponding summary in Table 7.5 show a relatively higher yield of *ag* to *chuig* forms in the 3f only.

Some collocations favour the use of *chuig*. This is true of some nonlocal uses of the preposition, e.g.

gá: d'aid' ʃe heg'ə ʃin' 43M dhá dtéadh sé CHUIGE sin
 'if it were to come to that [state of affairs]';
wil' tu: na:n heg'ə S an bhfuil tú i ndan CHUIGE? 'are you able for it?';
gəŋ kur heg'ə na: wai S gan cur CHUIGE ná uaidh,
gən kir' hukəb / huku: / hək'u: na: wohəb S gan cuir CHUCÚ ná uathub.

In its adverbial use, inflected *chuig* is not replaced by *ag* in the phrase *seo chugainn* used with future reference following nouns. Other persons are less frequently used, e.g. 2sg and 3f in past context with future reference:

d'ə k'ə:di:n' ə i: [sic] **hugəd | 03V** Dé Céadaoin a bhí CHUGAD;
Ghabh sí dá fhaire arís san oíche a bhí CHUICI. 864MDT47.

chuige only is used in the phrase:

bəd er' ə lai heg'ə 10B bád ar an loighe CHUIGE.

The following is a list of forms with *chuig* meaning recorded from various speakers; those equivalent to inflected *ag* are underlined:

SID.46 **heg'** 46.I.47–8, **ʃk' r'i:ɸ m'e ig' tahir'** 338 *scríobh mé ag t'athair; hōggom* 45, 340; **hōggəd** 45; **heg'ə** 45; **hek'ə** 45 ~ **ək'ə** 341 [emended from **ək'ə**]; **hōgin'** 45, **ʃo hugin'** 900, **ər ku:ərt' əgi'n'** 1002; **hōgi** 45; **hōkəb** 45.

869P2-5 ... *ime chaig an sean-Fhlathartach. 4, abhaile chaigána mháthair* 4; inflected forms regularly with *ch-* but note also:

Go 'nuas anseo (ch)ugam 2; anseo ugam 2.

869P's daughters have regular simple **eg'**, pronominal **ug-**, e.g.

haiɖ ʃe gə l'or: eg' tobər b'æ:ni:ə | mahər' | 04Br théadh sé go leor *ag tobar beannaíthe, m'athair, ... stuf eg' ə glox:n 15W ... stuf ag an gClochán; er kuərt' ukəb ... 04Br* ar cuairt *chucub, ... karti: ukəb l'ehi: ... 04Br ... cártat chucub le haghaidh ...*

896P **hugədsə, fr' æ:grə heg'ə ...** *freagra chuige.*

898P1, 2 (**h**)**ugəd; heg'ə** (x4); **ʃt' a:x ig'ə** (x1) *isteach aige.*

899N1 **eg', hugəm ~ am, (æd), eg'ə, ek'ə .**

00T **hugəmsə, ʃi:s ugəd sios chugad, ə'ma:x ek'ə ... ə'ma:x ə pə:ʃt' ek'ə amach** (*an páiste*) *aici, ə'ma:x hukəb amach chucub.*

01J **ugəm, heg'ə, hek'ə, ukəb.**

M **eg', hugəm ~ ugəm ~ 'u'gum ~ u'gum ~ ə'gum ~ hu'gumsə ~ am, hugəd ~ ugəd ~ ə'gud ~ æd, heg'ə ~ eg'ə, hek'ə ~ ek'ə, hugən' ~ ugən' ~ 'ə'gin' ~ hu'gin', hugi:, hukəb ~ 'u'kəb ~ ə'kub.**

This list is summarised in Table 7.5: ✓ = *chuig* form with *chuig* meaning, Ø = *ag* form with *chuig* meaning. (Plural *ag* forms were not noted, perhaps owing to the relative infrequency of occurrence of plural forms in general with *chuig* meaning rather than any resistance in the plural to *ag* forms.)

Table 7.5 *chuig* ~ *ag*, some older speakers

Speaker	simple	1sg	2sg	3m	3f	1pl	2pl	3pl	Total
SID.46	✓∅	✓	✓	✓	✓∅	✓	✓	✓	✓8, ∅2
896P	✓	✓		✓					✓3
898P1-2			✓	✓∅					✓2, ∅1
899N1	∅	✓∅	(∅)	∅	∅				✓1, ∅4
00T		✓	✓		∅	✓			✓3, ∅1
01J		✓		✓	✓			✓	✓4
16M	∅	✓∅	✓∅	✓∅	✓∅	✓	✓	✓	✓7 ∅5
Total	✓2, ∅3	✓6, ∅2	✓4, ∅1	✓5, ∅3	✓3 ∅4	✓3	✓2	✓3	✓27, ∅12

There is evidence for the more progressive status of the 3sg (perhaps 3f >> 3m) concerning the depletion of *chuig* forms. In query, Máire translated all persons with *chuig* forms in two different contexts, except in the following where she used *ag* forms:

simple preposition [x2], 3f [x3] and 3m [x1], Mq (*ag* form underlined).

The translations for each context and most persons were produced at different occasions in order to avoid serial or learning effect in query:

Chuir sé leitir ... : xur fe l'et'ar' eg' fa:n / hugad / heg'ə [x2] / ek'ə [x2] / hukəb;

D'éirigh / Tháinig sé aniar ... : d'air'ə / ha:n'ək' fe 'n'iar eg' fa:n / hugəm / eg'ə / ek'ə / hugən' [x2] / hugit. (Source: Mq.)

In the context of 'send by post' (*cuir chuig*) in her letters to me over the years, Máire spells the simple preposition as *ag* and 3m as *aige*, but 1sg, 2sg, 3pl as *chugam*, *chugat*, *chuca* Mlt.

In contrast, the far younger speaker **84P** translated all persons (except the 3f which was not queried) in 'they wrote to me / you / him, etc.,' with inflected forms of *ag*.

7.13 *dhe*

I

A $\gamma\text{ə}$ *dhe*^L; before vowels **d** *d'*, γ *dh'*, **g'** *dh'*.

B gə , ə , also completely absent, i.e. \emptyset , *dhe*^L; before vowels **g** *dh'* >> gə *dhe*.

Obsolete variants are classified under A. Productive forms in B are used by most speakers born in the twentieth century. The simple preposition *dhe* is formally identical to the simple preposition *dho* and there is no evidence to show any differentiation in variants or intergenerational change between *dhe* and *dho*. For rare variants in particular it is therefore worth consulting *dho* (7.23 ff.). Inflected *dhe* is in the process of being replaced by the corresponding inflected *dho* forms (7.22).

7.14 Obsolete (A)

Speaker **866E** has general gə *dhe* (and conjunction gə *go*). He has, however, two tokens of $\gamma\text{ə}$ *dhe* (and some conjunction $\gamma\text{ə}$ *go*); both $\gamma\text{ə}$ *dhe* tokens are inter-vocalic:

nā:m 'br' ukfa'stə γə 'lɑ:ᵑ | ... əɟf d'iarhə fe ɣən 'wɑ:k' e:rə | 866E
in am bricfasta DHE lá. ... agus d'fhiathraigh sé DHEN bháicéara.

From a recording of **869P** we have at least two examples of **ɣə** (although not particularly clear) in highly sonorous contexts (following a vowel or *r*):

| **jæ:rəd' i:f | ə | kɪd' ə ɣə nə kupo:gr' jə | 869P**
ghearraidís u- cuide DHE na cupógaí dhe;
ax tɑ' gə L' ɔ:r ɣən xl' a:xtə fɪn' ¹ | 'ɪm' i:h̃ɔ̃ | n' i:f 869P
ach tá go leor DHEN chleachtadh sin imíthe anois.

Speaker **892M** generally has stop realisation but he has **ɣ** in **892M4185**:

tá Fuaigh Mhaolra Óig DH'ainm 'o:g' ⁹ɣ'æ'n əm' ariamh ó shin ortha.

Speaker **894C** has general initial **ɣ-** in the prepositions *dhe*, *dho*, *go*, *go dtí* and *gan*, the conjunction *go*, and adverbial *go* (so also, regular **ɣɑ:**, both *dhá* with noun and verbal noun and *dhá* 'if'; 1.69). Examples of his *dhe* usage are:

re:su:nəxt ə b' u ɣən tlæ:n' ə 894C réasúntacht ar bith DHEN tsláinte;
d' air' ə fe ɣə l' e:m' | 894C d' éirigh sé DHE léim;
lā:n b' e:l' ɣən i:f' k' ə 894C lán béil DHEN uisce;
ə gaur' n' e:l' ɣən l' æ:b' ə | ... e'l' ə ɣən l' æ:b' ə [x3] | 894C
i gcoirnéal DHEN leaba ... eile DHEN leaba;
| ɣə nə 'ru:di: fo | 894C DHE na rudaí seo;
k' e: hi: wil' ə l' ehəd' ə fo 'ɣæ:r | 894C
cén chaoi a bhfuil a leithide seo DH'fhear.

There is some evidence that **d(ə)** was a regressive variant among the oldest speakers. SID.46 has only one example, which occurs as a (secondary) variant of **g(ə)** in: **gr:f (or dr:f) 46.118 d(h)'aois**.

Before front vowels **g'** is regressive (noted before *fh-*), e.g.

féar **lɑ:n ma:skil' ə ... g' e:r ,gən 'vo:**, 46.53
lán m'ascaille DH'fhéar dhon bhó;

fear **g' æ:r 866E, 898P DH'fhear;**
bacach ... DH'fhear siúil, g' æ:r 'ju:l' 11C.

fear also takes palatal *dh' < dho* (7.25) for some older speakers, including **11C**, but contrast his nonpalatal *dh'fhir*, e.g.

dīn' ə ... g' ir' o:gə n' t' i: 11C duine ... DH'fhir óga an tí.

Cf. **gar 852S, ɣæ:r 894C DH'fhear; gīn' i:m' 866E DH'inín.**

aon fhear Cp. *dho* in **g' ē:n' æ:r 866E dh'aon fhear.**

7.15 Productive (B)

gə is the almost universal realisation; SID.46, for example, has:

gə 46 s.v. *éirighim*; **gə** 46 s.v. *breac*;
 with the plural article **gənə** 46 (s.v. *fastódh*) *DHE na*.

ə: *fear dhe* ... is generally **f' æ:r gə ...**, indicating surnames but also **ə** in **892M**'s usage, e.g.

v' i m' e 'he:n' əgs hæ:r [sic] ə xoskə:rəx ... 892M
bhí mé héin agus fear DHE Choscarach ...

Speaker **892M** usually has **gə**, but also (including another example following *r*):

ti: hiər ə 'xə:fəl taobh thiar DHEN Chaiseal;
er' ə ti:w ə jæs ə xruə nə 'ki:l' ə ar an taobh ó dheas DHE Chruaich na Caoile.

Note also his reduction but retention of velar articulation of *dhen* in:

p'isə η xlog'an 892M2749 *píosa DHEN chloigeann;*

gər hit' ə 'klog'an η 'stor | 892M *gur thit an cloigeann DHEN stór.*

Speakers **05M** and **25M** have general **gə**, but **ə** in:

v'i: 'l'æ:d ə 'wa:k əm 05M *bhí leaid DHE mhac a'm;*

... na: r'fɛ^ə h'ri:əl' ig'ə 25M *dúirt sé nar raibh sé DHE thraíáil aige.*

dhe léim is generally **gə l'e:m' / l'e:m'** but **ə l'e:m'** in:

huə fe 'ft' a:x ə 'l'e:m' ə:n 18J8282 *chuaigh sé isteach DHE léim ann.*

Note that **ə** alternates with zero in the compound prepositions:

ə xo:f, xo:f a chois; ə x'u:l, x'u:l (dhe) shiúl.

dhe shaol generally **gə hi:l** but:

sin é fad ceachtair a'ainne 'o shaol! adeir sé. 852SbTS145 (⇒ ***æ'n'ə hi:l**).

Ø: *dhe* may be lost following a vowel, mostly in stereotyped phrases:

bhí chaon cheánn acub aige le buille dhruma. 869P2 [for *buille dhe dhruma*],

mar bhí mé amuith ariamh ó bhí sé DHE rath orm. o: v'i: fe 'rah orəm 892Mg,

nāx wil' ē 'xi:mr'ə 'rah əm ,er' 892M2759

nach bhfuil aon chuimhne DHE rath a'm air,

n'í ro fe 'v'aur' untəb 892M4243 *ní raibh sé DHE mheabhair iontub.*

x'e:d la: v'altən'ə M *an chéad lá DHE Bhealtaine.*

Often in:

tə:m fo vl'ian' SM *an t-am seo DHE bhliain,*

trə: fo vl'ian' M *an tráth seo DHE bhliain.*

Often with *píosa dhe* ... , e.g. **p'isə xə:kə SM** *píosa DHE cháca*, and hence post-consonantly in:

p'i:fi:n' xək æ:d ... 29N *písín DHE cháca a'd ...*

Contrast regular non-elision in, for example:

p'isə gə x'ə:n el'ə M *píosa DHE cheann eile.*

Other examples of elision following vowels occur in runs in stories:

mara gcuire mé 'shéideog sa Domhan Soir é 894C2;

[gə muəl'ət [muəl'hət ?] fɛ həl' ə wuətəf i: 05Md

go mbuaileadh [mbuailtheadh ?] sé DHE sháil a bhuatais í.

Retained in *tada dhe*, e.g.

an bhfuil tada DHE choinnle tæ:də gə xi:nl'ə lasta anocht? S.

7.16 With numerals

In coordinate clauses of alternative ordinal numerals, connected by *nó*, a minority of speakers regularly have **ə** or elide *dhe* completely, following both vowels and consonants, e.g.

agus dó nó trí phacaí gadhair acu 866ESc117.20,

ar feadh dó nú trí laethanta an dtigeann tú 894Cst,

trí nó ceathair DHE chuarta faoi gcuairt k'ær' ə 'xuərtə fi: 'guərt' 892Mg,

l'e tr'i: nu k'æ'hər' ə vl'iantə 881J *le trí nó ceathair DHE bhlianta,*

nī: nu: d'e x'e:tə 'slæt o:n' 't' a:x 875P

naoi nó deich DHE chéadta slat ón teach.

It seems that speakers may have collocational conditioning of Ø ~ ə ~ **gə** with specific numerals. Speaker **21Pt**, for example, was noted with Ø (or elided ə) in

d'ε C- *deich dhe*, and, postconsonantly, **k'æhər' ə** *ceathair dhe* but **fəxt gə** *seacht dhe* (implying, perhaps, that **gə** *dhe* occurs with the less common *seacht*). Speaker **21Pt'**'s examples are:

ni: nu: d'ε x'æ:nə gl'iməx *naoi nó deich DHE cheanna gliomach*,
ni: nu: d'ε heʔəni: *naoi nó deich DHE shoiteannaí*;
tr'i: nu k'æhər' ə x'æ:nə *trí nó ceathair DHE cheanna*,
tr'i: nu: k'æhər' ə he:su:r' | x'e:su:r' i: *trí nó ceathair DHE shéasúir(í)*;
fə: nu: fəxt gə vl'iantə *sé nó seacht DHE bhlianta*.

Other speakers regularly retain **gə** *dhe* in these phrases, e.g.

'k'æhər' nu: ku:'g' gə 'haxtən'i: 46.902
ceathair nó cúig DHE sheachtainí;
*naoi nó deich DHE d'ε gə cheanna muiríní beaga **16P**.*

More unusually, *dhe* is omitted in the following example of numerical coordination with *is* (*agus*) (the initial consonant of the following noun is lenited):

tr'i: s k'æhər' vl'iantə **31D** *trí is ceathair DHE bhlianta*.

In the context of numerals one can also note optional use of *dhe* with *déaga* in, for example:

snə d'ε:gə yufe:n' i: n'ij **27Cl** *sna déaga DHE dhuiséinní anois*,
snə d'ε:gə gə yufe:n' i: **Mq** *sna déaga DHE dhuiséinní*
 cp. **snə d'ε:gə dife:n' i:** **Mq** *sna déaga duiséinní*.

Note the reduced token of *dhe* in coordinate construction in rapid delivery:

gə he: nu: fəx g' k'æ:nə 'poti: **892M1564**
dhe shé nó seacht DHE cheanna potaí.

7.17 **dh', dhe**

Reduced **g** sometimes occurs before a consonant, e.g.

nāx 'br'ɑ: nāx m'εʔ je 'g rah ori: f'iarhi: ji ma'd'ən' ək'i:n' | 11C
nach breá nach mbeadh sé DHE rath oraibh fiathraí dhi maidin eicint.

The compound preposition **gə wə:r** *dhe bharr* has a by-form with elided **gə**, i.e. **wə:r** (7.108).

g generally before vowels, e.g.

gə:ləs **892M** *DH'eolas*; **gə:l' M** *DH'fheoil*; **gə:nfəx** **19P** *DH'óinseach*;
də l'ehəd' ə gə:r wə:r seV'ər' **17M** *do leithide DH'fhear mhór saibhir*;
gə 852S, gə:r S *DH'fhear*; **gir'** **03V, 11C** *DH'fhir*;
nax b'ə 'gəf'i:s ə v'i: ortsə ... 11C *nach beag DH'fhaitíos a bhí ortsa ...*

Occasionally, in traditional dialect, the vowel in **gə** is retained before vowels, e.g.

séis a bhfuót [bhfuigheadh] sé ... GO iníonachaí rí, 869P2;
an chéad, chuid DHE fhaobhar gə i:wə:r an chlainmhe amach ortsa **892Mtn**;
gə aurlə:r ... gə aurlə:r nə bri:n' ə m'ε **04Bl**
DHE urlár ... DHE urlár na bruínne mé;
jin' e wil' gə i:m' ən'ij am **M** *sin é a bhfuil DHE im a'm*;
ru:n' ə gə i:m' [x2] **19P3** *ruainne DHE im*;
b'fhéidir gur sa lorga a buailfí fear DHE iarraidh dhe mhaide f'ær³ gə iəra
gə 'wæ:d' ə **35E9033**;
gə ɔ:d mu:nə *DHE fhód móna*.

Cp. **b'f'i:ən' 'g'ə:rs (-f)** 46 (s.v. *aois*) *bliain DHE ao(i)s*.

Most of these examples of **gə** before vowels occur before syntactically complex

noun phrases. The frequency of words in initial *i/i/iə-* in the examples listed may be significant. With younger speakers *gə* is common before vowels, e.g.

... ə v'ins gə iəsə:g ɛr' | 52P ... a bhíonn DHE fhéasóg air.

7.18 *dhe + a > dhá, etc.*

The preposition *gə dhe* (and *dho*) combines with *ə a* (possessive, 6.35; cataphoric relative, 8.73; including relative copula, 5.373 11i.k) to give *ɣa:*, *ga:*, *da:*, *a:*. The vowel in (*ɣ/g/d*)*a:* is often shortened. The variants for various constructions which are not dealt with elsewhere in this work are briefly listed here.

dhe + a (petrified 3m possessive) + abstract comparative > *dhá: ga:* >> *a:*.

ga' hin'ə ga m'ei ... 43M DHÁ shine dhá mbeidh ... ;

a' o:g'ə 43M DHÁ óige

dhe + cataphoric relative pronoun a^N > dhá, dhe (a): ɣa:, *ga:* (mostly), *da:*, *a:*, *gə*.

ɣa: *aon-nduine, a deir sí, DHÁ raibh tusa 'ē:nin'ə d'or'ji' | ɣa: ro 'tusə ag guibhe, ag iarraidh orthub, 881J.*

da: *nú go n-usclaítí an doras DÁ da' dtáinig sé isteach ann. 05M;*
insa tseanaimsir is foide siar anís, DÁ da: gcuala mé trácht air 11C1125.

da:r *faoi 's tar aon gheall DÁR da:r bhuaich mé ariamh, bhí mé ag iarraidh é seo bhuaichadh, go fíorghéar. 06C;*

N'i:l' e:n' N'i: da:r xum d'ia r'iaw nax da:n'ək' ə'ma:x f'ia:r M
níl aon ní DÁR chum Dia ariamh nach dtáinig amach fíor,
'everything happened as foretold'.

ga:r *N'i:l' mo:ra:n gə nə fokli: a:gəmsə ga:r xu:m'ji' | 11C*
níl mórán dhe na foclaí agamsa DHÁR chum sí.

It is noteworthy that the (rare) variants in initial *d-* are found following coronals and in an emphatic context following a vowel.

Nominal *dhá* and verbal *dhá* commonly correlate in use with the abstract comparative, e.g. *dhá dheiseacht dhá bhfuil sé (níl sé sách deas)*. Judging from speaker **20A**'s examples (from Doire Iorrais, North-East IA, where *a:* *dhá* is more common than in central IA, 6.35), the phonetic form of verbal *dhá* usually correlates with the preceding nominal *dhá*:

a: ... a: a: ed'əxt a: wə:kə tu: i | DHÁ fhoideacht DHÁ bhfágthaidh tú í;

a: ... a: a: v'e:d ba:ft'i: a: wí: fí: | ogəs ga: v'e:d gr'e:n'ə ga: wí: fí:

ga: ... ga: DHÁ mhéad báistí DHÁ bhfuighidh sí, agus DHÁ mhéad gréine DHÁ bhfuighidh sí.

Another speaker from Doire Iorrais, **01P**, also correlates both forms of *dhá* in his abstract comparative examples, as *a: ... a:*. He has been noted with frequent verbal noun *a:*, *ga:* (less common *ɣa:*), but with verbal cataphoric *a:* only, e.g.

verbal noun ... *agus, DHÁ, DHÁ ɣa: | ga: shníomh, ... ansin DHÁ a: shníomh,*

a:, ga:, ɣa: ... isteach DHÁ ga: chárdáil 01P (examples adjacent in discourse);

cataphoric *a:* *aon-nduine DHÁ a: bhfuil beo agus DHÁ a: bhfuil imí ... 01P.*

Without further collation of his examples (i.e. prepositional, abstract comparative without cataphoric *dhá*), one cannot tell whether this cataphoric verbal *a:*, which

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comes second in the abstract comparative syntax, is the trigger for the **α: ... α:** correlation:

α: ... α: *DHÁ α: laghad DHÁ α: thraibhleáil mé, 01P;*
DHÁ α: mheabhraí DHÁ α: choinic muid, 01P.

gə alternates with **gɑ:** where the locative force of the preposition is to the fore, i.e. ‘from all ...’, e.g.

(*bhain sé an t-airgead*) **gə rə a:n ~ gɑ: rə a:n** Mq *DHEA / DHÁ raibh ann.*

In the context of ‘of all ...’ (rather than ‘from all ...’) only **gɑ:** is permitted by Máire, e.g.

gɑ: wa:kə m'e r'íəw Mq *DHÁ bhfaca mé ariamh.*

dhe + a chéile > **gɑ: x'e:l'ə ~ gənə x'e:l'ə:**

gɑ: (usual traditional form): **ə wa:stu: gɑ: x'e:l'ə** M *i bhfastú DHÁ chéile;*

gənə (nontraditional): **wa:stu: gənə x'e:l'ə** 69S1 *i bhfastú DHENA chéile.*

{**dhe + é* object pronoun + verbal noun} > **gən e:**. This is one interpretation speakers offer in query of sentences such as:

na d'i:n d'ærəməd gən e: la:sə Mq, 45Bq

ná déan dearmad DHEN é a lasadh

(although ... *dearmad ar é ...* is Máire’s own use). Speakers offer a different interpretation which corresponds to the historical usage: that the preposition *gan* is present here, although pleonastic. Cp. *dearmad ... gan an lampa a bheith lasta Clad9; dearmad gan a thíocht*, etc.; *nach ndéanfaidh aon fhaillí gan é a thabhairt Clad163, Ní dhéanann sé aon fhaillí le haimsir gan greim a fháil Clad205–6*, also *Clad167, 240*.

Note the use of **gɑ:** *dhá* for more usual **gə** *dhe* in:

d'aul n'ervəs na kid'ə gɑ: n'er-v'əs 85M

deabhal neiorbhas [< nervous] *ná cuide DHÁ neiorbheas* [< nervous].

7.19 Prepositional pronoun

II

	Singular	Plural
1	d'i:m, ɣi:m	d'i:n', jɪn', ɣi:n'
2	d'it, ɣit	d'ib'
3m	d'e, d'i, d'ə	d'ib, d'ihəb, d'iw, ɣib, (d'ib')
f	d'i, d'e, d'ihə, d'ihə, <i>duithe</i> ⇒ *dihə	

Initial **d'-** alternates with **j-** generally; less frequently the initial consonant is elided, i.e. **d' - ~ j- >> Ø-**.

Examples by grammatical person

1sg d'- **van' jə 'kra:k'ən d'i:əm** 46.209 *bhain sé an craiceann DÍOM;*
(bain an cloigeann) d'i:m 00T.

j- **d'iarhə tu ji:m ...** M *D'fhiathraigh tú DHÍOM ...*

Ø- **ta m'e 'sə:st er' 'e: ə ,xir' i:m** | !894C *tá mé sásta ar é a chuir DHÍOM.*

ɣ- In Loch Con Aortha and speaker 894C9, a native of Glinsce (7.20).

2sg d'- **bæn' d'it e** M *bain DÍOT é!*

- j- (*bhain tú*) *DHIOT* **ji:t** (*do chuid éadaigh*) 72Nq.
 y- In Loch Con Aortha and speaker 894C9 (from Glinsce), e.g.
 ... **gə́ v̄ iərho:ɔ̄ ʃiəd ʏi:t** | 36N ... *go bhfiathródh siad* *DHAOT*.
- 3m **d' e** 00T, 11C, 21Pt, je 14M, M, je 04B; **d' i** SM, P; **ji** 04B, 21Pt; **jə** 03V.
d' - d' e **wə:n' ʃe: d' e he** 17M *bhain sé DE é;*
níor chuala mise ariamh DE a' r' iəv d' e ach cupla focal 11C;
 ... **ə'wə:n' d' e ... ʏa: xi: d' e** | 21Pt
 ... *cheann amháin DE ... dhá chaoi DE;*
bri:n' d' e ʎ e no:l 897P *braon DE le n-ól;*
ti: mu d' e ʃin' 897P *taobh amuigh DE sin.*
- Note Bene **kid' ə d' e** 897P *cuide DE* (consistently). This common phrase has been heard from the vast majority of other speakers regularly as **kid' ə je / ji** (i.e. lenited initial) and **kid' ə ʏo: / do:**. See discussion of inflected *dhe / dho* below (7.22).
- d' i** **'r' i: xaur' x' a: n' d' i** | 21Pt *rí-chorrcheann DE;*
wə:n' m' e d' ih e M *bhain mé DE é.*
- d' ə** **d' iər hə ... o:ləʃ d' ə** 898P *d' fhiathraigh ... eolas DE.*
d' ə **rin' ə ʃe hol kəm hæ:lkəm d' ə** Mq *rinne sé holcam halcam DE.*
- j- **je** **ʎ e x' e: l' ə je** 03V *le chéile DHE;*
kid' ə je ʃo ... 15W *cuide DHE seo ... ;*
wə:stərt' go je M *a bhastaird gabh DHE!*
rud e l' ə je 36P *rud eile DHE;* **p' i:sə je** 36P *píosa DHE;*
 ... **ə'n' t'il' ə'fə:n ə kir' je** | 04Br ... *an teileafón ag cuir DHE;*
gə́ ʎ' o:r je 36P (often) *go leor DHE.*
- Emphatic **jesən** 36P1 *DHESAN.*
- ji** **d' iər hə ʃe ji ʃin'** 898P *d' fhiathraigh sé DHE sin;*
v' i: ʃe xə ma: ʏum v' e ba:n't' 'p' i:sə 'ji P
bhí sé chomh maith dhom bheith ag baint píosa DHE;
kud' ə ji | 21Pt *cuide DHE;* **er xud' ə ji** | 21Pt *ar chuide DHE;*
d' im' ə kid' ə ji d' i M *d' imigh cuide DHE di;*
- jə** **f' iərhi: jə ... 03V** *fiathraí DHE*

3f **d' i**, **d' e**, **d' ihə**, **d' i:hə**, **duithe**

d' i generally; **d' e** from 897P and 899P only (both natives of Loch Con Aortha; unless these are to be taken as examples of masculine pronominal reference for feminine nouns; both speakers also have feminine **d' i**). Recall that the 3m has a minor variant **d' i**, so that 'confusion' could arise between the masculine and feminine, yielding minor 3f variant **d' e**.

jihə was recorded only in prepausa position from two speakers: 01C (Roisín na Mainchíoch) and 47Ps (Leitir hArd); and **d' ihə** from the latter's son 80M as well as from 20C (Maínis) and his grandson 79A. Speaker 01C also has **ji** (see examples below).

d' i:hə was recorded in prepausa position only, from 897P (Loch Con Aortha) only, who also has **d' i** and (prepausa) **d' e**, as noted above.

duithe was noted in *Bhain an fear an geall duithe*. 864MDT3 (Roisín na Mainchíoch), cp. **jihə** 01C (Roisín na Mainchíoch).

- 3f **d' - d' i** (*bhain sé an craiceann*) **d' i'** 46.209.
d' e ... *na holann agus ag díonamh snáithe* DI **d' e** | 897P;
í [i.e. móin] ... cruach DI **d' e** | 899P.
d' ihə 80M; **d' ihə ʃo** 20C, 20Cq *DITHI seo;*

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		d'ihə 79A (<i>bainte</i>) DITHI.
	d'ihə	du:xə:n' ə ji:n er' ə bortəx d'ihə 897P <i>dúcháin a dhíonamh ar an bportach DÍTHI.</i>
j-	ji	tí:w el'ə ji 897P <i>taobh eile DHI; to:r' ji he M tabhair DHI é!</i>
	jihə	gol' ga: ji:nə jihə 01C6030 <i>ag goil dhá dhéanamh DHITHI;</i> bant'ə jihə 01C6455 <i>bainte DHITHI;</i> xə:n tí:v jihə 47Ps <i>chaon taobh DHITHI.</i> Note 01C's examples of ji :
	ji	<i>cuide DHI dóite</i> ji do:t'ə 01C6672 (following in discourse ji ha:n 899D <i>dhi ann</i>). His prevocalic token is ambiguous as to jihə or ji with intrusive h : <i>thug sé DHI i jih ə mbun an driobaill é</i> 01C6452.
1pl	Ø- or d'-	xahə mid' in nə k'æ:əg's 899P <i>chaith muid DHÍNN na ceaigs.</i>
	j- jin'	<i>d'fhiathraigh DHINN sé céard d'iarə fe jin' ,kerd a bhí ...</i> 64M.
	y- yi:n'	<i>d'fhiathraigh sí DHAOINN yi:n'</i> 49JAB (mother from Ros Muc).

2pl d'i:b'

3pl d'i:b, d'ihəb, d'i:w, yi:b, (d'i:b')

d'i:w occurs in the petrified phrase with the copula, e.g.

d' d'i:w k'e: gar d'i:w hu: SM *cé dhár DÍOBH thú?*

j- ji:w ... *cé gá mbu DHÍOBH (dhú) é* 869P4.

d'ib is the commonest form: 898P, 11C, SM, e.g.

d'imigh na bramannaí DHÍOB ji:b | 11C;

tí: mi d'ib er' ə ... 21Pt *taobh amuigh DÍOB ar an ...* .

d'ihəb ~ **jihəb** is used by a minority of speakers (note the absence of *d'/ji:həw, *d'/ji:hu:):

866E *dhíothab* [4/4] Semr, also **ji:b** 866Et;

894C *dhíothab* [x1], *dhíob* mostly, *dhíobh* [x2(+)] 894C2;

05M **ji:b** ~ **jihəb**, e.g. *ní raibh aon ghratha a'm dhíothab ji:həb* ;

10B **d'ihəb** ; 16B **j/d'ib** ~ **j/d'ihəb**.

It is characteristic of clann Mhacáí 'ac Con Iomaire of An Coillín:

869P, e.g. (*bhain sé an craiceann*) **d'ihəb** 46.209; also **bə:n' u: ji:b baineadh dhíobh** [é] 46 s.v. *bainim, díob* 869P2; but **ji:b** only was noted from his daughters 04Br, 15W;

875T1 (brother of 869P) has *dhíothab* (x3+), also *dhíob héin* (x1); also **ji:həb** noted from 875T's sons 11J, 20T, 25M.

yi:b was noted from Seán: **yi:b** << **ji:b** 12S.

ji:b' was noted in query only: *bain ... éadaí dhe ...* in 3pl **ji:b'** ~ **d'ib** 69S. This speaker has **do:b'** (< 3pl *dho*) in conversation in this (*dhe*) meaning. It seems the palatal **-b'** of his conversational usage has influenced his optional **-b'** in reply to query.

7.20 Initial **yi(:)- dhao-** 1 and 2sg, 3pl; **dui-** 3f

1 and 2 person singular, **yi:m**, **yi:t**, have been heard almost exclusively in the Loch Con Aortha area, where speakers with these forms have 3m **yo:** *dhó* (historically *dhó* has spread from the *dho* paradigm). Use in Glinsce is indicated by the folklore transcriptions: *taoi' muigh dhaoim* 894C9; *taoi' thiar dhaoit héin* 894C9 which represent **yi:m** and **yi:t** respectively (*-aoi-* here probably indicates **i**: and not palatal *-m*, *-t*). Speaker 49J (Aill na Brón), whose mother is from Ros Muc, has *d'fhiathraigh se dhaoim yi:m* 49J. The 3pl form **yi:b** is perhaps more widespread but is recorded in my notes only as a lesser variant from Seán (12S of Carna). It is noteworthy that no corresponding variants with unlenited nonpalatal

d- were noted from primary sources in Iorras Aithneach. (Cf. GCF §302, especially n. 1, where it seems **ɣ-** forms are most frequent, and **d-** least frequent). Unlenited nonpalatal **d-** is, however, indicated in 3f *Bhain an fear an geall duithe*. **864MDT3** (Roisín na Mainchíoch).

7.21 Alternation of initial **d'** ~ **j**

Initial **d'** frequently alternates with initial **j** in these prepositional pronouns. Alternation occurs frequently in the same environment, even in the same short discourse.

	Context (phone preceding <i>d(h)-</i>) and initial	
1sg	V j ... d'	- d' iər hə tu ji:m ... M <i>D'fhiathraigh tú DHÍOM ...</i> - hæ S <i>Hea?</i> - d' iər hə tu d'i:m M <i>D'fhiathraigh tú DÍOM.</i>
3m	V d' ... j	b'e:d'ər' gə d'ukət ʃe d'i gə d'ukət ʃe ji M <i>b'fhéidir go dtíochadh sé DE, go dtíochadh sé DHE.</i> - tə:r ʃæ: t'il'ə d'i M <i>Tabhair leat tuilleadh DE.</i> - hə BóC <i>Hu?</i> - tə:r ʃæ:t t'il'ə ji M <i>Tabhair leat tuilleadh DHE.</i>
	V j ... d'	... t'il'ə ji wul tu g'iərə t'il'ə d'i M ... <i>tuilleadh DHE, an bhfuil tú ag iarraidh tuilleadh DE?</i>
3m ... 3f j ... d'		d'im'ə kid'ə ji d'i M <i>d'imigh cuide DHE DI.</i>
3m	r d' ... d'	- kir' d'ih ən M <i>Cuir DE an —.</i>
	... j	- hə 45B <i>Hu?</i> - kir' d'ih ən t'umblər drai.ər kur' jeh e M <i>Cuir DE an tiumblar-draidhear, cuir DHE é!</i>
3f	V d' ... j	ta ʃe wa:stur d'i ta ʃe wa:stur ji M <i>Tá sé i bhfastú DI, tá sé i bhfastú DHI.</i>

From these examples no contextual constraints are obvious but see the joint discussion of inflected forms of *dhe / dho* in 7.32.

7.22 Replacement by inflected *dho*

Depletion of inflected forms of *dhe* is in progress, in favour of the corresponding forms of *dho*. There is evidence for conditioning according to age of speaker, grammatical person, and lexical item or collocation. Age is a major factor. Speaker **12S** (Seán), for example, is slightly more conservative than **16M** (Máire) in his usage as exemplified in the following exchange:

-**ga ʋ iər**hə **də: e** M *Dhá bhfiathrá DÓ é*
-**d' iər**hə **m'e ɣə: ...** BóC *D'fhiathraigh mé DHÓ ...*
-**k'ər d' iər**hə **tur ji** S *Céard a d'fhiathraigh tú DHE?*

There is also a clear contrast between the brothers **55Sq** and **72Nq** whose examples are shown in Table 7.6 below. In the collocation *bain ... dhe*, in the younger brother's material only 1st and 2nd singular are distinct from the *dho* paradigm whereas the elder brother has *dhe* forms in 1st (and no doubt 2nd) singular and in the 3 masculine and 1 plural.

Speaker **32Jt**, from Maínis, has what is a high proportion, for his age-group, of inflected *dho* (with *dhe* meaning); his frequent initial **d-**, rather than **ɣ-**, is also a progressive indicator, e.g.

gə ʌ ɔ:r də du:n't'ə | go leor DÓ dúinte; **o: huə dər** ó *thuaidh DÓ;*
ʌ ik' dər: *leic DÓ;* **ti: hiər dər ʃin'** *taobh thiar DÓ sin;*
kid'ə dər: *cuide DÓ;* **ti: mu ... dər | taobh amuigh ... DÓ.**

With regard to conditioning according to person, 1sg *dhom*, for example, is implicational more common than 2sg *dhuit* (for *dhíom* and *dhíot* respectively). This is seen in the alternation in:

e:ðəx ə wəːnˈ dʲi:t, ɣumsə wɪlʲəs æd 23M

éadach a bhaint DÍOT — *DHOMSA an bhfuil fhios a'd?* ‘... off you — off me’.

Not all persons may alternate in a given collocation. For instance, 1sg (*dho* ~ *dhe*) vs. 2sg, 3m (*dho*) in:

fuair sé caidéis ɣum / ɣutˈ / ɣo: Mq;

fuair sé caidéis ji:m Mperm / jɪ:t M??perm / dʲi M?perm.

Certain collocations seem to preserve *dhe* forms better than others, e.g. *cas dhe* ‘turn off’ retains *dhe* even in some of our youngest speakers, e.g.

xəːsə je | 72C chasadh DHE, gəː kəːsə dʲe 78Rb dhá casadh DE.

(Cf. **60M1**, **78Rb** below.) There is alternation in the following exchange:

- ... **xəsə je 43M** ... *chasadh DHE?*

-hə S Hu?

-wɪlˈ tu gʲ iər e xəsə ˈɣo: | ʃelʲəvʲiʃən ə xəsə ɣo: | ... xəsə ɣo: wəːmə

43M ‘*Bhfuil tú ag iarraidh é a chasadh DHÓ, an teilbhisean a chasadh*

DHÓ? ... chasadh DHÓ, a Mhama?

-təː mʲe gʲ iər e xəsə ɣo: | mar ... M Tá mé ag iarraidh é a chasadh DHÓ,

mar ...

With *ceap* ... *dhe* ‘think something of someone, imagine’, for example, in most persons *dhe*-based forms can occur; in the third person, however, only *d(h)ó* has been recorded, e.g. *Ní cheapthá dhó e 62S*. Similarly, **25T**’s form **ti:v əːmu ɣo: ʃinˈ taobh amuigh dhó sin** meaning ‘apart from that’ is typical for this nonlocative idiom; note that **25T** uses **dʲe** elsewhere, e.g. **em xəːntˈ ... dʲe aon chaint ... de**. The construction *fiathraigh dhe* seems to be more progressive, for example, than *bain dhe*. In Máire’s speech inflected *dho* for *dhe* was noted mostly with *fiathraigh*. Some older speakers use inflected *dhe* regularly with *fiathraigh*: **869P2-5**; **894B1** (x2); **894C2**; **898P1**, 2 (x4); **03V** (x2), (cp. **12S** (= S) above). Such speakers generally also use *dhe* elsewhere. Two older speakers noted with historically regular *dhe* usage in general are **898P1**, 2, **00T**. One younger speaker was noted with inflected *dho* only for *dhe*: **78B** (**ɣo:**, **ɣo:bʲ**).

Table 7.6 contains all the compiled examples of *fiathraigh* with inflected *dho* and some other paradigms, as indicated, containing inflected *dho* (for *dhe*). (The numbers following forms cited from **77Cq** indicate the order of production.)

Further examples:

47L (*cuid*) ... **ɣo:**; **bantʲ ə ɣo bainte DHÓ**; (fifty per cent) **ɣoː**;

gəː lˈo:r ɣoː, go leor DHÓ; 3pl **dʲi:b**.

56T **kidʲ əs mu: do:** (*an cuid is mó DÓ*).

60M1 cf. Table 7.6 and note ‘turn off’ in:

kirˈ ɣo: e fo | kas jeh e | girˈ ə ... je ...

cuir DHÓ é seo, cas DHE é, an gcuirthidh ... DHE ... ?

69S1 3m **ti:v ... klʲe: ɣo | ... mʲi:xʲært do:** *taobh clé DHÓ, ... mícheart DÓ*;

3pl **wanˈhə: ... do:bʲ bhaintheá ... logáin DÓIB, ... do:bʲ (baint) cloigeann ...**

DÓIB. In query 3pl *bain* ... *éadaí ji:bʲ / dʲi:bʲ*.

71D1 3m **lˈæ: ɣo:** (x2) *leath DHÓ*.

Table 7.6 Inflected *dho* in historical *fiathraigh dhe*, etc.; speakers 04B – 77C

Speaker	also	Sg 1	2	3m	Pl 1	2	3
04B5							d' iærhə ʃe, ɣo:b',
04Br		f' iærɯ: ɣumsə		d' iærə m' iʃə ɣo:			
10B1				d' iærhə ... ɣo(i) x4			
16M				d' iærhə m' e do'			
				f' iærhə: m' e ɣo: ə'n' iʃ x2			
30Ms		d' iærhə ʃe ɣum					
35E1				d' iærhi:dər ɣo:			d' iærhi:dər ɣo:b'
51P1				d' iær'hə m' e do: x2			
55Sq				d' iærə m' e ɣo' / jɪ			
	<i>bain</i>	ji:m		je	ji:n'		
60M1	<i>bain</i>	ɣum		ɣo' ~ ɣo: x2, p' i:sə mo:r			
	<i>tóig</i>			ɣo: x3, wa:n't' ... ɣo: x1			
66Lq		iærhi: ji:m	... ɣut'	... ɣo:	... d' i:n'	... d' i:b'	... d' i:b
66N		dum x2, d' i:m x1		gr' æ'mi:hə do <i>greamaíthe dó</i>			ə kur do:nb' <i>ag cur dóib.</i> 'speaking'
72C		na f' iær um ná fiathr(aigh)					
72N		f' iæri: ɣu'm...					
72Nq	<i>bain</i>	ji:m	jit	ɣo:	ɣi:n'	ji:b'	ɣo:b'
73P				d' iærə m' e ɣo,			ja:rə ɣo:b' <i>ghearradh dhóib</i>
77Cq		dum 5	ɣut' ^f	ɣo: l	di:n' 4	d' i:b' 3	do:b' 2

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78Rb 3m **gʷ ka'sə d'ε dhá casadh DE** 'turning off',
but **f'i:ŋ ʷo'** (x2) *tinn DHÓ, ə xud' əs mu: dɔ:* | *an chuid is mó DÓ.*
1pl **d'i:nu: ʷa: l'æ: ʷu:n'** *déanadh dhá leath DHÚINN.*
3pl **d'intə dɔ:b' f'in'** *déanta DÓIB sin.*

For an example of change in the opposite direction, i.e. the extension of the paradigm of *dhe* into inflected *dho*, note speaker **66N**'s 3pl **d'i:b** for traditional **dɔ:b'** (7.30).

7.23 *dho*

I

A **də, ʷə** in limited contexts **ə**, also absent, i.e. \emptyset , *dho*^L; before vowels **g' dh'** (**ʷ** also expected but not (yet) noted).

B **gə**, *dho*^L; before vowels **g dh'** >> **gə dho**.

Similar to homophonous **gə dhe**, the simple preposition **gə dho** has some obsolete and obsolescent variants, classified under A. Productive forms in B are used by most speakers born in the twentieth century.

For an example of *dho*^L (and possibly *dhon*) for traditional *go*^H, see *go* (7.41).

7.24 Obsolete and obsolescent (A)

The obsolescent forms of *dho* and *dhe* suggest that three or four by-forms, **də, ʷə, ə, \emptyset** , were once conditioned similar to the prepositional pronoun alternations, e.g. 1sg **dum, ʷum, um** *d(h)om* (7.31 ff.).

də

There is an example of **də do** in SID.46, and also of **d(ə) dhe**. It may be a regressive variable in the oldest speakers, but we must recall that the evidence in the text in SID.46.I (and ZCP where **də do** is common) is defective (1.419):

ə tur't ar' ə də xi:r' ə 46.I.12 *ag tabhairt aire DO chaoirigh;*
dən f'ir' 46.II.4d *DON tír.*

Note that **gə** is the general form in SID.46, including 46.I and **gə** is all but categorical in speaker **869P**'s audio recordings. But **də** is audible from the same speaker in:

ā:nī.ān l'ej | um' p'ē:n' ugəs | də mō wā:f't'ər' | 869PSgbf
anlann leis dhom héin agus DO mo mháistir;
| hugə 'l'æ:t ugəs 'i'n'əf' | dən 'ri: e' | 869PSgbf
Huga leat agus innis DON rí é!

Both examples follow *s* which historically delenites *dh-* (although pausa comes between *s* and *d-* here). Similarly, **də** is certainly present following *s* in the exhortation noted in:

dhá mharú ... gan cead a thabhairt dó 'M'anam dho Dhia is DO Mhuire'
mānəm ə jiə s də wir' ə a rá. 11C5668.

(Speaker **11C** has **gə** elsewhere.) The compound preposition *dho léar* (7.109) has a by-form **də l'e:r'** **13J**.

ʷə

ʷə is regressive and rare. Speaker **852S** in his short recording has general **gə** in functors *dhe, dho, go* but there are one or two tokens of **ʷə dho** in a disfluent passage:

... kũnə | ʲə | ə 'mɔr 'ɣu:n'ɛ | ɛr ʲɛ:ə | mid' | ə ʲɛ: | ɣə 'mĩ:ʃɛ' ə ɣa:
'dɔ:rʲ əs 'ɛ:r'əɴ | əs 'ɛ:ʧip'ʲ ɣə | ə ə ɣəɴ 't'ir ʃɔ' | 852S

... *cúnamh mór dhúinne le muid, DHO Maoise, dhá dtabhairt as Éirinn*, [self-corrected to] *as Éijipt dhon tír seo*.

In SID.46 (speaker **869P**) ɣə is found with the article in a proverb:

nuər' əs kruə ɣəɴ kal'əx (or əɴ xal'əx) ... 46.VIII.5

nuair is cruu DHON c(h)ailleach ... ;

and ɣo (i.e. /ɣə/) in the defective evidence from the text 46.I in:

ɛ: ɣoɫə ɣo nĩ'ek'i:n' 46.I *é mholadh DHO aon-nduine eicín* (the transcription follows SID here).

In summary, three examples from speaker **869P** and SID.46 of ɣə ɣo (as prepositions *dhe* and *dho*) occur postvocally, another following *r*. Speaker **869P** also has apparent ɣə sometimes in the subordinate conjunction *go*.

Speaker **894C** has ɣə generally (and ɣ- in other functors; also *dhe*, 7.14):

s ɣor'ə ɣə ... **894C** *is goire DHO ...* ;

ha:n'əɣ' ʃi: | ɣə rə'ʲi:ʲ | ɣə nə di:n'ɪ' | **894C**

tháinig sí dhe reilbh DHO na daoine;

nu x'ə:n' ə ɣuər'ə:m' ɣə ʲɛ:r' də huər'ə:m' | **!894C**

Nó, a Sheáin a Guairim, DHO léir do thuairim (cp. 7.109);

but also ɣə (perhaps due to sandhi following *n*):

n'ir wə:n' ʃɛ ʃi"ŋ ɣə f'e:l'ə:m' **894C** *níor bhain sé sin DHO Féilim*.

An instance of ɣə from a younger speaker may represent a continuation of the older form or may result from a later phonetic lenition of ɣə:

da:r'lɔx 'tædə ɣə 'ɛ:nin' əkəb | **72N** *dtarlódh tada DHO aon-nduine acub*.

The limited use of ə *dho*, historically via the form ɣə, is described in 7.25.

7.25 'o, Ø, dh' (A)

ə 'o occurs in the phrase which also contains obsolescent də cited in 7.24:

mānəm ə ʃiə s də wir'ə **11C**5668 *M'anam DHO Dhia is do Mhuire*.

With the article ɣəɴ *dhon* is general; in some set collocations əɴ occurs, here arbitrarily parsed as ə + əɴ.

əɴ nuər' əs kruə ɣəɴ kal'əx (or əɴ xal'əx) ... (proverb) 46.VIII.5

nuair is cruu DHON c(h)ailleach

d'ɛr ʃiəd ɣərəs umu: rud əs f'ek'ər əɴ d'i:wĩ:n' əs S

deir siad gur is iomú rud is feicthear DHON díomhaoineas.

t'eg'ɪ' əɴ d'aul M téigí DHON deabhal!

t'eg'ɪ' əɴ d'u:n əs əɴ d'aul Mq téigí DHON deamhan is DHON deabhal!

Máire is unable to analyse the əɴ of the last two examples but knows it is equivalent to d'ɪ: d'aul' Mq *dtigh deabhail!* Here əɴ (< *dhon*) is homophonous with the preposition əɴ *un* but the latter can be differentiated in that it requires the genitive case (this genitive with *un* is generally realised in petrified phrases).

Ø

dho > Ø: in the phrase *níos goire dho bhaile* one also hears *níos goire abhaile*, containing the adverb *abhaile*, e.g.

níos goire 'bhaile dhó héin **894C2**;

n'is gor'ə gə wal'ə ~ ... gor'ə wal'ə S níos goire DHO bhaile / abhaile.¹

g' dh'

Preceding front vowels, **g'** occurs (facultatively), noted before certain lexical items (*fear*, *aon*) in some of the older generation (**11C** is youngest speaker):

fear **g'ær** a:rən [n ?] **892Mg** DH'fhear Ára(i)nn;
 g'ær ə b'í **898P2** DH'fhear ar bith;
 g'ær ə v'í: xə ... **04B5** DH'fhear a bhí chomh ... ;
 v'í fe nā'ŋ' 'g'ær ə ,b'ih akəb **11C**
 bhí sé i ndan DH'fhear ar bith acub.
aon nduine **g'e:nin'ə r'íəw** | **04B5** DH'aon nduine ariamh.

7.26 Productive (B)

gə is the almost universal realisation, for example, in SID.46: **gə**n 46.262 *dhon*.

Preceding a vowel **g** is regular, e.g.

gair **13P** DH'fhear; **gi:n't'ən' m'fā:** !(Abtm)**11C** DH'intinn mná.

However, **gə** before a vowel is not rare in the older generation, e.g.

həg fè **gə** ar d'e:r'k' ə, 46.312 *thug sé DHO fhear déirce é;*
gati: ogəs **gə** a:ru:r **05M** dh'fhataí agus DHO arbhar (perhaps *dhe*);
 ... **gə** æ:ntən'ə [x2] M ... DHO Antaine.

Prevoicalic **gə** becomes far more common in later generations.

7.27 dho + a > dhá, dhona, etc.; (a) Possessive

The preposition **gə** *dho* combines (as does *dhe*) with particles in *a* yielding:

γa: , ga: , a: , gə nə, gə	{	(a) possessive (also 6.35);
		(b) verbal noun particle <i>a</i> ^L ;
gə n		(c) verbal noun syntax in other positions

The vowel **a:** in *dhá* is often shortened (**a'**, **a**).

(a) *dho* + *a* possessive pronoun > **γa:**, **gə**, **gə**nə .

The general form is **γa:** *dhá*, e.g.

γa: wā:hər' DHÁ mháthair (3m); ... *aon áit* ... GÁ leath. **869P2** (3pl).

The forms **gə** and **gə**nə appear where the possessive function is weakened.

dho + *a* + indefinite pronoun > **gə**:

... *go leanann sé GO ' bheag nú ' mhór báistí a dhiana* ... **869P4** (i.e. *go leanann sé dho a bheag* ...);
 ... *GO ' lán níthe* **869P5**;

n'ir wæ:n' m'ε **gə** ə l'ehəd'ə **gə** rud Mq
níor bhain mé DHO a leithide dhe rud.

See also 7.29 below for {*dho* + possessive *a*} yielding **gə**nə with the verbal noun.

Examples of {*dho* + cataphoric *a*^N} > *dhá* occur in:

D'inis sé héin amach ansin thríd síos agus thríd suas DHÁ ro' sa teach
852SbTS134;

b'æ'nəx **γa:** n'æ:xə **γa:** dr' o:ru: !(MP)**894Cs**
beannacht DHÁ ndeachaigh dhá dtreorú.

¹ Perhaps *dho* > ∅ with lack of lenition in the rapidly spoken:

n'í v'ex ə w'æ: tæ'd a'n | **892M1398** ní bheadh aon mhaith (*dho*) tada ann.

7.28 (b) Verbal Noun

(b) *dho* + *a*^L + verbal noun > **ga:**, **a:**, **gə**, **gəṅə**, also (without *dho*) **ə**, **Ø**.

ga: With *a bheith*:

i ngar go leor GÁ bheith 866ESemr.56; an-ghar GÁ bheith 869P2;
gar GÁ bheith [x2] 894C2, 894C9;

ta'je gar ga' v'e re: *M tá sé gar DHÁ bheith réidh;*

l'ex'e:d slat: ga v'e kr'ia:ni:hə 20A

leithchéad slat DHÁ bheith críochnáithe.

With *a ghoil*:

Níor chuir aoin fhear ... suas GÁ ghoil 7 é héin a thr[a]íáil ... 869P2.

a: **v'i: n | 'bá:d ə ɲar a' v'e er' 'ha'lhə 01C6944**

bhí an báid i ngar DHÁ bheith ar thalamh.

gəṅə (With linking *n*; cf. *n* + vowel, 9.145).

ə wu:fk'əxt ə | k'e:d slat: ... gəṅə v'e eg' ə t'a:x lo:ft'i:n' | 19P1

i bhfoisceacht céad slat ... DHONA bheith ag an teach lóistín.

v'i: m'e gar gə ma: gəṅə v'e kir' ə ma:x M

bhí mé gar go maith DHONA bheith ag cuir amach.

xuə f'i: 'a:ɲ'ɣar' gəṅə ɣol' ser' 60M *bhí sé an-ghar DHONA ghoil soir.*

'a:ɲ'ɣar gəṅə v'e 60M *an-ghar DHONA bheith.*

gə **ə 'ɲa:r go v'e 'a:s 46.407** *i ngar DHO bheith as;*

ɲar gə v'e ... 19P *i ngar DHO bheith*

ə *i ngar A bheith 852S2, 866ESemr.50; ɲar ə v'e ... M i ngar A bheith ... ;*

gar A bheith 869P2;

go raibh siad an-ghar A bheith chomh maith leothú héin. 21J.

Ø **ɲar v'e ... 19P** *i ngar bheith*

This list reveals some individual variation:

46, 869P	ga: ~ gə ~ ə ;
16M	ga: ~ gəṅə ~ ə ;
19P	gə ~ gəṅə ~ Ø ;
60M	gəṅə .

7.29 (c) Personal pronoun

(c) *dho* + personal pronoun + *a*^L + verbal noun > **gəṅ** .

dho + *é* + *a*^L + verbal noun > **gəṅ** :

'a:n'ɣar gəṅ e: ə ɣortu: gə ma: *M an-ghar DHON é a ghortú go maith;*

xuə mid' 'a:ɲ'ɣar gəṅ e: v'e la:st æn' M

chuaigh muid an-ghar DHON é bheith lasta a'inn;

gar gəṅ e' wa:ru: *M gar DHON é a mharú.*

In the syntax {*dho* + *a* (possessive) + noun + *a* + verbal noun} surface **gəṅə** can be ambiguous, i.e. it can be interpreted as *dho-n-a* or as *gan a*. The preposition *gan* can make sense here since it functions as the negative particle with verbal nouns. Whatever the interpretation, **gəṅə** occurs with possessive *a* in:

Chuaigh sí i bhfoisceacht steoid DHON / GAN a gəṅə muineál a bhriseadh M.

So also **gəṅ** with the pronoun *mé* in:

Chuaigh me i bhfoisceacht steoid DHON / GAN gəṅ mé mharú M.

The ambiguity seems evident in a revealing spelling in one of Máire's letters:

*sách*¹ *gar* GON *bleedáil to Death* Mlt ‘close enough to bleeding to death’.

This spelling appears to be a compromise between *gan* and *don*. Note that *gon* occurs here directly before the verbal noun. It seems *gar dhon é leagan*, for example, has developed to *gar dhon mé leagan* and further in intransitive use to *gar *dhon titim*. In reply to query, speaker 27Md (who is considerably more literate than average) permitted:

... *sách gar* GAN **gən** *siúl suas go dtí é ... sách gar* GAN **gən** *rith abhaile uaidh ... sách gar* GAN **gən** *fiathrú dhó cé raibh sé* 27Mdperm.

Asked to spell this **gən**, speaker 27Md offered *gon* and then *gan*. This usage of **gən**, meaning *dho*, directly before the verbal noun has yet to be noted from spontaneous speech.

There is a further ambiguous instance of **gən** before the pronoun *é* found in the idiomatic copula construction exemplified in:

ní ól GAN *é* Clad17,

Ní gr’i:m’ gən e: Mperm *ní greim* DHON / GAN *é*.

Here *gan* suits semantically but the construction resembles the use of *go dtí* as in *ní ól go dtí é; ní ánró, ná badráil go dtí é*. 31P. Only *go dtí* is found in this idiom in FGB s.v. *dtí* 2; also *ní ... go dtí é* was noted in FFG24. This would suggest that one might argue that **gən e:** here may contain a form of the preposition **gə** *go* (7.40).

7.30 Prepositional pronoun

II

	Singular	Plural
1	dum, du:m	du:n’, din’
2	dit’	d’i:v’, d’i:b’, yi:b’
3m	do:	A do:b’, (do:b); B d’i:b
f	d’i, d’ihə	

Initial **d-** alternates with **y-** and is commonly elided, i.e. Ø; initial **d’-** alternates with **j-**. For possible **did’**, see 7.94. 3m often **do yə o** with vowel height of long **o:**. The rare forms *duithe* 864MDT3 (Roisín na Mainchíoch) and **d’i:hə** 897P (Loch Con Aortha), attested for the 3f of *dhe* only, were or are presumably also used for the 3f of *dho*.

Examples by grammatical person

(Note in particular the Ø-initial tokens following vowels and see the discussion below, 7.32–7.36.)

	Initial	Context (phone preceding <i>d(h)-</i>)
1sg	d-	n’ ə n’iənhə: e: ʃm’ dəm 46.243 <i>an ndéanthá é sin</i> DOM?
		s bə:kəs dum 21Pt (x2) <i>b’fhacthas</i> DOM;
		s tæ:bl’əʃs dum ən’ʃin’ 21Pt (x2) <i>teablits</i> DOM <i>ansin</i> .
Emphatic	V	mə: yə:lən tu: dumsə 46.1.26 <i>má mholann tú</i> DOMSA;
	y-	ə v’e yum ... 21Pt <i>a bheith</i> DHOM;
	V	... ma yum ə rə 21Pt <i>... maith</i> DHOM <i>a rá</i> ;
	V	nar i:nʃə tu yum 21Pt <i>nar insigh tú</i> DHOM.

¹ Spelt *sathach* (for *sáthach*) in the original letter but pronounced **səx**, corresponding to present standard FGB *sách*.

- Ø- n' xa:ʃi: 'kupa:n' 'um 897P *chaith sí cupáin DHOM*;
 f na to:r' L'æ: nə fi:xən ə'n'if' um M
ná tabhair leath na faochan anois DHOM;
 r' L'et'ər' um a:n 21Pt *leitir DHOM ann*;
 t | bhí sé i ndán an scéal a inseacht DHOM mar 'i:nfəxt | ,um mar'
d'inseoinn héin ar maidin. 01C6966, with pause due to hesitation;
 V ha:rləʃe um-p' fie:n' 25M2 *tharla sé DHOM héin*.

Unstressed tokens with ə :

- ɣ- ɣəm 64M;
 x 'sʰa:n də 'h:a:x ɣəm 46.291 *spáin do theach DHOM*!
 x fkr'iv L'etr'əx [ʲ ?]əm 21Pt *ag scríobh leitreach DHOM*.
 Ø- r f'ek'ərəm 897P *feictheas DHOM*;
 r | ʌɪf ɡə m'iar əm ε M *fuits go mb'fhíor DHOM é*;
 r hug ʃe tr'ausərəm ə wa:nəm P *thug sé treabhsar DHOM a mh'anam*.

Further reduced to ɱ :

- Ø- V tá sé chomh maith DHOM a rá gur ... ɱ ə ra: ɡər ... 11C,

dum ~ **du:m** in some of our oldest speakers (cp. *liom*, 7.64):

- d- SID.46: dəm 243, dumsə I.26, (in context above).
 ɣ- V SID.46: ,n'ir 'in'if'ə ɣu:m k'er 'ba:s è, 942
níor inis sé DHOM cérb as é.
 897S1 dum ~ du:m.
 889N1 du:msə.
 00T du:m' p'e:n' DOM *héin*.

- 2sg d- d ə rud dit' 21Pt *a rud DUIT*;
 t bə x'æ:rt dit' 21Pt *ba cheart DUIT*.
 ɣ- s t'urhə m'e: f'əs ɣit' er əxil'ə ho:rt 46.I.27
túirthaidh mé fíos DHUIT ar achuille shórt;
 V kas-f' i: ɣit' ... 21Pt *casfí DHUIT ...* ;
 V ... wa: ɣit' a:n | 21Pt *aon mhaith DHUIT ann*.
 Emphatic V ... m'if'ə ɣuf'ə ... 21Pt ... *mise DHUITSE ...* .
 Ø- r nar wo:r ut' k'ial ə v'eh æ:d P *nar mhór DHUIT ciall a bheith a'd*;
 r N'ir L'er ut də lā:v M *níor léar DHUIT do láimh*;
 s l'e kur ʃis it' | 21Pt *le cur síos DHUIT*;
 k' sə m'æ:ŋk' it' e P *sa mbeainc DHUIT é*;
 V tá cárt uisce ag gol achuille lá DHUIT *gol ə'xul'ə la' it' S*.
 Cp. 'do char' 'UIT fhéin 894C9 (= *i do chara dhuit héin* or perhaps *i do charaid héin*).

Vowel sometimes reduced to schwa, e.g.

- Ø- r ... aurdə:f'ər ət^(c) ... 21Pt ... *ordóifear DHUIT ...* .

- 3m d- s ... su:ntəs do: | 21Pt ... *suntas DÓ*;
 t ... bə x'æ:rt do: v'e | 21Pt ... *ba cheart DÓ bheith*;
 t' ... rud ək'i:n' 'do: | 21Pt ... *rud eicint DÓ*.
 ɣ- V ... su:ntəs ha:nə ɣo: | 21Pt ... *suntas cheana DHÓ*;
 ... eg'ə ɣo: 21Pt ... *aige DHÓ*;
 V *amhrán eile DHÓ ɣo: | 11C*.
 V wel' tūmā:s bir'e:d | bæ'n'əm' s bə slin' ə ɣo | 11C
Bhuel Tomás Bairéad b'ainm is ba sloinne DHÓ.
 Ø- n' mə ɣo:hən' o: ʃin' 43M *mo dhóthain DHÓ sin*;
 s ɡə wuər' m'e wais o: P *go bhfuair mé vaidheas [< wise] DHÓ*;
 r' ... ɡ obər' o: ... 21Pt ... *ag obair DHÓ ...* ;
 l ... ha:l o: ... 21Pt ... *thall DHÓ ...* ;

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	Í	ya: u:ŋkəl' o: hɑ:l ...	21Pt dhá uncaíl DHÓ thall ... ;
	x	ə'ma:x o: he:n' (Smds)	04B amach DHÓ féin;
	x	t'æ:x o: he:n' ...	21Pt teach DHÓ héin ... ;
	x'	rix' o: he:n'	21Pt ag rith DHÓ héin;
	k'	ʃt'æ:x er' ə l'ɪŋk' o: P	isteach ar an linc [< link] DHÓ;
		sə m'æ:ŋk' o:	21Pt sa mbeainc DHÓ.
	V	ə m'e:ɖ fo o: he:n'	13P an méid seo DHÓ héin;
	V	dɑ:s nə f'ia:klə fi: ɣo: o: M (x2)	d'fhás na fiacla faoi dhó DHÓ, perhaps in dissimilation.
	V	n'í:l' ē:n 'wā: o: 'kā:n' t'ʃi:l' əm'	11C níl aon mhaith DHÓ ag caint sílim.
3f	d'-	t'	ə ho:rt' d'í M a thabhairt DI.
	d'-	V	d'ihə fo 20C, 20Cq DI seo.
	j-	V	l'e truəi ji 21Pt le truaí DHI.
1pl	d-	l	du:n' n'í: kɑ:l du:n' ,n'í:s mu: 46.1046 ní call DÚINN níos mó;
		V	d'eir'í t'ím'p'íʃt'ē du:n' 46.1154 d'éirigh timpiste DÚINN;
			00T, 03V.
		du:n'	00T;
	r		vu:n' fè gɔ:l' o:r du.n' 46.736 mhúin sé go leor DÚINN;
	V	di:n'	ə ji:ənə di:n' , 46.244 a dhéanamh DUINN;
	t		bɔ' x'ɑ:rt d'í:n' ə g'iv' ē 46.793a ba cheart DUINNE guibhe;
			di:n' SID.46 s.v. do;
	n		v'í: fe ga i:nfən' ʃin di:n' M bhí sé dhá insean sin DUINN.
y-	yu:n'		894N, 00B, 21M, 36P1;
	V		... nə skol'ə yu:n' 21Pt un na scoile DHÚINN.
	V	yi:n'	kasu: yu:n' [sic] e S casadh DHUINN é;
	V		l'enə ji:nə yi:n' 18Bm85 lena dhéanamh DHUINN;
			yu:n' 18B85;
	l'		... Maidhcíl DHUINN maik'əl' yi:n' — go raibh ... 04Br;
	r		kol ku:g'ər yi:n' iəɖ ʃin' 04Br col cúigear DHUINN iad sin.
			SID.46 has three tokens of both variants; 869P's daughter, 04Br, has regular yi:n'.
2pl	d'-		d'í:b' 66N.
	j-	V	d'í:nt eg'ə ji:b' M déanta aige DHÍB.
		N'	ji:v' was noted once from 852S (one of our two oldest speakers) in quotation in a story: tá an-ómás againn DHÍBH ji:v' mar gheall air sin 852Stn.
y-	V		tɑ' fe 'spɑ:n't' ig'ə 'yi:b' əd'ər fe 892Mtn
			tá sé spáinte aige DHAOIB, a deir sé;
			gə dʊgə d'íə 'd'ɑ:ʃk' e:lə yi:b' (heard from a woman)
			go dtuga Dia deá-scéala DHAOIB;
			d'íə yi:b' Dia DHAOIB! (heard from male, c. 30 in 1985, near Carna and from teenager in 2003 in Carna).
3pl	d-	r	'gɔr do:ib' , 46.213 gar DÓIB; do:b' Sq, Mq;
		t	bə x'æ:rt d'o:b' 21Pt ba cheart DÓIB;
		s	... u:mə:s do:b' ɑ:n 21Pt ... ómós DÓIB ann;
	V		... f'ausu: do:ib' 21Pt ... feabhsú DÓIB;
	x		... ma:x do:b' 21Pt ... amach DÓIB.
y-	V		... gɔr'ə ɣo:b' 21Pt ... goire DHÓIB; æ:r'ə ɣo:ib' 21Pt aire DHÓIB;
	x		... d'ox ɣo:b' 21Pt ... deoch DHÓIB.
∅	n'		gə l'or jt' ʃin' o:b' 21Pt go leor dhi sin DHÓIB.
d'-	V		B d'í:b noted once in ə gɔl' gə ma' d'í:b 66N ag goil go maith DÍOB,

presumably nontraditional and based on the recessive *dhe* paradigm.
Cp. 66N's *dóib* (for *díob*) Table 7.6.
Cp. from my early notes: *Is minéar Dé dhíob* S, perhaps misheard for *dhíob*.

3pl **do:b** is found in my notes in **ə spa:n do:b** S *a spáint dób*; it was queried based on a variant in GCF §303 and is permitted by 12Sperm and 16Mperm.

7.31 Variable (d): alternation of d- ~ γ- ~ Ø; d'- ~ j-

As happens in the *dhe* paradigm, initial **d** (3f, 2pl **d'**) frequently alternates with **γ** (3f, 2pl **j**) in inflected *dho* even in the same environment in the same short discourse (all the examples are from Máire, except the last which is from her son):

Context and initial	
1sg	g Ø ... d - nax e: he:n' ə hug um iəd M <i>Nach é héin a thug DHOM iad.</i> ... Ø - hæ P - <i>Ha?</i> - nax e: he:n' ə hug dum iəd M ... <i>DOM</i> - hæ P - nax e: he:n' ə hug um iəd M ... <i>DHOM</i>
2sg	m Ø ... d - ta ru:n'i:n' rais his am it' M <i>Tá ruaimín raidheas [< rice] thíos a'm DHUIT.</i> - ha' S <i>Ha?</i> - ta ru:n'i:n' rais his am dit' M ... <i>DUIT</i>
3m	V d ... γ r in'əf tu do' ε r in'əf tu γo' e M <i>Ar innis tú DÓ é? Ar innis tú DHÓ é?</i>
3f	V j ... d' i:hə ʎe v'e ji ta i:hə ʎe v' d'i M <i>oíche le bheith DHI, tá oíche le bheith DI;</i> n'i:r hug ʎe ku:nə b'i ji ʎe f' ə gə:r ... ku:nə b'i d'i M <i>níor thug sé cúnamh ar bith DHI leis an gcarr níor thug sé cúnamh ar bith DI;</i> to:r' ær' ə ji hi to:r' ær' ə d'i M <i>tabhair aire DHI hi! [laugh] tabhair aire DI;</i> hug ʎe iʎk' ə ji hug ʎe iʎk' ə d'i gəs hug ʎe f'e:r d'i M <i>thug sé uisce DHI — thug sé uisce DI agus thug sé féar DI;</i> v'i: ʎe xə ma: ji im'əxt v'i: ʎe xə ma: d'i im'əxt M <i>bhí sé chomh maith DHI imeacht, bhí sé chomh maith DI imeacht an dtuigeann tú?</i>
	ʎ d' ... j v'i: ʎe goL' d'i mar v'i: ʎe goL' ji 52J <i>bhí sé ag goil DI mar bhí sé ag goil DHI.</i>

7.32 Use of variable (d): d(-) ~ γ- / j- ~ Ø

The data from four speakers (899N, 21Pt, 897P, 899P) were collated for the preceding phonetic context of the variable (**d**) of the inflected prepositions *dhe* and *dho*. Other constraints such as degree of stress or cliticisation, person and number are no doubt also important; cliticisation, for example, probably favours Ø-initial forms, but such constraints remain to be investigated. It is apparent from the examples that Ø-initial tokens are confined to surface realisations which from the phonetic point of view contain more than just a short vowel. Ø-initial forms are attested in:

dhe 1sg **i:m**, (1pl **i:n'**);
dho 1sg **um**, 2sg **it'**, 3m **o:**, 3pl **o:b'**.

The absence of Ø-initial forms of the 3m *dhe* (*e) and 3f *dhi* (*i) would seem to indicate that such forms would be felt to be too insubstantial (and indeed easily

confused with the short by-forms of the pronouns *é* and *í*. In GCF §§302–3 and footnote 2, however, *i dhi* (from *de* but no example from *do*) is found but following **-t** (**t'**) and **-d** (**d'**) only, some of which are analysable as coalesced **d'**-initial forms.

7.33 899N — 11C

899N, Nioclás Ó Curraoin, Ros Dugáin

Speaker 899N1 shows a regular pattern for both **d-**, **y-** and **d'**-, **j-** variables: **d-**, **d'**-, less often \emptyset , follow coronals (*l, n, t, d, r, s*, etc.); **y-**, **j-** follow vowels, i.e.

1. (**d**) > **d*** >> \emptyset /C^{+cor} _
2. (**d**) > **y/j** /V _

Despite his small number of tokens, given in Table 7.7, the regularity and obvious diachronic and dialectal parallels are striking, i.e. both with other speakers, with Early Modern Irish (Knott 1922: cv), and with Scottish Gaelic (Dorian 1994: 669–71).¹

Table 7.7 Initial (d) in inflected *dho* and preceding context; 899N1

Preceding context	Coronal				Vowel	
	d-	\emptyset -	d' -	\emptyset -	y-	j-
Variable (d) realised as						
No. of tokens	4 ²	1	2 ³		9	1

00T, Tomás 'ac Dhonncha, Roisín na Mainíoch

Only nonlenited forms were noted from 00T:

du:m' p'e:n' *DOM héin*; ... **du:N' DÚINN**; ... **ma: du:N'** (x2) *maith DÚINN*.

This high rate of initial **d-** is striking, although there may be too few tokens to generalise.

11C, Cólín Ó Cualáin, Maoras

This speaker's examples have not been collated but the impression from his recordings is that he does not apply the historical rules as thoroughly as, for example, speaker 899N, but rather prefers **d-** and **y-** initials. This is evident, for example, in the opposite sandhi effect of the **y-** initial causing anticipatory velarisation in:

i:nʃo: m'e ʃuŋ yut' 11C *inseoidh mé sin DHUIT*,

for more common, among his generation, **ʃin' it'** and **ʃin dit'**.

7.34 21Pt, Peait Ó Donnchú, An Aird Mhóir

In conversation with speaker 21Pt I got the impression that his use of \emptyset -initial forms was higher than the norm and so I examined his usage briefly. His tokens

¹ It seems likely, given my examples of **d'**- following vowels, that one should read 'the main variant' for 'obligatory' in Ó Siadhail's (1989: 134) claim regarding Cois Fharraige: 'The lenited forms *dhom*, *dhuit*, etc. are undoubtedly the most frequent and are obligatory between vowels, e.g. *go mbeannaí Dia dhuit*'. Similarly, lenited *dh-* is usual following vowels in both the simple prepositions *de*, *do* and their prepositional pronouns in GCD §§393, 394, 419. On the other hand, there is a high instance (50%) of nonlenited *d-* following vowels in a text from An Blascaod (Blasket Island, Co. Kerry); cf. Jackson (1941–3: 222).

² The actual preceding consonants are: **t**, **l**, **n'**, **r'**.

³ The actual preceding consonants are: **r'**, **ʃ**.

of inflected *dhe* and *dho* were noted from a single recording (t.1 12.12.96) which was supplemented by three other recordings for less frequent contexts and persons. As a result, the numbers in Table 7.8 reflect only the general outline of his usage rather than the actual proportions. (Cf. 7.30 for some of his examples.)

Table 7.8 (d) in inflected *dhe* / *dho*, and preceding context; 21Pt

Environment	Coronal			Velar ¹			Labial			Vowel		
	d-	y-	∅	d-	y-	∅	d-	y-	∅	d-	y-	∅
Broad base	d-	y-	∅	d-	y-	∅	d-	y-	∅	d-	y-	∅
No. of tokens	12	0	10	1	1	3	0	0	3	1	17	3
Palatalised base	d'-	j-		d'-	j-		d'-	j-		d'-	j-	
No. of tokens	1	1		0	0		0	1		2	5	

The phrase-initial environment is rare; the single token noted has y-:

ə m'isá:l' | yə:b'sən ə gu:ní: 21Pt *ag miosáil, DHÓIBHSAN i gcónaí.*

From Table 7.8 it is clear that, of the broad or nonpalatalised group, ∅-initial forms are indeed very frequent in all environments except postvocally where y- is almost categorical. In fact, although the numbers are small, following velars and labials, ∅- is the most common variant. The tokens of the postlabial environment are:

ɑ:m it' 21Pt *am DHUIT, ɑ:m o:b' 21Pt (x2) am DHÓIBH.*

Even following vowels, however, one finds ∅-initial forms, i.e.

... ku:nə m' 21Pt ... *cúnamh DHOM,*

χə ma: it' iəd ə vɑ:hə 21Pt *chomh maith DHUIT iad a bháthadh,*

gə xɑ:k um 21Pt *dhe cháca DHOM*

(the last instance may be a case of schwa-deletion and velar coalescence, i.e.

xɑ:kə yum > xɑ:k yum > xɑ:k um).

In the palatalised group, with d'- as base, there are no ∅-initial forms, and j- is frequent following a vowel, but (unfortunately) there are not enough tokens to establish any other patterns. Nonetheless, the j-form following a coronal and the lack or paucity of the ∅-initial forms, would suggest that, in position following coronals, j is relatively more frequent than y.

7.35 897P, 899P

897P, Peadar Ó Cadhain, and 899P, Peadar Ó Súilleabháin, both from Loch Con Aortha

In contrast with both 899N and 21Pt, two speakers from Loch Con Aortha, 897P (Table 7.9) and 899P (Table 7.10), have a high rate of initial d'-.

Table 7.9 (d) in inflected *dhe* / *dho*, 897P's high usage of initial d'

Environment	Coronal		Velar		Labial		Vowel	
	d-	∅	d-	∅			d-	y-
Broad base	d-	∅	d-	∅			d-	y-
No. of tokens	2	6	0	1			0	7
Palatalised base	d'-		d'-		d'-		d'-	j-
No. of tokens	1		1		1		7	2

¹ Including palatalised velars.

In **897P**'s recording, only two postpausa tokens were noted: **do:b'** and **yo:b'**. In all environments, although we have very few tokens, **d'**-initial forms predominate in a pattern aberrant both historically and in comparison with many other speakers. This aberrance may, however, be lexically conditioned since all tokens of **d'**-represent the 3 singular masculine and feminine. His usage is most strikingly evident in his, apparently categorical, use of **d'e** with *cuide*: **kid'ə d'e cuide de** (x4). In fact **d'e** is very rare with *cuide* in general in Iorras Aithneach, although, given that speaker **899P** also has high usage of **d'**-, he may also have **d'e** here. Speaker **889P** from neighbouring Coill Sáile also has **kid'ə d'i 889P cuide di**. Speaker **897P**'s two tokens of **j-** represent 3 feminine (**ti:w el'ə j taobh eile dhi**) and 2 plural (... **je: ji:b' ... sé dhibh**). Speaker **899P** has only two tokens of non-palatal **d/∅** (following coronals); Table 7.10 presents his palatalised **d'/j/∅** use.

Table 7.10 (d) in inflected *dhe / dho*, **899P**'s **d' / j / ∅** usage

Environment	Coronal			Velar		Labial		Vowel	
	d' -	j-	∅	d' -	j-	d' -	j-	d' -	j-
Palatalised base	d' -	j-	∅	d' -	j-	d' -	j-	d' -	j-
No. of tokens	3	1	1	2	2	1	0	1	1

Speaker **899P** seems to have a more balanced use of **d'/j** than **897P**. Interestingly, however, one of his **j-** tokens classified as following a coronal actually follows schwa: **ti: 'hiərə jε | 899P taobh thiar dhe**; as does his labial token: **er' hi:və d'ε | 899P ar thaobh de**. If classified as postvocalic, these would raise his surface postvocalic **d'/j** count to two each.

Overall, then, there is some evidence for a localised use of prevalent initial **d'**- in Loch Con Aortha and Coill Sáile. It is no doubt significant that Loch Con Aortha is the only townland where I have heard initial **y-** in 1sg **yim** and 2sg **yit** (in contrast with **d'/j-** elsewhere in Iorras Aithneach). The apparent prevalence of 3 singular **d'**- forms in this very area may represent some kind of reaction or opposition to (potential) **y-** forms in the 3 singular.¹

7.36 Younger speakers

The relevant traditional sandhi rules become weakened or are lost by many younger speakers. As mentioned above, speakers **00T** (7.33) and **32J** (7.22) have many unlenited **d-** tokens (following vowels); this appears to have been a minority trait but it has become more common. The young speaker **66N**, for example,

¹ In Loch Con Aortha, especially, 3m *d(h)ó* can of course replace 3m *d(h)e* (7.20). Nonpalatal initials are found in the 3 singular in neighbouring lects, varying with palatal initial in Cois Fharraige (examples of inflected *dhe*):

Cois Fharraige	3m d'e, je, yo, o ; 3f d'i, ji, i, di, yi, it . GCF §302.
Bun a Cnoc	3m de, ye, e, yo, o ; 3f dix', yix', ix' . Nilsen (1975: 180).
An Clochán	3f yix' (based on spellings <i>youch</i> (<i>dhe</i> 3f) and <i>yuch</i> (<i>dho</i> 3f), Stenson 2003: 7 (17), 61 (28)).

Prevalent **d'**- in Loch Con Aortha (and Coill Sáile) could represent either a reaction against an encroaching nonpalatal initial or a replacement of earlier nonpalatal forms, or possibly even both phenomena.

has a strong tendency to use **d-** and **d'-** forms where most traditional speakers have **y-** and **j-**, e.g.

1sg **ma: dumsə** maith DOMSA

2sg **ma: dit'** maith DUIT

3m **tu do:** tú DÓ

3pl **ma' d'i:b** maith DÍOB

Her examples in Table 7.6, with *dhe* meaning, also have initial **d-** and **d'-**. Other younger speakers, e.g. **66L** and her brother **72N**, tend to generalise initial **y-** and **j-**.

7.37 *eidir*

I

ed'ər', hed'ər' *eidir*.

The form **hed'ər'** is used consistently, and almost exclusively in my material, by speaker **01P** (Doire Iorrais), e.g.

isteach EIDIR **hed'ər'** iad, EIDIR | **hed'ər'** na barrannaí,

EIDIR | **hed'ər'** an dá bhliain,

go bhfuil droch-chlaí EIDIR **hed'ər'** muid **01P** (all above);

siar HEIDIR *Maínis agus an tOileán Máisean*, EIDIR *Maínis ...* **872Pt**.

eidir is unusual in having synthesis in the plural only. There are no inflected forms corresponding to analytic use with singular pronouns: **ed'ər' m'e:** / **hu:** / **e:** / **i:** *eidir mé / thú / é / í*. I

It is my impression that plural '**ed'ər' mid' / jib' / iəd** *eidir muid / sib / iad* is heard more frequently than the inflected correlates. Certain speakers definitely have analytic use more frequently than synthetic. For example, **894C2** has *idir iad* and many examples of *idir muid* with no inflected variant. 1pl *sinn* occurs in the set phrase:

d'ia ed'ər jin' ogəs ə tolk *Dia* EIDIR *SINN agus an t-olc*; which is also:

d'e [sic] **ed'ər mid' əs ə tolk** **21Pt** *Dia* EIDIR *MUID is an t-olc*.

As illustrated in this phrase, when a second prepositional object is coordinated with the pronoun (i.e. *eidir X agus Y*), analytic use is usual.¹ Some idioms seem to favour the synthetic by-forms; for example, in:

s kumə yut' æ:trəb e **10B** *Is cuma dhuit* EATRUB *é*.

The 3pl synthetic variant is obligatory in *eidir eatrub / eatru* 'in between, mediocre'.

A rare example of *eidir* governing the genitive plural was noted. It is perhaps significant that *eidir* has inclusive sense here (contrast the nominative singular):

'Gus bhíodar ag cuir, téarmaí móra, aimsir isteach, gá thóraíocht sin. EIDIR NA N-OILEÁN, | ed'ər' nə 'n'il'ɑ:n | agus na cladaí, agus achuile áit thart timpeall. ... le ndearna sé dh'iascach ... eidir an t-iascach agus lena dhóir, agus, tóigeál a chuid raic. **06C**.

¹ Similarly: *Bhí coimhlingt eadar sinn fhéin agus muintear an oileáin* vs. *Bhí troid eadrainn fhéin* CGT §159 (including footnote). Historically, singular prepositional pronouns of *eidir* were typically coordinated and thus tended to be analytic; they have lost their synthetic inflection.

7.38 Prepositional pronoun

II

Plural

1	atrən', adərən'
2	ad(ə)ri:, ad(ə)rəb'
3	at(ə)rəb, atru:, (atrə), adru:

Examples:

1pl	atrən'	æ:trən' Sq.
	adərən'	æ:dərən' 35E, !36P, adərən' !39D.
2pl	adəri:	æ:dəri: b'ix (Sm)ds 04B <i>EADRAIBH bíodh.</i>
	adri:	fakə m'e adri: he:n' e S fághaidh mé <i>EADRAIBH héin é.</i> 'ed'ər' fíb' <i>EIDIR sib</i> is more common, e.g. 869P3. In this person, at least, analytic use seems most certainly dominant.
3pl	atrəb	<i>EATRUB</i> 869P2, æ:trəb 10B.
	atərəb	<i>EATARUB</i> 869P3; <i>EATORRUB héin</i> 869P2; ætərəb 04Bl, ætərəb 899P, 35E.
	atru:	kuplə bl'ian' æ:tru: 'nuəs 08B <i>cupla bliain EATRÚ anuas,</i> æ:tru: Sq <i>EATRÚ.</i>
	atrə	In the phrase 'ed'ər' 'æ:trə ~ 'æ:tru: M <i>eidir EATRU.</i>
	adru:	<i>Cén difríocht a bhí EADRÚ?</i> S84.

There are no doubt variants which have not been noted but which are genuine in the dialect, based on the feature of optional syncope / epenthesis; one would expect, for example, 1pl ***atərən'** ***adrən'** and 3pl ***atəru:** ***adəru:**. Whether 2pl ***at(ə)ri:** and 3pl ***ad(ə)rəb** exist is more doubtful (but 2pl GCF §304 **at:ri:** only). A by-form with lengthened stressed vowel would also be expected and is in fact attested in song: *éadrainn* !894C6. Given the minor by-form **hed'ər'** of the simple preposition, one might also predict **h**-initial inflected forms.

7.39 *faoi*

I

fi: (f'i:) *fai*^L, **fa:** *fa*^L.

fi: is the general realisation; but nontraditional **f'ín** 76Mt *fain*. **fa:** has been noted preceding *láthair* only, in the adverb:

fa la:hər' 23M, **fa: la:hər'** 54C *FÁ láthair*,

but **fi:** is most common here, e.g. **fi: la:hər'** 54C *fai láthair*. There is one example of elision of the initial consonant in 892M1730:

laur'ə mid' i: ja:l nə 'gorəx *labhair muid FAOI gheall na gcorach.*

II

The paradigm of *faoi* has no idiosyncratic variants. The stem is **fu:-**, except 3m **fi:**; cf. 7.92. For possible 3pl **fu:həb'** Mperm *fúthaib*, see 7.98 (b). There are, however, a few interesting examples of marginal forms. Note the hesitant 'search' for the appropriate 3f with provisional ***fi:-hə** eventually corrected to **fu:hə** in:

... f'æ:məʊn' ... ə'f't'æ:x fi: | fi: | fi: [hesitation] hə | fu:hə | M

... feamainn ... isteach FAOI — FÚITHI.

There is a partly corrected slip of the tongue in:

Bhuel ínseoidh mé dhuit céard FAOI, FAOIN gceilp. ' méid atá fhios a'm FÚITHI, am 'fi:u:hə | 'gus baidhe deaid tá fhios a'm, go bhfuil ... 896P.

In the following exchange, **fi:hə** occurs in the interrogative as an innovation or as a quick afterthought to **fi:**

- ... *Peigí Cárbit. BÓC -Céard FAOITHE? P.*

In this instance, 3m *faoi*, common in *céard faoi* 'what about him / it?' and *cé faoi* 'about whom / what?', has amalgamated with 3f *fúithi*. What may be a genuine instance of 1pl *faoinn* or an uncorrected slip of the tongue for 1pl *fúinn* occurs in:

ri:n' u: ga:r' i: r'i:ft' fi:n' | 892M1755 rinneadh gáirí aríst FAOINN.

All these examples are illustrative of the power of the 3m as an analogical base.¹

7.40 go

gə, **g**, sometimes elided, i.e. Ø, *go*^H. In past time reference with the article **sə(n)** 's an (**gə**n *gon*).

gə *go* is the general form, also reduced to **g** before consonants, e.g.

t'æ:ki: g ga:l' ə r'i:ft' M teagthaí GO Gaillimh aríst;

sometimes lost, e.g.

fi:s ə'n' is (k)korkə 21Pt síos is aníos GO Corcaigh;

xu mud' ka:rəg' ə m'æ:kən | 21Pt Chuaigh muid GO Carraig a Meacan;

ʃæ:n's gə n'æ:xə fi: ros muk S seans go ndeachaigh sí GO Ros Muc;

a:x ʃk'aird' ə 21C ach GO Sceirde é.

Absence of *go* is lexicalised in, for example, set correlations with *ó*:

ó dhu' ' du' 866ESemr40 transcription indicating **o: yu du**,

also **o: yu gə du ó dhubh GO dubh;**

ó cheann ceann na bliana Clad259; ó thús deireadh (go tosaigh).

Prevocalic mutational **h** is not always realised, e.g.

gə uəxtər 'a:rd GO Uachtar Ard.

There is an example of near-elision of the unstressed **ə** in:

gə 'ga:l' ə nɑ' g' 'ã:t' ə 'b'u | 01C6655 go Gaillimh ná GO áit ar bith.

Speaker **894C** has **yə** and **gə** (cp. his other functors with **y-**; see *dhe*, 7.14):

huə ʃe sor yə l'et'ər' m'ula:n' 894C chuaigh sé soir GO Leitir Mealláin;

ma: xir'ən tu: torəs orəm gə kruə fa:rək' !894C

má chuireann tú turas orm GO Cruaich Phádraig.

Locative *go* does not occur before the article; instead *go dtí an*, *dhon*, *chuig / ag an* and *un an* are generally used. It is difficult to know synchronically, however, whether **gəŋ xloxɑ:n**, for example, should be analysed as *dhon Chlochán* or **gon Chlochán*.² An instance of innovative **gə**n *gon* in a time context is cited immediately below. For prevocalic **gə**n which may have some relation to *go*, see 7.29.

¹ In fact the stem *faoi-* in 3f *faoithe* and 1pl *faoinn*, as well as in other persons, is found in Early Modern Irish (McManus 1994: 436, 438 (6)). Such forms have replaced the older forms in some dialects (in East Galway and Ulster). I have also heard analogical 1sg *faoim* and 3f *faoithi* from my children, e.g. son Dara Ó Curnáin (monoglot, with dialect input from Iorras Aithneach (i.e. my speech) and Ros Muc (resident)), at age 2.8 and 2.11 respectively; but with frequent 1sg *fúim* (>> *faoim*) and 2sg *fút* from age 3.8 on. For possible 3pl *faoidar*, see 7.98 (e).

² Cp. *go*, *un*, *go dtí* CGT §265(e), and *chuig* CGT §265(f).

7.41 Future gə^H; Past gə^H (dho^L), sə(n) 's an

When *go* is not preceded in the phrase by a time noun, it has future time reference when governing a time noun, 'until', e.g.

Ní thiocthaidh sé abhaile GO samhradh seo 'ugainn M.

When preceded by a time noun, the time reference precedes the date indicated by the object of *go*, meaning 'ago', e.g.

bl'iaŋ' gə hɑ:m fo bliain GO ham seo 'a year ago',

fæ:xtən' gə hi:n'ə fo hugən' S seachtain GO hAoine seo chugainn,

Céad slán go bliain GO taca seo !03V CABI §43(b) v. 2,

Bliain SA taca seo sea rinneas aimsir !01S CABI §59(c) v. 5.

In time contexts meaning 'ago', the preposition *go* combines with the article in the form *sə(n) 's an* (*sa(n)*), e.g.

fæ:xtən' sə lɑ: n' uv 43M seachtain 'S AN lá inniu,

fæ:xtən' sən i:hə mɑ:r' əx seachtain 'S AN oíche amáireach.

lɑ: s 'bl'iaŋ' sə 'lɑ: n' uw ... d'im'ə mə 'yr' ehar' ə 'fin'ə | 11Ctn

lá is bliain 'S AN lá inniubh, a deir sé, a d'imigh mo dhreatháir is sine.

(The usage meaning 'ago' is probably not used by many speakers born since the 1960s who use the common alternate *ó sh(u)in*.)

At least one older speaker has *gən* with the article (thus regularising {*an* + Noun + *seo*}, 6.70):

bl'iaŋ' gən ɑ:m fo 04Br bliain GON am seo,

using *gən* where all other speakers use *gə h*; so that *gon* becomes homophonous with, or even reinterpreted as, *dhon*. It may be significant that speaker **04Br** spent a long period in the United States. One younger speaker has lenition following *gə*, indicating a reinterpretation as the preposition *dho^L*:

x'er'ə bl'iaŋə gə wartə fo 51N cheithre bliana DHO Mháirta seo.

(Cp. *go ceann* minor by-form *gə x'ɑ:n*, perhaps taken as *dhe / dho cheann*.) The past time reference is sometimes replaced with future time reference 'from' (for traditional *ó*) by less traditional speakers, as noted in:

seachtain 'S AN lá inniu 43M 'a week from today';

seachtain 'S AN lá amáireach 48J 'a week from tomorrow'

beidh ... seachtain 'S AN lá inniubh [x2] 73N (2006) '... a week from today'.

7.42 i**I**

ə i^N, for *ən in* before consonants and in other environments, including rare *in* before *an* (singular article) as well as *na* (plural article), see 7.52 ff.

7.43 (sa) → <sa>, <insa>, <isa>

The preposition *i* combines with the article in three basic morphological series, all of which contain the distinctive *s* component; *s*- initial, medial *-ns-*, and medial *-s-*, as follows:

singular /_V	sə sa;	ənsə, insə insa;	əsə, isə isa;
singular /_C	sən san;	ənsən, insən insan;	əsən, isən isan;
plural	snə, (sə) sna;	ənsnə, insnə insna;	əsnə, isnə isna.

E.g. *sə / ənsə / insə / əsə / isə ŋ'i:vr'ə sa / insa / isa ngeimhreadh*.

The s-initial series, in the first column, is the most frequent in the dialect as a whole. The disyllabic variants are the marked alternants and are most common among the oldest generation. Variants in *əs-/is-* are the least common. Variants in *əns-* can be realised with syllabic *n*, i.e. *ŋs-*. The variable as a whole is denoted here by (*sa*). The same basic triad occurs with *i* in a more limited usage before the indefinite adjective *gach*, i.e. *s / əns / əs gax 's / ins / is gach*, and similarly, although not all variants are attested, before (*a*)*chaon* and (*a*)*chuile*, both of which are historically derived from *gach ...*. There is also a combination with cataphoric relative *a^N* in *insa* and there is a conjunction *sə sa, ənsə insa* (8.140), which can be related to {*i* + article}. These parallel usages are so relatively rare that they are generally not dealt with in my discussion of the variable (*sa*) which focuses on {*i* + article}. For the actual examples, excluded from (*sa*), see 7.52, 7.57, cp. 7.59. (For longer variant use, see also 'Higher Register', 10.86.)

Forms with the article in final *n* occur very rarely before consonants. There are examples with the long variants in:

ə⁹s nə 'ki:r'ə x̣ir' ə'f' a'x | ənsəm 'bærk' ə ml'a: 'kl' iə | 894C
agus na caoirigh a chuir isteach INSAN bpáirc i mBleá Cliath;
insəŋ' gr'ed'ə k'ær't 25T INSAN gcreideamh ceart.

For a younger speaker's examples, see speaker 66N (7.59). There is one attestation of plural *sə*, although it is possible that a singular (*sa rang*) was initially intended by the speaker or that preceding *suas* influenced *sna*:

gə l'er' s mar v' i fe g' air' i: suəs sə rangəni: ən' f'in' 17M
dho réir is mar bhí sé ag éirí suas SNA rangannaí ansin.

An instance of plural *sənə* was noted from speaker 72N:

| gohn dər suəs sənə 'kr.ik' | 72N gabhann dur suas S(A)NA cnoic.

If this form is his genuine usage, and not a slip of the tongue, it may be an analogical formation based on singular *sa* + plural *na*.¹

7.44 Diachrony of (*sa*) → <*sə*> <*ənsə*> <*əsə*>

The *is-* subset contains the oldest variants, dating from the Old Irish period. They began to vary with *sa-* in the Middle Irish period, and with *insa-* in the Early Modern Irish period (L. Breatnach 1994: 236, 259; DIL s.v. *i*). The shorter <*sa*> variants, originating in Middle Irish, came about as a result of a general weakening of clitic forms and led to a loss in the transparency between the simple preposition and its combinational allomorph. The subsequent Early Modern Irish *ins-* variants redressed this opacity with the simple and inflected preposition. The three standard strata used in the diachronic study of Irish, i.e. Old, Middle and Modern, are, therefore, reflected in this one variable. It is tempting to suggest that at least some of the differentiation in the use of variants evident in our dialect has existed ever since the choice of variants developed for (*sa*), as far back as one thousand years ago, and furthermore that this may be reflected in the textual record. The variable, with some dialectal change in the variants, is in fact widespread in both Irish and Scottish Gaelic.²

¹ Both my sons, Dara and Brian, used consistent *sana* when aged two, e.g. *sana clabhtáí*.

² It is mentioned in passing in Dorian (1994: 667, a study of variation which is ground-breaking for Gaelic and linguistics in general) but it is not described as a (personal-pattern) variable. Dorian (1996: 112) notes the importance of comparative investigations of personal-pattern variation in other Scottish

7.45 Individual speakers; 852S

I shall present, in order of age, the examples and some results of variation analysis compiled particularly from the speech of my older speakers. It will be shown that, as well as the familiar constraint based on speaker's age, there are also phonological, lexical, discourse and stylistic conditions on usage. Given the many constraints and surface forms, further investigation is necessary to establish whether (*sa*) patterns within a tightly definable community norm or whether, as seems highly possible, distinctive combinations of constraints and variants occur.

852S, Seán Veail 'ac Con Raoi, Dumhaigh Ithir

One of my two oldest speakers, in the limited data collated for him (in 852S2), shows a rich range for (*sa*): *sa* ~ *insa*, *san* ~ *insan*, *sna* ~ *insna*, etc. His transcribed text in 13.1 has three tokens of (*sa*): *insa domhan*, *insan am sin*, *insan uisce*.

7.46 866E, Éamann a Búrc, An Aird Mhóir

Although high quality folklore transcriptions seem quite reliable concerning these variants (many of which are clearly syllabically distinctive), one cannot take any specific example as certain nor can the absence of a given variant, perhaps unfamiliar to the folklore collector, be assumed to reflect a gap in the speaker's actual range. Given this proviso, which of course stands in relation to all conclusions which are not based on primary data (i.e. thoroughly transcribed material of audio-recorded speech), the analysis can only approximate the speaker's pattern. Table 7.11 shows the results of a concordance search for the (*sa*) variants of the text *Eochair Mac Rí in Éirinn* (866ESemr) using the Oxford Concordance Program for microcomputer (Micro-OCP).

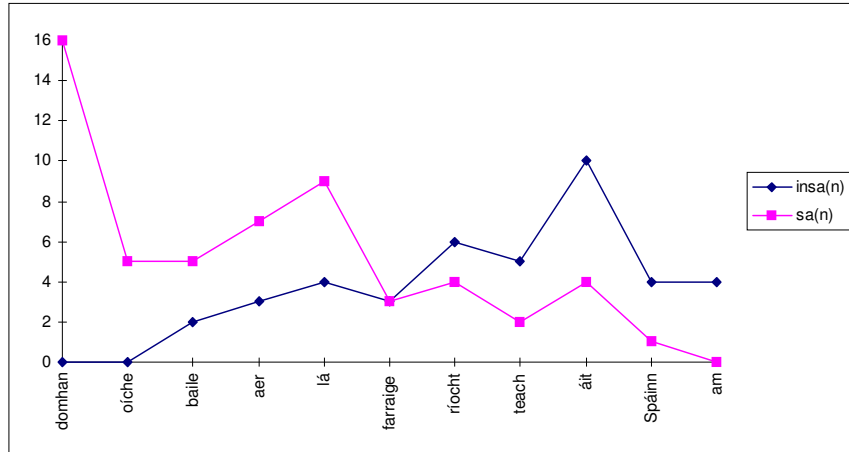
Table 7.11 (*sa*) variable, *s-* vs. *ins-*; 866ESemr

Variant	<i>sa</i>	vs.	<i>insa</i>	<i>san</i>	vs.	<i>insan</i>	<i>sna</i>	vs.	<i>insna</i>
No.	57		56	17		21	4		1

It is clear from the table that the *s-* and *ins-* variants have an almost equal ratio of occurrence, except in the plural where *insna* is less frequent. This may well be evidence of a dissimilatory constraint on the *insna* variant, also manifest, for example, for speaker 892M in Table 7.13 (cf. 869P, Table 7.12). There are no tokens of *is-*.¹ Using the results from the Micro-OCP concordance, individual lexemes with four or more examples of singular (*sa*), i.e. <*sa(n)*> and / or <*insa(n)*>, are compared in Figure 7.1. All other things being equal (which we may naively assume, for now, lacking multivariate analysis), and given that the distribution for the variants *sa(n)* and *insa(n)* is equal as a whole (Table 7.11), if there were no lexical conditioning one would expect a proportionally equal distribution for each lexeme.

Gaelic dialects. My study shows that one can read 'all Gaelic dialects' here, although much further work is needed to actually pinpoint definite personal-pattern variables.

¹ In order to assess this absence we need to know whether this is a transcriptional trait of the transcriber Liam Mac Coisteala; whether, for example, he transcribed *is-* from other speakers. He transcribed the rare *is na* in 869P3, in one instance he emends *ins na* to *is na* 869P2 and transcribed related *is gach* 869P5. It seems possible then that the absence of *is-* variants indicates that they were at least not common in 866E's speech, and less prevalent in comparison to speaker 869P's usage.

Figure 7.1 (*sa*) variable, *sa(n)* vs. *insa(n)* lexically; 866ESemr

In fact only one lexeme, *farraige*, has an equal proportion of both variants. Other words have fairly close ratios for each variant so that no firm conclusions can be drawn about them without further examples. Some other words, however, may well be significantly marked for one variant. For example, *domhan*, *oíche* and *lá* have a high ratio of *sa(n)* tokens, whereas *áit* and *am* have a high ratio of *insa(n)*. Deeper structural categories, such as semantic weight or general discourse importance rather than, or alongside, corresponding surface lexical factors may of course be of significance here.

7.47 SID.46 / 869P, Pádraig 'ac Con Iomaire, An Coillín

SID.46 has two long variants, *ənsə* and *əsnə* :

,paul *ɲsə* 'tq:lhə sən a:t' ə vil' 'sq:ləxər, 808

poll INSA talamh san áit a bhfuil salachar;

v'i: r: *ɲsə tri: fq.do:* Text I.1 *Bhí rí INSA Traí fadó;*

,əsnə 'flahj, 792 *ISNA flaithis.*

In the material in Roinn Bhéaloideas Éireann transcribed from him, speaker **869P** has *ins-* forms quite often. The only form in *is-*, apart from *is gach*, is *isna* which occurs rarely:

IS NA bróga [emended in the manuscript from *ins na*] **869P2**,

IS NA cruic 7 *IS NA sléibhte* **869P3**.

This exclusive combination in his collated data, of *is-* with *-na*, is indicative of the (optional) constraint which dissimilates the nasals in the combination of *i(n)-* with *-sna*.

Table 7.12 shows the total number of all variants noted from my own incomplete transcriptions of audio recordings of speaker **869P** (from his longest audio-recorded tale, *Grabaire Fhionn mhac Cúil*, and one interview, *Seanchas bainse*).

Table 7.12 (*sa*) variable, *s-* vs. *ins-*; **869P**, one tale and interview

Variant	<i>sa</i>	vs.	<i>insa</i>	<i>san</i>	vs.	<i>insan</i>	<i>sna</i>	vs.	<i>i(n)sna</i>
No.	7		1	2		7	1		0

There are parallels here with other speakers. Speaker **869P** groups with the majority of speakers, here **892M** (Table 7.13) and **11C** (Table 7.14), in having higher <sa> than <ansə>; in contrast with **866E**Semr (Table 7.11) who has equal <sa> and <ansə>. The precise lexical correspondences, in his limited data, with, for example, **866E**Semr are hardly coincidental. Three lexemes, *baile*, *áit* and *am*, follow the scale from strong <sa> usage to strong <insan> usage (evidenced for **866E** in Figure 7.1):

<sa> >> <insa>; <i>sa mbaile</i> (x1)		<san> ≈ <insan>; <i>as umhain thalúna san insan áit a bhfuil mise</i> <i>áit a raibh,</i> <i>san áit a raibh</i>		<insan> >>> <i>insan am sin</i> (x4), <i>insan am</i> (x1)
--	--	--	--	--

Two lexemes, then, *áit* and *am*, account for six of his seven tokens of <insan>. Furthermore, the discourse or register usage of the long variant is clear from his introductory passages to tales:

v'í: rí: ŋsə tri: fə.do: 46.I.1 *Bhí rí INSA Traí fadó;* as given above, and:
v'í:ª | f'ianū: we:r' ənª | msə t'ir fo fə'd o:ª | 869P
Bhí Fiannaibh Éireann INSA tír seo fadó agus bhí Fionn mhac Cúil

7.48 **892M, Mícheál Ó Coirbín, Dumhaigh Ithir**

Table 7.13 shows the results of a Micro-OCP concordance search for (*sa*) variants of speaker **892M**'s portion of Text 1 in Airneán I (**892MARN1**).

Table 7.13 (*sa*) variable, *s-* vs. *ins-* vs. *is-*; **892MARN**, Text 1

Form	<i>sa</i>	vs.	<i>insa</i>	<i>san</i>	vs.	<i>insan</i>	vs.	<i>isan</i>	<i>sna</i>	vs.	<i>isna</i>
No.	38		4	9		1		3	3		2

The shorter *s*-variant is clearly dominant overall, strongest as **sə** *sa*, then as **sən** *san*. His distribution of *is-* forms is noteworthy in that there is a high proportion of *is-* in forms which contain another *n* (in dissimilatory contexts), i.e. there is a high ratio of *isan* to *insan* and of *isna* to *sna*, with no *insna* token.

Lexically, *am* and *aímsir* occur relatively often with the longer variant, i.e.

ISAN aímsir a raibh mise i mo leaid óg ARN1499, *ISAN am sin.* ARN1111.

Otherwise no lexical patterning is obvious, not surprisingly, given the few tokens of the longer variants.

7.49 **11C, Cólín Ó Cúláin, Maoras**

A concordance was carried out for (*sa*) variants using Micro-OCP on speaker **11C**'s share of the discourse in Text 1 of Airneán I (**11CARN1**). Based on the original recording, one token in the published text, *insan domhan*, was corrected to **insə daun** *insa domhan*. The results are given in Table 7.14. Speaker **11CARN1** has no tokens of *is-*, and he has overall about twice as many tokens of *s-* as *ins-*. These tokens are relatively equally distributed lexically in this small sample. The main exception, however, is the collocation *insan am* which, following a lexical constraint seen in Figure 7.1 above, accounts for all 7 tokens of <insan>.

Table 7.14 (*sa*) variable, *s-* vs. *ins-*; 11CARN, Text 1

Form	<i>sa</i>	vs.	<i>insa</i>	<i>san</i>	vs.	<i>insan</i>	<i>sna</i>	vs.	<i>insna</i>
No.	17		6	15		7	3		2

7.50 Other speakers

04B long variants include:

insə ŋl'ɑ:n | ... ənsə tʃ'i: (Lam) *INSA ngleann, ... INSA tsli*;

wuəl' fɛ ʃt'ɑ:x əsə t'ɑ:x (Sdás) *bhuail sé isteach ISA teach*.

10B note (with regard to lexical usage) **ənsən ɑ:m** *INSAN am*.

20A **ənsən ɑ:m ʃin' insan am sin**; contrast **sən ɑ:m X'e:nə** *SAN am chéanna*.

35E1 **ənsə dɑ:** ... *insa dá*

56T her examples of *insan* are: **ənsən ɑ:t ʃin' INSAN áit sin**; **ənsən nɑ:rt ə'm'ɛrəkɲ** **koɾəx əso:s'i'e:ʃən** *INSAN 'North American Corrach Association'*; perhaps influenced by the recording context.

77C **ənsnə hæ'ŋgəxi** *INSNA heangachaí*.

Table 7.15 shows a sample of the overall distribution, and number of tokens, where noted, for these forms.

Table 7.15 (*sa*) → <*sa*>, <*insa*>, <*isa*>, etc., various speakers

Speaker	<i>sa</i>	<i>san</i>	<i>sna</i>	<i>insa</i>	<i>insan</i>	<i>insna</i>	<i>isa</i>	<i>isan</i>	<i>isna</i>	Summary
852S2	+	+	+	+	+				+	<i>ins-</i> , <i>is-</i>
866ESemr	+	+	+	+	+	+				<i>ins-</i> frequent
SID.46	+	+	+	+					+	<i>ins-</i> quite frequent, <i>is-</i> rare
892ARN1	38	9	3	4	1	0	0	3	2	<i>ins-</i> infrequent, <i>is-</i> fairly rare
894B1	+	+								<i>ins-</i> not found
894C2	29	17		34	12					<i>ins-</i> frequent (2.13–103)
899N1	15(+)			2						<i>ins-</i> rare
00T	+	+								<i>ins-</i> not found
03V	+	+			+					<i>ins-</i> rare
10B1	+	+			+					<i>ins-</i> rare
11CARN1	17	15	3	6	7	2	0	0	0	<i>ins-</i> frequent, <i>is-</i> absent
18T	+	+		1						<i>ins-</i> rare
20A	+	+			+					<i>ins-</i> rare
21Pt1	+		+							<i>ins-</i> not found
25T	+		+		1					
30Ms	+		+							
31D	+	+	+							<i>ins-</i> not found
35E1	+	+	+	1						<i>ins-</i> rare
56T	+	+			+					<i>ins-</i> rare (higher style)
77C	+	+	+			1				<i>ins-</i> rare

7.51 Dissimilation, discourse, style

The most frequent variant of the *is-* forms seems to be *isna*. As mentioned above dissimilation of *n*—*n* in *insna* is doubtless a factor. The *isna* variant has of course

a long history and is, for example, the only form given in DIL (s.v. *i*) without a corresponding Early Modern Irish *ins-* variant.

The longer variants are used, iconically, as stylistic or discourse markers by some speakers. This usage is similar to the stylistic use of the longer variant in the prepositional pronouns of *ag*, e.g. *agam* ~ *a'm* (7.5). When there is emphasis on the semantic content of the preposition itself, the longer form can be used. For example, all four tokens found in the concordance of speaker **892MARN1**'s <*insa*> variant appear to have this function of semantic reinforcement:

go dtuga tú balla atá istich INSA Leath-Mhás ar aill a dtugann siad ... 1578
(of bearings at sea);

Ní raibh ar an sáibhéara uachtar ach an sábh a thabhairt aníos agus í a choinneáil INSA líne 1331;

mara mbeadh na glascannaí domhain INSA sábh 1313;

buailte le ord nó le casúr isteach INSA stafall 1369.

The disyllabic variant can add emphasis or formality for some speakers. Note how the rare word *áibhéis(c)* co-occurs with *insan* giving a grandiose impression in:

d'ardatodar a gcuid seoil, amuigh INSAN áibhéisc, ə'mix' insən ə:v'ej:k'
agus sheoladar isteach 11C.

Speaker **869P**'s usage of the long form when beginning a story is illustrated above (7.47). As a further example, we have speaker **03V** who uses *sə(n)* predominantly but in one instance, at the beginning of a story, uses *ənsən* :

ənsən ə:m fə:d ə: | ən'ʃə N'ɛ:r'əN' 03V INSAN am fadó anseo in Éirinn.

This example also shows a typical collocation of the longer form, i.e. with *am*. The two examples of *ins-* noted in **898P2** follow these two uses; marking information:

ta kolə | ənsə L'æ:bə s ə:r sə daun ə'n'iw ... 898P2

tá codladh INSA leaba is fearr sa domhan inniu ...

and in collocation with *am*:

ənsən ə:m ə ro m'ɛ gol' ser' 898P2 INSAN am a raibh mé ag goil soir.

This frequent use of the long variants with *am* may help to emphasise the overall discourse frame and to make the utterance more rhythmic. Use of the long forms with given topics or given information has a similar contextualising function. For example, in a discussion of *ramhrú bréidín* speaker **892MARN1**'s only token of *insan* occurs before the background topic (*olann*) with additional focus function:

Ach ola na mangaigh mhóra agus ola na ronnach, dhá gcuirte í sin INSAN olann is sa mbréidín, ní raibh pabhdar ... i ndan í a bhaint amach. 1061.

The alternation from *sa* to *insa* in the following example may serve both to avoid repetition and to background the repeated noun:

... ach amháin teampall a bhí ann agus dúirt sé go ngothadh sé isteach SA TEAMPALL. Nuair a shíl sé a ghoil isteach INSA TEAMPALL go gcuireadh sé an corp ann ... 11Ct.

Similarly:

chuardar isteach I DTEACH ag ligint thartub an mhúir. Agus bhí seanfhear INSA TEACH agus bhí sé ar a ghlúine agus ... 11Ct.¹

¹ Standardisation by editors of dialectal (*sa*) eliminates its stylistics, e.g. Clad1 (first edition, with much *ins-*) vs. Clad (second edition, changed to *s-*).

7.52 Conjunctive and special forms

The forms *ə*, *ən*, *sə*, *əsə*, *ənsə*, *əns*, *əs*, *s* (probably also *insə*, *ins*, *is*, *isə*) occur before various functors (indefinite adjectives, particles), numerals, and in other environments. These are generally cases where otherwise *ə* *i* is perhaps felt to be phonetically nonsalient or where eclipsis is avoided by using *ən*. Non-eclipsing *i*, i.e. *ə* *i*[∅], occurs (optionally) before prefixes, numerals, time nouns, nouns in quotation, and (rarely) place-names. (Optional) *ən* *in* is found before *go leor*; possessives *mo*, *do*; prefix *droch*-; proper names, rarely other definite nouns, emphatic pronouns; numerals and time nouns; and rarely in hesitation in traditional speech.

i + *a*^N (cataphoric relative): *insa*, *ina*, *i*.

- insa* *Níl INSA n-abraíonn siad ... !894C9.*
ina *xur fe f̃t̃iṅ ənə rə ə:n Mq chuir sé sting INA raibh ann.*
i *xur fe f̃t̃iṅ ə rə ə:n Mq chuir sé sting I A raibh ann.*

i + *gach*: *əns*, *əs*, *s*, *ən*.

- əns* *INS gach uile cheárd 852S4;*
'ki:m̃'i:m̃ 'mā:nəm əns gox 'il'ə 'ɣa:ṽ hu | !05M
Coimrím m'anam INS gach uile ghábh thú.
əs *cp. əṅ xuəx ʃ gux re:ɡ̃ u:n !(Ams)899N an chuach IS gach réigiún;*
Bóthar is gach cosán, Droichead ar gach sruthán, Agus céibh IS gach
crúmpán, !869P5.
s *cp. b̃id' e:l sgux la:ṽ ... !(Aslf)13P buidéal 's gach láimh*
ən *b' e:l'i: | əṅ gux 't̃ a:x 06C béilí IN gach teach.*

i + (*a*)*chaon*: *ə*, *sə*, *əsə*, *ənsə*, *in*.

- ə* *ar fad I chaon fhiacal 852S4 (sic manuscript).*
sə *generally, e.g.*
duine acub SA chaon choirnéal | sə x̃e:ṑ̃ xaur̃n' e:l | 869P;
sə x̃e:ṅ̃ x' a:n S SA chaon cheann.
əsə *ga: ha:r̃n' ə je:ḡ əsə x̃e:ṅ̃ kru: 892M2130*
dhá thairne dhéag ISA chaon c(h)rú.
in *bhí cúl gruaige IN chaon chónra acub 864M DT50.*

i + (*a*)*chuile*: *ə*, *sə*, *əns*, *ənsə*.

- ə* *k' a:n ə xul' ə fotə 79MII ceann I chuile phota.*
əns *əns xir' ə [sic r'] hæ:x 897P INS chuile teach.*
sə *generally: sə xul' ə wə:l fi:n daun ax sən a:t' ə wul tu: | 00T*
SA chuile bhall faoin domhan ach san áit a bhfuil tú;
sə xul' ə ha:x 10B SA chuile teach; sə xul' a:t' S SA chuile áit.

Speakers vary as to their use of the unstressed initial syllable of *ə'xe:n* and *ə'xil'ə*. Some tend to have, for example, regular or frequent *ə'xil'ə* whereas others tend to have *xil'ə*. This complicates the segmental analysis of the morphemes in *sə xil'ə*, i.e. as *s+ə'xil'ə* or *sə+ə'xil'ə* or *sə+xil'ə*. (Note **əṅ xil' a:t'* MØperm *in chuile áit*, queried following GCF §414, p. 226 (b) and in contrast with *in chaon* DT50; recall *in gach* 06C, cited above.)

i + go leor: ə, ən.

- ə ta fʲiəd ə gə L'or: a:t'əxi: M tá siad I go leor áiteachaí.
 ən əŋ gə L'or: Mperm IN go leor.

7.53 *i + mo, do*

i + mo, do (1, 2sg possessive pronouns): ən, ə (both forms are common), (nə).

- ə (ə) mə hi: I mo shuí.
 v'e 't'ær 'wã^ə | 889P bheith I t'fhear mhaith.
 mārə bul tu' t'æ:n'ta:l'u:r ... tɑ' m'ifə mə 'hau 'ta:l'u:r | 11C
 marab fhuil tú I t'an-táilliúr ... Tá mise I mo thogha táilliúr.
 ən ən mə hi: IN mo shuí.
 SID.46 ə v'i: m'e mō 'yʉ:fəxt 46.509 bhí mé I mo dhúiseacht;
 ən ə gʲi'r'ə ... kra:p'ě ,ŋmō xo:tə, 46.221
 an gcuirthidh ... cnaípe IN mo chóta?
 v'i: f'e ŋ 'møi 46.369b bhí sé IN m'aghaidh;
 n'i:l' ənəd ŋdə xolən' e: j'i:ənə 46.VIII.15
 níl ionad IN do cholainn é a dhéanamh.
 15W (his daughter) ən: ŋ mə xud^(v) ra:n' ! IN mo chuid aráin.
 892Mg ən ən də yoru: ... ən də lã:wə IN do dhorú ... IN do lámha
 (ən 2/2).
 898P1 ən ən' t'æ:snəxi IN t'easnachaí.
 21Pg ən ən da:m he:n' IN d'am héin.

It is my impression that stative use in *i mo / do chodladh / shuí* has ə more commonly than locative use. This can be seen in passages such as:

ta 'n'æ:rt | 'æ:r'əg'əd' ən də 'fo:kə ... N'æ:rt æ:r'əg'əd' ən də 'fo:kə
 gū:n'i' d'er fe gəs ta tu nã:n ə d'erfe v'e də hi: sə 'ni:hə s də xolə sə
 'la:^ə | 11C tá neart airgid IN do phóca ... tá neart airgid IN do phóca i
 gcónaí, a deir sé, agus tá tú i ndan, a deir sé, a bheith I do shuí san oíche
 is I do chodladh sa lá.

Speaker 11C has ə more often than ən before 1 and 2sg possessives.

Note the example of nə from a young speaker:

v'e mə | mə wa'nəlt'ə nu: nə mə 78B bheith I mo bhanaltra nó IN mo

7.54 *i + droch-, fíor-*

i + droch-: ə^N, ən, Ø (ə).

- ə^N ə 'nrox'a:t' I ndrocháit, ə 'nrox'xi: I ndroch-chaoi
 (examples not found in my notes but from memory they seem correct).
 ən v'i: fe n 'drox'wa:rđ a:n M bhí sé IN drochváird ann;
 ... | ən 'drox'hla:n't'ə ... 48M ... sean, IN drochshlainte froisin.
 Ø ta: n kra:n' jin 'drox'ã:t' M tá an crann sin (t) drocháit.
 ə^Ø or Ø ta tu' 'drox'a:t' | ta tu' 'drox'a:t' 64M tá tú I drocháit, tá tú I drocháit.
 Speaker 64M has consistent non-eclipsis here.
 Cp. ə 'n'á:v'æ:ləx 06C I ndeá-bhealach.

i + fíor-: ə^N, ə^Ø.

- ə^Ø mar ta tu' f'ia:r'xu:ntu:r't' 21Pt mar tá tú I fíorchontúirt.

7.55 *i* + most proper names: ə^N, ən

- ə^N *tá mé ag ceapadh gur Cúlánach eile a bhí i MBRÍD mr'í:d' Thomáis Mhrocha. 11C5312;*
sloinne mór a bhí i GCÚLÁN 27Mdperm, ... chuir an mheach gath i GCÚLÁN 27Mdq.
- ə^(N) *nach dreatháir dho Jó ... nach ea a bhí i MICIL RUA? 892M4257;*
f'ær gri:u:l' v'í f'a:n xol'əm' jin' 12J
fear gnaoiúil a bhí i SEÁN CHOILM SIN;
in quotation, æ'n'əm' mo:r ə v'í: mroxə fa'do Mq
ainm mór a bhí i MROCHA fadó.
- ən **f'e:rd ə v'í: ŋ' 'k'ær:u:lən | 'mi:ər | 11C**
Séard a bhí iN CEARÚLÁN maor;
n'í:l' doxər ə b'í əŋ ko:l'in' 23M *níl dochar ar bith iN CÓILÍN;*
sloinne mór a bhí iN CÚLÁN ... iN DÚÁN ... iN CEOINÍN 27Mdperm;
ba duine lag dona a bhí iN MICIL ən m'ík'əl' SHEÁIN, 892M2439;
is é an sórt fear a bhí iN ən MAC BHRIAIN Uí LAIDHE ... 11C3036;
bhí ealaín go leor iN PEADAR MÓR é héin 892M3634;
bhí an spreac mór iN TOMÁS 892M4229;
Níl fhios a'm an bhfágthadh Tomás, Tomás 'ac Con Raoi a bhí ansin thíos,
mórán iN MAOLRA, Ní Maoil Chiaráin. 892M4231;
Ní raibh iN RAFDARAÍ ach, leithide Sheáin Veail 892M5718;
ní mórán cúnamh a bhí iN PÁDRAICÍN Ó DÓNAILL 892M5899;
... a bhí iN MÁIRTÍN 'AC EOIN. SÓC1.81, báadóir a bhí ag Seán 'ac Páraic bhí
iN LABHRÁS A' GHRÉASAÍ SÓC2.281;
bhí ... iN SEÁN 27Md;
su:l'í: daun ə v'í: ŋ' k'ær'f'í:n' Mq *súilí donna a bhí iN CEAITLÍN;*
... ə dəs: ŋ' k'ær'f'í:n' Mq ... a d'fhás iN CEAITLÍN;
xur f'e f'íŋg' u:fəsəx ən' / əm' br'í:d' Mq
chuir sé stíng uafásach iN BRÍD;
ta f'k'irtən' ən' spa:t' Mq *tá sceartáin iN SPAIT.*

(It can be difficult to distinguish between *in* and *i* preceding *M*- because of assimilation in sandhi.) From the examples, we can see that this rule applies to *i* in locative, actual existential and quotative existential functions. The examples also show that the parenthetic gloss 'ar lorg an bhriathair *tá*' in GCF (§414, p. 226 (b)) applies descriptively to most data heard in conversation in Iorras Aithneach (and to the GCF examples from Cois Fharraige) but that other verbs are heard (892M4231 above) and are permissible (Mq, 27Mdq above). Similarly, *in Cúlán*, the surname, and *in Spait*, referring to a dog, show that 'ainm baistidh' referring to this use in GCF (pp. 226 (b), 287, footnote 1(c)) is strictly speaking too narrow. Examples occur of *in* in existential function with place-names:

baile pratastúnach a bhí iN 'ROUNDSTONE' 32J,
í:l'ən ə v'í: n mi:n' əf 18J *oileán a bhí iN MAÍNIS.¹*

Clearly, place-names in locative meaning do not regularly take *in*. In fact, in reply to query, Máire permits only *i* with place-names, including in existential use, e.g.

f'í:r' ə:lən' ə tɑ: m'er'əkɑ: Mq *tír álainn atá i MEIREACÁ;*

¹ Existential *in* disambiguates in such instances: *oileán a bhí in Maínis* 'Maínis was an island' vs. *oileán a bhí i Maínis* 'Maínis was an island' and 'an island that was in Maínis' (the latter also 'there was an island in Maínis').

ʽi:ɾ' a:lən' ə tɑ: | ə roʃə Mq *tír álainn atá I ROISE.*

Máire does, however, permit existential *in* with *tigh*:

teach ósta a bhí (I) TIGH CHÉIN v' i: ʽi: x'e:n' Mq,

teach ósta a bhí IN TIGH CHÉIN Mperm.

The listed examples (of non-place-names) may well follow a tendency regarding realisation of eclipsis. Where eclipsis does not change the initial consonant, both **ə** and **ən** are found, e.g. *i Séán Choilm* and *in Spait*. Where eclipsis changes the base initial consonant, **ən** may be most common; only eclipsed *i mBríd* was noted, although eclipsis being the historically expected realisation, other eclipsed instances may well have slipped my attention. We can tentatively postulate that there is a strategy avoiding eclipsis, i.e. **i gCóilín* was not heard but *in Cóilín* was.

7.56 *i* + definite noun phrases

i + **definite noun**: **ə** generally, **ən** occurs rarely.

ən əŋ ɡ'æ:mər' ə 04B1 *IN gCeamaire* (perhaps; some place-name would be appropriate here);

N' i: x'r'ed' ən' ʃiəd ə n' iə >> N' i: x'r'ed' ən' ʃiəd ən' d' iə S

ní chreideann siad i nDia >> IN Dia;

her' ən l' e't' ə'r' wə:r [sic] 78Rb *thoir IN Leitir Mhór.*

Cp. ə'ma:x ən' d' e'r' ə n' ʃk'e:l' 898P1 *amach IN deireadh an scéil* (or perhaps read *un* (< *chun*) here).

i + **article**: **sə**, etc., as discussed above (7.43 ff.).

One anomalous example with **ən nə** *in na* of the plural article in existential function occurs, flanked by the regular usage:

-*Céard a bhí sna jaicíní, meas tú?* 21Pg ...

-*Bhuel chaithead sé gur éanachaí a bhí IN NA JAICÍNÍ, ɡər 'e:nəxi: v' i: ən nə*

'dʒæk' i:n' i: | *ach bhí an solas ann.* 899D ...

- ... *a bhí sna jaicíní ansin?* 21Pg6879-90-94.

i + **emphatic pronouns**: *in* is the form used by Mq before emphatic pronouns, e.g. *in sibse* (6.26).

7.57 *i* + quantities

i + **numerals, dates and periods**: **ə**, **ən**

In counting and with dates, both **ən** and non-eclipsing **ə** *i* are general, but **ən** *in* is also common. The three variants occur, for example, with *trí*:

ə dr' i:, ə tr' i:, ən' tr' i: *i trí, i trí, in trí.*

The last two types are exemplified here. (For *is / in / i cupla*, see further below.)

ə i 2 *bhí do dhóthain I DHÁ dhrú ə ɣɑ: ɣru: 01C6526;*

ə ɣil' ə ɣɑ: a:t' 20Mlt *a ghoil I DHÁ áit.*

i 3 See example under *in bliain* below.

i 5 | ə'ʃt' 1 'xu:ɡ' 'nū:m' e:d | 894C *istigh I CHÚIG nóiméad;*

ta ən' umərka ʃæ:bl' əʃs ə xu:ɡ' k' i:n' | ... ta ən' umərka

ʃæ:bl' əʃs | 'xu:ɡ' k' i:n' M Tá *an iomarca teaiblíts I CHÚIG*

cinn. ... Tá an iomarca teaiblíts I CHÚIG cinn.

<i>i</i> 10	ʃt'ix' ə d'e num'e:d ... 05M <i>istigh I DEICH nóiméad ...</i>
cp. <i>i</i> 20	gof' əʃt'æ:x ə skorr 08B <i>ag goil isteach I SCÓR.</i>
ən <i>in</i> 2	<i>a' troid IN DHÁ chondae 852S2;</i> taʃiəd ən ɣā: 'ā:t' ā:n 18J8518 <i>tá siad IN DHÁ áit ann.</i> See also under <i>in bliain</i> below.
<i>in</i> 3	m'edi:hə (l) ən' tr'i: bl'ianə 16St <i>méadaíthe IN TRÍ bliana.</i>
<i>in</i> 14	johə: oxt g'i:n' d'e:g ən x'er'ə fotə je:g 21Pt <i>gheothá ocht gcinn déag IN CHEITHRE phota dhéag.</i>
<i>in</i> 40	əŋ k'æ:rəxə (...) num'e:d 64C <i>IN CEATHRACHA nóiméad (x3).</i>
<i>in Jún</i>	ən' dʒu:n v'et ʃe n' dʒu:n e n'i:l' ʃe fə:s e ən' dʒu:n 14M <i>IN JÚN, bheadh sé IN JÚN é, níl sé fós é, IN JÚN.</i> 'in (the month of) June' (of a person being a certain age).
<i>in lá is</i>	əʃt' i n la: s bl'ian' 892Mt <i>istigh IN LÁ IS BLIAIN;</i> ai' əma:x ən la: əs bl'ian', je tu ma:x ... ən la: gəʃ tr'i: rə:h e 892M <i>fháil amach IN LÁ IS BLIAIN, gheothaidh tú amach ... IN LÁ AGUS TRÍ RÁITHE é.</i>
<i>in mí</i>	 əʃt' ih ən m'i: æ:mʃər'ə ... 23Ms <i>istigh IN MÍ aimsire ...</i>
<i>in bliain,</i>	ma:s f'e:d'ər' e ji:nə ə d'er ʃi: əm b'Y'ian' [bl'ian' ?] ə
<i>i(n)</i> 3,	d'er ʃi' s f'e:d'ər' e ji:nə tr'i: rə:hə ... ən' tr'i: rə:hə ...
<i>in</i> 2	əŋ ɣa: rə:hə 898P <i>'más féidir é a dhéanamh,' a deir sí, 'IN BLIAIN,' a deir sí, 'is féidir é a dhéanamh I TRÍ ráithe ... IN TRÍ ráithe ... IN DHÁ ráithe.'</i>

There is a (rare) hesitant example of *in leathuair* (for usual *i leathuair*) in:

... **an | ə | ən' l'æ'huər' 894Bl** ... *ann, i, IN LEATHUAIR.*

Cp. regular eclipsis of a fraction in:

beidh sé leáite istich i, I GCEATHRÚ UAIRE. 01Pt.

i + *timpeall's* + numeral: **ən**

Before the adverb of modality, **ən'** occurs in:

go ngothaidís go hÁrainn, IN TIMPEALL'S DHÁ ən' t'impəls ɣa: uair an chloig. 20A.

i + *cupla, chupla* (indefinite adjective), **s, ə, ən**

Before the indefinite adjective *cupla, is* (obsolescent) and *in* occur:

beidh siad imithe as t'afarc istigh IS CUPLA əʃt' i s kuplə soicind 18J9304;

... **əŋ xuplə bl'ian' | 21Pt** ... *IN CHUPLA bliain.*

Speaker **21J** translated *istigh, I, CUPLA soicind 21Jq*, i.e. without mutation.

i + *an iomarca*: **ən**

Before pronominal *an iomarca*, the form *in* occurs:

Níl aon mhaith IN AN IOMARCA hileáram FFG s.v. hileáram,

Máire claims she would not say this; she prefers *Níl aon mhaith an iomarca ...*

Mq.

7.58 i + other elements**i + ‘quote’: ə, ən**

With words in existential quotation both non-eclipsing ə *i* and ən *in* occur, as well as ən before vowels, e.g.

k'e:rd ta rã:və:l't'i M céard atá I 'RÁMHAILTÍ'?

k'e:rt ta frail'əsəx M céard atá I 'FROIGHLEASACH'?

n'i:l'əs a'm k'e:rd ta ən ɔ:a:v 25M níl fhios a'm céard tá IN 'DEÁIMH' (the meaning of *dáimh* had been queried by me);

k'e:rt ta ən æ'dwu:n'əx M céard atá IN 'ADUAINNEACH'?

i + stressed (historical) preposition

Note: ə ɲunəs oɟəs ə ɲiv'əs S *INGANFHIOS agus INGOBHFIOS*.

i + eclipsis > Ø

There are a few examples with place-names where both ə *i* and its eclipsis are elided. This may add clarity to a statement particularly in the first mention of a place-name. The examples from Seán and Máire occur phrase-initially but there is also evidence in postvocalic position.

bl'a: kl'ia v'i: ʃe S (IM) Bleá Cliath a bhí sé.

-k'e:rd e kartu:r Céard é 'Cartúr'? (Barbara Wehr)

-kartu:r ta mid'ə M (IG) Cartúr atá muide.

f'ær ... ə v'i: korə nə ru:n ... bæ du: jehər' ə v'i:dər ə dəsəx | ... ə nu: jehər' 25M2

fear ... a bhí (t) Cora na Rón ... ba (t) Dumhaigh Ithir a bhíodar i dtosach, ... i nDumhaigh Ithir.

There are examples with uneclipsed place-names where ə *i* is retained:

hi:s ə der'ə n'e: 20A thíos I Doire an Fhéich;

gə L'or əpu' ə do: ɔ:əʃ 71D go leor acú I Doire Iorrais.

The indefinite pronoun *tada* is generally eclipsed following *i*^N, e.g. *níl maith i dtada* (regular), but non-eclipsis was also noted:

[níl maith] fanta I tada fa:ntə tæ:də anis 44Pc.¹

7.59 More -n use

In hesitation, ən *in* rarely occurs:

xir' m'e ʃt'æ:x ə, ən stuf ə v'i: n'ʃin' am e 01J

chuir mé isteach I — IN STUF a bhí ansin a'm é.

Nontraditional -n forms are noticeably more prominent in speaker 66N. She has locative *in* with a borrowing in:

wanhə ʃi: ən ʃæ:nən 66N an bhfanthaidh sí IN SEANAN?

She has *san* before hesitation and before the (borrowed) filler *eim* (where traditional usage has *sə* in hesitation):

... sən | sən | sən bres 66N ... san — san — SAN b'press',

v'i: ʃə sən em' ... 66N bhí sé SAN eim ... ,

gə ji:nə | sən' | v'æ:k dəri: 66N dhá dhíonamh — SAN — bhfeaicdaráí,

gər k'ær:pən'tər ə v'i: sən | sən v'ær ə v'i: ek'ə 66N

¹ This instance is found in my notes as *fanta i tada fa:ntə tæ:də anis 44Pc*. I recall the context as being *níl maith fanta i tada anis*. Cp. *mhaith (dho) tada ann 'wæ: tæ:d ən | 892M1398* (p. 1370 n. 1).

tá mé ag cheapadh gur cearpaintear a bhí san — *SAN bhfear a bhí aici.*
 She has *insan* before consonant in: **ənsən** **L'aur 66N** *INSAN leabhar.*
 Cp. *in*^N + indefinite noun from another young speaker:
du:l' eg'ə η gɑ:kə | 73P2 *dúil aige IN GCÁCA.*

7.60 Prepositional pronoun; 1. Initial stress

II

	Singular	Plural
1	unəm , inəm , 'u'num, ə'num, num, inəm	unən' , emphatic also u'nu:n'ə
2	unəd , 'nød, nəd, nut, unut	uni: , unəb' , ini: , inəb' , 'i'nib', i'nib' , un'ib'
3m	ɑ:n , an	intəb , intəb , untəb , untəb , intu: , intu: , antəb , antəb
f	int'ə , int'ə	

Examples are given below according to stress: 1. Initial stress, and 2. Second-syllable stress.

1. Initial stress

Initial stress is general.

1sg	unəm	SM; inəm M.
	inəm	only from 43S (mother from Árainn), who uses it consistently.
2sg	unəd	SM.
	ənəd	n'i:l' ənəd ηdə xolən' e: ji:ənə 46.VIII.15 <i>níl IONAD in do cholainn é a dhéanamh.</i>
	unut	n'i:l' sp'ir'əd' ə b'i unut 21Jq <i>níl spirid ar bith IONAD.</i>
3m	an	mə:rɑ:ləx ən he:n' M <i>móralach ANN héin;</i> b'ei fe' nə wɑ:ru: frɑ:ŋkəx a'n M <i>beidh sé ina mharú francach ANN.</i> an is relatively rare and can be taken as a phonetically reduced by-form of ɑ:n .

Note **ɑ:nsən** with emphatic particle, e.g.

f'æ:r d'intə fo:ltə bɑ:d' ə v'i ɑ:nsən 893P
fear déanta seolta báid a bhí ANNSAN.

With demonstrative adjectives **ən'fə** *anseo* (less often **ən'fow**, **ən'fou**), **ən'fin'** *ansin*, **ən'fid** *ansiud*, **ən'fu:d** *ansiúd*; perhaps also **ən'fod** *anseod*.
E.g.

A! níl ANSEO ach sórt 'yarn' beag, P 'Ah this is only a little yarn';
file mór le rá a bhí ANSIN 11C 'he was a prominent poet';
dhá mba aranjan eile a bheadh ANSIN M 'if that was a different orange'.

3f	int'ə	SM; int'ə 892M, 35E.
1pl	unən'	S.
2pl	uni:	uni: S; Máire, in reply to query, produced uni: and inəb' , and, with further questioning, unəb' and permitted ini: .
3pl	intu:	S intu: , intəb , untəb ;

B'an-dream seoltóireacht a bhí IONTÚ sin v' i: intu: fín' 897P;
35E1 intəb; 11P untəb (x2).

u:ntəb The only example with **u:-** is found in SID.46:
u:ntüb 46 s.v. *ionnam*; also **i:ntüb** 46.I.14.

ant-, a:nt- Both **ant-** and **a:nt-** variants, based on 3m **a:n** *ann* (and current in North Conamara and further north), were noted from speakers from Doire Iorrais, North-East Iorras Aithneach.

antəb The only example with **a-** was noted in:
si:m' a:m antəb 00C *suim a'm IONTUB*.

a:ntəb The only example with **a:-** was noted in:
v'i:f' i: fa:nəxt a:ntəb [slight hesitation] | ... **i:ntəb** | **20A**
bhítí ag fanacht IONTUB, ... IONTUB.

7.61 2. Second-syllable stress

Final stress is relatively rare. Double stress seems to occur at times; the second vowel is clear, at least, in the 2sg in, for example,

ʃk'i:n gə dʊ:d' inəd M *scian go dúid IONAD*.

The intonation in such cases may continue to fall noticeably after the primary stress, sometimes giving the impression of equal stress on both syllables:

k'ε n'æ:rt ə v'i' 'nəd (≈ 'i:nəd) **n'ir an hup nə hə:p inəm** M
cén neart a bhí IONAD; *níor fhan hup ná hap IONAM*

n'i:l' e:n' sp'in u'num ~ unəm ~ 'u'num Mq *níl aon spionnadh IONAM*.

Loss of the initial syllable occurs postvocally, where elision of unstressed schwa is regular, but also postconsonantly.

1sg **n'i:l' hup nə hə:p unəm** M *níl hup ná hap IONAM*.

n'i:l' 'hup nə 'hə:p ,num ə ,vrain M

níl hup ná hap IONAM, a Bhraidhean.

n'i:l' f'i: nə f'ɑ: 'fa:nt ,num SM *Níl fí ná feá fanta IONAM*.

Dúirt se nar raibh aon chúnamh IONAM ā: 'xu:nə 'num M.

2sg **tə xul' æ:kʃən nəd** [also] ... **unəd** M *tá chuile aicsean IONAD*.

n'i:l' sp'ir'əd' ə b'i nət | [also] ... **unut** | **21Jq** *níl spirid ar bith IONAD*.

1pl Emphatic generally **unən' ə ionainne**, but **u'nu:n' ə 60M ionúinne**, cp. the same speaker's **ʃu:n' ə 60M liúinne**.

2pl **mā:s f'ir' 'v̥āh ə 'v'i: i'nib' ə d'ər ʃe** | **11C4119**

más fir mhaithe a bhí IONAIB, a deir sé;

bai d̥æ:d n'i:l' e:n' ix' ə f'ol i'nib' M

baidhe deaid níl aon ithe feola IONAIB;

also produced were **un'ib' uni: unəb' Mq**.

The rare example of **ə'-** occurs in the emphatic 1sg with **-sa:**

n'i a:nsən ə tɑ: ʃe ax ə num sə Mtrans *ní annsan atá sé ach IONAMSA*.

7.62 *le*

I

Γe, Γe:, Γə; ʎ'e *le*.

Γe occurs in all contexts. Γe:, with long vowel, occurs independently and also in compound forms: Γe: mə *le mo*; Γe:nə *lena* (third person possessive pronoun); Γe:r *ler* (cataphoric relative); and sometimes with the article; but only Γe is found before -ʃ in combination with the article, e.g. Γeʃ nə *leis na*. (Γe:ʃ is a by-form of the compound preposition *thar éis*; cf. Γiʃ, 7.63.) Cp. *le haghaidh Γehi*: with short stressed e generally. Regarding e/e:, Máire uses Γe most frequently and Γe:nə more frequently again, e.g. Γe:nə wá:hər' M *lena mháthair*. Clear examples of Γe: in a compound form are:

gá m' ex tri:á:l' æd' Γe:nə gū:r' ə 11C1049
dhá mbeadh traíáil a'd LENA gcomhaireamh;
 b' ænəx d' e: Γe:nə 'hā:nə́m | 11C *beannacht Dé LENA hanam*;
 Γe:nə Γæ:nu:n't' (Smds)04B *LENA leanúint*.

Γə is the least common form; speaker 880P tends to lower e(:) and Γə is common in his speech. An example occurs with the article in:

dí:n' ə g' iər e g obər Γəʃ ə g' r' iəw 892M1500¹
daoine ag iarraidh a bheith ag obair LEIS an gcliabh.

Another example, with slight hesitation, is:

wel' b' æ'n 'wī:n't' ə'r' əx 'ji fo 'wī' | ə | Γə mə v' æ:n ən' 'fo | 11C
Bhuel bean mhuintireach dhi seo í, LE mo bhean anseo.

Stressed *le* occurs, for example, before a 'given' noun:

... kl' iəw ... 'Γe: mə xl' iəw | 894N ... *cliabh ... LE mo chliabh*.

Examples of the simple preposition *le* collated from SID.46 are:

Γe: Γe: p' e:r'ʃ ələxi 38 *LE péarsalachaí*, Γe: ʃi'nəx 150 *LE sionnach*,
 Γe: gə:su:r' 351 *LE gasúir*; 1113, etc., also text I simple Γe: only.
 Γè: gə:lun 1104 *LE galún*.
 Γe ta: ʃe ə k' o:l Γe 'dɛʃ k' o:l' (Γe: v' eil') 698 *tá sé ag ceol LE deis ceoil (LE veidhil)*; cp. Γe hi: 'iʃk' è, 586 *le haghaidh uisce*, etc.

For rare ʎ'e, see 7.65.

7.63 **Conjunctive forms****With the article**

le + an: singular: Γeʃ ə(n) (t), rarely Γiʃ ... , ʎ'eʃ ... , *leis an (t)*;
 exceptionally Γe(:) (ə)n *le an*;
 plural: Γeʃ nə, rarely Γes nə, *leis na*,
 much less frequently Γe(:) nə *le na*.

Singular

Singular Γeʃ ə(n) (t) is the general form. The vowel i also occurs in Γiʃ with the article (also in 3m, 7.64), e.g.

¹ g' r' iəw is a slip of the tongue for g' iəw.

Í fí ə ɡlɔ ʃín' M LEIS AN *gcloich sin*;
 n'e: Í fí ə v'æ:r ... [sic] 25M2 *in éindí LEIS AN bhfear ...*

Exceptionally, *Í e ən* *le an* occurs with the semi-incorporation of the article into the following clause or phrase. The lexemes involved are *an fhad*, *an iomarca* and *an áit*:

(i) *an fhad* in, for example,

n'í: rə m'e ən Í e ən æ:d 56N *ní raibh mé ann LE AN fhad*;
 Í e næ:d 70S *LE AN fhad*.

(ii) *an iomarca*:

v'í: nə ʃa:x n'aul' er' Í e n'umərkə Í e rə: eg'ə P (*ara bhíodh an iomarca le rá aige*) *bhí na seacht ndeabhail air LE AN iomarca le rá aige*. Cp. use of *i* as in *an iomarca* above (7.57).

(iii) with compound preposition *in aice le* and adverbial conjunction *an áit a*:

in aice LE 'N áit a dtugann siad ... 869P5;
 næ:k'ə Í e n a:t' ə | tə k'eʃ ɣa:rəx 897P
 (*bhí sé thiar sa teach sin*) *in aice LE AN áit atá Céit Dharach*.

Younger speaker 73P has a further anomalous example:

n'e:n'əx Í e da hær:n'ə 73P *in éineacht LE AN dá thairne*.

In fact, *le an* is common in semi-speakers, e.g.

... *bhfuil mé LE AN laiteo a bhuachaint, ... LE AN ceann ... 70S*.

Plural

Plural *Í eʃ nə* is the general form. Speaker 01P has greater than usual depalatalisation of *ʃ* in sandhi, including some apparent slips of the tongue. He also has frequent *Í es nə* *leis na*, e.g. *Í es nə 'fa:ti: 01P leis na fataí*. Among the older generation *Í e(:) nə* is not usual. It occurs with a noun qualified by a verbal-noun clause in:

féachain LE NA geasa chur dhíom 869P2.

But also outside that context:

Í e' nə kɔrən's 04Br *LE NA 'Currans'*,

Í e' nə ɡr'ialəxə ʃín' 04Br *LE NA Grialaiseacha sin* (slip for *ɡr'ialəʃəxə*).

Note that 869P and 04Br are father and daughter. I have also heard *le na* frequently from speaker 05M and have noted *Í e nə ɡ'ure:xi 29N le na giorraíocháí* from her daughter. It becomes common among the youngest speakers:

Í e nə hæ:ŋgəxi 77C *LE NA heangacháí*;

Í e' | nə [x2], Í e (l) nə 78P;

Í e nə mu:n'ɔ:r'i: Í e nə ... 80A *LE NA múinteoirí LE NA ...*

Other conjunctive use

le + a^N cataphoric relative: *le (a), lena, leis a*; past *ler*, e.g.

xuə ʃe Í e ə rə a:n Mtrans, Í e nə ro a:n M, Í eʃ ə ro a:n Mperm
chuaigh sé LE A / LENA / LEIS A raibh ann.

A rare context for *leis* was noted with *aréir*:

ma:d'ər' Í eʃ 'ə:re:r' 46C *maidir LEIS aréir*,

more commonly ... *leis an oíche aréir*.

7.64 Prepositional pronoun

II

	Singular	Plural
1	Íum, Íum, Íu:m, Íəm	Íiń, Íu:ń, (Íi:ń), emphatic also L'Íińə
2	Íat, Íat	Íib', Íi:b'
3m	Íef, Íif, Íəf	Ío:həb, Íohəb, Ío:b, Ío:hu:, Íohu:, (Íofə)
f	Íe:hə, Íehə	

There is also an adverb Íef (Í'ef 894C) *leis* 'exposed'.

Examples (Í- only):

1sg	Íum	the general form.
	Íu:m	Íum ~ Íu:m 897S1.
	Íəm	unstressed Íəm 64M.
3m	Íef	the general form.
	Íif	wel' v'i: rud ək'i:ń' ə ba'ń't Íif 892M1108 <i>bhuel bhí rud eicint ag baint LEIS;</i> ga dri:ə:ləx tusə Íif iəd M dhá dtraíáladh tusa LEIS iad; hug fə 'Íif ə slə:t'i:ń' M thug sé LEIS u- (filler) — slaitín.
	Íəf	note ə, e, i, alternation in: ... mar bə 'v' i:ń' Íəf / Íef / Íif S mar ba mhian LEIS.
3f	Íe:hə	46.L47, 04Br.
	Íe'hə	rinne sí amhrán eile dho dhreatháir LÉITHI Íe'hə 11C; <i>ag goil ag imeacht LÉITHI Íe'hə 11C.</i>
	Íehə	46.420, 921, SM;
	Íe:ə	04Br, through loss of h (synchronically).
	Íe'	881J, through loss of -hə (synchronically).
1pl	Íiń	894N, 899N1, 04Br, 15W, 16M, 25T (x2), 36P, 72C, 78B, 78Rb. Íiń >>> Íu:ń M.
	Íu:ń	872P, 892M, 04B, 06C, 16M, 21M, 23B, 55J, 79J; in emphatic Íu:ń ə 73P2, 70S. 892M: <i>ach d'éirigh LIÚINN, go bhfuair muid cheithre cinn dhe bhraín ... ;</i> <i>'mar is námhaid LIÚINNE é.' tn.</i> 06C: <i>thug muide, ar chuma ar bith sábh LIÚINN agus casúr</i> 16M: <i>b'e mud' ə gl'i:ma:l' Íu:ń' beidh muid ag glíomáil LIÚINN.</i> 79J: <i>d'e:ə Íiń' déarthaidh LINN; Íu:ń' he:ń' LIÚINN héin.</i> Íu:ń' seems to have become more common in speakers born since the early 1970s.
	Íi:ń	d'íə Íi:ń' ogəs mir' ə 32PLC <i>Dia LINN agus Muire!</i> (only).
2pl	Íib'	generally.
	Íi:b'	66J. Speaker 70S was noted using Íi:b' since 1999. He may have begun to use Íi:b' then as he was, at that time, living and working in Cois Fharraige, where Íi:b' is more common than in Iorras Aithneach.
3pl	Ío:həb	most common.
	Ío:hu:	12S; now common among speakers born since the late 1960s.
	Ío:b	Ío:b f'ín' 852S <i>LEOTHUB sin</i> , Ío:b 894C, ə 'pl'e: Ío:b 18J7732 <i>ag plé LEOTHUB.</i> Some (mostly older) speakers have this variant so frequently that it can be analysed as a base form in their speech, rather than simply a reduced form of Ío:həb.
	Íofə	noted from only one (young) speaker: Íofə ~ Ío:b 78P.

7.65 Initial ʲ- and ʳ-

Initial ʲ- is almost categorical. Only six speakers in my sample, **869P**, **875P**, **892M**, **894C**, **06C**, and, the youngest, **16M**, were noted with conservative ʳ-. All six have ʲ- in what are, for the sample, individually unique parameters of usage. The relevant postconsonantal contexts involve clusters containing -r / -n / -l ## ʲ- where the historical nonlenited sandhi consonants are retained. In most instances a nonlenited final consonant can be taken to be the trigger of the following ʲ- in *le*, e.g. k'ɑ:n ʳe fɑ:nə *ceann le fána*, taken synchronically as lexically marked -n ʳ- < -n ʲ- < -n ʲ- (although historically -n ʳ- < -n ʲ-). The instance of xə ɡ'æ:ʳ ʳe- *chomh geal le-* is more complex being derived historically from sandhi -ʳ ʳ- < -l() ʳ-, although synchronically the individual lexemes otherwise contain lenited consonants /-l()/ /ʲ- /.

Speaker **869P**'s usage is confined to 1sg (only following *féidir* in my transcriptions) and 2sg following interjection *huga*.

Speaker **875P** has ʳ- in *kir'ə m'ijə 'ɡ'ɑ:l ʳæ:t* **875P** *cuirthidh mise geall leat*.

Speaker **892M**'s usage is confined to forms with emphatic clitics.

Speaker **894C**'s usage is lexically constrained, he has ʳ- in the adverb *leis* and with the simple preposition in *ceann le fána* and *geall le*.

Speaker **06C** has ɡə dʊɡən ʳim **06C** *go dtugainn liom*.

Speaker **16M** (and presumably other speakers) has ʲ- in lexicalised sandhi in *chomh geal le*, i.e. xə ɡ'æ:ʳ ʳef ə ju:nən Mq *chomh geal leis an ghuíinnean* (one wonders whether the phonetic parallelism of ʳ and n between ɡ'æ:ʳ ʳef and ju:nən is of any relevance here).

SID.46 has ʲ- in all instances except the 1sg where ʳ [x8] >> ʲ- [x4]. The 1sg examples are:

- ʲ-: dɑ:n ʲi: ʲumsə 922 *d'fhan sí LIOMSA*;
 è:n 'vi:xəs ʲqm 'fi:, 1004 *aon bhuíochas LIOM faoi*;
 əs do:x'i: ʲqm nɑ:x b'a: (s.v. *dóiche*) *is dóichí LIOM nach b'ea*;
 n'i: ma ʲqmp'hɛ:n (s.v. *maith*) *ní maith LIOM héin*.

Otherwise:

- ʳ-: küd'u: ʳqm 102 *cuidiú LIOM*;
 n'i: f'e:d'əʳ ʳqm e: 'ek'ɑ:l 404 *ní féidir LIOM é a fheiceál*;
 e:ʃ ʳqm pl. e:ʃt'ig'i: ʳqm 418 *éist / éistigí LIOM*;
 also -e ʳqm 419, -u: ʳqm 773, -n ʳqm 923, -e ʳqm 936.

It may be significant that no tokens of 1sg ʲ- were noted in SID.46 following nonlow back vowels. The clearly audible palatalisation which is perceptible between high back vowels, i.e. -u: ʳq(.)m (2/2), may have been erroneously interpreted by Wagner as a phonetic cue for the nonlenited lateral (cf. 1.417).

Other persons in SID.46 have ʲ- only:

- f'ɑ:r ʲat 76, also 73, 696, 978, s.v. *bheirim*;
 ʲehě 420; ʲef 935, also 1019, 1041, VIII.11.

In recordings of speaker **869P**, ʲ- is also general, e.g.

- xə luə ʲef **869P** *chomh luath LEIS*;
 n'i: f'ɑ:r ʲumsə ... *ní fearr LIOMSA* ... frequently.

In fact there is a higher proportion of 1sg ʲ- in his recordings than in SID.46. I have, however, noted a token of ʳ- which occurs in the same person and context as 46.404 cited above:

əs 'f'e:d'ər l'im ə 'ho:rt 'dit' 869P is féidir LIOM a thabhairt duit.

He also has consistent l' - in *huga leat*, e.g.

| hugə 'l'æt | əgəs | i'n' əf' gə də 'w̃ɑ:ʃt'ər' | e 'j'in' | 869PSgbf

Huga LEAT agus innis dho do mháistir é sin!

Speaker 869P's daughter, 04Br, was noted with l' - only.

Speaker 892M has l' - only in forms with emphatic particle in his recordings:

dr' ehɑ:r' l'imsə ARN1732 *dreatháir LIOMSA*

vs. dr' ehɑ:r' l'um^p he:n' ARN1759 *dreatháir LIOM héin*;

du:rʃ' fe' 'l'in' e ARN1565 *dúirt sé LINNE é*, contrast his l'umⁿ ə liúinne (*linne* is the older variant).

Speaker 894C has l' - generally, e.g.

| l'ej' ən anō' | 894C *LEIS an anó*, du:ru: l'or^əb | 894C *dúradh LEOTHUB*.

He has l' - in two set phrases in perseverative sandhi following palatals n' and l' (which are palatalised in anticipatory sandhi before *le*):

k'ɑ:n' l'e fɑ:nə 894C *ceann LE fána*;

bə g'ɑ:l' l'e | mɑ:lə ɣɑ' x'e:d ... 894C

ba geall LE mála dhá chéad ... cárt mine buí [geall le 'resembling'].

Also in the adverb l'ej' *leis*, recorded in:

'l'ik' ihə 'l'ej' | 894C *lighíthe LEIS*.

Speaker 06C has l' - generally but l' - in (a presumable sandhi position similar to *ceann le* in 894C's recording):

gə dugən' l'im | əm' 'b'ært' 'im' ə 06C *go dtugainn LIOM an beart ime*.

Contrast gə dugən' | l'um hū' | 869P *go dtugainn LIOM thú*.

For examples of l' ~ l (in sandhi) ~ l' in pronominal forms of *le* from the younger speaker 66N, see 2.32.

7.66 *mar*

mar *mar* is the general form. A reduced vowel occurs in some younger speakers:

mər ho aku 77C *MAR heo acú*, mər jin' 80P *MAR sin*.

Final *r* is lost in a young speaker's ma hin' 79St *mar hin*, which corresponds to the same speaker's ma ɑ:l' 79St *mar gheall*. Other younger speakers similarly reduce the preposition and conjunction *mar gheall* (*ar*) (7.119).

The form **marə** *mara* is used in Echo contexts referring to *mar a chéile*. For example:

-nax mɑ:rə x'e:l' iəd S *Nach MAR a chéile iad?*

-n'i: mɑ:rə M *Ní MARA*.

A *Níor MHARA chéile iad*. B *Níor MHARA*. FFG *mar 2*.

(Other dialects have historical *is mar*, *ní mar* (heard in Ros Muc) and *is ea*, *ní hea*.)

An example of *mar* before a noun is:

buinneach mhíosa oraí MAR laonta S.

When the conjunction *mar* is used with the 3sg conditional of the verb *bí*, in *mar* (*a bh*)*eadh*, the whole phrase can function as a preposition. Its phonetic realisation varies: **mar ə v'ɛx**, **mar ɛx**, **mar ɔx**, **marex**, **marəx**. This yields four ways of saying 'like you', for example, which may have semantic and other distinctions:

mar husə, typically ‘as you (are)’, e.g.

níl chuile dhuine MAR thusa;

ə nu:s husə, ‘resembling you’ (in manner), e.g.

tá Seán ar nós thusa, but also ‘as you (are)’;

mar ex tusə, ‘like you’, e.g.

tá sé ard mar a bheadh tusa anois;

kosu:lʲ ɾæ:tsə, ‘resembling you’ (in appearance but also in manner), e.g.

tá Seán cosúil leatsa.

Of the three historical prepositions, *mar* is the most confined, *ar nós* is general, *cosúil le* is generally distinct in the sense of ‘appearance’ although it is found in place of *ar nós*, especially in younger speakers, whose speech is no doubt ultimately influenced by English ‘like’. Although quasi-prepositional use of *mar a bheadh* is not uncommon, the most prepositional use is heard frequently only in clann Mhacaí ’ac Con Iomaire of An Coillín. Even though *mar a bheadh* can be analysed as a preposition, both semantically and formally, particularly when phonetically reduced to **marəx**, it retains at least two verbal features: 2sg subject personal pronoun **tusə**, sandhi **-x ʃ-** > **-ʃ ʃ-**. For further examples, see *bí* (5.248).

7.67 **ó, uaidh; 1. ó**

I

The simple preposition has two forms: 1. *ó*; and innovative 2. *uaidh* (a form identical to the 3m). (For doubtful **wə:**, see 7.68.)

1. **o:, ə:, (a) ó**

o: is the most frequent form.

ə: is used very frequently by a minority of the older generation, for example, **894N**. It is **01P** and **04B**’s usual form, also as the corresponding conjunction, and it is a minor variant for other speakers, e.g.

| d’imt ə: ʃu:n’ e:rə | ə: ‘æn’ hō **01P**

déanta ó siúinéara Ó aithne;

ə:n’ ɾ’e: 04B5 ÓN té; ə:wai:ɾ’ə | ə:n toxərd’ə | 04B5 abhaile, ÓN tsochairde;

ə: ri:n’ə tu: 04B5 ó [conjunction] rinne tú.

im’əxt ə vrə:m ə:n tu:n’ ort S (often) *imeacht an bhrama ÓN tóin ort!*

ə:nə wi:n’ər’ M ÓNA mhuintir.

ə: is common for speaker **35E** (**04B**’s son):

tuki: n’i:s a:n stupə:g’ ‘æ:n’skufə:nt æd | 35E

tugthaí aníos ÓN stopóig an-scufánta a’d.

Sometimes weakened to **a:**

a xə:rnə gə ka:ʃəl M ó Charna go Caiseal.

For the formally identical *ó* in adverbs of place, *ó thuaidh*, *ó dheas*, see 8.188 ff.

7.68 **2. wai uaidh**

wai uaidh as a simple preposition is relatively rare in the older generation. In the following discussion, examples noted from older speakers are presented first. Speaker **20C**, however, does have frequent simple preposition *uaidh*, e.g.

UAIDH Dheaideo 20C, UAIDHNA leithide sin 20C.

Máire usually has simple *ó* but *uidh* was noted governing the 1sg emphatic pronoun in:

m'æ:s tu dæ:sti:n wai m'ijə mə ɣruəg' ə n'ixɑ:n 16M (Máire)

meas tú an dtastaíonn UAIDH mise mo ghruaig a nóchán? '... I need to ...'.

Máire judges this usage to be permissible with *uidh* but not with *ó* (cf. 'Pronouns' 6.26). Governing a definite noun, she has *uidh* in her writing (see further below, with the article):

Ní bhfuair muid aon leitir UAIDH Dara ná Eibhlín ó d'imigh siad ... ag fanacht go bhfuighe mé airgead uidh H. Mlt.

There is a possible example of the serial effect in the following slightly disfluent example where the first *uidh* may have originally been intended as 3m:

hæ:st gə l'or jf'æk' wai (l) ə: | wai dɾi:ðəni' xlɑ:n ðɑ:ni wɔ:r' 07P

thastaigh go leor sleaic uidh, u-, UAIDH druíjeannaí chlann Janáí Mhóir.

uidh + article

A similarly hesitant example with preceding 3f occurs in:

agus bhí steapars ag goil uaiti — UAIDH AN eangach wohə | wai n' æ:ŋgəx sios ar an rópa sin 01C6306.

Singular article examples (without hesitation in production):

... aoirde ... UAIDH AN leaba a ru sé sínte uirthi ... 869P2;

Shíltheá go bhfuil tú ag fáil cuimse strúmáil UAIDH AN gcloich sin S;

wai ən v'ær jin' [x4] Mq *UAIDH AN bhfear sin,*

wai ən' æ:r jin' [x2] Mq, **wain' æ:r jin'** [x1] Mq *UAIDH AN fhear sin;*

possible example: *féachaint a' scarthait sé UAIDH AN sionnach 894C9.*

Plural article:

n'i: wi: tu tæ:də "næ:jk'ə ,wai nə 'd'aul' M

ní bhfuighidh tú tada in aisce UAIDH NA deabhail.

uidh + possessive pronoun: **wainə wi:n't'ər'** Mq *UAIDHNA mhuintir.*

Máire's use of *uidh* as a simple preposition in her letter writing (= Mlt) is far more frequent than in her speech.¹ Approximately 20 examples of *uidh* were noted in her letters against only 5–10 tokens of *ó*. All *uidh* tokens are used with definite objects:

uidh, e.g. *UAIDH Kim, UAIDH do mháthair, Grá mór UAIDH Seán 7 Máire,*

Air chuala tú UAIDH AN lad sin as an France? [i.e. 'France']

ó, e.g. *ó Bhrian, ó shoin,* and as conjunction *ó tháinig muid.*

The property of definiteness which acts as a constraint in Máire's letter-writing (Mlt) can be compared with the categorical use of *thrid* (the same form as the 3m) for *thrí* before the singular article and its expansion to other environments.

Among younger speakers *uidh* becomes very common:

47L **wai n ma:rəgə** *UAIDH AN margadh.*

66N with indefinite noun: **wai xɑ:ki** *UAIDH chácaí;*

with the article: **wai ən t'æ:x** *UAIDH AN teach;* **wai ən ti:v** *UAIDH AN taobh;*

wai ŋ e:dən *UAIDH AN éadan* **waiŋ doxtu:r** *UAIDH AN dochtúir.*

70S1 **wai din'ə k'i:n't'** *UAIDH duine eicint;*

wai ən ... *UAIDH AN;* **wai bal'ə wu:r'n'ə** *UAIDH Baile Bhuirne.*

¹ This may be a common trait. There is an example from a fourteen-year old writer in 1931 (Neain, sister of **04Br** and **15W**; Ó Con Cheanainn 2002: 205–7; *hs* have been inserted where appropriate): *eirighthe o dhraoidheacht acht [... ..] bhí sé tóigthe uidh dhraoidheacht aige.*

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- 78Rb** ma:x wai nə flauərs *amach UAIDH NA flabhars.*
79S tra:snə wai fa:rək' *trasna UAIDH Phádraig.*
79J wai nə b'ehi *UAIDH NA beithí.*
79MI p'isə wain mo:hər ... *píosa UAIDH AN mbóthar*

wə: ?

A possible example of **wə:**, which was not clearly heard, is:

níor cheannaigh tú tada Ó AN wə: η boc sin? (or perhaps ... **wəi**);

cp. a similar example: **fa:də | w'ə:m vor' u:n' 21Pt1** *fada, ÓN bhFoiriúin.*

These examples can be interpreted as (spontaneous) contaminations of **ə:** and **wai**.

7.69 Prepositional pronoun

II

	Singular	Plural
1	wem', wim', wom, wuəm', wəm'	wen', win'
2	wet', wit'	web'
3m	wai	wohəb, wohu:, (wo:həb, wo:əb, wob), wo:hu:, wuəhəb
f	wohə	

Examples

- 1sg **wem'** the general form.
wəm' unstressed: SID.46 s.v. *ó*, **24M**, **64M**.
wim' ... 'wim' ... **20A**.
wum' ser' ə bo:hər wumfə | **37J** *soir an bóthar UAIMSE*;
wom **21J** only.
wuəm' xun'ik' m'e wuəm' e **05S** *choinic mé UAIM é*;
 ə t'ehu wem' [x2] ... t'ehə | wuəm' | ... wem' ... wem' **27Mdq**
ag teitheadh UAIM.
- 2sg **wet'** the general form, e.g. **wet'** 46.74a.
wit' wit' 46.296. Speaker **04B**, and probably **16M**, regularly have **wet'** but also:
 də xosə wɪt' sə ŋl'a:n (Lam)**04B** *do chosa UAIT sa ngleann*;
 ga f'k'olpə wit' M *dhá sciolpadh UAIT*;
 hori: wet' s d'i:n e | hori: gə d'o: wit' M
shoraidh UAIT is déan é, shoraidh go deo UAIT.
 unstressed: **64M**.
- 3m **wət'**
wai wəi SID.46 s.v. *ó*.
- 1pl **wen'** the general form; **wen'** 46.74b.
win' win'ə S.
wən' in **fad wən' η ə:rəxə:d'** 46 (*i bh*)*fad UAINN an urchóid!*
- 3pl **wohəb** generally.
wob wob SID.46 s.v. *ó*.
wuəhəb wob or wuəhüb SID.46 s.v. *ó*.
wo:həb (rare) **ɣod'ədər nə baisək'əl's wo:həb ~ wo:əb M88**
ghoideadar na baidhsaicils UATHUB.
- wo:hu:** ... **wo'hu'** **52P** often (**52P**'s mother is from the district of An Cheathrú Rua, where **wo:b** is common).

7.70 **roimh, roimhe; 1. roimh, 2. roimh(e)**

I

rīv', rīv' roimh; rīv'ə, rūv'ə, rīv'ə, rīm'ə, rīm'ə roimhe.

rīv'ə is the commonest variant by far. It is identical to the 3m inflected form. rīv' seems to occur particularly in set phrases, such as *roimh lá*. The nasalised vowel is confined to some older speakers. A back vowel also occurs, e.g.

hɑ:n'əkl' 'klox rūv'ə f'ia:kləⁿ 'v'æ:f'i:n' | 892M

tháinig cloch ROIMHE fiacla an mheaisín.

Variants in -m'- are the least widespread, some instances are perhaps transitory realisations of -īv'-, but given the minor 3m variant rīm'ə, other instances of simple rīm'ə may represent a recessive variant in the dialect. For example, Seán generally has rīv'ə, rīv'ə, but rarely also rīm'ə, rīm'ə:

tɑ: tu: kir' ə xa:pəl rīm' n ga:r S84

tá tú ag cuir an chapaill ROIMHE an gcarr;

rīm' ən i:f S85 ROIMHE an aois.

The form of the article *an* before consonants, according to regular sandhi rules, is ə following rīv' and n following rīv'ə. In folklore transcriptions rīv' and rīv'ə are often differentiated before the article as *roimh a'* (reflecting simple rīv' + *an*) and *roimh an* (simple rīv'ə + *an*) respectively. We need to know the general simple form of the preposition for a given speaker before we can attempt to interpret ambiguous utterances such as rīv'ə la: either as *roimh an lá* or *roimhe lá*. There is the added complication of possible collocational conditioning. It is interesting that (as noted earlier in this precise example) unambiguous rīv' la: *roimh lá* may be particularly common.

From the compiled data, speakers can be categorised into those who show:

1. *roimh* only;
2. *roimhe* more frequently than *roimh*;
3. *roimhe* only.

It is likely that (some) group 1 speakers would be classified in group 2 (or even 3) given more or better data. Younger speakers may become influenced by standard *roimh*, e.g. perhaps the women 51N and 43Mq (contrast 43M's parents Máire (16M) and Seán (12S)).

1. Speakers with *roimh*

852S *céad bliain roimh Críost* [sic] 4.

875T1 *roimh mhac ...*

51N rīv' wɑ:dri: roimh mhadraí.

2. Speakers with *roimhe* >> *roimh*

894C *roimhe: roimh an bpáiste* !9, *roimhe d'athair* !9, *an oíche roimhe í chur amach* 9, etc., *roimhe Tady* 2, *roimh an duine* 2, *roimh an mbúistéara* 2;

roimh: roimh lá (prose), *roimh a' lá* !9 (perhaps to be understood as *roimhe lá*), *roimh Dhoun-mhac* 2.

898P rīv' mahər' roimhe m'athair; rīv'ə mə wɑ:hər' roimhe mo mháthair.

21Jq out of ten tokens 21Jq supplied seven unambiguous examples of *roimhe*, e.g.

rīv'ə wɑ:n'əxən le: roimhe mhaidneachan lae,

rīv'ə mɑ:mə roimhe m'amsa, rīv' əŋ gogə roimhe an gcogadh,

rīv'ə nə ŋɑ:rdi: roimhe na ngardaí;

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only one probable example of *roimh*:

rĭv' ə v'æ:r eɫ'ə *roimh(e) an bhfear eile*;

another two ambiguous examples, e.g.

rĭv' ə ŋawən' *roimh(e) an ngamhain*.

- 43M** *roimhe: rĭv'ə nə m'ehiəx roimhe na mbeithíoch, rĭv'ə nolək' roimhe Nollaig, rĭv'ə ɣair' q roimhe ghadhair, rĭv'ə jiə q roimhe Dhia; roimh: rĭv' haivʃi' q roimh thaibhsí, rĭv' x'ɑ:n q roimh Sheán.*

7.71 3. Speakers with *roimhe*

SID.46 **rĭv' ən 'ɫa:nə** 46.V *roimhe an leanbh.*

ZCP **rĭv'ə hev'ər'** 158 *roimhe shaibhir.*

869P *roimhe chúladar a' tí 2, roimhe bhliain 2, roimhe Shéamas 2; roimh an mbád [x2] 2; etc. Some other examples written roimh a' are probably best taken as roimhe, e.g. roimh a' bhliain, but a few others are not so certain, e.g. ... a' siúl roimh a' lá.*

889P *roimhe do bhád* **889Pt.**

01C e.g. *roimhe lá* ARN6340, *roimhe Pháraic* ARN6815.

04Br **rĭv'ə haivʃi:** *roimhe thaibhsí.*

07M **fat'əs rĭv'ə tæhər'** *faitíos roimhe t'athair.*

12S **v'i: ʃe d'i:nt eg'ə rĭv'ə re:** *bhí sé déanta aige roimhe ré, b'ei ʃiəd əm'i:hə rĭv'ə n'æ:m ə'n'if beidh siad imithe roimhe Neain anois, ta fat'əs am rĭv'ə hæ:də tá faitíos a'm roimhe thada, rĭv'ə n gær roimhe an gcarr, rĭv'ə d'e dɔ:nə roimhe Dé Domhnaigh, rĭv'ə jiə roimhe Dhia, rĭv'ə haivʃi: q roimhe thaibhsí, rĭv'ə ɣair' q roimhe ghadhair, rĭv'ə x'ɑ:n q roimhe Sheán.*

16M **rĭv'ə jiə roimhe Dhia; gə m'ed'i:ʃ əʃt'i rĭv'ə re:** *dhá mbeidís istigh roimhe ré, rĭv'ə x'im' roimhe Chim, riŋg'ɑ:l' m'e rĭv'ə jer'ə nə ʃæ:xtən'ə ringeáil mé roimhe dheireadh na seachtaine, eg' l'æhuər' he:ʃ ... 'rĭv'ə l'æhuər' he:ʃ ... ag leathuair théis ... roimhe leathuair théis ... , fat' iəs ... rĭv'ə vl'ig'ɑ:rɔs faitíos ... roimhe bhligéards; rĭv'ə haivʃi: q roimhe thaibhsí, rĭv'ə 'e:n nin'ə q roimhe aon nduine.*

20Cq **rĭv'ə | ən | gair** *roimhe — an — gadhar.*

20Myq **rĭv'ə ɣair mɔ:r** *roimhe ghadhar mór.*

19J **rĭv'ə rɔhə mɔ:r** (Asc) *roimhe rotha mór.*

19P **ta fat' iəs akəb rĭv'ə nə p'æ:ɔ:is tá faitíos acub roimhe na Peaidíos.**

20C **rĭv'ə v'i:l'ə bl'iən'** *roimhe mhíle bliain.*

24N **rĭv' , rĭv'ə x'ed:i:n' nə luər' hə** *roimh — roimhe Chéadaoin na Luaithreadh.*

25T **rĭv'ə b'ɔ: s rĭv'ə mæ:ru: ɑ:n** *roimhe beo is roimhe marbh ann.*

52P **rĭv'ə d'e hi:n'ə (x2)** *roimhe Dé hAoine.*

The genitive plural sometimes follows *roimh(e)* (perhaps influenced by the compound prepositions *as comhair*, *ar aghaidh*, *in aghaidh*, which have similar meaning, and *thar éis*, *ar chúla*, which have the opposite meaning), e.g.

er waurd nə lox 'ə ro nə br'ik' ə l' e:(h)əmr' ə.əx

rĭv'ə nə g'e.ətə gus f'a'r ə v'æ'lə | !!(FCúil)894C

Ar bhord na locha a raibh na bric ag léimneach,

ROIMHE na gcéadta agus fear an bhealaigh;

ROIMHE na ngardaí **21Jq**, *ROIMHE na mbeithíoch* **43M** (cited in list above),

rĭv'ə nə ŋ'ɑ:l'tə (brother of **21J**) *ROIMHE na ngeallta* (3.13).

7.72 Prepositional pronoun

II

	Singular	Plural
1	ru:m, rō:m	ru:n', ri'n'
2	rū:t, rū:ɸ, ru:t	ru:b', rō:b'
3m	rīv'ə, rīv'ə, rīm'ə	ru:mpəb, rumpəb, rū:həb, ru:həb, ru:b, ru:b', rō:mpəb, rō:b, ru:mpu:, (rō:mpu:), rumpu:, rū:hu:, ru:həb'
f	ri:mp'ə, rimp'ə, rū:hə, ru:hə	

Stems ri:mp'-, ru:mp-, rō:mp-, ru:h-

There are two basic stems in the 3f and 3pl (both with and without nasalisation): **ri(:)/u(:)/ō:mp-**; and **ru:h-**. In the 3f, **ri(:)mp'ə** is the most common. I recall that Máire, when queried about **ru:hə**, commented that **ri:mp'ə**, her own, as well as the written form, was correct. The stem **ru:h-** is more common in the 3pl than in the 3f; my impression is that it is more common than **ru(:)mp-**. (**rō:mp-** is rarest.) In the 3pl, **ru:h-** has a dissimilatory advantage with the labial of the **-əb** ending. The stem **ru:h-** is analogical, based on inflections such as *faoi*: 1sg *fúim*, 3f *fúithi*, 3pl *fúithub*. In the 3pl, the combination of a choice of stems, one of which varies in its stressed vowel, and a choice of endings, as well as other phonetic variation, brings about a high number of variants.

Examples

1sg	ru:m	46.981, SM; rū:msə 892M .
	rō:m	892M .
2sg	ru:t	the general form; SID.46 s.v. <i>romham</i> , SM.
	rū:t	SID.46.V, 892M, 14M .
	rū:ɸ	SID.46.V.
3m	rīv'ə	the general form; rīv'ə 46.981.
	rīv'ə	11Ct, S .
	rīm'ə	regularly speaker 06C , e.g. <i>agus séard a nídís an lá ROIMHE, 'rīm'ə 06C;</i> <i>le cupla lá ROIMHE sin 'rīm'ə fín' aige 06C;</i> <i>bhí báid amach ROIMHE, 'rīm'ə agus bhí báid ... 06C.</i>
3f	ri:mp'ə	the commonest form, e.g. (given as alternative in 46.981), 46 s.v. <i>romham</i> , SM, P.
	ru:hə	SID.46.981 and daughter 15W , also 23B, 26P , man born c. 1960, 66N .
	rimp'ə	Note the self-interrupted and corrected slip of the tongue where ri:mp'ə and ru:hə are confused: ... ri: ^h ... rimp'ə 43M .
1pl	ru:n'	SM; ru:n' 46 s.v. <i>romham</i> .
	ri'n'	... fu:l ri'n' 47P ... <i>ag siúl ROMHAINN</i> (only example), MØperm.
2pl	ru:b'	11C, 12S .
	rō:b'	892M .
3pl	ru:mpəb	866ESemr (x3), 01J , as alternative in 46.981.
	ru:həb	SID.46, 04Br, 16S, 25M2, 26P, 36P1, 78E .
	rō:mpəb	rō:mpəb 35E1 .
	Individuals	SID.46: ru:həb (or ru:mpəb) 981; ru:mpüb (ru:b); ... rō:b , s.v. <i>romham</i> . 892M: rō:mpəb, rū:həb .

	894C: <i>rómpub, rómpa</i> (\Rightarrow rō:mpu: or ro:mpu:), <i>rúthú 2</i> .
	12S: rū:hu' , ru:hu' , rū:həb , ru:b , ru:mpu: , ru:mpəb .
ru:b'	66L , cf. 7.98.
ru:həb'	M, 66N , cf. 7.98.

Finally, it is worth noting that 3pl **rū:həb** (morphologically **rū:+həb**), with distinctive nasal vowel, has been apparently misinterpreted in some earlier transcriptions of our dialect as (what can be transcribed as) (i) ***rū:^mpəb** and as (ii) ***ru:mhəb**. (i) Liam Mac Coisteala has the following note on the form *rúmpub* **869P**2.354: *Sa gceantar seo (Cárna) is beag nach bhfuil an 'm' cailte ar fad sa bhfocal seo*. It is possible in fact that Mac Coisteala has misinterpreted actual **rū:həb** as ***rū:^mpəb**, the result of unfamiliarity with the actual form, which led him to transcribe it as *rúmpub*. But ***rū:+pəb** is not otherwise attested, although **-p-** without **-m-** is found in northern lects. Cf. examples from **SID.46** cited above (speaker **869P**) where it can be taken that both **rū:həb** and **ru:mpəb** are attested. (ii) A form ***ru:mhəb** *rómhəb* is given in Hartmann et al. (1996, Airneán II 147 §135); note rare (proposed) cluster ***-mh-**; having checked against the recordings in **ARN1436** and **ARN1440**, I hear this form as **rū:həb**.

7.73 *thar, thair, thairis, thara*

I

A **har**, **har'** (**her'**) *thar, thair*; **tar**, **tar'** *tar, tair*; B **har'əf** *thairis*; **harə** *thara*.

har, **har'** *thar, thair* are the general forms; **tar** and **tar'** are limited to set phrases. In younger speakers also simple: **har'əf** (as traditional inflected 3m), and **harə**. The vowel **ə** is frequent in all forms. Both **har** and **har'** are common. Since they are usually unstressed, it can be difficult to distinguish the quality of the *r*.

har	hgrə gləi 46.182 <i>THAR an gcláí</i> ; har 852S , 899D 6108, 01C 6115; hær M.
hær'	11C , SM, P, 43M .
her'	noted in her' nə f'ir' eɹ' 18J 8159 <i>THAIR na fir eile</i> , commonly hær' 18J .
har'əf	gol' hær'əf xin't gə wus 79A <i>ag goil THAIRIS chuint dhe bhus</i> (this speaker has <i>THAIRIS mé</i> , etc.).

Both **har** and **har'** are found in the adverbial phrases *thar barr* and *thar cionn*, e.g.

agus marab fhuil tú i do ghréasaí THAR CIONN uiliug, hær' k'in ə'ɹ'ug a deir sé, ná bíodh tada le díonamh a'd leis an mbróg. **11C**.

tar and **tær'** occur in the phrases **har star' thar 's tar** and **fi: s tar / tær' faoi is ta(i)r**, often pronounced with deaspirated **t**, i.e. **fi: star**, **fi: stær'**, e.g.

FAOI 'S TAR a ndeacha tú ariamh thríd **866E**Semr78;

fi: stær' 'e:n rud M *FAOI 'S TAIR aon rud*;

cac ortsa ar chuma ar bith FAOI 'S TAR a bhfuil beo ar an talthamh! M.

There is an example of *thar mar* 'rather than' (cp. *tharas, seachas*) in:

Agus anis an cionál cloch atá teagthaí amach, tá sí chomh mín leis an siúcra. Meas tú an mbeadh aon difríocht teagthaí'e, ann, anis, lé go

mbeit sé imithe níos scufánta leis an mbáisteach, ná, an chloch ghorm, bhí ag tíocht amach insan ám atá i gceist a'd a bhí tú gá chuir amach leis an ruilleog, THAR MAR an misín? | hæR mar ə m'ə'fjūn' | 20A (cloth ghorm = 'potato spray against blight').

7.74 Prepositional pronoun

II

	Singular		Plural	
	general	also	general	also
1	harəm	hartəm	harən'	
2	hart	hartəd, harəd, hardət'	hari:	harəb', har' i:, (hard' i:b')
3m	har'əf		hartəb,	harhəb, har' u:,
f	hart'ə	harhə	hartu:	harhu:, (har' tu:)

There is also an adverb **hart** *thart* and preposition **harəs, har'əs** *tharas, thaireas*. 3m with clitic **hær'əfn** Mperm *thairisean*, **harsən** Mperm, **20CØ**perm *tharsan*; in response to query, the alternative with demonstrative pronoun is proffered: **hær'əf 'jin' 20Myq** *thairis sin*.

Variation from the general conservative paradigm occurs both with regard to the actual inflected form and, in speakers born in the mid-1960s and later, with regard to synthetic or analytic use. Analytic developments are discussed in 7.75. Speaker **23B** is the only speaker recorded with optional medial **-t-** in 1sg and 2sg. This speaker has a preponderance for *t*-extensions also in prepositional pronoun *as* (2sg) and verbal adjectives and verbal nouns (5.174). Forms from **23B** and **23Bq** are given here in full; note her avoidance of **-t-** in elicitation in the 1sg and 2sg:

	Singular	Plural
1	hærəm 23Bq, hærtəm 23B	
2	hært 23Bq, hærtəd he:n' [emphatically] 23B	hæri: 23Bq
3m	hær'əf 23Bq	hærtəb 23Bq
f	hart'ə 23Bq	

Examples

1sg	hartəm	See 23B 's paradigm above.
2sg	hart	898P , etc.; with emphatic clitic hartsə S, 36P1 <i>thartsa</i> .
	harəd	The oldest speakers noted with this form were born in the 1950s, i.e. 55S , the next oldest a male speaker, born c. 1959. It is the only inflected form used by subsequent age-groups. ¹
	ha^ə:rdət'	52P only, hærtdit' 52Pq, hart dit' 52Pq (7.75).

¹ The form *tharad* is recorded by de Bhaldraithe in FFG s.v. *iompú* 1 (from an Iorras Aithneach source). Since his material in FFG is primarily based on older speakers, the example would suggest that *tharad* was heard from an older speaker, but one cannot be sure of this. The 2sg **hart** *thart* does not appear in GCF §311 but I have heard 2sg **hart** from speaker 33 of GCF on Raidió na Gaeltachta. This form, 2sg **hart**, which is homophonous with the adverb **hart** *thart*, and therefore often ambiguous, seems to be one of the few forms that de Bhaldraithe did not notice. He may in fact have transcribed *tharad* in some instances for actual *thart*. A similar spelling, 2sg *tharat*, is found in **864MDT34** and may similarly be an error for *thart*. Cp. II.IX, 7.75.

1410 Prepositions

3f	hartə harhə	general. recorded from 52M and 64Meq only. Speaker 64Me also uses 2sg harəd ; contrast both her parents who use 2sg hart 12J , hært 23Bq ~ hærtəd 23B and 3f hartə 12J , 23Bq .
2pl	harəb' hard'i:b'	Mq and 66Nq only. (Mq also produced harəv' but 2pl -v' may be either conservative or of extraneous origin in Mq's use; 7.97.) produced by 66Nq , also harəb' , cp. 66N 's ajt'i:b' <i>aistib</i> , etc., and 52P 's 2sg above.
3pl	hartəb hartu: harhəb har'u:	11C (cf. har'u:), Mq. Mq. ɣol' əma:x harhəb [x2] 47P <i>ghoil amach THARTHUB</i> . 11C only. Two forms (one token each) were noted from 11C : ɑ: v'i ə'lɑ:n ol'ə ku:mt eg ə hæ'r'u <i>Á! bhí a lán eile cumta aige THAIRIÚ</i> ; as well as more general: v'i:d'i:f əɟ' im'əxt o' hū:t' gə hū:t' ovəs [sic] ə'lɑ:n hartəb <i>bhídís ag imeacht ó háit go háit agus a lán THARTUB</i> .
	harhu:	(or perhaps harhəb) recorded in conversation from 64M only. In query also (64M 's cousins) 74N and 75C (following her sister 74N).
	hæ'r'tu:	recorded from 77Cq only.

7.75 Development of analytic use

We have already seen how, since the mid-1950s, the 2sg changed within the synthetic inflection, from **hart** to more transparent **harəd**. The oldest speaker recorded who shows signs of further change is **52P**, again in the 2sg, in the form **ha^a:rdət' 52P**. This is her form in conversation; in elicitation, she pronounces **hærtidit'** and **hart dit' 52Pq**. This resembles a first 'approximation' at analytic inflection: via **hart** (traditional 2sg and adverb) + **dit'** (2sg of *dho* (*dhe*)). It corresponds closest to **66Nq**'s 2pl **hard'i:b'** and resembles one of **66Nq**'s translations of 'past' as **hart er'**.¹ By the way, Máire was present during **52P**'s elicitation of her *thar* inflection and immediately commented *níl sé sin ceart ar chor ar bith*, quite surprised by the form. She was probably not aware of it, despite having 'heard' it in **52P**'s conversation. This nontraditional use by speaker **52P** may actually be an adoption or adaptation from her children. The oldest speakers recorded with truly analytic usage were born in 1966. That is apart from the example of:

'hæ:r'e: "jin' | 20C THAR É SIN 'apart from that',

which is perhaps analytic owing to its meaning (similar to analytic *tha(i)r(e)as*) and to emphatic *é sin* (cp. 6.26). Some of these young speakers also have new simple forms **har'əf** (from the 3m) and **harə**. The innovative **harə** form may be based on reanalysis of **har'əf e: / i: / iəd** as **har'ə-f-e:**, etc.; nonpalatal -r- being amalgamated from the other persons as well as simple **har**. In analytic forms the main stress usually falls on the preposition, e.g. 3m **'har e**, **'hæ:r'əf e:**.

Paradigms of eleven younger speakers are given in Table 7.16. For these speakers the 3m seems most likely to adopt the analytic construction. Speaker **66N** is the only informant in the table for whom we can compare elicitation and conversa-

¹ My own children's acquisition of inflection of *tha(i)r* has not been effortless. For instance, Dara had used 1sg *tharam* and 2sg *thart* previously but aged 6.1 (perhaps influenced by nontraditional speech, primarily at school) he had, in the following order in the same conversation, meaning 'past', *thart dhuit* (followed by several tokens from me of *thart*, *tharam*) and *thart dhom*.

tion. In all four cases where we can compare both modes, **66N** produces traditional forms in query. She apparently avoids her conversational simple preposition **harə** and all three conversational analytic forms. This discrepancy between conversation and elicitation is far greater than usual in so many other variables and has important implications for the developments in, and investigation of, late rapid morphological change. Table 7.16, in particular, must be read with this in mind. There is one sibling group in Table 7.16 of three brothers and one sister; clann Sheáin Uí Ghaora, Maínis; showing the successive rise in analytic use: **55Sq** (x0), **64M** (x0, from quite a few conversations), **66Lq** (x1), **72Nq** (x5). However, **77Cq** and **79J** show how advanced **72N** is for his age-group; speakers who are considerably younger than he have more conservative use, in this variable as in others. **79A(q)** (Maínis) has complete analytic use.

7.76 *thrí, thríd*

I

hri:, **fri:**, **ri:**, **ʃi:**, **si:**, **tr'i:-**, **fre:**, **hre:**, (**tri:-**) *thrí*^L.

hri: is the commonest form, e.g.

hri: **ʏorəs 43M** *THRÍ dhoras* (also **04B**, **SM**, **P**).

ri: is often used by **71D**, e.g.

nus v'eha: fu:l ri: xar:nə 71Dt.1 *nós bheitheá ag siúl THRÍ Charna.*

ʃi: and **si:** are used by two brothers from An Sáilín, Maínis: **25T** has **ʃi:**, **20C** often has **si:** (as well as **hri:**), e.g.

ʃi:d' ə ml'ian' 25T *THRÍD AN mbliain.*

(Máire, when told of **20C**'s form, found it idiosyncratic.)

7.77 Alternation of **hri:** ~ **fri:** (~ **fre:** ~ **hre:**)

fri: is not uncommon, particularly in the westernmost part of Iorras Aithneach. The following speakers were noted with **fri:d'**:

852S4DU (*fríd* (x1) ~ *thríd* elsewhere), [x2] **08BMN**, **15PtCN**, **21PgDU**, **52PCF** (now resident in AI), **53JAI**, **hri:d'** ~ **fri:d'** **79JgAO**, **78BAO** *thríd*, **80MLA**, e.g.

ə ti:w ʃo fri:d', træ:snə fri:d' 08B *an taobh seo THRÍD, trasna THRÍD;*

fri:d' əs fri:d' 53J *THRÍD is THRÍD;*

fri:əb sɔ:rt ... fri:d' ə mu:n' 80M *THRÍOTHUB sórt ... THRÍD an móin*, etc.

Speaker **52P** uses both **h-** and **f-** forms; **f-** may be her more frequent variant:

fri:m 52P *thríom*; **fri:hə 52P** *thríthi*; **fri:hu: 52P** *thríothú*;

gə rə m'e gɪt'ə [perhaps **got'ə**] **fri:d' 52P** *go raibh mé gaibhte THRÍD.*

Speakers who have **h-** as a rule, e.g. **SM**, and **P**, may use **f-** in the phrase **fri:nə x'e:l'ə** *fraína chéile* (especially) in the sense '(mixed) through and through, altogether', e.g.

v'it' ʃe fri:nə x'e:l'ə l'ig' P *bhíodh sé FRAÍNA chéile uilig,*

nar' he: ŋ ka:lər har:tu: 'fri:nə x'e:l'ə S

nár thé an calar thartub FRAÍNA chéile,

ta ʃiəd t'it'i: 'fri:nə x'e:l'ə M *tá siad tití FRAÍNA chéile,*

It is in this context that **fre:** occurs, together with *chéile* meaning 'altogether': **fre:(nə) x'e:l'ə** *frae(na) chéile*. The form **fre:** is taken for convenience as a by-form of *thrí* confined to this context. Seán, Máire, and Pádraig also regularly use **hri:nə x'e:l'ə** *thrína chéile*, both in this sense and in the literal meaning.

Table 7.16 *tharam* > *thar mé*, *thairis mé*; younger speakers

Speakers	simple	1sg	2sg	3m	3f	1pl	2pl	3pl	Persons analytic
52P		✓q	h ^h ːrdət h ^h ːrdit ^ˈ q h ^h ːrt dit ^ˈ q h ^h ːrəd	✓q	✓	✓q	✓q	hartu 52Pq	(2sg)
55SMNq		✓		✓			✓	✓	None
64MMN		✓	harəd	✓	harhə	✓		harhu	None
64Meq		✓	harəd	har ε		✓	✓	✓	None
66LMNq		✓	harəd	hær ɛf	hart ə	✓	hard ^ˈ i:b ^ˈ , harəb ^ˈ	✓	3m
66Nq	hart ɛr ^ˈ , har ɛf ^ˈ , har, hær ^ˈ harə, ... f i: ...	✓	harəd	hær ɛf	hart ə	✓	hard ^ˈ i:b ^ˈ , harəb ^ˈ	hærtəb	None
66N		har m' ɛ hɛn ^ˈ		hær ɛ	hært ə	harə mid ^ˈ			1sg, 3m, 1pl
69Sq			harəd harhu	hær ɛ, hær ɛf fin ^ˈ 1	hær i:			hær iəd	2sg, 3m, 3f, 3pl
72NMNq			harə hu:	hær ɛf ɛ:	hær ɛf i:	harən ^ˈ	harə 'fib ^ˈ	hær ɛf iəd	2sg, 3m, 3f, 2pl, 3pl
77Cq		harəm	harəd	hær ɛf l		harən ^ˈ	hær ɛf 'fib ^ˈ ?? 2	hær tu:	2pl ??
79Aq		hær ɛf m' ɛ:	hær ɛf hu	hær ɛf ɛ:	hær ɛf i:	hær ɛf mid ^ˈ	hær i:	hær ɛf iəd	All persons
79A	hær ɛf							hær ɛf iəd	
79J								hærtəb	
84Pq		harəm		har ɛ fin ^ˈ		harən ^ˈ		haru ^ˈ b ^ˈ 2	3m
Total analytic		2	3 (4)	6	3	2	3	3	

¹ 69S's hær ɛf fin^ˈ means 'apart from that'.

² Perhaps corrupt because of the query situation.

(Numbers following forms denote the order of production. ✓ indicates traditional inflection. ?? indicates a form produced by the speaker but felt to be doubtful.)

Speaker **872P** has a form which historically seems unremarkable (< by-form *tré*) but which synchronically can be categorised as mixed (related to *thrí* and *frae*) in:
| 'hɾe:nə 'x'e:l'ə | **872P** *THRÉNA chéile*.

tr' i- in 1sg prepositional pronoun; Younger tr-

1sg **tr' i:m** occurs in certain phrases with *trian síos*:

xuə ɣa: tr' i:n ʃi:ʃ tr' i:m *S chuaigh dhá trian síos TRÍOM.*

tr- is used by certain younger speakers, through external influence:

48R **tri:nə 'x'e:l'ə** *TRÍNA chéile*.

78Rb e.g. **got' ə tri:d'** *gaibhte TRÍD*; **ba:n tri:d'** *bán TRÍD*.

7.78 Conjunctive and simple *thríd*

Use of *thríd*, the conjunctive form of *thrí* (identical with the 3m), preceding the singular article is categorical. An exceptional instance of *thrí an* occurs with a relative antecedent:

thug an giorria a aghaidh aníos, THRÍ AN hri:n dumhach gaineamh annis tá ag Éamann a Búrc, 892M2712.

Before other unstressed functors, *thríd* varies with *thrí* and, before vowels, also with *thrín-*. One speaker has *thríd* as simple preposition. (Cf. *ó ~ uaidh*, 7.67 ff.)

thrí + noun

When preceding a noun object the general usage is **hri:**. There is a sporadic example of *thríd* in this position, i.e. as simple preposition:

a ghuil thríd trioblóid mhór 894C9,

cp. the same speaker's *thríd go leor trioblóide* below.

This example is of marginal status (in sandhi, *-d t-* can coalesce to *t*) and it can be compared with the definite slip of the tongue, which was emended by the speaker in:

-kur' hə tu bri:n' i:n' d' i hri:d' iʃk' ə M

Cuirthidh tú braoinín de THRÍD uisce.

-o: S Ó!

-hri: iʃk' ə M *THRÍ uisce.*

Speaker **52P**, however, regularly uses **hri:d'** ~ **fri:d'** as a simple preposition, i.e. immediately preceding its dependent noun, e.g.

ə gol' hri:d' ɣorəs *ag goil THRÍD dhoras*; **fri:d' ɣorəs** *THRÍD dhoras*.

(**52P** also uses *thríd* with the plural article.)

thrí + a^N cataphoric relative: *thrí, thrína, thríd a*, e.g.

hri: ə ro a:n Mperm *THRÍ A raibh ann,*

hri:nə ro a:n Mperm *THRÍNA raibh ann,*

hri:d' ə ro a:n Mtrans *THRÍD A raibh ann.*

thrí + singular article: *thríd*, e.g. *THRÍD A' ... 852S1*.

thrí + plural article: *thrí* generally, but less often also *thríd*, e.g.

THRÍD NA puill [i.e. *poill*] *a bhí 852S1,*

hri:d' nə poti: 892M *THRÍD NA potaí*, also **892M3591, 3594, 5250** (regularly for **892M**),

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hri:ɖ nə ɡa:rənti: M, 36S, **hri:d' nə ɡa:rənti**: Mq (pronounced slowly in response to query from me) *THRÍD NA garrantaí*.

This becomes especially common among certain younger speakers:

fri:d' nə ɡa:su:r' 52P *THRÍD NA gasúir*,

^h**ri:d nə di:n' ə** 52P *THRÍD NA daoine*;

hri:d / hri:d' nə 66N; **hri:d' nə fi:n' o:gi'** 72Nq *THRÍD NA fuinneogaí*.

thrí + go leor: *thrí, thríd*, e.g.

hri: **hri: ɡə ʎ' o:r a:t' əxi:** 01J *THRÍ GO LEOR áiteachaí*,

xuə hri: ɡə ʎ' o:r 01J *chuaigh THRÍ GO LEOR*;

hri:d' *chua sí THRÍD GO LEOR trioblóide* 894C9,

ta s am ɡə n' æ:xə tu hri:d' ɡə ʎ' o:r ə'n' e: M

tá fhios a'm go ndeachaigh tú THRÍD GO LEOR inné.

thrí + possessive a and mo: *thrína, thríd a, thrí mo, thríd mo*.

With *a*, generally *thrína* but there are two examples from conversation of *thríd a*:

hri:d' ə ɣaul S *THRÍD A ghabhal* (only example noted from S),

ɡə ə ka:n't' hri:d' ə hæ:tə ta fe 49J *go ag caint THRÍD A hata atá sé*.

In reply to query, Máire permitted **hri:d' ə xri:** Mperm *thríd a chroí* as well as

hri:d' mə xri: Mperm *thríd mo chroí* although **hri: mə** Mq *thrí mo* is preferred

(‘*is deise*’). In response to query, speaker 66N translates both *thrí mo chroí* and *thríd mo chroí*.

7.79 Prepositional pronoun

II

The paradigm is regular (7.92), with only one idiosyncrasy, in the 3m.

3m **hri:d'**, with emphatic clitic **hri:dsən** ~ **hri:sən** Mq *thrídsan, thrísan*; **si:dsən** 20Cq (only), alternatively **hri: 'fin'** 20Cq *thrí sin*. Cp. regular:

3f **hri:hə 'fin'** 19P3 *thríthi sin*; with clitic **hri:həfə** 54C, Mperm *thríthise*.

7.80 *un* (< *chun*)

ən, ə, 'un *un*; **xun, xən** *chun*.

ən un is the general form. With masculine and feminine article: **ən ə** ~ **ənə** ~ **ə nə** ~ **nə un an, un na**, before vowels **ənən** ~ **nən un an**; and with 3 person possessive pronoun **ən ə** ~ **ənə un a** (**nə un a** (possessive) is not found in my notes, apart from postvocally, but it may be assumed to be current).

xun, xən chun occurs in two conservative examples. In a quotation in a story:

bli:u' o:rən' ə d'er fe' xun b'ia (Smds)04B

‘*blaoth oraim,*’ *a deir sé,* ‘*CHUN bia*’,

and **xən'** (palatalised before **d'**) in a religious context:

ɡi'v' ě xən' 'd'e: 46.793a *guibhe CHUN Dé*.

Few examples were noted preceding a possessive pronoun:

ən də hi: 04B10 *UN do thí; tháinig sé UN a chuid oibre* 892M2032.

Also with possessive in reciprocal *un a chéile* and in verbal-noun syntax, e.g.

ta fe ɡ'e:r ən ə wa:n't' *tá sé géar UN a bhaint*.

Contrast impermissible *un mo thí* MØperm (for current *ag mo teach(sa), go dtí*

mo theach(sa)), although Máire does use *un an tí*, but not frequently and in non-specific meaning ‘to a person’s house’. For a rare plural example, *un na dtightheadhaí*, see 7.83 s.v. *teach*.

It is difficult to generalise as to the quality of the final *n* in relation to the following vowel, given so few actual examples before vowels (2.73). The final nasal is often lost in the phrase *un baiste*:

ə xuə əm ba:ft̪ ə M (pronounced slowly) a *chuaigh UN baiste*, but often:
xuə ba:ft̪ ə l̪e M *chuaigh UN baiste le*,
xur̪ ə ba:ft̪ ə l̪e M *chuir UN baiste le*.

Optional elision of *n* is also occurs in:

gɑ: kir̪ ə 'fo:l̪ | nu: gə m'ed̪ f̪i: n̪ 'fo:l̪ ug̪'s 01C6109
gá cuir UN *seoil ... nó go mbeadh sí UN seoil agus ...* ;

f̪æ:r̪ ə xir̪ ə b̪æ:l̪ er̪ ... 17M *an fear a chuir UN bealaigh ar maidin é*;

following another vowel in:

... rin̪ ə d̪'er̪ ə (l̪'ohəb) 11J ... *rinne UN deireadh leothub*;
... din̪ ə bɑ:f̪ 72C (*chuirtheadh*) ... *duine UN báis*;

completely lost following a consonant in:

tr̪:ur̪ to:sə gəs ku:g̪ ər̪ d̪'er̪ ə 43M
triúr UN tosaigh agus cúigear UN deireadh [sic];
his̪ d̪'er̪ ə 60M *thíos UN deireadh*.

Compare similar but more usual loss in the article (6.84 ff.).

A stressed example, perhaps through stress shift from a ‘given’ noun, occurs in:

ə t̪'il̪'ɑ:n̪ ... | haid̪'i:f̪ əft̪æ:x̪ 'un ə 'n̪'il̪'ɑ:n̪ | 06C
an t-oileán ... théidís isteach UN an oileáin.

7.81 Restriction in use

The preposition *un* is in the process of being replaced by other prepositions, particularly by *ag* but also by *ar*, *i*, *go dtí*, *dho*, etc. One of our oldest speakers, 869P, uses *un* quite freely (see examples below under *teach* (7.82), *aill*, *crann* (7.83); but *ag an aonach* 869P), as does Seán (12S) in the meaning ‘in the direction of’. Speaker 869P’s daughter, 15W, uses less *un*, e.g. *ag an gClochán*, *dhon Chlochán* but *un socra*, *un na scoile*.

The range of the concrete prepositional meaning ‘to’ is narrowing. For example, *un a' Choillín* 1894C9 was noted from this secondary source only, whereas in speech I have heard gəŋ xol̪'in̪ *dhon Choillín* only; similarly, ənə ri:l̪'ək̪ ə *un na reilige* was recorded from 04B5 only, eg̪ ə ri:l̪'ək̪ *ag an reilige* being in general use, e.g. Seán, Máire. Less obsolete is ənə skol̪'ə *un na scoile* used by Seán, Máire, 25T, etc. Seán and Máire also use progressive eg̪ ə skol̪' *ag an scoil* with the same meaning, but their children (e.g. 43M) regularly use only *ag an scoil*. In the speech of 64M loss of *un* in place function is almost complete. The only tokens of *un* noted from him show a more idiomatic usage. For example, got̪ əŋ kaunt̪ər̪ 64M *gaibhte un cabhntair*, literally ‘gone to the counter’ but idiomatically ‘gone to buy a round of drink’, shows the typical nonspecific use of *un*, denoting activity or change of state, which is its main function in progressive use (similar examples below include *fonn*, *fuisce*, *pluid*, *príosún* and the borrowings *peain* ‘pan’, *teabhn* ‘town’).

Since its range of use is being depleted, a fairly exhaustive list is given below, classified according to the presence or absence of the article directly preceding the noun, most examples having no article. All place-names which take *un*, also

have the article, e.g. *an Clochán*, with one exception: *Baile Con Fhaola*. There is therefore a general contrast exemplified in **un Carna* vs. *un an Choillín* (*go Carna*, also *dhon Choillín*). It is striking that most of these place-names which take *un an* have *c* as initial consonant (8/10) and are all masculine nouns. For adverbial *un cinn*, *un deireadh*, *un tosaigh*, see ‘Adverbs’ (8.179, 8.199); and for the contrast of specific vs. nonspecific reference in the use of lenition following *ar*, see 9.87.

7.82 Without the article

<i>Aifreann</i>	Ní i: yohə ʃiəd ən æ:frʰənʰ ə du:nə nɑ tæ:də S <i>ní ghabhthaidh siad UN AIFRINN an Domhnaigh ná tada</i> (definite noun phrase).
<i>airgead</i>	<i>‘d’fhág tú Eaglais Dé santach ‘UN AIRGID aríst lena saol!’ SNG295.</i>
<i>ancaire</i>	<i>‘féadfáidh tú a theacht UN ANCAIRE ann arís’ 866ESc241.</i>
<i>aonach</i>	<i>ag goil UN AONACH an Chaisil 892M.</i>
<i>aturnae</i>	b’ e:ɣ̃ ɲ o yolʰ ən æ:taurne: ʲ e:hə M b’ éigean dhó a ghoil UN ATURNAE léithi.
<i>baile</i>	<i>a ghoil UN BAILE MHÓIR 869P2, ag goil UN BAILE MHÓIR 869Pt</i> <i>‘go to town’ (in locative sense).</i>
<i>baiste</i>	s m’ e: xo: m baist’ ə ʲ e ... M is mé a chuaigh UN BAISTE le
<i>bád</i>	<i>ag teacht UN BÁID 35E</i> (traditional narrative).
<i>bán</i>	ən bɑ:nʰ M UN BÁIN.
<i>barrabéis</i>	<i>tá sé goite ‘UN BARRABÉISE CAR s.v. barrabéiseach.</i>
<i>bás</i>	<i>mara guire tusa eisean UN BÁIS cuirthidh mise thusa UN BÁIS. 894Ct.</i>
<i>beainc</i>	<i>... ‘gus í ‘ seoladh ‘mach UN B[E]AINCE ! CABI §291(b) v. 3.</i>
<i>beaitl</i>	<i>[< battle], an t-am mbeidís, ag goil UN BEAITL b’ æ:ʃlʰ 892Mtn.</i>
<i>bealach</i>	f’ æ:r ə xir’ ə b’ æ:l e:rʰ ... 17M an fear a chuir UN BEALAIGH ar maidin é.
<i>bia</i>	<i>‘blaodh orainn,’ a deir sé, ‘CHUN BIA’ xun b’ iə (Smds)04B.</i>
<i>bord</i>	<i>thug sé an breac UN BOIRD 889P</i> (onto the boat). <i>Ní dheachadar UN BOIRD fós S</i> (to table, eating). <i>a shuidhfheadh an ‘crowd’ a’ ainn UN BÚIRD 894C9.</i>
<i>bóthar</i>	re:ʲ i:hə ʲ e yolʰ ən bə:hər r xum ə r b’ i M réitithe le ghoil UN BÓTHAR ar chuma ar bith, ski:lʰ ə m bə:hərʰ M scaoilte UN BÓTHAIR.
<i>breithiúnas</i>	<i>Sé’ chaoi bhfuil tú curtha UN BREITHIÚNAS acub. 894Ct</i> <i>‘you have been chosen by them as judicator’.</i>
<i>buíochas</i>	<i>... CHUN BUÍOCHAIS le ... (proverb) FFG.</i>
<i>cabhntar</i>	got’ ə ɲ kauntər’ 64M gaibhte UN CABHNTAIR.
<i>caint</i>	<i>a ghoil UN CAINTE leis, bhí sé ligthí UN CAINTE.</i>
<i>caladh</i>	<i>gá gearradh agus gá cuir UN CALTHADH. 889P</i> (of turf).
<i>cáth</i>	<i>go dtéad sé un, ... UN CATHA [or perhaps un caitheamh] ARN8609.</i>
<i>ceárta</i>	<i>chua sé UN CEÁRTAN lá a’ cur iarainn ... 869P4.</i>
<i>céile</i>	ən ə x’ e:lʰ ə UN A CHÉILE.
<i>ceo</i>	gol’ ə ɲ k’ o: S goil UN CEO.
<i>ceol</i>	s v’ i: ʲ e got’ ə ɲ k’ o:lʰ Pt is bhí sé gaibhte UN CEOIL.
<i>cill</i>	ə ɲ k’ il’ ə UN CILLE.
<i>cnoc</i>	<i>ghabh duine ... amach UN CNOIC ag baint ualach fraoigh 866ESc267.4.</i>
<i>codladh</i>	<i>Chua sé héin is a’ fathach UN COLLATA in éineacht 852SbTS126,</i> <i>goite un suimreas, UN CODLATA. 01Pt.</i>
<i>coill</i>	<i>dheamhan blas ann chreidim ach, badráil a bheith, goil UN COILLE bith. 31P.</i>
<i>coláiste</i>	<i>a ghoil UN COLÁISTE.</i>
<i>Comaoineach:</i>	<i>dhoil ‘un faoisidín 7 UN COMAOINEACH 894C3,</i> <i>suas UN COMAOINEACH, bí ag goil UN COMAOINEACH nú ná bíodh, ... 05M.</i>
<i>comhrá</i>	<i>chuadar UN COMHRÁ ARN8285, also 866ESc92.34.</i>
<i>cónaí</i>	Ní i:lʰ ə yɑ: lɑ:v’ ə gol ən kū:ni: ax ə ʃkr’ i:w M <i>níl a dhá láimh ag gol UN CÓNÁI ach ag scríobh.</i>

<i>cruas</i>	<i>Tá an aimsir ' goil UN CRUAIS S.</i>
<i>cruinneas</i>	<i>agus thug sé UN CRUINNIS go mbadh é an oíche oibriú farraige é is mú choinic sé i mbeo a bheatha 04B.</i>
<i>cuireadh</i>	<i>chuir sí gairm scoile amach ar fud an ríocht' CHUN CUIREADH fleidhe agus féasta 852SbLL118.</i>
<i>cúirt</i>	<i>iad ə ho:rt' əŋ ku:rt' ə S iad a thabhairt UN CÚIRTE.</i>
<i>daoirsean</i>	<i>got' ə n di:rʃən P gaibhte UN DAOIRSEAN.</i>
<i>Dia</i>	<i>gi'v' ɛ xən' 'd'e: 46.793a guibhe CHUN DÉ.</i>
<i>dínnéar</i>	<i>'níor thug sé cuireadh UN DÍNNÉIR héin díinn' 892Mtn.</i>
<i>díol</i>	<i>gá cuir UN DÍL d'i:l' 35E7512, ən' d'ial, n'ir' xir' m'e ən' d'ial' l'ef e M UN DÍOL, níor chuir mé UN DÍOL leis é 'I did not sell it to him'.</i>
<i>dlíobh</i>	<i>b'e:g' ən do' ʋol' ən' dl'i:v l'e'hə M b'éigean dó a ghoil UN DLÍOBH léithi.</i>
<i>donacht</i>	<i>sé chaoi bhfuil sé ag goil UN DONACHT ən dunəxt.</i>
<i>faoistín</i>	<i>dhoil' UN FAOISIDÍN 7 un Comaoineach 894C3.</i>
<i>féar</i>	<i>(chuaigh an mhoing) ən f'er' 25M UN FÉIR.</i>
<i>fonn</i>	<i>git' [got' ?] əm fi:n' 05M gaibhte UN FOINN.</i>
<i>fuisce</i>	<i>xuə dʒo: ən' ʃin' əm fi:ʃk' ə l'e pa:rək' 37M chuaigh Jó ansin UN FUISCE le Pádraig 'J. began to give whiskey to P.'</i>
<i>ganntan</i>	<i>cén t-achar dhen bhliain ansin go dtéighe siad UN GÁNTAN? 11C.</i>
<i>geallta</i>	<i>(plural of geall) agus í cho súite le fear ar bith 'un geallta bád ... a mbíodh a cuid bád féin aici ghá gcur' UN GEALLTA. SÓC1.82.</i>
<i>gligear</i>	<i>goite UN GLIGIR əŋ' gl' ig' ər' 52J.</i>
<i>imirt</i>	<i>xuədər ən im' ərə 04B1 chuardar UN IMEARTHA.</i>
<i>ionsaí</i>	<i>xuə ʃe ən unsi:hə Mq chuaigh sé UN IONSAÍTHE; also ən' insi:hə, ən' u:nsi:hə Mq.</i>
<i>láíocht</i>	<i>ghabh Fathach Uí Dhúddáis un sibhialtas agus UN LÁÍOCHT leis Sc115.</i>
<i>láthair</i>	<i>nuair tháinig sí héin UN LÁITHREACH lar' əx 866E, nuair a tháinig Maidhdeaic UN LÁITHREACH aríst labhair Fionn aríst 892Mtn; l'ixt ən la:hər' ma' v e unəd S tíocht-UN-LÁTHAIR maith a bheith ionad, = l'əxt ə la:hər' S teacht-i-láthair.</i>
<i>leaba</i>	<i>ag dul UN LEAPA le fear na banríona Sc168.40; der' d'ia gə n' ə:xə ʃe n l' ə:pə P doir Dia go ndeachaigh sé UN LEAPA.</i>
<i>míneadas</i>	<i>[ho:rt'] ən m' i:n' ədəs S (thabhairt) UN MÍNEADAS, cp. 14.</i>
<i>obair</i>	<i>Mo léan géar chuaigh sé seo UN OIBRE 11C (he set to work). With cuid, e.g. shíl mé nach ngothad sí UN A CUID OIBRE go deo M.</i>
<i>ól</i>	<i>chuardar UN ÓIL 18J8605.</i>
<i>paca</i>	<i>xuə m' e m pa:kə S chuaigh mé UN PACA (cards).</i>
<i>peain</i>	<i>(go ngothaidh sé) UN PEAIN 64M '(that he will start) frying (food) on the pan'.</i>
<i>pluid</i>	<i>Téirigh' UN PLUIDE FFG, gol' ən plid' ə M goil UN PLUIDE.</i>
<i>pobal</i>	<i>ná bíodh aon treabhsar ... ag tíocht UN POBAIL ... Lá Nollag is deise ná a threabhsar. 11C5849.</i>
<i>portach</i>	<i>wil' e: nin' ə got' əm portə fə:s 33M an bhfuil aon duine gaibhte UN PORTAIGH fós? -ta nə fa:ti: kurh a:gi: l' ə:dʒ S Tá na fataí curtha agaibh, a leaids? -ta: got' əm portə 60C Tá, gaibhte UN PORTAIGH.</i>
<i>pórtar</i>	<i>got' əm pə:rtər' 36S gaibhte UN PÓRTAIR.</i>
<i>príosún</i>	<i>tá mise le ghoil UN PRÍOSÚIN 64M.</i>
<i>róstadh</i>	<i>bhí an fear eile réití le ghoil UN RÓSTADH ARN7738.</i>
<i>sagart</i>	<i>b'ei m'e' he:n' ə gol' ən sa:gərt' id' ər ʃe, 19P3 'beidh mé héin ag goil UN SAGAIRT,' a deir sé.</i>
<i>saill</i>	<i>t'it' i: n se:l' ə M tití UN SAILLE.</i>
<i>scabhailéarach:</i>	<i>thos-, chuaigh an taibhse UN SCABHAILÉARACHT. 35E8946.</i>
<i>scríobh</i>	<i>ʋol' ən' ʃkr' i:v ə'r'i:ʃt' 19P ? ghoil UN SCRÍOBH aríst.</i>

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<i>seanchas</i>	<i>chuardar UN SEANCHAIS ar feadh na hoíche 894C;</i> kur'ə mid' ən' ja:nəxəs i: P cuirthidh muid UN SEANCHAS í.
<i>seol</i>	<i>gá cuir UN SEOIL ... nó go mbeadh sí UN SEOIL. 01C6109;</i> <i>'mBeidh aon mhaith UN SEOIL léithi? 11C.</i>
<i>sibhialtas</i>	<i>ghabh Fathach Uí Dhúdáis UN SIBHIALTAS agus un láiocht leis 866ESc115.37.</i>
<i>siléig</i>	ən' jil'e:g'ə S UN SILÉIGE.
<i>siopa</i>	ta jib' ə gil' [gol' ?] ən' fupə 20My tá sib ag goil UN SIOPA.
<i>sliabh</i>	<i>ar bheithí ... iad athrú 'UN SLÉIBHE SÓC3.159.</i>
<i>socra</i>	nuər' ɣ' e fe jin' got' ən sokrə toso: ɲ' k'an eɫ'ə 15W <i>nuair a bheas sé sin gaibhte UN SOCRA tosóidh an ceann eile.</i>
<i>suaimhneas</i>	<i>goite UN SUÍMRIS 18J8027, goite UN SUIMREAS 01Pt.</i>
<i>suan</i>	ə ɣol' ən suən' 11C a ghoil UN SUAIN.
<i>suim</i>	ən sim'ə S UN SUIME.
<i>talamh</i>	ha:n'ək' fə n ta'lhunə 892Mtn tháinig sé UN TALÚNA.
<i>teabhn</i>	[< town], ma xuə fe ən fəun M má chuaigh sé UN TEABHN; xuə m'if' ən fəun orhəb 37M chuaigh mise UN TEABHN orthub, <i>'I went to town on them', 'I dealt with them severely'.</i>
<i>teach</i>	<i>thug sé cuireadh UN Tí do Chonchubhair 866ESc38.6, ag teacht UN TIGH</i> <i>Gholl go ceann míosa Sc192.16, UN TEACH na seanmhrá 869P2.350, IN (UN) TÍ</i> <i>na seanmhrá 869P2.351, agus seobh í an bhean a thug UN Tí é 881J, thug</i> <i>(siad) ... UN Tí cín é 894C9.</i>
<i>tobar</i>	<i>a ghoil UN TOBAIR 03C.</i>
<i>trá</i>	<i>ghothá amach UN TRÁBH 894Cs;</i> <i>bhí sé ag gol UN TRÁ ag baint fheamainne gol ən tra: banf' æ:mən'ə P.</i>
<i>troid</i>	<i>bhí sí ag goil UN TRODA leis SID.46 s.v. troid.</i>

7.83 With the article

<i>abhainn</i>	<i>síos un na haibhne 11Ctn.</i>
<i>Aifreann</i>	im' i: nən æfr'ən' (Smds)04B imithe UN AN AIFRINN, <i>chuaigh sé UN AN AIFRINN ina chéalacan 46.796.</i> <i>Cp. téann muid ag an Aifreann 46.778.</i>
<i>aill</i>	<i>... gá dtagadh an bád UN NA HAILLE 869P4.</i>
<i>aonach</i>	ən ən i:nə 20Ml UN AN AONAIGH. <i>Cp. xuə m'è e:g' ən 'i:nəx 46.1164 chuaigh mé ag an aonach.</i> <i>tháinig sé ar ais UN AN BHÁID 11C, chuaigh sé UN AN BHÁID 11C.</i>
<i>bád</i>	<i>nuair a chuaigh mé ar chuma ar bich 'N AN BHAILE MHÓIR 06C.</i>
<i>baile mór</i>	<i>a' téisclim a dhul UN A' BHÓTHAIR, a' gul cho fada le ... 866ESemr72,</i>
<i>bóthar</i>	<i>go gcuirthidís ar an gcosán í, le í chuir UN AN BHÓTHAIR. 01P (horse),</i> <i>ní raibh bealach ar bith UN AN BHÓTHAIR a'inn ə b'i ən ə wo:hər' æn' P,</i> <i>N'i: ro ga:ri: b'i ən ə wo:hər' P ní raibh garraí ar bith UN AN BHÓTHAIR,</i> <i>b'i:n' ən ə wo:hər' SM binn UN AN BHÓTHAIR (gable facing the road);</i> <i>goil ag cuir a aghaidh UN AN BHÓTHAIR ai ənə wo:hər' díreach S (front of house).</i>
<i>caisleán</i>	<i>UN A CHAISLEÁIN 894C2, cp. scríofadh sé UN AN CHAISLEÁN !(Abó)21Pt.</i>
<i>calaadh</i>	<i>síos UN A' CHALTHA 06C.</i>
<i>céibh</i>	<i>chuaigh sé síos UN NA CÉIBHEACH go dtí an bád 11C.</i>
<i>cladach</i>	gol' ən ə xla:də M goil UN AN CHLADAIGH.
<i>clái</i>	d'im' ə n baisək' əɫ' ə mə hu:n' ən ə xlai S <i>d'imigh an baidhsaicil ó mo thóin UN AN CHLAÍ.</i>
<i>cnoc</i>	gə ɲohət fe ən ə xrik' 48J <i>go ngabhthadh sé UN AN CHNOIC 'take to the hill' (after sheep).</i>
<i>coill</i>	<i>ghothá UN NA COILLE, is bhaintheá, slám slatachaí 21Pt.</i>
<i>crann</i>	<i>UN A' CHROINN 869P3.</i>
<i>cuan</i>	<i>'UN A' CHUAIN 894C3.</i>

<i>cúirt</i>	<i>tugadh</i> UN NA CÚIRTE <i>iad, tugadh i láthair an bhreitheamh iad.</i> 11C.
<i>doras</i>	(<i>an rud a chasadh</i>) ə'max ən ə dɔr'əʃ S <i>amach</i> UN AN DOIRIS. Also 852Sb TS152.
<i>easpaicil</i>	nax m'e:g'ən dɔ: ɣol' ə nə hæ:spək'əl' f'e jin' M <i>nach mb'éigean dó ghoil</i> UN NA HEASPAICIL <i>leis sin?</i> also 21Pt.
<i>fuinneog</i>	a'rh ə'nuəs ənə fin' o:g' ə m' e S <i>athraigh anuas</i> UN NA FUINNEOIGE <i>mé.</i>
<i>obair</i>	UN NA HOIBRE 869P3.
<i>oileán</i>	<i>théidís isteach</i> UN AN OILEÁIN 06C.
<i>pálás</i>	<i>Thug sé isteach 'UN A' PHÁLÁIS é</i> 852Sb 6.70.
<i>portach</i>	<i>chuaigh sé</i> UN AN PHORTAIGH ... <i>tá sé ag goil ar an bportach</i> 46.554.
<i>reilig</i>	ənə ri:l'ək'ə [x2] 04B5 UN NA REILLIGE.
<i>sagart</i>	<i>Agus thug sé</i> UN AN SAGAIRT [sic s-] <i>í. Agus phós ... (Sdás)</i> 04B.
<i>scoil</i>	gol' nə skol'ə 07P <i>ag goil</i> UN NA SCOILE.
<i>siopa</i>	ənə t'upə 17M UN AN TSIOPA.
<i>sliabh</i>	<i>ag dul amach</i> UN AN TSLÉIBHE 866E Sc283.13.
<i>talamh</i>	<i>a thóirt</i> UN NA TALTHA' <i>ó thua</i> 894C9, <i>tá an speal sin ro-ghéar</i> UN NA TALÚNA rə'je:r ə nə talhu:nə S.
<i>teach</i>	<i>chuaigh sé ag cuartaíocht ann síos</i> UN AN TÍ ənə t'i: 11C, f'e xi: d'ukət' f'i: ən ə t'i: M <i>sé an chaoi a dtíochtadh sí</i> UN AN TÍ. <i>go dteagaidís</i> UN NA DTIGHTHEADHAÍ, ... <i>chuaidh siad</i> UN NA DTIGHTHEADHAÍ. 852SD T8 (from the context, not <i>ina</i> (possessive)).
<i>tobar</i>	<i>a ghoil</i> UN AN TOBAIR 03C.
<i>seisiún</i>	<i>Cuireadh ón gcúirt</i> UN AN TSEISIÚIN <i>é.</i> 875P DT10.

7.84 With place-name

an Caiseal, suas UN AN CHAISIL **06C** (now obsolescent, generally *dhon Chaiseal*).

an Caisleán, scríofadh sé UN AN CHAISLEÁN !(Abó) **21Pt.**

an Caladh Mór, i dtír UN AN CHALADH MHÓIR **16P.**

an Ceann, siar a' Cuan ... siar UN A' CHINN, **894C2.**

an Cnoc Buí, go ngothad sé UN AN CHRUIC BHUÍ **11C**3610.

an Coillín, UN A' CHOILLÍN **!894C9**, contrast **gəŋ xol'i:n'** *dhon Choillín* only form noted from speech.

*an Clochán, ən ə xloxə:n' **20Ml** UN AN CHLOCHÁIN (general).*

an Cromptán, ghothadh sé UN AN CHRÚMPÁIN **01C**6963.

an Leath-Mhás, go dtigtheadh muid UN AN LEATH-MHÁIS **892M.**

an Meall Rua, f'i:s ən ə v'ai:l' ruə S *síos* UN AN MHEILL RUA; **hə:l ə gur'ə tu: ən ə v'ai:l ru: iəd** M *shula gcuire tú* UN AN MHEALL RUA *iad.*

Baile Con Fhaola, gə ba:l' ə kə'n'i:ələ | ... gol' əm ba:l' ə kə'n'i:ələ | **894Cs** *go Baile Con Fhaola ... goil* UN BAILE CON FHAOLA (with which *un* is now obsolescent).

Invariable or lesser used simple prepositions

7.85 *ach, nach*

ax *ach* is by far the more common by-form, e.g.

n'i: rɔ dɪn'ə b'i n'e:n'əx f'um ax m'e hɛn' S

ní raibh duine ar bith in éineacht liom ACH *mé héin.*

nax *nach*, e.g.

(*an fear eile*) NACH, (*ní ...*) **20C** (conjunction),

nax ən ɛr'əd **72C** NACH *an oiread.*

(The *nach* variant is more common in dialects to the east of Iorras Aithneach; speaker **49J** remarked that his mother, from Ros Muc, used *nach*. Also, in song,

from speaker **899N** (whose mother was from Leitir Calaidh): *in mo ghaobhar nach an u- raithneach ghlas ...* (Ams)**899N**.)

ach amháin is used both as preposition and conjunction (with *go*). Both occur in:

Bhuel níl fhios agamsa tada dhen amhrán ACH AMHÁIN go gcuala mé, chuala mé go minic ag sean-ndaoine é ach, (tá) sé i bhfad ó shuin ACH, AMHÁIN na cupla focal seo **11C**.

Further prepositional examples:

bhreachaigh sé ina thimpeall agus ní fhaca sé áit a bich ann a gcuirthead sé an corp ACH AMHÁIN teampall a bhí ann **11C**;

an raibh uasáid a bith gá dhíonamh dhen cheilp seo ACH AMHÁIN aidhdeidhin [iodine]? **11C**.

7.86 *bhuil*

A possible example of *bhuil* has been noted only once in a local song:

gə dlu: wil' ə x'e:l'ə !(Asp)**04B** *go dlúth BHUIL a chéile.*

This is perhaps a form of better-known *buil*, or there may, in fact, be an adjective **dlúthúil* / **dlúthmhail* le here.

7.87 *doir*

der' *doir* generally, e.g. *der' ə gro x'e:stə* M *DOIR an gcroich chéasta!*

der' br'i: n' l'aur' **35E** *DOIR brí an leabhair!*

dər' sometimes, e.g. *dər' ma:nəm* M *DOIR m'anam!*

Anomalous before a verb phrase:

der' tɑ:s eg' ə lɑ: gər f'iar ut' e [x3] S

DOIR tá fhios ag an lá gur fíor dhuit é!

7.88 *gan*

gən *gan*. Speaker **894C** has *γən* and *ən* (cp. his other functors in *γ-*; see *dhe*, 7.14). *γən* is his general form:

muʃə ba:ʃt'əm' hū: ə d'er' m'ix'ɑ:l | γən kof γəŋ' k'ɑ:ən |

γən uʃk' ə γən sa'lən | γən d'or γən l'ɑ:n | **!894C**

Muise baistim thú, a deir Micheál, GAN cois GAN ceann,

GAN uisce GAN salann, GAN deoir GAN [or dhen] leann.

He also has *ən* phrase-initially:

ən æn'əm' v'ik' d'e: | ən ə hiəxt n'i: bə gər'ə γəm **!894C**

in ainm Mhic Dé, GAN a thíocht ní ba goire dhom.

Note *gən* **69S1**, common particularly in younger female speakers, showing (written) prestige-norm influence (11.127).

7.89 *marach*

marəx *marach* is the general form. Before pronominals in initial *f-*, verbal sandhi of final *-x* applies, e.g. *ma:rəʃ 'jin'* M *marach sin*. The unstressed vowel before *ʃ* can be realised as *e*:

ma:reʃ 'jin' P *MARACH sin*, *mareʃ 'je' 'jin'* **27J** *MARACH sé sin*.

There is also a noncoalesced realisation *mar ex*, which one can spell *mar 'each*

and understand as a form intermediate between verbal *mara mbeadh* (historically *mara bheadh*)¹ and prepositional *marach*. It was noted before *sin*:

go mbreathaíonn an fear ... seacht n-uaire, níos mú, ina (hí) súilí, ná tá sé, agus tá faitias ortha ina dhiaidh sin é ionsaí. MAR 'EACH sin bheadh | 'mā̃r ex 'jīn' v' ox | — ní bheadh aon-nduine i ndan oibriú le capall. 01P.

I have also transcribed what may be interpreted phonologically as /**mar ox**/, also before *sin*:

m̄q:r̄ox jīn' nax ma'r̄o:n' ... 13J MAR 'EACH sin nach maróinn ... , (unless influenced by the following *maróinn*). For another possible example of **mar ex**, see the corresponding conjunction *marach go* (8.147). The following is an example of the full verbal form with the same meaning as *marach*:

ma'r̄ə m' ex jīn' ə'n' i'f | 52P ní bheidh ... mara mbeadh sin anois,

7.90 *seachas*

ʃaxəs *seachas*; e.g.

ʃaxəs m' e hē:n' S SEACHAS mé héin;
bhíodar ag ceannacht thímpeall an chósta seo uiliug agus is dóichí, go leor áiteachaí SEACHAS, an tír seo. 35E7038.

7.91 *tharas, thaireas, thairis*

hærəs *tharas*, **hær'əs** *thaireas* (less commonly **hær'əʃ** *thairis* which is formally equivalent to the 3m of *tha(i)r*). Examples:

hærəs **hærəs ə dr'ɑ:m el'ə** M THARAS an dream eile,
ʃe k'æhər hærəs b'ert' 60C *le ceathar THARAS beirt*;
hærəs jīn' | 78Rb THARAS sin.
hær'əs **hær'əs ə t'e: el'ə** M THAIREAS an tae eile;
hær'əs yumsə P THAIREAS dhomsa, also 31M.
hær'əʃ ... **bə: hær'əʃ li: 27J** ... *bó THAIRIS lao.*

The related simple preposition *tha(i)r* and complex *tha(i)r mar* (7.73) can also mean 'apart from'. There is an example of *tha(i)r* in this function governing a personal pronoun with *sin*:

ní cheapthainn go mbeadh, THAR é sin. | 'hær' 'e: 'jīn' | 20C

'I do not think there would be, apart from that one'.

For the corresponding conjunction *tha(i)r(e)as mar*, see 8.158.

¹ This is not to suggest that *mara mbeadh* is recent and local.

Inflection of prepositions

7.92 Paradigms *ag* — *thri*

Singular				Plural		
1	2	3m	3f	1	2	3
<i>AG</i>						
<i>am</i>	<i>ad</i>	<i>eg'ə</i>	<i>ek'ə</i>	<i>aN'</i>	<i>agi:</i>	<i>akəb</i>
<i>agəm</i>	<i>agəd</i>	<i>ig'ə</i>	<i>ik'ə</i>	<i>agəN'</i>		<i>aku:</i>
<i>agu'm</i>				<i>an'</i>	<i>ugi:</i>	<i>akəβ</i>
						<i>ukəb</i>
						<i>uku:</i>
						<i>okəb</i>
<i>əgəm</i>	<i>əgəd</i>				<i>əgi:</i>	<i>oku:</i>
	<i>əd</i>					<i>əkəb</i>
						<i>əku:</i>
						<i>ə'ku:</i>
						<i>apu:</i>
						<i>əpu:</i>
						<i>aku:b</i>
						<i>apu:b</i>
						<i>(ə'kub)</i>
<i>(ə'gum)</i>	<i>'ə'gut</i> <i>(ə'gud)</i>	<i>'e'g'e</i>		<i>(ə'gin')</i>		
<i>AR</i>						
<i>orəm</i>	<i>ort</i>	<i>er'</i>	<i>orhə</i>	<i>orəN'</i>	<i>ori:</i>	<i>orhəb</i>
<i>(ə)'rum</i>			<i>rə</i>	<i>(ə)'rin'</i>	<i>orəb'</i>	<i>orhu:</i>
<i>AS</i>						
<i>asəm</i>	<i>asəd</i>	<i>as</i>	<i>ajt'ə</i>	<i>asəN'</i>	<i>asi:</i>	<i>astəb</i>
<i>astəm</i>	<i>astəd</i>			<i>asu:N'</i>	<i>asti:</i>	<i>astu:</i>
	<i>əsəd</i>			<i>astu:N'</i>	<i>ajt'i:b'</i>	
					<i>asəb'</i>	
<i>CHUIG</i>						
<i>(h)ugəm</i>	<i>(h)ugəd</i>	<i>(h)eg'ə</i>	<i>(h)ek'ə</i>	<i>(h)ugəN'</i>	<i>(h)ugi:</i>	<i>(h)ukəb</i>
<i>'u'gum</i>		<i>hig'ə</i>	<i>hik'ə</i>	<i>əgəN'</i>		<i>(h)uku:</i>
<i>(h)'u'gum</i>				<i>'(h)'u'gin'</i>		<i>'u'kəb</i>
<i>(h)ə'gum</i>	<i>ə'gud</i>			<i>hu'gin'</i>		<i>ə'kub</i>
						<i>hə'ku:</i>
						<i>hukuφ</i>
<i>DHE</i>						
<i>d'i:m</i>	<i>d'i:t</i>	<i>d'e</i>	<i>d'i</i>	<i>d'i:N'</i>	<i>d'i:b'</i>	<i>d'i:b</i>
<i>yi:m</i>	<i>yi:t</i>	<i>d'i</i>	<i>d'e</i>	<i>jin'</i>		<i>d'i:həb</i>
		<i>d'ə</i>	<i>d'i:hə</i>	<i>yi:N'</i>		<i>d'i:w</i>
			<i>d'ihə</i>			<i>yi:b</i>
			<i>duithe ⇒ *dihə</i>			<i>(d'i:b')</i>

Singular					Plural	
1	2	3m	3f	1	2	3
<i>DHO</i>						
dum	dit'	do:	d'i	du:N'	d'i:b'	do:b'
du:m			d'ihə	din'	yi:b'	do:b
					d'i:v'	d'i:b
<hr/>						
<i>EIDIR</i>						
				atrən'		at(ə)rəb
						atru:
						atrə
				adərən'	ad(ə)ri:	adru:
					ad(ə)rəb'	
<hr/>						
<i>FAOI</i>						
fu:m	fu:t	fi:	fu:hə	fu:N'	fu:b'	fu:həb
			??? fi:hə	?? fi:N'		fu:hu:
						(fu:həb')
<hr/>						
<i>I</i>						
unəm	unəd	ɑ:n	i(:)n'tə	unən'	uni:	i(:)ntəb
i:nəm					ini:	i(:)ntu:
	unut				unəb'	u(:)ntəb
'u'num	,'nød	an		u'nu:N'ə	'inib'	
ə'num					un'ib'	antəb
num	nəd					ɑ:ntəb
	nut				i'nib'	
with demonstrative		ən'fə,				
		ən'fin', etc.				
<hr/>						
<i>LE</i>						
l'um	l'at	l'ej	l'e:hə	l'in'	l'ib'	l'o:həb
l'u:m		l'ij	l'ehə	l'u:N'	l'i:b'	l'ohəb
		l'əf	l'e:	(l'i:N')		l'ohu:
						l'ohu:
						(l'o:əb)
						l'o:b
						l'ob
						(l'ofə)
<hr/>						
<i>Ó</i>						
wem'	wet'	wai	wohə	wen'	web'	wohəb
wim'	wit'			win'		wohu:
wom						(wo:həb)
wuəm'						wuəhəb
						wo:hu:
<hr/>						

Also L' - for each person.

1424 Prepositions

Singular				Plural		
1	2	3m	3f	1	2	3
<i>ROIMH(E)</i>						
ru:m	rū:t	rīv'ə	ri(:)mp'ə	ru:N'	ru:b'	ru(:)mpəb
rō:m	rū:ð	rim'ə	rū:hə	riN'	rō:b'	rū:həb
						ru:b
						ru:b'
						ru(:)mpu:
						rū:hu:
						rō:mpəb
						(rō:mpu:)
						rō:b
						ru:həb'

(Vowel nasalisation flanked by oral consonants is obsolescent.)

<i>THA(I)R</i>						
harəm	hart	har'əf	hart'ə	harəN'	hari:	hartəb
	harəd		harhə		harəb'	hartu:
hartəm	hartəd				har'i:	harhəb
	hardət'				hard'i:b'	har'u:
	hartdīt'					har'tu:
	hart dīt'					harhu:
with emphatic clitic		hær'əfən				
		harsən				

<i>THRÍ</i>						
hri:m	hri:t	hri:d'	hri:hə	hri:N'	hri:b'	hri:həb
(tr'i:m)						hri:hu:
fri:m		fri:d'	fri:hə			fri:hu:
with emphatic clitic		hri:dsən				
		hri:sən				

The other persons (2sg, 3m emphatic, 1pl, 2pl, 3pl -əb) no doubt also occur in initial fr-

7.93 Personal suffixes

The main allomorphs of the personal suffixes in the prepositional pronouns are:

Singular				Plural		
1	2	3m	3f	1	2	3
-m	-t (stressed)	-V	-C'hə	-N'	-b' (stressed)	-həb
-m'	-t' (stressed)	-f	-t'ə		(-v' (stressed))	-hu:
	-d (unstressed)				-i: (unstressed)	-b'
						(-v)

7.94 2 singular -t (stressed) ~ -d (unstressed)

2sg monosyllables regularly take final -t, whereas disyllabic 2sg forms regularly end in -d. There is, however, some evidence for final monosyllabic d and final disyllabic t in the 2sg. I have noted two tokens of monosyllabic d(h)uid for common d(h)uit. The general form is d-/ɣit' in SID.46 but there is one noted example of -d' in də 'r'aun' did' 46.77 do roghain duid, with which we can compare dhuid in *Seou í dhuid anois í !894C9*.

Historical disyllabic forms generally have **-d**, the stop is often devoiced in **æḍ** (< *agad*, 2sg *ag*), frequently in Máire's speech. SID.46 has **-ḍ** (unvoiced *d*, transcribed in SID as **-ḍ**), **t̪** (unaspirated *t*, transcribed in SID as **-t̪**) and **-t** here:

gḡro 'mah a:ḍ, 46.938 *go raibh A'D*;
 [t̪] ḡ muhu: ka:l't̪'ě aḥ (s.v. *mothú*) *an mothú cailte A'D*;
yl' ki:v' rə:ḡt er i:h'ə nə to:r'hən 703
an bhfuil cuimhne A'D ar oíche na tórramh(n)?

Speaker **21J** has **t** in *ionad*, sometimes stressed on the second syllable, e.g.
ar bith IONAD ə b'i nət | ~ ə b'i unut | 21J.

The 2sg *romhat*, of *roimh(e)*, generally has **-t**, but SID.46 has both **-t** ~ **-ḍ** phrase-finally in a prayer:

fa:l't̪'ě ... rū:t hiærənə — ... marə ti:l'ě t̪l'ě rū:t — ... gḡ 'fo:l' rū:ḍ — ...
gḡ d' o: rū:t 46.V *Fáilte ... ROMHAT, a Thiarna, ... mar an taoille tuile*
ROMHAT, ... go fóill ROMHAT, ... go deo ROMHAT.

These examples, along with *a'd*, may indicate a (perceived) voicing neutralisation in unstressed position.

7.95 3 feminine **-í** ~ **-e**

Evidence for 3f **-í**, instead of usual **-ə**, is not extensive.

852S (Dumhaigh Ithir): examples in this folklore transcription are not trustworthy for the speaker's genuine usage: *leithe* [i.e. *leithí*], *dí*, *uirthi*, *uirthí a'* **852S4**.

894C (Glinsce): examples are few: *aon bhlas orthaí, agus ...* (prose) **894C9**; *uaill aistí, is cloisfí ...* **894C2**.

892Mg (Glinsce): this speaker has regular **-ə** in his third person feminine prepositional pronouns but **-í** before *é*, e.g. **ə'g obər' ,int'í 'e' | ag obair inti é** (2.72).

These three speakers come from West and North-West Iorras Aithneach and have obsolescent **-í**; elsewhere in their morphology (verbal *-idhl-igh*, and verbal adjective *-t(h)a*). It is therefore possible that the transcriptions are accurate and that **-í** was found in the 3f prepositional pronoun of **852S** and **894C** (for whom we have few actual tokens in these transcriptions) particularly since their few examples occur (at least possibly, if there was no intrasentential pause) in prevocalic position (or before pausa). Speaker **894C**'s audio recordings need to be checked for this feature.

7.96 1 plural **-N'** ~ **-n'**

The 1pl suffix generally ends in **-N'**, but examples of **-n'** seem to occur, e.g. **æn'** *a'inn*. It is realised frequently as **-n'** in SID.46 but **n'** in SID often represents a (slightly weaker) version of the *n* sound which is best taken as **N'** (1.417).

7.97 2 plural **-i:** ~ **-əb'**; **-v'**

Polysyllabic 2pl prepositional pronouns alternate **-i:** >>> **-əb'**. The minor variant **-əb'** is by now almost obsolete. Outside of query, it has been noted only once, in a traditional *rann*:

'ʃe:rd ta' ünəb' 'buəxəl' i: 'ba:í' ə | ʃib' 'hē:n' | 872M
séard tá IONAIBH buachaillí báire sib héin.

In reply to query, the following were found:

əsi' M, **əsəb'** Mperm *asaibh*; **æd(ə)ri'** Mq, **æd(ə)rəb'** Mperm *eadraibh*;

unəbʰ, **unəbʰə** Mq *ionaibh(se)*; **hæːrəbʰ**, **hæːrəbʰə** [x2] Mq *tharaibh(se)*.

Not all disyllabic forms, however, are permitted with **-əbʰ**. Máire permits forms with **-i:** only in:

ɡgi: *agaibh*, **ori:** *oraibh*, **hugi:** *chugaibh* Mq,

although **orəbʰə** Mq was produced on another occasion. The only forms therefore which do not permit **-əbʰ** have internal **ɡ**. There is perhaps a dissimilatory effect between the two stops in impermissible ***-ɡəbʰ**. Cp. 3pl **-u:**, most common following the stop in **aku:** (*ag*) and the only examples of 3pl **-əβ** and **-əφ** follow a stop in **aːkəβ** (*ag*), **hukuφ** (*chuig*).

Note further that 2pl **fu:bʰ**, **ru:bʰ** Mq *fúib*, *romhaib* only are permitted as against ***fu:həbʰ**, ***ru:həbʰ**; the last two being minor 3pl variants (7.98 (b)).

2pl **-vʰ** has been recorded from only one speaker in Iorras Aithneach; from **852S**, our oldest speaker, in quotation in a story; it may therefore be marked for higher register:

tá an-ómás againn DHÍBH jivʰ mar gheall air sin 852Stn.

The only other 2pl form in his short recording is **ʰibʰə** *libse*, with the general 2pl monosyllabic ending **-bʰ**. In reply to query, Máire also produced 2pl **harəvʰ** Mq (*thar*) but this is either conservative (higher register) or of extraneous origin in Mq's repertoire. Speakers younger than Máire often produce 2pl **-vʰ** in query (based chiefly no doubt on spelling).

3 plural

3 plural allomorphy is the most complex of all persons. There are four rare terminations and there is widespread variation between **-ub** and **-ú**.

7.98 Rare **-abh**, **-ib**, **-úb**, **(-a)**, **(-dar)**

Four rarer forms and one possible attestation of 3 plural personal endings are discussed here:

(a) **-abh -əβ**, **-əφ**; (b) **-ib -əbʰ**; (c) **-úb -u:b**; (d) **-a -ə**; (e) **-dar**.

(a) **-abh -əβ**, **-əφ**

-əβ has been noted only in: **aːkəβ** | **25M** *acabh*.

-əφ has been noted once:

... ən kr'ed'ə | hukuφ 04B1n ... an creideamh, CHUCABH.

Cp. **ʰo:hucφ** Mq (*le*) in section (c) below.

(b) **-ib -əbʰ**

ru:həbʰ *romhthaib* is an infrequent variant in Máire's speech, which she also permits in query, and is the only disyllabic 3pl noted from conversation in **-əbʰ**. Speakers **66N** and **66L** have also been heard with this pronunciation:

ru:həbʰ 66N *ROMHTHAIB*,

although the **-bʰ** is not very distinctively palatalised. Also:

bʰ in ʰiəd ... ɡʰ im'əxt ru:bʰ 66L *bíonn siad ... ag imeacht ROMHTHAIB*,

which, through elision of **h**, is homophonous with the general 2pl **ru:bʰ**.

Other 3pl permissible forms in **-əbʰ** are:

fu:həbʰ Mperm *fúthaib*, **wohəbʰ** M?perm *uathaib*.

Other forms are not permitted: **leothaib*, **thríthib* MØperm.
 Máire's use is in striking agreement with evidence on 3pl **-əb'** from SID. Of the 3pl forms of *ag*, *chuiġ*, *do*, *faoi* and *roimh* in Connacht collated from SIDi, III, the form **rōhīb'** (Mp 251 *róm̐pa*, pt. 29) is the only disyllabic variant in final **b'**.

(c) -úb -u:b

A form in **-u:b** was noted from Seán phrase-finally where the final **-b** may well have been a type of 'afterthought' added to common **-u:**. In his recording speaker **47L** has a single **-u:b** form (**aku:b fo er' | 47L acub seo air**) in contrast with 16 *acú* and 14 *acub* forms. Speaker **71Dt.1** supplies one example of **-u:b** in ... **a:pu:b ə ...** following **ʔob** in the same section of discourse, implying possible serial effect of the **-b** ending. Máire very rarely uses this mixed form ... **en' x'a:n a'ku:b M ... aon cheann acub**. When queried concerning possible ***-u:b** (e.g. in ***ʔo:hu:b**), Máire repeated **ʔo:hu:ɸ | ʔo:hu:b | d'e:rho: Mq 'leothúbh,** 'leothúb,' *déarthá* but then was immediately unsure and produced only her own general forms **ʔo:həb** and **ʔo:əb Mq**. Furthermore, two young women have **-u:b -úb: 73N** (An Croompán, Carna) and **79M** (Aill na Brón); both noted in 2002, cf. 7.100.

(d) -a; -ə

There is no sure evidence for 3pl **-ə** apart from the phrase *eidir eatra* (7.38). Speaker **894C** has **-a** (x7) in folklore transcriptions: *leótha, asta* (note by Séamas Mac Aonghusa); *leo* (x3+), *róm̐pa, uatha 894C2*. Apparent examples of **-ə** are sometimes noted from recordings and conversation, for example, **a'kə 35E1 acu(b)**, **a:kə ta ... 66N acu(b) tá ...**. But these may in fact be weakly articulated unreleased tokens of **-b**.¹

(e) -dar

In a secondary source, which is at times untrustworthy, there is an instance of the 3 plural verbal ending **-dar** following anomalous *faoi-* for *fí-*:

tá míle agus céad rud FAOIDAR sin, is dá mbeadh am agam ... 03V (Becker 1997: 164–5 (cp. B. Ó Catháin 2001b: 135 n. 14); corrected in main text to *fúthu*).

If accurately transcribed, *faoidar* may well be taken as a slip of the tongue. It might well be worthwhile to check the original recording in this instance. I suspect that the passage may have been mistranscribed for a disfluent statement such as: *tá míle agus céad rud, bhíodar sin, ...*. Interestingly, innovative use of **(-)dar** in the verb seems particularly common before *sin*, just as in transcribed *faoidar sin*.

7.99 Variation in -ub ~ -ú; (3plprp) → <əb> <u:ə>

The main variation in the inflection of the prepositional pronouns in the dialect is that between 3 plural final **-əb** and **-u:**. As seen from the paradigms above (7.92), all inflected prepositions (except *dhe* (rare **-əb**), *dho*) may take either of these

¹ In 2006 I noted clear tokens of **akə acu** from a Ros Muc male speaker, born c. 1948.

endings; **-əb** is the commoner ending; **-u:** is found overall mostly with *ag*. In the description below the shorthand ‘non-*ac*-’ forms stands for all prepositions other than *ag*. For example, non-*ac*-+*ub* stands for *-ub* occurring with prepositions apart from *ag*. Geographically, **-u:** seems to be commoner in the north-west and north-east corners of Iorras Aithneach, e.g. in Glinsce, Damhras and Na hAirdeannaí in the west and Loch Con Aortha in the east; but this must remain conjectural until all the data is collated.

There is evidence for a lexical sandhi constraint causing the <**əb**> variant to be realised in favour of <**u:**> in position before *héin*.¹ Speaker **19P** generally has **aku:** more commonly than **akəb**. Preceding *héin*, however, only **akəb** was noted from him, e.g. **akəb fiən'** Pt3 *acub héin*. Speaker **894C** has a high <**u:**> yield in material in Roinn Bhéaloideas Éireann, and in his recordings perhaps even higher, but with *héin* he has **akəb h'e:n'**. Cp. *chucub (féin) 894C2*, but *tharnaíodar 'ucú héin 894C2*. This indicates, if the transcription is accurate, that the rule is not categorical for **894C**. Speaker **897PLC** has **-u:** in most cases, always with *ag*. He has **-əb** sometimes with other prepositions and with *ag* before *héin*, i.e. **aku:** vs. **akəb he:n'**. In the speech of other speakers **-u: he:n'** does occur often, e.g. **opur he:n' 71Dt.1 acú héin**.

Much of the data from individual speakers may be restated on a cline from use of **-əb** only to use of **-u:** only. Speakers can be classified on a scale from 0 to 4 as follows:

Score	Proportion of variants	Group
0	<i>-b</i> (almost) always,	majority
1	<i>-b</i> >> <i>-ú</i> ,	next biggest group
2	<i>-b</i> ≈ <i>-ú</i> ,	small group
3	<i>-ú</i> >> <i>-b</i> ,	small group mainly born in 1950s and later
4	<i>-ú</i> (almost) always,	small group mainly born in 1970s and later

7.100 Individual speakers

852S (Dumhaigh Ithir) has seven clear tokens in his short recording:

-b (x2) ~ **-u:** (x5)
leob sin, iontub sin *orthú ###,*
 acú (x4), (i.e. *acú ###* (x2), *acú anoir*, *acú air*)

There is also an unclear token which may most likely be *orthub ###*. The greatest generalisation this small set allows us to make may therefore be a pattern:

ac-+*ú* vs. non-*ac*-+*ub* >> +*ú*.

SID.46 and **869P2-4** (An Coillín) yield forms in *-b* only. Table 7.17 presents the details from SID.46 (questionnaire and vocabulary). SID.46.I (Text I) also yields forms in *-b* only but the unstressed vowel patterns differently in that **-üb** and **-ub** are the only endings found: there are five tokens of **-üb**, e.g. **i:ntüb**, **əküb**, and one **-ub**: **əkub**.

¹ Cp. the transcription of 3pl *le + héin* (in song) from Rinn Mhaoile, North-West Conamara: *lóbhtha péin* CABI §109(f) v. 5, indicating **ʔo:fə p(ˈ)e:n'**.

Table 7.17 Third plural prepositional pronouns > -b, SID.46

	-qb (x8)	-qb (x1) -qb̄ (x5)	-b (x3)
<i>ag</i>	q:kqb 32, a:kqb 117, 814	-aküb s.v. <i>cainnt</i>	
<i>ar</i>	orhqb 823	ərhub 11a	
<i>chuiġ</i>	hqbqb 45		
<i>dhe</i>	d'i:hqb 209		
<i>edir</i>	a:trqb s.v. <i>eadar</i>	atrüb 689	
<i>i</i>		u:ntüb s.v. <i>ionnam</i>	
<i>roimh</i>		rumpüb s.v. <i>romham</i>	ru:b, ro:b
<i>thar</i>	ha:rtqb 557		s.v. <i>romham</i>
<i>ó</i>		wuəhüb s.v. <i>ó</i>	wəb s.v. <i>ó</i>

881JCF is the oldest speaker with almost categorical **-u:**. His only tokens of **-əb** are **astəb fin'** (x2). Cp. speaker **852S** above who also has **-ub** **fjin'**.

894C2.13–103 (Glinsce) has *acú* >> *acub*, non-*ac*-+*-ú* (x5) ≈ non-*ac*-+*-ub* (x8), (and non-*ac*-+*-a* (x7)). It is noteworthy that of the possible *-ú* variants in **894C2–3** following intervocalic *-th-*, the forms for *le*, *thri* and *de* are not attested, i.e. *leothub* (*leob*, *leo*), *thriothub*, *dhíob* >> *dhíothab* only as against alternating *rómhub* (*rómha*) ~ *rúthú*, *uathub* (*uatha*) ~ *uathú*. Other prepositions are found with both: *íontub* ~ *íontu*, *chucub* ~ (*ch*)*ucú*, *thartub* ~ *thartúsan*, but *astú* (x1) only. Note also that 3pl *ar* resembles 3pl *ag*, i.e. *orthú* (*orrú*) >> *orthub*, the latter noted only once. (Cp. **71D**, 7.101.)

897PLC (as in 7.99) has **-u:** in most cases, always with *ag*. He has **-əb** sometimes with other prepositions and with *ag* before *héin*, i.e.

aku: vs. **akəb** **he:n'**.

898P1, 2's (Fínis) *acú* example is: **k'ε aku: b'ar cé acú ab fhearr?** Contrast his **k'ε a'kəb k'ar:n ... cé acub ceann ...**

06CMR has systematic *ac*-+*ú* vs. non-*ac*-+*ub*.

899PLC has a general *ac*-+*ú* vs. non-*ac*-+*ub*. He is given a score of 2 in the *-ú* scale.

13PAM's *-ú* examples are:

kid' aku' (x1) *cuid acú*; **xε:n in' a'ku'**, (x2) *chaon nduine acú*.

16MMN uses **-u:** infrequently. An example of variation in conversation occurs in:

v'i fi: su: f'o'həb, su:l f'o'həb ... gən ə v'e su:l f'o:hu'

bhí sí ag súil leothub, [x2] ... *dúirt mé léithi gan a bheith ag súil leothú*.

32JMN's single *acú* example is: **kid' æku'** *cuid acú*. He has many examples of **kid' ækəb**.

36SMN has the pattern *acú* (>> *acub* ?) vs. non-*ac*-+*ub*, noted from conversation.

52PCF has the pattern *acú* (>> *acub* ?) and non-*ac*-+*ú* vs. non-*ac*-+*ub*, e.g. **f'u'həb, fu:hu'**, noted from conversation.

These data, with loss of the conditioning detail, are summarised in Table 7.18 where 'F' stands for 'female speaker'.

Table 7.18 Third plural prepositional pronouns *-ub* vs. *-ú*; 1869–1980

Speaker	0. <i>-b</i>	1. <i>-b >></i>	2. \approx	3. <i>-ú >></i>	4. <i>-ú</i>
SID.46 q	+				
870B1-2			+ ?		
875P	+				
881J				+	
881N	+ F				
893P	+				
894BI	+				
894C2.13-103				+	
894Cs	+				
894N	+ F				
898P1, 2		+			
899N1	+				
00C	+ F				
00T	+				
03V	+				
04B1, 5, 10	+				
04Br	+ F				
04F	+				
06C			+		
06M	+				
07M		+ F			
07P	+				
11P			+		
13J	+				
13P		+			
14J	+ (?)				
15P	+				
15Pr	+				
15W	+ F				
16M		+ F			
16P		+			
16S	+ (?)				
17M	+ (?)				
18Bm				+ F	
18T	+				
19P			+		
20A(RnG)	+				
20C	+				
20My	+ F				
20MI	+ (?)				
20Pá		+			
21Pt1		+			
23B					+ (?) F
23J	+				
24M			+		
25M2		+			
(25Mb					+ F)
25T	+				
26Ps		+			
27C				+ (?) F	
27Cl	+				
27Js	+				

Speaker	0. <i>-b</i>	1. <i>-b >></i>	2. <i>≈</i>	3. <i>-ú >></i>	4. <i>-ú</i>
30M	+				
30Ms		+			
31D	+				
31M	+ F				
32J		+			
32Js			+		
33M					+ F
35E1	+				
36N					+ F
36P1	+				
43J	+				
45N	+ F				
47L		+			
51M	(+) F				
56T				+ F	
60M1	+				
60S					(+) F
66L	+ F				
66N	+ F				
69S1				+	
70S1					+
71Dt.1			+		
72C					+ F
72N		+			
73P2, 3			+		
77C				+	
78B				+ F	
78P		+			
78Rb			+ F		
79J	+				
79MI	+				
79P		+			
80A		+ F			
Male 60 : Female 25	34 : 11	13 : 3	8 : 1	4 : 4	1 : 6

Speaker **25Mb**'s use of *-ú* only is atypical for her age-group and may be a consequence of her long residence in Innis Nia (northwest of Iorras Aithneach) since her marriage. She must therefore be left out of the calculations of Iorras Aithneach usage here and excluded from Figure 7.2. No speaker, in my material, born in the period c. 1895–1915 has dominant *-u:* usage. More evidence will be needed to ascertain whether this dip in *-u:* usage is actual in the community. Continuity is evident between speaker **869P** (SID.46) and his daughters **04Br** and **15W**, who have consistent *-əb* (score = 0). Similarly, father **04B** and son **35E** are equivalent (= 0), and brothers **20C** and **25T** (= 0) are the same. On the other hand, brothers can differ: **881J** (= 3) and **894Cs** (= 0). Clann Mhicil Uí Chon Fhaola also show dissimilarities: Máire (**16M**) has dominant *-əb* (= 1), Bríd (**18Bm**) has dominant *-u:* (= 3), whereas Pádraig (**19P**) has both terminations frequently (= 2). Although there are not enough females in my sample, it may be significant that females cluster toward higher *-ú* usage and perhaps particularly since the 1970s females show a greater proportion of *-ú* usage than their male cohort. In this context, daughter **60S** (= 4 (or 3)) has higher *-ú* than her parents **20C** and **20My** (=

0); and daughter **72C** (= 4) has higher *-ú* than her father **25T** (= 0) and her mother **27C** (= 3) in contrast to her brothers **69S** (= 3) and **73P** (= 2).

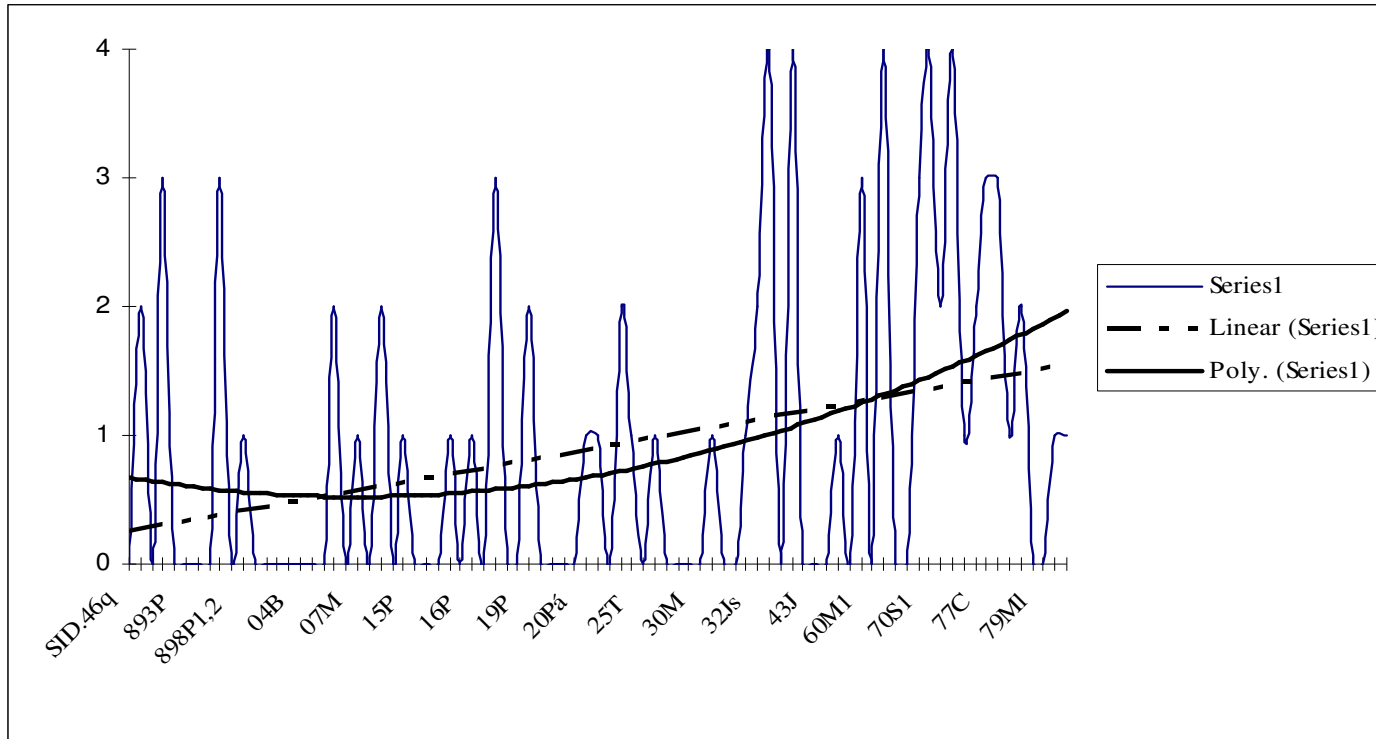
The information in Table 7.18 is charted below in Figure 7.2 (Series1) with linear and polynomial transgression lines inserted to indicate possible trends in the data. (All speakers' data are contained in the chart, each mark on the y-axis represents a speaker, although only every fifth speaker's abbreviation is shown.)

At least three points are immediately obvious from Figure 7.2:

- (a) the remarkable relative constancy in the variability up until the generation born in the 1960s;
- (b) the dramatic increase in *-ú* use from the 1960s on, including the development of a speaker group previously not attested, i.e. an *-ú*-only group (with score = 4);
- (c) the resultant increase in community diversity.

It is in light of the recent increase in *-u:* that the use of *-u:b -úb* by **73N** and **79M** (mentioned above, 7.98) might be interpreted: as a combination or compromise between conservative (perhaps male) *-əb -ub* and progressive *-u: -ú*. It may not be coincidental that these two females are more traditional or better speakers than usual (for their age-group) and have stronger ties than average with traditional speakers. Both in fact work (2002–) together in Raidió na Gaeltachta.

Figure 7.2 Allomorphy of 3 plural *-ub* vs. *-ú*, intergenerational development



7.101 Speaker 71D, Dónall Ó Uaithnín, Damhras

Since speaker **71D**'s usage is idiosyncratic, or confined to his sibling network (**apu** was also heard from his brother **73D**), Table 7.19 presents a summary of 3pl forms in **71Dt.1** (i.e. tape recording no. 1 of **71D**) and a sample of usage from **71Dt.1** is given in Table 7.20.

Table 7.19 3 plural prepositional forms in 71Dt.1

	-əb	No.	-u:	No.	-u:b	No.
<i>ag</i>			apu:	13	apu:b	1
			əpu:	1		
			opu:	1		
			aku:	2 (3?)		
<i>i</i>	akəb	1				
	i:ntəb	7				
<i>ar</i>	orhəb	2	orhu:	1		
<i>le</i>	l'o(ː)b	3				
Total		13		18		1

The form **orpu** was selfcorrected to **orhu** *fin'* **71Dt.1** (a similar slip occurred in **orbu** **73P** *orthú*). The **-u:** allomorph is found with *ag* and *ar* in **71Dt.1**. These are the same two prepositions which have dominant *-ú* for **894C2–3** (7.100). They are also two of the most common prepositions (6.26, Table 6.2). The selection in Table 7.20 of **71Dt.1** is given in order of occurrence. Numbers indicate sequences within separate sections of discourse. With *cuid* in partitive use, only **apu:** occurs (x4).

Table 7.20 3 plural prepositional pronouns, a selection from 71Dt.1

-əb	-u:	
	1	gə l'or: apu' § ... <i>go leor acú, is iontub</i>
1 ... i:ntəb 		<i>crabhaid acub</i>
1 kraud akəb ...		<i>ceann acú</i>
	1	... k'ɑ:n aku ... <i>chorrcheann acú anseo</i>
	1	... 'xaur'x'ɑ:n apu' ən'fə ... <i>cuid acú</i>
	1	... kid' apu ... <i>lasta acú faoina</i>
	1	... lɑ'st apu fi:nə ... <i>go leor acú sin</i>
	1	gə l'or: aku' fin' <i>cuid acú</i>
	2	... kid' əpu' ... <i>cuid acú nach</i>
	3	kid' əpu' nax <i>iontub, mar a déarthá</i>
1 ... i:ntəb mar d'erha	1	gə l'or: əpu' ə dər ərəf <i>go leor acú i Doire Iorrais</i>
1 ... i:ntəb 		<i>iontub</i>
2 ... i:ntəb		<i>iontub</i>
1 ... i:ntəb 		<i>iontub</i>
	1	... ən æhər' wɔ:r orpu <i>ina athair mhór orthú</i>
	2	n æhər' orhu' fin' ... <i>ina athair orthú sin</i>
1 ... i:ntəb		<i>iontub</i>
	1	ə'mɑ:x apu' fin' <i>amach acú sin</i>
1 ... i:ntəb		<i>iontub</i>
	1	b'ehi' apu <i>beithí acú</i>
2 ... orhəb		<i>orthub</i>
(3)1 ... l'ob		<i>leob</i>

-əb		-u:	
		1	... akur' fin' <i>acú sin</i>
		2	... apu' fin' <i>acú sin</i>
3	Í ob	4	v' is apu <i>leob ... bhí fhios acú</i>
5	... Í ob fin' ...		<i>leob sin</i>
6	... apu:b ə ...		<i>acú a</i>
		1	... kid' apu ... <i>cuid acú</i>
		1	ə wə:stu opu' he:n' ... <i>i bhfastú acú héin</i>
		1	kl'æ:xt apu' er' <i>cleachtadh acú air</i>
		2	kl'æ:xt apu' er' <i>cleachtadh acú air</i>
1	...orə ^b p		<i>orthub</i>

7.102 Appendix, 3 plural prepositional pronoun

The figures of *-ub* vs. *-ú* in 3pl prepositional pronoun inflection for individual speakers are given in this appendix.

Table 7.21 3pl *-ub* and *-ú*; 1869 to 1980

Speaker	SID.46 q	870B 1-2	881N	893P	894BI	894N	894C2.1 3-103	898P 1, 2	899N1
<i>-ub</i>									
<i>acub</i>	3	+	9	13	13	2	8	11	
<i>orthub</i>	2								
other	4								c. 10+
non-ac-			12	6	4	5	8	6, 6	
<i>-ú</i>									
<i>acú</i>		+					30	1	
non-ac-							5	1	
Sum.	<i>-b</i> only		<i>-b</i> only	<i>-b</i> only	<i>-b</i> only	<i>-b</i> only	35:16	2:23	<i>-b</i> only
<i>-ú</i> :- <i>ub</i>	0:9		0:21	0:19	0:17	0:7			
Comment							non-ac- in -a 7		
Speaker	00C	00T	03V	04B 1,5,10	06M	07M	07P	11PLA	13J
<i>-ub</i>									
<i>acub</i>	33	8	12	15+		5	4	2	7
<i>orthub</i>				1				4	
<i>iontub</i>							2	1	
<i>fúthub</i>				1					
<i>leothub</i>				4			1	3	
other				7	13				
non-ac-	11	5	2			6			2
<i>-ú</i>									
<i>acú</i>				1				16	
non-ac-						1			
Sum.	<i>-b</i> only	<i>-b</i> only	<i>-b</i> only		<i>-b</i> only	<i>-b</i> only	<i>-b</i> only		<i>-b</i> only
<i>-ú</i> :- <i>ub</i>	0:44	0:13	0:14	1:28	0:13	1:11	0:7	16:10	0:9
Comment			uφ 1					ub 2	
								ac-; ə 2	

1436 Prepositions

Speaker	13P	14J	15P	15Pr1	15W	16S	16P	17M	18T	19P
-ub										
<i>acub</i>	7	22	8		+	3	3	15	3	+
<i>orthub</i>							4			
<i>iontub</i>							2			
<i>fúthub</i>							1			
<i>leothub</i>							2			
other					+					
non-ac-	10	25	2			20	5	13	4	
-ú										
<i>acú</i>	3	1 ?				1 ?	7			+
<i>orthú</i>							1	1?		
<i>fúthú</i>		1 ?								
Sum.				-b only	-b only			'-b' only	-b only	
-ú :-ub	3:17	2?: 47	0:10	0:c. 5		1?:23	8:17	1?:28	0:7	

Speaker	20A (RnG)	20C	20My	20MI	20Pá	21M1, 2	21Pt1	23J	24M	25M2	25Mb
-ub											
<i>acub</i>	6	+			19	5, 6	8	5	9	7	
<i>orthub</i>					2				1		
<i>leothub</i>									1		
other		+		c. 20	13					6	
non-ac-						4	12	6			
-ú											
<i>acú</i>				1 ?	5		1		12	10	5
<i>orthú</i>					1				2		
<i>leothú</i>									1		
non-ac-											2
Sum.		-b only	-b only	-b only (?)				-b only			
-ú :-ub	0:6			1?:c.20	6:34	0:15	1:20	0:11	15:11	10:13	7:0

Speaker	25T	26Ps	27Js	27Cl	30M	30Ms	31D	31M	32J	32Js	35E1
-ub											
<i>acub</i>	6	8	4	4		1	20+		35+	7	
<i>orthub</i>						1					
<i>iontub</i>						4					
<i>fúthub</i>						1					
<i>leothub</i>										1	
other								c. 20			
non-ac-		9	6	3			21		9		
-ú											
<i>acú</i>		1							1	5	
<i>orthú</i>						1					
<i>leothú</i>										1	
Sum.			-b only	-b only	-b only		-b only	-b only			-b only
-ú :-ub	0:6	1:17	0:10	0:7	0:7	1:7	0:41+	0:c.20	1:44+	6:8	0:c. 40

Inflection of prepositions 1437

Speaker	36N	36P1, 2	43J	45N	47L1, 2, 3	51M	56T	60M1
-ub								
<i>acub</i>		6, 12	5	10	6, 6, 2	1		11
<i>orthub</i>							1	
non-ac-		4, 6	6		5, 1, 2	2		7
-ú								
<i>acú</i>	1+				3, 8, 4		18	
<i>leothú</i>	1							
non-ac-							11	
Sum.		-b only	-b only					-b only
-ú :-ub		0:28	0:11	0:10	15:22	0:3	29:1	0:18

Speaker	66L	66N	69S1	70S1	71Dt.1	72A	72C	72N	73P2,3
-ub									
<i>acub</i>	3	+	2		1			7	7
<i>orthub</i>					2				
<i>iontub</i>					7				
<i>leothub</i>					3	2			
other									7
non-ac-	2	+						2	
-ú									
<i>acú</i>			6	13	17	14	10	3	6
<i>orthú</i>					1	3			
<i>roimh-</i>				4					
non-ac-			5				7		2
Sum.		-b only							
-ú :-ub	0:7		11:2	17:0	18:13	17:2	17:0	3:9	8:14
Comment	akə b 2			akə 1 ɾo: 2	-u:b 1	ɾo(:)b 2			

Speaker	77C	78B	78P	78Rb	79M1	79J	79P	80A
-ub								
<i>acub</i>	9		9	1	9	50	4	4
<i>orthub</i>	2	2		3				
<i>astub</i>	1							
<i>iontub</i>	0							
<i>fúthub</i>		1		1				
<i>leothub</i>	9			5				
<i>uathub</i>	1							
<i>roimh-</i>	1							
other		1						
non-ac-			6		6	20	2 ?	5
-ú								
<i>acú</i>	21	25	3	13			2	1
<i>orthú</i>	4			2				
<i>astú</i>	1							
<i>iontú</i>	3	1						
<i>fúthú</i>								
<i>leothú</i>	0							
<i>uathú</i>	1							
<i>roimh-</i>	1							
non-ac-								
Sum.					-b only	-b only		
-ú :-ub	31:23	26:4	3:15	15:10	0:15	0:70	2:6	1:9
Comment				akə 1				

Compound and nominal prepositions

7.103 General

Compound prepositions are more complex than simple prepositions; nominal prepositions contain nouns (generally together with prepositions or other particles). The preposition *un* is historically a nominal preposition but is analysed synchronically as a simple preposition, the only simple preposition which is regularly followed by the genitive. For *ar ais* (adverb with obsolescent prepositional use containing possessive, e.g. *ar m'ais*, etc.), see 8.197. Formal variation is common; including reduction (e.g. *go ceann gə k'ɑ:n ~ ə k'ɑ:n*; *dhe bharr gə wɑ:r ~ wɑ:r*), coalescence (e.g. *fearacht f'arəxt ~ f'arəʃ < f'arəʃ jin' fearacht sin*), and stress shift (e.g. *ar son er 'sun ~ er 'jun ~ 'erʃən*). The division between nominal phrases and compound prepositions is not always clear. For example, the phrase *i gcorp* is used with time nouns meaning '(in) this very' (also FFG s.v. *corp* 2):

tá sin amhlaidh I Gcorp an lae inniubh,

... marab fhuil an gáirí díonta a'msa I Gcorp na hoíche anocht fúibse, ní lá go maidín é! 45N.

Similarly, *leataobh* is common in the adverbial phrase *dho leataobh* and in *i leataobh na tine* (e.g. | ə 'L'æti:v nə 't'in'ə | 889P), which latter can be considered a prepositional use. Some compound prepositions are used only or mostly with nonfinite phrasal complements, i.e. *i ndan*, *ar thí*, but they are also listed here.

The compound prepositions are:

a chois (*cois*, *cos*), *ach* (*an*) *oiread le*;

in *ar*: *ar aghaidh*, *ar bhuille*, *ar c(h)ionn*, *ar chúla*, *ar feadh*, *ar fhad*, *ar fhaitíos* (*faitíos*), *ar fhuaid*, *ar fud*, *ar ghualainn*, *ar nós*, *ar scáth(a)* (*ar scáthas*), *ar son* (*ar shon*), *ar thí*, *ar thóir*;

in *as*: *as cionn* (*as ceann*), *as coinne*, *as comhair*, *as mullach*, *as ucht*;

c(h)eal, *cés l téis moite dhe* (*cés múite dhe*), *chomh fada le*, *chomh maith le*, *cóngarach dho*,

in *dhe*, *dho*: *dh'ainneoin*, *dhe bharr*, *dhe bhrí* (*dhe bhrín*), *dhe bhuíochas* (*dhen bhuíochas ar l dho*), *dhe chionn*, *dh'fhuireasa*, *dho choinne*, *dho léar* (*dho léir*, *dho réir*);

in *faoi*: *faoi bhun*, *faoi cheann*, *faoi choinne*, *faoi chomhair*, *faoi dhéint*, *faoi thuairim*;

fearacht,

in *go*: *go ceann* (*go cheann*, *nó go ceann*), *go dtí* (*nó go dtí*), *go dtíge*;

in *i*: *i bhfianais(e)*, *i bhfoisceacht*, *i bhfud* (*i mud*), *i dtaobh*, *i dteannta*, *i dtosach ar*, *i dtús*, *i gcaitheamh*, *i gceann*, *i gcionn*, *i gcleithiúnas* (*i gcléithiúnas*), *i gcoinne*, *i gcomórtas le*, *i gcóngar*, *i gcúla*, *i leaba*, *i leith*, *i mbun*, *i measc*, *in aimsir* (*aimsir*), *in aghaidh*, *in aice*, *in áit*, *i ndan*, *i ndiaidh*, *in éadan*, *in éindí le*, *in éineacht le*, *i ngaobhar*, *i ngar dho*, *i ngar ná i ngaobhar dho*, *i ngoir ná i ngaobhar dho*, *i ngoire*, *in imeacht*, *in ucht*, *i rith*;

in *le*: *le fána*, *le haghaidh*, *le hais*, *le cois*, *le linn*, *le teann*; cp. *le leisce* (8.142);

leisce, *maidir le*, *mar gheall ar*, (*dhe*) *shiúl*, *taobh le*, *thar éis*, *tigh*, *i dtigh* (also *ó dhigh*), *timpeall* (*thart timpeall*, *mórtimpeall*), *trasna*, *un tosaigh ar* (*un tosach ar*).

7.104 Forms and examples; *a chois* — *aimsir*

a chois ə xɔf, xɔf, kɔf, kɔs

hi: fe ʃi:s ə xɔf ə 'xlai əgəs hɔsə fe kumə f' il' iəxt | 11C

shuigh sé síos A CHOIS an chlaí agus thosaigh sé ag cumadh filíocht;

ə xɔf ə t' æ:lə 11Ct A CHOIS an teallaigh; ə xɔf t' in' ə | 04B5 A CHOIS tine;

fai:n ə xɔf nə t' in' ə ʃit' he:n' P fan A CHOIS na tine dhuit héin;

shín sé siar A CHOIS aille ə xɔf 'æ:l' ə sa gcladach agus thit sé ina chodladh.

11Ctn;

ar shuíochán A CHOIS an ghráta Sc248.20; ina luí A CHOIS bruach Sc165.1;

suífidh mé anseo A CHOIS an chnocáin seo Sc160.9;

sheas sí A CHOIS an dorais ag breathnú ar Mháire Sc250.35.

xɔf: *caithidh sé, CHOIS balla iad 894Cs.*

Ambiguous as to ə xɔf or xɔf:

leag sé CHOIS aille é sin 892Mtn; ... tu xɔf ə xlai ... S ... tú CHOIS an chlaí ... ;

an t-am a mbíodh m'rá CHOIS teallaigh ... cuid acub ag cardáil ... 892M1019.

Also *cois kɔf*:

COIS an chlaí (e.g. Sc274.32); *COIS na tine*;

v' i: m' e ʃu:l kɔf 'klɔ:də (or ʃe: 'klɔ:dəx) 46.1065 bhí mé ag siúl COIS cladaigh

(or *le cladach*), cp. ,mō 'hi: xɔf nə t' in' ě, 46.542 *i mo shuí CHOIS na tine.*

Also *cos kos*:

theann sí síos COS na tine ʃi:s kos nə t' in' ə is thosaigh sé héin is í héin ag

comhrá. 11C.

Cp. *le cois* (7.117).

ach (an) oiread le ax ən er' əd ʃe, ax er' əd ʃe, ax ən edər ʃe

ax ən er' əd is the commonest form by far:

ax ən er' əd ʃæt he:n' M ACH AN OIREAD LEAT héin.

ax er' əd: ax er' əd ʃum he:n' 25T ACH OIREAD LIOM héin; ax or' əd ... 79J;

n' i xi:n' i:m m' iʃ ax or' əd er' 19P10 ní chuimhíonn mise ACH OIREAD air (adverb).

ax ən edər' heard, as adverb, from 04Br only.

aimsir, cf. *in aimsir* (7.116).

7.105 *ar aghaidh* — *ar thóir*

ar aghaidh er' ai

nach bhfuil sé amach AR T'AGHAIDH! S; ARAGHAIDH an tí.

ar bhuille 'about to' er wíl ə

er wíl ə v' e re: M (*tá sé*) AR BHUILLE a bheith réidh.

ar c(h)ionn 'over' er' k' i:n, er' x' i:n

This has been noted from speaker 51P1 only (and not from his parents); he also uses the more common form æs k' i:n as *cionn*.

er' k' i:n nə t' in' ə 51P1 AR CIONN na tine; er' x' i:n ə ʃr' ed' əl 51P1 AR CHIONN an ghreideall; er' ə x' i:n | 51P1 ARA CHIONN.

1440 Prepositions

ar chúla er() xulə, or xulə

haid fe he:n' er' xul ən der'əf 19P *théadh sé héin* AR CHÚLA *an doiris*;
er' xul ən' t'i: jin' v'i: je nə xuni: 897P AR CHÚLA *an tí sin a bhí sé ina chónaí*;
or xul əŋ xrik' 899P AR CHÚLA *an chnoic*; *cuir* ARA CÚLA SIN *í*.
 Contrast common *ar a chúla*. **852SbTS131** (*astride a horse*) with *a' marcaíocht ... is cuireadh amach* ARA CHÚLAÍ *í*. **852SbTS136**, the only example I have noted with final *-í* for IA. Cp. *g'uireasaí 852SbTS137* for general *dh'fhuireasa*.

ar feadh er' f'a, ə f'a, f'a

er' f'a (with intrusive h) **er' f'æh ə le: 04B5, 11C** AR FEADH *an lae*;
er' f'æh ə tã:vɾə 15P AR FEADH *an tsamhradh*.
er' f'a (without h): **er' f'æ ə 'wad | 35E7038** AR FEADH *i bhfad*.
ə f'a (with intrusive h): **ə f'æ huər' ə xlog' S** AR FEADH *uair an chloig*.
ə f'a (without h): **ə f'æ⁰ ɣa:ri: ~ ə f'æ ɣa:ri: 25M**
 AR FEADH *an gharraí*.
f'a (without h): **f'æ n' t'e:su:r' 18J7073** AR FEADH *an tséasúir*.
thug an fear ... i bpáirc bhreá é a raibh cruinniú mór daoine ann FEADH *a amhairc*, **864MDT51**.

ar fhad 'during' er' ad

AR FHAD *an lae* FFG *fad* 4.

ar fhaitíos er' at'ias / at'e:s / at'is / at'əs

AR FHAITÍOS *na bhfaitíos*.

Also *faitíos fat'ias / fat'e:s / fat'is / fat'əs*

FAITÍOS *cogaíocháí* S, FAITÍOS *báistí*.

ar fhuaid er' uəd', ar fuaid

er' uəd' ə t'i: Mq AR FHUAID *an tí*.

d'eirfodar [sic] suas a' macras AR FUAID *an ourláir, agus buaileadh duin' acub faoin doras 852SbTS135*.

ar fud er' fud, ə fud, fud

er' fud | m'ix' ə l'ə:həb er fud nə 't'ir' er xūmə r 'b'ix' 11C
imithe leothub AR FUD *na tíre ar chuma ar bith*;

er fud ə t'i: M AR FUD *an tí*.

ə fud **ə fud ə wa:l'ə** AR FUD *an bhaile*.

fud *Tá siad sin* FUD *an domhain* ARN2291;

ə rix' fud nə srə:d' ə 04B5 *ag rith* FUD *na sráide*.

ar ghualainn er() ɣuələn'

n'ir' tæ:də tæ:də er' ɣuələn' ə l'æ:n' dɪŋ' M

níor tada tada AR GHUALAINN *an leanding*;

v'i: nə l'æ:ds el'ə sokər' er' ə ɣuələn' P

bhí na leaids eile socair ARA GHUALAINN;

n'il' e:nin' ə d'i:nə tæ:də er ɣuələn' nə fæ:ni:n' i: fa:do: P

níl aon-nduine ag déanamh tada AR GHUALAINN *na sean-ndaoíní fadó;*
ré-obair baint mhóna AR GHUALAINN *spealadóireacht* FFG s.v. *ré-obair;*
 ... AR GHUALAINN *mar a bhí ...* FFG s.v. *gualainn* 4.
 Cp. *ní raibh muid ag díonamh tada* AR GHUALAINN *iad sin* [perhaps *i ngualainn*]
31Dt, more correctly: *ar a ngualainn sin* Mq.

ar nós er() nu:s, ə nu:s, ə no:s

er nu:s 'Renault' í — *dath* AR NÚS *carr Pheigí atá ortha.*
er 'nū:əs **er 'nū:əs | 869P** *ar nós.*
ə nu:s *ach* AR NÓS *gach rud ə nu:s 'gax rud níl fhios a'm b'fhéidir ach*
véarsa anonn 's anall **11C**; **ə nu:s nə mik'ə S** AR NÓS *na muice.*
ə nu:əs **mijə kr'ed'əm' ə nu:əs ga'x rud ənsən ə:m ... kr'em' gə gahə:**
... 11C1521 *muise creidim* AR NÓS *gach rud insan am ... creidim go*
gcáitheá
ə nō:əs **v'í: je nō:əs 'f'i:n' 'wə:r 'ɣak 'u:il' | 11C**
bhí sé AR NÓS *Finn Mhór mhac Úil.*

With simple direct pronoun object without *héin* (minority usage):

Tá se meirbh dho lá, dho lá AR NÚS *e* **36S**;
umpi: ma:x er' nu:s iəd 60M *iompaíthe amach* AR NÓS *iad.*

ar scáth(a), ar scáthas er() ska:hə, er ska:həs

AR SCÁTHA *an dá lá a bheidheas muid beo* M; AR SCÁTHA *an méid sin*;
er ska:hə ən ta:xər ə v'i:ns nə di:n'ə b'ə: M
 AR SCÁTHA *an t-achar a bhíonn na daoine beo.*
er ska:həs punt 52M, 12Sperm AR SCÁTHAS *punt.*

ar son, ar shon er sun, er fun, erfən, orfən; er' hun

'In place (of)', *ag goil* AR SHON *a chéile* **892M1182**;
má d'ól se e sin go gcuiridh se ARA SHON M.
 'For the sake of', **er sun d'í:l'əf d'e: ort !03V** AR SON *dílis Dé ort!*
orfín' 'd'e: ort 11C2348 AR SON *Dé ort!*
 ARA' SON SINNE **!869P6.**

ar thí er' hi:

ugəs ta: m'e: er' hi: d'er fe: | sa:sə si:lta | wa'nt' | gən ri: jin' | ... gə wil'
m'ijə | er' hi:ʔ | ɣol' ə n'e:n'əxt' l'æ:tsə 869PSgbf *agus tá mé* AR THÍ, *a deir*
sé, sásamh saolta a bhaint dhen rí sin ... go bhfuil mise AR THÍ *a ghoil in*
éineacht leatsa;
-Rud a bith fhéadfas mise a dhíona ar an rí sin, a dúirt an Grabaire, tá mé AR
 THÍ *é dhíona.* **869PSgbf.**

ar thóir er' ho:r'

er' ə ho:r jin' 11Ctn ARA THÓIR SIN.

7.106 as cionn — as ucht

as cionn əs k'in, əs k'in (cf. 1.173), *as ceann* (cf. *ar c(h)ionn*, 7.105)
 ... AS CÍONN *a chluais' é* **852S4**;
chuir sí poll ar a hata ar achaon taobh AS CÍONN *a dhá chluais* **11C**;

1442 Prepositions

ní dhearna muide ... aon orchar iascach ... le, AS CIONN seachtaine anis. 11C;

-Tá mise curtha anseo, a deir sí, le AS CIONN céad bliain 11C.

Apparently also *as ceann* (with possessive pronoun):

,af 'k'i:n, ; as k'i:n ə fail' ; asə g'i:n or ... g'æn 46 (s.v. *cionn*)

as cionn, as cionn an phoill, AS A GCIONN or ... A GCEANN.

as coinne **æs kin'ə**, cp. *dho choinne, faoi choinne*

shíuil sí siar AS COINNE chuile dhuine 01C6469;

æs kin'ə nə ni:n'ə | æs kin'ə n ti:l' S

AS COINNE na ndaoine, AS COINNE an tsaoil; ag bramannaí AS A CHOINNE. 45N.

as comhair **æs kū:r', æs ku:r'**, cp. *faoi chomhair*

AS DO CHOMHAIR amach; AS COMHAIR an fhear eile; AS COMHAIR an tsaoil.

as mullach **æs muləx**, cp. (not classified as prepositions) *i mullach, sa mullach ar*

br'eh er' ə muk'e:d s e wuələ æs muləx ə x'i:n' orhə Pt

breith ar an mbuicéad is é a bhualadh AS MULLACH an chinn ortha;

xur tu' m' br'i:k'ə nuəs æs ə muləx M *chuir tú an bríce anuas AS A MULLACH.*

as ucht **a 'soxt, as oxt, 'asəxt, asox(t), esəxt**

Stress varies between initial and final syllables.

In adjurations:

a 'soxt e:ft' ɾ'um | ə soxt nə maid'ən' ort S

éist liom AS UCHT na Maighdine ort!

'asəxt æsəxt gə:x ə'r' im'ə wət' er' nə ma:r'əv' | is e:ft' ɾ'um S

AS UCHT gach ar imigh uait ar na mairbh is éist liom!

æs:soxt nə maid'ən' ort M *AS UCHT na Maighdine ort;*

æsəxt nə maid'ən' ə du:n də v'e:l M

AS UCHT na Maighdine dúin do bhéal!

mu:fə æsəx d'e: ort M *muise AS UCHT Dé ort.*

esəxt d'iar' f'i: esəxt d'e: orhə gən ... 35E9258

d'iarr sí AS UCHT Dé uirthi gan

Also 'in return, exchange for':

as oxt hug fe tr'ausəɾəm ə wə:nəm æs oxt ə ɣol' ən' e:n'əx ɾ'ef, 19P3

thug sé treabhsar dhom, a mh'anam, AS UCHT a ghoil in éineacht leis.

asox(t) æs:sox xə ma: s v'i: m'ifə ɣo: 20My

AS UCHT chomh maith is a bhí mise dhó.

The only possessive pronoun recorded in conversation was the 3sg, i.e.

kahə m'e rud ə ho:rt dit' æs oxt S

caithidh mé rud a thabhairt duit AS A UCHT.

Asked to translate 'for them', Seán gave: **æs oxt' fin'** Sq. Asked if **æs ə noxt**

BóC was acceptable, he answered **fæ: æs ə soxt' fin'** Sq *Sea 'as a s-ucht sin'*

implying he interprets the preposition as *as sucht*. Asked to translate 'Thank

you for them', Máire gave:

gə rə mah æd æs ə noxt Mq *go raibh maith a'd AS A N-UCHT.*

7.107 c(h)eal — cóngarach dho

c(h)eal **x'al, k'al** (also noted as *a ceal*, cf. 9.113)

x'æl tæ'də l'e d'ínə S *CHEAL tada le déanamh*;

... *chomh cruá CHEAL uisce* **31M**.

k'æ:l ær'əg'əd' 78Rb *CEAL airgid*. Cp. *lé CEAL aon ghráinne tobac* **894C9**.

cés / tés moite dhe, cés múite dhe **k'ɛ:s mɪt'ə gə, t'ɛ:s mɪt'ə gə, k'ɛ:s mu:t'ə gə**

k'ɛ:s mɪt'ə jɪ:m p'ɛ:n' S *CÉS MOITE DHÍOM héin*;

t'ɛ:s mɪt'ə gən' il' ā:n mā:fən 05M *TÉS MOITE DHEN Oileán Máisean*;

k'ɛ:s mu:t'ə gə f'ɛ:x 19J *CÉS MÚITE DHE 'Féach'* (television programme).

Given that the corresponding conjunction is also heard as *'s moite go* (8.149), one might expect a prepositional equivalent **'s moite dhe*.

chomh fada le **xə fə'də l'e(:)**

Tháinig fear **CHOMH FADA LEIS 875TLL37**;

Sheoladar leo go dtáinigeadar **CHOMH FADA LEIS AN Orbhuaidh go ndéanaidís pósdadh ann. 852SbLL139–40**.

chomh maith le **xə mæ' l'e(:)**

chuile fuinneog **CHOMH MAITH LE chéile 61M**.

cóngarach dho **ku(:)ŋgə'rəx gə**

ku:ŋgə'rəx gə ... 18J *CÓNGARACH DHO ...*

7.108 **dh'ainneoin — dhe chionn**

dh'ainneoin (obsolescent; *dhe(n) bhuíochas* is current)

gɪn' u:n' ə tluə 04B1 *DH'AINNEOIN an tslua*;

,gə t'm'u:n', 46.932 *DHE T'AINNEOIN*.

dhe bharr gə **wə:r, wə:r**

gə wə:r *DHE BHARR an tseafóid; DHE BHARR do chuid bréaga*;

DHE BHARR Sheáin; ní bheidh tada **DHÁ BHARR a'd**.

wə:r ... **tæ:də wə:r ə hɪr' ɛg'ə ... wə:r ə hɪ:r' 23C**

... *tada* **DHE BHARR a shaothair aige, ... DHE BHARR a shaothair**.

(gə) wə:r ... *rud eicínt aige* **DHE BHARR na hoíche ɛg'ə wə:r nə hɪ:hə ... aige**

DHE BHARR na hoíche ɛg'ə gə wə:r nə hɪ:hə 35E.

dhe bhrí, dhe bhrín, gə vr'i:, gə vr'in'

-Bhuel, DÁ BHRÍN SIN, a deir sé, ní fheicfidh mise ná thusa aon amharc ar a

chéile an fhad is a bheas muid beo ... ach an oíche anocht **Sc159.2**;

Bhí an lá fliuch is **DHÁ BHRÍ SIN ní dheachaigh mé amach S**;

ka:l'u: e gə vr'in' gə vr'in' ə fʃæ:b' M

cailleadh é **DHÁ BHRÍN, DHO BHRÍN an steaib**.

Cp. *dhe bhríthin: ... an t-ainm atá orthub* **GÁ BHRÍTHIN, 869P5; GO BHRÍTHIN a'**

choga (TarCC)**869P5; GO BHRÍTHIN SIN, 894C6**.

dhe bhuíochas, dhen bhuíochas ar / dho **gə wɪ:xəs, gən wɪ:xəs ɛr' / gə** 'in spite of'

DHE BHUÍOCHAS chuile dhuine;

gə: jɪ:nə gə də wɪ:xəs dhá dhéanamh *DHE DO BHUÍOCHAS*.

,rīn'í fè: gṡn 'wɪxəs dṡm, 46.932 rinne sé é DHEN BHUÍOCHAS DOM;
rinne sé DHEN MHÍLE BHUÍOCHAS DHOM é 21Ptq.

dhe chionn gṡ x'ín 'as a result of'

gan tada GÁ CHIONN.

In adverbial phrase of time *dhár gcionn* 'following' (6.36), e.g.

la: v'ík' dæ:rṡ gṡ: g'ín St lá Mhic Dara DHÁ GCIONN.

7.109 *dh'fhuireasa* — *dho léar*

dh'fhuireasa ger'əsə

xuə ŋ' f'ín'ě a:s gṡrəsə gu:əl 46.988 *chuaigh an tine as DH'FHUIREASA gual;*

Díontha' muid grutha DHÁ FHUIREASA, DH'FHUIREASA an chuid eile;

gṡ: fer'əsə DHÁ FUIREASA; GÁ BHFUIREASA 869P2.

In the following passage, possibly mistranscribed in the source, there are two otherwise unattested features for this preposition in Iorras Aithneach; final *-í* in the first occurrence and the meaning 'against' in the second:

*-Muise ... pé ar bith rud a dhíonfas me G'UIREASAÍ na cuideachta sa lá ... !
adeir sí. ... d'imigh sí G'UIREASA a chóirle 852SbTS137.*

Cp. *ar a chúlaí í. 852SbTS136*, also otherwise unattested for Iorras Aithneach (7.105).

dho choinne gṡ xín'ə, cp. *as coinne* (7.106), *faoi choinne* (7.110), *i gcoinne* (7.115)

teagthaí DHO MO CHOINNE gṡ mṡ xín'ə 11C, M; gṡ: xín'ə DHÁ CHOINNE;

chuir sí ag iarraidh banaltra is dochtúr é agus chuaigh sé GÁ GCOINNE 11C.

This is only used with personal pronoun possessive objects, i.e. **gṡ xín'ə wṡr'ín' MØperm dho choinne Mháirín*; instead *fi: xín'ə wṡr'ín' faoi choinne Mháirín* is used (also *ə gín'ə i gcoinne* in query). Cp. *faoi chomhair / dhéint / thuairim* (7.110).

dho léar, dho léir, dho réir gṡ l'ér, gṡ l'ér; gṡ l'ér', dṡ l'ér' (in conjunction); *gṡ r'ér', gṡ r'ér', dre:r', dṡ r'ér'*, also *ṡṡ l'ér' 894C* (cp. *do réir DIL* s.v. *riar, de réir FGB* s.v. *réir*)

gṡ l'ér gṡ l'ér ə wṡ:do:r' ... 25T DHO LÉAR an bhádóir

gṡ l'ér g'im'əxt gṡ l'ér ə x'e:l'ə Mt ag imeacht DHO LÉAR a chéile;

bhí an torann ag méadú DHO LÉAR a chéile gṡ l'ér ə x'e:l'ə Pt.

gṡ l'ér Agus DHO LÉIR ṡṡ l'ér' mo thuairim !894C;

chuaigh an reithe aniar, thríd an bhfarraige, ... tháinic an tarbh DHÁ

LÉIR'ṡṡ: l'ér' aniar. 894C;

... gṡ l'ér' an 13P ... DHÁ LÉIR ann.

Cp. conjunction, e.g. *dṡ l'ér' mar ... 13J DO LÉIR mar ...* (8.157).

gṡ r'ér' generally.

Forms in *d-* from younger speakers are no doubt the result of spelling pronunciation:

dre:r' ə fṡ:p'ér' 60M DHO RÉIR an pháipéir;

dṡ r'ér' 73P.

7.110 faoi bhun — faoi thuairim*faoi bhun fi: wun**Agus gur shuí' sé ar shuíochán, mór fada bhí ann, FAOI BHUN croinn. | fi: wūn 'krī:n' | 866E.**faoi cheann fi: x'ɑ:n (fi: hja:n, fi han)**FAOI CHEANN dhá mhí eile; tháinig sé sa saol FAOI CHEANN trí nó ceathair dhe bhlianta casadh leihí páiste í 11C; agus dúirt Cearúlán léithi FAOI CHEANN scaitheamh -Is gearr ... 11C.*

Phonetically reduced:

*FAOI CHEANN fi: hja:n b'fhéidir trí, cheithre seachtainí 20A (also 01P from the same townland (Doire Iorrais));**fi fian | kuplə ʃa:xtə'n' ... Mt.tí FAOI CHEANN cupla seachtain**faoi choinne fi: xi'n'ə, cp. as coinne (7.106), dho choinne (7.109), i gcoinne (7.115)**FAOI CHOINNE Mháirín;**omɑ:s mɔ:r fi:nə xi'n'ə 04B7 ómás mór FAOINA CHOINNE.**faoi chomhair fi: xo:r', fi: xu:r', cp. as comhair (7.106)**fi: xo:r' ~ fi: xu:r' SM; ag réiteach FAOI CHOMHAIR fi: xū:r' an tsagairt 881J; agus dúirt sí go raibh fathach eile ag tócht FAOINA COMHAIR fi:nə kū:r' héin inniubh. 889P; xo m' e fi:nə xu:r' S chuaigh mé FAOINA CHOMHAIR.**faoi dhéint fi: je:nt'**faoina ndéint, faoina dhéint.**faoi thuairim fi: huər'əm'**Tháinig sé FAOI THUAIRIM na caillí 866ESc59.18.***7.111 fearacht***fearacht f'arəxt, (h)arəx, (f')arət, (f')arəʃ**f'arəxt b'fhéidir gurb in é ' FHEARACHT agamsa é, 869P2;**... nach é FEARACHT na nÉireannach bocht [sic] 05M, S;**N'í: he t'ærəxt he:n' e M ní hé T'FHEARACHT héin é;**N'í: he f'ærəxt war' e M ní hé FEARACHT Mháire é;**N'í he' f'ærəxt tumɑ:nt' ə xɑ:r e 25T**ní hé FEARACHT tomáint an charr é.**(f')arəxt ax arəxt ə 'x'æ'lə | ju:n mɔ:rɑ:n 'ahər' ə 'i: 'ʃu:l gə ... 18J8846**Ach ' FHEARACHT an Cheallaigh dheamhan mórán achair a bhí sí ag siúl go ... ;**ax N'í:rəv' 'ærəxt nə 'sɑ:ltrəxi: e' | 06C Ach níorbh FHEARACHT na saltrachaí é, chuaigh sé sin isteach agus níor labhair sé dor.**(f')arəx ʃe: 'ærəx ʃūn' eg' maik' 'tā'məni: e | 18J8291**sé a FHEARACHT sin ag Maidhc Teamannaí é.**(h)arəx ní HEARACH Hapcins bocht e S.**(f')arət N'í: he t'ærət he:n' e S ní hé T'FHEARACHT héin é,**... he tærəts e S ... hé T'FHEARACHTSA é;*

- (f)arəʃ** **ʃæ:rəʃ ʃin' æ:ds** e S sé a FHEARACHT sin a'dsa é.
ʃæ:rəʃ **ʃæ:rəʃ wɑ:r'** e S ní a FHEARACHT Mháire é,
ʃæ:rəʃ **ʃæ:rəʃ wɑ:r'** e S ní FEARACHT Mháire é.

7.112 **go ceann**

go ceann, go cheann, nó go ceann **gə k'ɑ:n, ə k'ɑ:n; gə x'ɑ:n; nu: gə k'ɑ:n**

The rarest forms are *go cheann*, noted from **894C2**, and *nó go ceann*, noted from **869P3**, 5 only (also *go ceann* SID.46). The latter speaker and his brother are the only speakers noted with *nó go dtí* **869P**, **875T** for common *go dtí*.¹

- gə k'ɑ:n** *D'fhan mé leis GO CEANN tamaill ,gə k'ɑ:n 'tɑ:məl', 46.1041;*
Féadthaidh tú fanacht anseo GO CEANN míosa gə k'ɑ:n m̃i:sə |
, a deir sé má thograíonn tú héin é 11C.
- ə k'ɑ:n** **na: ʔ k'ɑ:n ʃɑ:xtən' 19P3** ná GO CEANN seachtain ... (ná = 'nor').
- gə x'ɑ:n** *GO CHEÁNN scatha. 894C2; GO CHEÁNN coidhcís ó inniu Pt.*
 Perhaps with reanalysis to *dhe / dho cheann*.
- nu: gə k'ɑ:n** *Ní rudar in ánn solas a' lae fheiceál NÓ GO CEÁNN trí lá, 869P3;*
NÓ GO CEÁNN an fhad seo laethantaí 869P5.

7.113 **go dtí — go dtige**

go dtí, nó go dtí **gə d'í:, gə t'í:, ʏə d'í:, nu: gə d'í:**

go dtí is the general form, in locative function meaning 'to', e.g.

chuaigh sé GO DTÍ an teach;

chuaigh sí suas sa seomra agus tháinig sí GO DTÍ é. gə d'í: e' | 11C;

-Bhuel, seanfhear bocht, a deir se, tháinic sa mbád GO DTÍ mé aréir gə d'í:
m'e 're:r' 11C.

In this meaning it is synonymous with *chuig*, e.g.

ag blaoch orm tíocht GO DTÍ é. Thosaigh mé ag siúl chuige. LL45.

It can also have nonlocal meaning 'as far as, even', e.g.

Ní hé amháin go mbeidh na daoine a' damhsa ach beidh na soithigh a' damhsa. ... gur dhúisigh sé a raibh sa teach, gur thosaíodar a' damhsa, agus GO DTÍ na copáin agus na soithigh a bhí ar a' mbour. 864MDT26–7;

Píosáí de ghróití iarainn acu, maidí droighin, ... GO DTÍ an t-iarann smúdála bhíodh sé acu. 866ESc23.13;

rinne sé bád mór i nGaillimh, chuile bhlas ariamh a bhaineann léithi, rinne sé an bád é héin. Rinne sé na sparraí, 'gus na seolta, 'gus achuile shórt a bhain di, GO DTÍ na táirní 'gus na boltaí. 11C.

Only speaker **00T** was noted with a variant **gə t'í:**; in his recording: **gə d'í:** [x3] **gə t'í:** [x5]. Speaker **894C** has regular **ʏə d'í:**, following pausa also **ə d'í:**, (for his other functors with **ʏ-**, see *dhe*, 7.14), e.g.

| ʏə n' æh̃ə ʃe ʃi:s | ʏə d'í: ā:t' | ə dugən ʃiəd ə kruk bi: er' | 894C

go ndeachaigh sé síos GO DTÍ áit a dtugann siad an Cnoc Buí air;

chuir sé a chloigeann amach thrí mhullach an tí, GO, DTÍNA dhá ghualainn. |
ə | d'í:nə 'ʏa: 'ʏuələn' | 894C.

Rare *nó go dtí* was noted from Clad1219 and brothers **869P** and **875T** only (they also have *go dtí*). The two speakers in question have frequent *nó go* as time

¹ Cp. the Middle Irish example of *nó co* as a preposition cited in L. Breatnach (1994: §11.10).

conjunction and **869P** has *nó go ceann* (7.112). (Cp. conjunction *nó go dtí go*, 8.127.) Given the verbal origin of *go dtí*, the variant *nó go dtí* is unremarkable; *nó go ceann*, on the other hand, is synchronically unexpected since *go ceann* is nominal. E.g.

Place: *agus bhí dhá mhíle dhéag, le siúl againn, as sin, NÚ, GO DTÍ an áit, a raibh, Tobar, Naomh Pádraig 869Pt*;

thug sí treasna é NÓ GO DTÍ an áit a ru' hathair na chónaí 875T1.

Place (extended): cp. *gá phioca GO DTÍ an gráinne deireanach 875T1*.

Time: *NÓ GO DTÍ maidin lárna mháireach 875T1*,

agus gan corraí NÓ GO DTÍ maidin lárna mhárach 869PDT81,¹
déanann siad cocaí móra dhi NÓ GO DTÍ aimsir dhóighte. Clad1219.

go dtige gə d'ig ə

a goil GO DTIG' é, 869P3; mar níl me réidh GO DTIG' e 10C;

gə d'ig ə t'æ:x S GO DTIGE a teach.

Noted from **866E** in RBÉ material only in:

ba mé an rí a bhí sa ríocht seo GO DTIGE sin 866ESemr122;

nuair a bhí siad le chéile GO DTIGE sin 866ESc97.2.

Speaker **11C** has the most frequent use (of my speakers). His main by-form is *go dtí*. Many of his examples, and those of his wife **10B**, are given in de Bhaldrath (1980c). A further selection of his examples is:

nuair a theaigidís GO DTIGE pobal eicint eile;

chuir sé GO DTIGE táilliúr é a bhí ar an mbaile ... chuir sé an stócach, agus píosa bréidín leis, go dtí an táilliúr;

tá saol maith a' dsa ón lá rugadh thú GO DTIGE lá an lae inniubh;

ní raibh sé i bhfad ag cartadh nuair a tháinig sé GO DTIGE rud bog;

chinn sé ariamh orm, a deir sé, GO DTIGE anís,

nuair a bhíod sé ag tfocht GO DTIGE an Seoigeach i gCarna;

chuaigh sé GO DTIGE an teach is bhuail sé buille dhen mhaide ar an doras;

GO DTIGE an lá a bhfuighead sé bás nó go ngothadh sé ó mhaith (all 11C).

It appears from these tokens that *go dtige* is found less commonly before the article *an* but the examples were not noted systematically from his extensive material.

7.114 *i bhfianais(e) — i gcaitheamh*

i bhfianais(e) ə v'i:n'əʃ, ə v'i:n'əʃə

ə v'i:n'əʃ kahə n ɣubə:ʃt'ə | ə v'i:n'əʃ ə ɣa'ri | er' ə mo:hər | 894C

ag caitheamh an ghobáiste I BHFIANAIS a gharraí ar an mbóthar;

ə v'i:n'əʃ nə t'in'ə | 04B5 I BHFIANAIS na tine;

hi: m'e v'i:n'əʃ nə t'in'ə Sq shuigh mé I BHFIANAIS na tine;

ə mi:n'əʃ 18J I M'FHIANAIS.

ə v'i:n'əʃə leag sé iad I BHFIANAISE na leapa ə v'i:n'əʃə nə 'L'æ:pə 866E;

a leagan I BHFIANAISE na haltóra 866ESc212.25;

ə v'i:n'əʃə nə 'L'æ:pə Mq I BHFIANAISE na leapa.

ə v'i:n'əʃ(ə) ə mi:n'əʃ ~ ə mi:n'əʃə Sq I M'FHIANAIS(E).

¹ Cp. *glacam ar sáith grádha nó go tí an mhaidin* (1685) cited in DIL s.v. *no co*.

i bhfoisceacht ə wɪʃk'əxt, ə wuʃk'əxt, ə wu:ʃk'əxt, u:ʃk'əxt

ə wu:ʃk'əxt 04B10, 16M, 19P3, 48M;

xuə ʃe wu:ʃk'əxt rud ə b'ɪ ... *M chuaigh sé I BHFOISCEACHT rud ar bith ...* ;

wu:ʃk'əxt l'ev'i:l'ə P I BHFOISCEACHT leithmhíle;

v'i: m'e: u:ʃk'əxt | ... 06C *bhí mé I BHFOISCEACHT ...* .

ə wuʃk'əxt 05M; wɪʃk'əxt 12S.

i bhfud, (i mud)

ə mud nə ni:n' ən'ʃɪn' a:kəb | ə wud nə ni:n' i: a:kəb 24N

I BHFUD na ndaoine ansin acub, I BHFUD na ndaoín acub (ə m/w- slightly unclear).

i dtaobh ə di:w

'As to, regarding': '*tá rud eicint ... faoin Luan ... I DTAOBH an ime, agus I DTAOBH an bhainne.*' *Chuala mé héin an méid sin ar chuma ar bith 'NA THAOBH, ag an seanbhuachaill sin.* 06C;

ə di:v l'ej ə f'e:r 79J *I DTAOBH leis an féar 'regarding (working) with the hay'.*

i dteannta ə d'əntə, ə d'əntə

xa ʃe he:n' ə d'əntə ka:r' *M chaith sé é héin I DTEANNTA cairr;*

chuireadar a gcomhairle I DTEANNTA ə d'əntə a chéile cén sórt fear a chuiridís mar chairtín ortha. 11C5643;

'*agus anó chomh maith le chéile, agus neart faitís INA THEANNTA.*' 866E-Sc121.2;

agus INA THEANNTA sin ənə hæ:ntə ʃɪn' bhí sé ina ghiúistís dlí, 11C5009;

Séard a bhí in Micil Mac Suibhne, file mór le rá uilig. Agus INA THEANNTA sin, ənə hā:ntə ʃɪn' ní hé fearacht an dream a bhí thart anseobh é, bhí an-léann aige. 11C5098–9.

Reanalysed as *i *deannta* in: nə ja:ntə 79Jg *INA DHEANNTA.*

i dtosach ar ə dosəx er' 'before'

re:t'ə:məd' ə wə: ə dosəx er' x'ə:n M

réiteoidh muid an bhó I DTOSACH ar Sheán.

Cp. *i dtosach*, e.g. *deich bhfeara agus trí fichid ag dul isteach agus Neddy Mór ina dtosach.* Sc286.40.

i dtús ə du:s

ə du:s nə hæ:mʃər' ə M *I DTÚS na haimsire.*

Note the use, in a tale, of *ina thús* meaning 'at the beginning, from the start' with little or no pronominal reference:

ri:ɲ' tu b'ə:ləx d'e: nə h'u:'s | 17M *rinne tú bealach Dé INA THÚS.*

i gcaitheamh ə gahə

bhí mé ag siúl amach, le taobh portach ... Cosán díonta a'm, I GCAITHEAMH dhá lá, goil amach ansin, i gcoinne mo chliabh móna 'gus ag tiocht isteach. 892M.

7.115 *i gceann — i measc**i gceann* ə ɡ'ɑ:n (cp. *i gcionn*)

‘In addition to’:

fɛŋ xi: ɡirh'əŋfə e ʃin' ə ɡ'ɑ:n ə x'ɑ:n el'ə M

*sé an chaoi a gcuirthinne é sin I GCEANN an cheann eile;*xur' m'e ɡə l'ɔ:r ær'əɡ'əd | ɡ'ɑ:n ə m'e:d' ə v'i: a:m, xur' m'e t'il
əŋə x'ɑ:n, ə ɡ'ɑ:n ə x'e:l'ə M *chuir mé go leor airgead I GCEANN an
méid a bhí a'm, chuir mé tuilleadh INA CHEANN, I GCEANN a chéile.*

‘In the company of’:

‘... ó tharla inár gcónaí féin sinn I GCEANN a chéile’ 852SbLL98;

*Ach nuair a thiocthas an samhradh agus bheidh an ghrian bhreá ag árdú
rachaidh mé IN DO CHEANN go ceann cúpla mí !(SGuair)11C.*

‘Fated, in store (for)’:

ɡ'æ:si ə xir' əŋə ɡ'ɑ:n ɡax f'ær ... ɡən ... 04B1 *geasaí a chuir INA GCEANN
gach fear ... gan ... , (əŋə may represent ann i here).*

‘At the end of’:

*Chuaigh an bheirt ar na boimbéil I GCEANN leath na hoíche agus d'fhan Cú
Chulainn thíos leis féin 866ESc41.30.**i gcionn* ə ɡ'i:n (cp. *i gceann*)

‘Together with, at, in charge of’:

*Cé mhéad aige curtha 'NA CHIONN ó shoin? S;**Dheamhan teap maitheasa dhíonthaidís ach INA CHIONN S (of poteen-drink-
ers);*ə ɡ'i:n ə t'i: S *i gcionn an tí.*

‘Fated, in store (for)’:

b'ei m'e | ʰ kím'əlt' | olə | a:r'həd' er [ʔ] d'ər ʃi: | nā:x | wil' | l'ɑ:w |
nā: lowə | ɡ'i:n ə xoləŋ' | ɡə brɑ:x | 869P -... *beidh mé ag cuimilt ola
áirthid air, a deir sí, nach bhfuil leábh ná lobhadh I GCIONN a cholainn
go brách;**níl tada IN DO CHIONN;**bhí a fhios acu ná raibh aon chaitheamh I GCIONN a cuid airgid. 866E-
Sc202.5;*d'aul bla:s f'auʃ ə mə x'i:n S *deabhal blas feabhais I MO CHIONN;*‘Cuirimse geasa I DO CHIONN ... a dhul go dtí Cat Mór na hUamhach’
Sc59.33.

‘At the end of, after’:

*I GCIONN tamaillín ina ɡ'i:n tāməl'i:n nə dhiaidh tháinic sí amach aríst
17M;**ach I GCIONN píosa maith dhen tarthúna dhúisigh sé. 11C;*‘Chuaigh sé an bealach seo,’ a deir sé, ‘I GCIONN píosa dhen oíche anocht.’
... Agus I GCIONN píosa maith dhen oíche, tháinig sé isteach sa teach seo.
11C4090-3;*I GCIONN tamaill den oíche chuaigh an Céadach ag ceol 866ESc51.3.**i gcleithiúnas, i gcléithiúnas* ə ɡ'l'e:hu:nəs, ə ɡ'l'e:hu:nəsəŋə ɡ'l'e:hu:nəs M *INA GCLEITHIÚNAS;**níor mhaith liom bheith IN DO CHLEITHIÚNAS v'e n də xl'e:hu:nəs S;*ə ɡ'l'e:hu:nəs fɑ:rək' S *I GCLÉITHIÚNAS Phádraig.*

1450 Prepositions

i gcoinne ə ɡiːn̪ˠə

‘To fetch’: *Rinneadar dáta ansin an lá, leis an mbeirt bhan a chuir, go baile mór an Chlocháin, I GCOINNE earra, | ə 'ɡiːn̪ˠ 'aːrə | bróga is, éadach is rudaí. 875Pt;*

bhíodar le ghoil go hÁrainn ansin, I GCOINNE leic — leacracháí bhíodh gá chuir sa rillic an t-am sin ar na daoine — I GCOINNE leic dho, Sheán Ó Maoil Chiaráin. 11C. Cf. example 7.114 s.v. i gcaitheamh.

‘Against’: *kir̪ˠən̪ˠ f̪e ə də xiːn̪ˠə ma v̪iːn̪ˠ tu ɡ̪̪ iərə t̪æːd̪ə ʒiːn̪ˠə 52P*
cuireann sé I DO CHOINNE má bhíonn tú ag iarraidh tada a dhéanamh.

i gcomórtas le ə ɡumɔːrt̪əs ʃe, ə ɡumɑːrt̪əs ʃe (-ʃ ʃe)

I GCOMÓRTAS LE chéile S.

i gcóngar ə ɡuːŋɡər, ə ɡuŋɡər

ə ɡuːŋɡər nə kʉnt̪ r̪ə 04B10 *I GCÓNGAR na conra;*
theagaidís isteach I GCONGAR, aill a dtugann siad an Aill Dhubh air 06C.

Nonprepositional ‘at junction’, e.g.

I GCÓNGAR ə ɡuŋɡər a bhéil a ghéill is a mhuiníl (run)12S.

i gcúla ə ɡuːlə

gá mbeadh an ghaoth ’ t’aghaidh, bhí an-bhantáiste a’d. Ach gá mbead sí, IN DO CHÚLA nú an fear a bhí in íochtar ... an ghaoth leis, INA CHÚLA, bhead sé dallta ag an sáidiuist [sawdust]. 892M1317-8.

i leaba ə l̪ˠəb̪ə

shín sé chaíge é ’ LEABA na láimhe 875T1;
-Tórrthamh tá anis ann, a deir sí, ’ LEABA banais. 11C.

i leith ə l̪ˠe

na b̪iːx em waːn̪ˠ t̪æd̪ ʒoːb̪ əs na kir̪ˠ t̪æːd̪ə nə l̪ˠe S
ná bíodh aon bhaint a’d dhóibh is ná cuir tada INA LEITH.

i mbun ə mun

dúirt mé leis nach bhfanthainn INA BUN na x waːnhən̪ˠ ənə bun 08B (remain kicking the ball for him);

agus d’iarr sé obair ar an bhfear a bhí I MBUN mūn na hoibre. 11C;

d’ordaigh sé an t-arm a dhul INA MBUN agus iad a mharú. 866ESc36.20.

i measc ə m̪ˠæːsk, ə m̪ˠæːsk

fanacht INA MEASC; I MEASC an chuid eile acub;
bhí an capall ro-dhaimséarach ... le bhei’ istigh I MEASC beithíoch. 894Cs.

7.116 *in aimsir — in éineacht le*

in aimsir ən æːmf̪ər̪ˠ, *aimsir* æːmf̪ər̪ˠ

choinic mé teach amháin ar casadh isteach ann mé, agus IN AIMSIR an chéad chogadh mór, ... bhí cláracháí móra, millteacha fada, mathaganaí ag tíocht i dtír ar an gcósta seo. 11C1359.

Also *aimsir*:

Ag tócht as Cloch na Rón ... as Cloch na Rón AIMSIR Lá Fheil Cáilín. 892M3506;

AIMSIR an Drochshaoil;

nuair a d'fhicidís na jaicíní seo go minic, AIMSIR dlíobh an tSasanaigh is dlíobh na hÉireann, chuiridís faitíos orthub, 892M4850.

It is common governing a verbal noun in nonfinite subordination, e.g.

bhuel, AIMSIR díonamh ' bhréidín, an mbídís ag cuir an olann go Gaillimh ... ? 21Pg1018.

in aghaidh ən ai

ən ai ə x'eɪ'ə IN AGHAIDH a chéile; *ə taisə* S I T'AGHAIDHSA.

With direct object pronoun (cp. *le haghaidh*, 7.118): *ən ai iəd* 78E IN AGHAIDH *iad*.

in aice ən æ'k'ə

ní ligtheadh faitíos dho dhuine a bich a thócht IN AICE an tí. 11C.

in aice le ən æ'k'ə l'e(i)

ní ligthead sí IN AICE LEIS an ál beag ná mór é. 11C.

Oileán atá thall ansin IN AICE LE Leitir Móir. 46C.

in áit ən áit', ən aɪ'

is go mb'éigean dó potaí a dhíonamh INA N-ÁIT 892M1538.

i ndan ə na'n (cf. 14 *dan*)

,vɪ' tu ə'nɔ:n e 'jɪn' ə 'ji:ənə, 46.245 *an bhfuil tú* IN DAN é sin a dhéanamh?

INDAN a chocadh; *tá sé* IN DAN chuig / ag duine ar bith.

Cp. *Níl an aimsir* IN DAN.

i ndiaidh ə n'ia

choinnigh sé air IN DIAIDH Shéamais ar chaoi ar bith ARN7476;

ə ʃl'e:v' aɪ' ə n'ia b'ehiəx 899N *ag sléibheáil* IN DIAIDH *beithíoch*;

agus na mra' ag scuabadh na bpeaca amach 'NA DHIAIDH an doras. 11C;

agus beirt bhan ag scuabadh na bpeaca amach an doras 'NA DHIAIDH. 11C;

'sna bairillí a d'fhágamar IN DIAIDH *aréir.* 866ESc229.

in éadan ə n'e:dən

'Occupied with': IN ÉADAN *cártaí ó mhaidín* M.

'At (interval)': *ó ham go ham, b'fhéidir* IN ÉADAN *achuile, uair go leith nú dhá uair an chloig. 06C;*

ə n'e:dən nə m'isə 20MIt IN ÉADAN *na míosa.*

in éindí le ə n'e:nd'i: l'e, also *n'e: l'i*, (*n'e:n'i: l'e*), *n'en'i: l'e*, *n'ei: l'e*, *n'em' l'e*, *n'en'dl' l'e*

ə n'e:nd'i: l'e generally. Reduced variants:

n'e: l'ɪf ə v'ær ... [sic] 25M2 IN ÉINDÍ LEIS *an bhfear ...* ;

b'e m'e mi n'e:n'i: l'e k'iarə:n 52J85 *beidh mé amuigh* IN ÉINDÍ LE Ciarán;

k'e v'i: n'e:i: ɾ'ɛf 18Pd *cé bhí IN ÉINDÍ LEIS?*;
k'e v'i: n'e:n'i: ɾ'ɛf 18Pd *cé bhí IN ÉINDÍ LEIS?* also **52P**;
 'n'e:n'ɫɪ' ɾ'um | ~ ə n'e:n'd'i: ɾ'um **01P** *IN ÉINDÍ LIOM*.
66L has **n'ē:n'ə** [or perhaps -n'ə or -n'] ɾ'e.

Note a younger speaker's two instances of adverbial use of *in éindí le* 'together' for traditional *in éindí*:

əg umrə n' e:n'd'i: ɾ'e a:mənti:, s v'i: fjad əg obər' ən' e:n'd'i: ɾ'e 69S1
ag iomramh IN ÉINDÍ LE amantaí, is bhí siad ag obair IN ÉINDÍ LE.

in éineacht le ə n' e:n'əx(t) ɾ'e, ə n' e:nəx(t) ɾ'e, also *ə n' e:əx ɾ'e*
n'i:l' ail'i:n' ə n' e:əx ɾ'e hə M níl Eibhlín IN ÉINEACHT LEIS;
a ghoil ar sráid ansin IN ÉINEACHT LEIS. ə n' ē:nəxt ɾ'ɛf 35E9086.
Tá se bodhar IN ÉINEACHT LE bhfuil air M.

7.117 *i ngaobhar — le fána*

i ngaobhar ə ɲi:wər
dhul 'NA GHAOBHAR 894C2;
dúirt sé seo go ngothadh sé féin INA GHAOBHAR nə ɲi:wər | 894C.

i ngar dho ə ɲar gə
tə: fə: ɲa:r do: tá sé IN GAR DÓ. Cf. 7.28.

i ngar ná i ngaobhar dho ə ɲar nə: ɲi:wər gə
n' i jæxə m' i fə ɲar nə: ɲi:wər do: ní dheachaigh mé IN GAR NÁ INGAOBHAR DÓ.

i ngeall ar ə ɲ'ɑ:l er', ə ɲ'ɑ:lt er'
ə ɲ'ɑ:l er' generally, but *i ngeall orm ə ɲ'ɑ:lt orəm* (male speaker, born c. 1955, from Cill Chiaráin or environs). Cp. *mar gheall ar* (7.119).
INGEALL AR an cineál [sic] fraoch sin atá fás i gCruaich na Caoile 21Pg7723;
Tá habal orm I NGEALL AIR S.

i ngoir ná i ngaobhar dho
 Nonfinite: ... *a bhí IN GOIR NÁ INGAOBHAR GÁ bheith cho mór ... 869P2.*

i ngoire ə ɲor'ə
Ná téirigh INA GHOIRE 852S2.
Ní ro' sé a' ligean duin' ar bith INA GHOIRE 852SbTS132.

in imeacht ə n' im'əxt
v'i: f'ɑ:n ə n' im'əx nə hæ:mʃər'ə ɾ'ig' [sic] S
bhí sé ann IN IMEACHT na haimsire uilig;
ə n' im'əxt ə le: S IN IMEACHT an lae.

in ucht ən oxt 'near'
ən oxt ən wɑ:f | ən oxt bɑ:s ɑ:l' Mq IN UCHT an bháis, IN UCHT bás a fháil.
 Note the impermissible examples: **ən oxt ə hæ:xt, ən oxt ə wæ:n't ə MØperm**
 **in ucht a theacht, *in ucht a bhainte.*

i rith ə ri, ə ru, ə rix'

IRITH na haimsire; IRITH an lae.

le cois

Íe kof ə m'e:d jin' S LE COIS an méid sin; bhí beagáinín LE COIS an chirt ann. súi síos LE COIS an sconsa agus fanacht ... casadh a mháthair agus an t-athair dó cois an chlaí 866ESc274.25–33.

le fána Íe fa:nə

... Íe fa:nə nə haivn'ə 03V ... LE FÁNA na haibhne.

7.118 *le haghaidh*

le haghaidh Íehi:, Íe hi:, Íe hai, Íe ai

The fused form *Íehi:* is more common than *Íe hi:*, although in my transcriptions I fear I have over-represented the latter (as *Íe hi:*). Initial stress is to be understood in the spelling *leithí* [i.e. *le haghaidh*] in RBÉ, e.g. *níos fólumtaí leithí troid 852S4*. An example with stress on the second syllable was noted where a 'given' noun had lost stress:

... d'i:n'ər ... Íe'hi: d'i:n'ər, dinnéar ... LE HAGHAIDH dinnéar.

SID.46: *Íe hi: 'i:fkě, 586 ... uisce; Íe hi: 'ku:nə 793a ... cúnamh, etc., but ə sb'r'e:uφ a:t' Íehi: kørk'ě 210 ag spréabh áit LE HAGHAIDH coirce.*

Íe hai is far less frequent, e.g.

Íe hai n' t'æ:lə s ə'nun s ə'nəl M

LE HAGHAIDH an teallaigh is anonn is anall;

also *Íe ai*, e.g.

v'i fe Íe ai yol' gə bl'ɑ: kl'ia bhí sé LE HAGHAIDH ghoil go Bleá Cliath.

With *cé:* mostly *k'e: Íehi: cé le haghaidh;* less often *k'e: Íe nai cé lena aghaidh,* the latter was noted especially from 20C (8.65).

Personal pronoun objects are generally in the possessive for the majority of speakers, e.g. *Íe mai le m'aghaidh, Íe tai le t'aghaidh,* etc. Direct pronoun object is common in the second generation of clann Mhacaí 'ac Con Iomaire (04Br, 15W, 25M), not uncommon among mid-generation speakers in Iorras Aithneach and becomes more and more prevalent in younger speakers:

Íe hi: e(:) | 04Br, 15W LE HAGHAIDH é, fik'i:n' Íe hi: iəd | 04Br sicín LE HAGHAIDH iad (referring to the Sunday chicken, cooked for her cousins, 25M, etc.); Íehi: iəd 25M LE HAGHAIDH iad.

gɑ: d'æ:gəx æmfər' Íehi: e jin' he:n' ... Íehi: e jin' he:n' 36S

dhá dteagadh aimsir LE HAGHAIDH é sin héin ... LE HAGHAIDH é sin héin;

x'æ:p fjad nax m'ex ə lɑ: kør'u:l' Íehi: e 36S

cheap siad nach mbeadh an lá cóiriúil LE HAGHAIDH é;

Cáil a' t-éadach a bhí a'd LEIHÍ é? Íehi: e 56B;

t'æ:blət s am | Íehi: e 65S teablaits a'm LE HAGHAIDH é;

Íehi: iəd fo 66N LE HAGHAIDH iad seo;

bhí an lá inniu go breá LE HAGHAIDH é gə br'ɑ: Íehi: e 64M;

Íehi: e xahə mɑ:x ... | Íehi: e | 77C

le haghaidh é a chaitheamh amach ... LE HAGHAIDH é;

Íe hi: iəd 80CAI LE HAGHAIDH iad.

Note the form with 3pl object pronoun where Máire 'corrected' herself during

production: **Γehə nai** M *le haghaidh- n-aghaidh* for her usual **Γenə nai**. Similarly, the younger speaker **66L** was noted with both **Γehi: nai** (perhaps a slip of the tongue) and **Γehi: i** *le haghaidh í*.

There is a tendency for *le haghaidh* to replace *le* in its various functions. Purpose, particularly in the younger generation, e.g.

(*tá tú sa scoil*) **Γehi: vol ə f' o:ləm' ...** LE HAGHAIDH *ghoil ag feoghlaim*.

Manner, with *fios*:

wil' əs æ:d Γe hi: e j:nə wil' əs 32J

an bhfuil fios a'd LE HAGHAIDH é a dhéanamh, an bhfuil fios?

In aspectual use:

v' i fjəd Γehi: go:ls a:l' 80A *bhí siad LE HAGHAIDH góls a fháil*.

It is also used as equivalent of *ar feadh* (cp. also *go ceann, le*), English 'for', by speakers seemingly most influenced by English and youngest speakers:

n' i:l' is am k' e'n ta:xər wil' je im' i: Γe nai 52P

níl fios a'm cén t-achar a bhfuil sé imithe LENA AGHAIDH;

Γe hi: kaik' i:f 72A *LE HAGHAIDH coicís;*

Γe hi: p' i:sə 72A *LE HAGHAIDH píosa 'for a short period';*

Γehi: xur'g' v'l' iənə 72N *LE HAGHAIDH chúig bhliana;*

Γehi: tr' i: hæxtən' 79S1 *LE HAGHAIDH trí sheachtain.*

Some examples from **78Rb** will demonstrate the pervasiveness of these developments:

Γehi: e (x2), Γehi: i: (x2) *LE HAGHAIDH é / í;*

Γehi: e i:k *LE HAGHAIDH é a íoc;*

n' i:l' əs ek' ə Γehi: e xahə *níl fios aici LE HAGHAIDH é a chaitheamh, 'she doesn't know how to wear it';*

d' im' ə je Γehi: m' i: d'imigh sé *LE HAGHAIDH mí (all 78Rb).*

7.119 *le hais — taobh le*

le hais **Γe hæ:f, Γe hæ:f**

LE N-AIS héin 894C2 (i.e. lena ais héin), ní tada mise ... LE T' AIS 894C2.

leisce; cp. *leisce, le leisce* (8.142)

Leisce na bréige. Common with verbal nouns, e.g.

l' efk' ə br' e:g i:nfəxt M *LEISCE bréag a inseacht.*

le linn

nax trə:hu:l' gə dɑ:n'ək' ə wɑ:f' əx Γenə l' i:n' ə kr' e:tu:r M

nach tráthúil go dtáinig an bháisteach LENA LINN an créatúr.

le teann **Γe(:) t' a:n**

LE TEANN spraoi.

Ach LE TEANN na hargóinteacht(a) agus na cainte móire ... níor airíodar go ...

866ESc47.1.

LE TEANN a raibh de thart, fuacht agus ocras uirthi bhain sí greim as gach aon bhuilín ... 866ESc55.6.

Níor thaobhaíodar an teach ní ba mhó an oíche sin LE TEANN a raibh d'fhaitíos orthub. 875TDT25.

maidir le **mad'ər ɾe, maɟɾ ɾe**

Ar ndú', MAIDIR LE mad'ər ɾe síodaí, bhí siad ortha! 866Et.

MAIDIR LE maɟɾ ɾe Máirín, m'anam gur ... 45N (only).

Ní raibheadar i ndan aon locht a thabhairt anoir. Ní raibh. ... B'fhéidir go dtiúrthaidís anoir cúg nú sé dhe, chéad nú cúg nú sé dhe mhálaí, nú cupla tonna nú rud mar sin ach MAIDIR LE níos mú ní raibh, -dar i ndan. 889Pt.

mar gheall ar **mar ja:l er', mar ja:lt er', mar ja:l' er', ma ja:l er', ma a:l er', ma:l er'**

mar ja:l er' is the general form; note **mar ja:l' er'** (in song (Apsa) sung by Team Jaic 'ac Dhonncha, An Aird Thiar).

mar ja:lt er' has been noted in East Iorras Aithneach (RM, LC). Cp. 1.238 and *i ngeall ar* (7.117).

Various reductions become common, especially among younger speakers. Tokens from speakers are listed chronologically here:

SID.46 **ma:ri 'a:l èrə 'xɾ ed' ě 794 MAR GHEALL AR a chreideamh; mar ja:l >> mər ja:l 46.I.**

18J marə ja:l er' ARN8614.

43J inʃi: m^əl a:l er' insí MAR GHEALL AIR.

51P1 mar ja:l er', ma ja:l er'.

60M ma:l er'.

64M ma a:l, ma:l.

72N ma'a:l er', maĩ ěr'.

79J ma:l er'.

79St ma a:l (perhaps as conjunction here).

The sense is usually 'because of' but I recall speaker **11C** using *mar gheall air* also in the meaning 'about it'.

(dhe) shiúl ə x'u:l, x'u:l, x'u:n

agus bhíodar ag imirt DHE SHIÚL oíche agus lae, | ə x'u:l 'i:h ogəs 'le:ə | nó go raibh chuile phínn, óir agus airgid gá raibh aige, caite aige. 11Ctn.

... ag imirt SHIÚL oíche 's lae, 869P3 (of card-playing).

iəd ə hort' x'u:n i:h̃ə gə raun'ʃt̃ gə klox nə r̃u:n | 06C

iad a thabhairt SHIÚL oíche go 'Roundst-', go Cloch na Rón.

taobh le

bhí dhá chéad duine ann ... má bhí sé TAOBH LEIS. S.

an dá dheirfíur déag agus iad TAOBH de dheartháir an domhain LEIS Sc91.25.

7.120 **thar éis**

thar éis **he:ʃ**, etc.

There are quite a few realisations of this preposition. With regard to frequency, **he:ʃ** (1) is probably the most widely used, followed by **ɾe:ʃ** (2). Other forms (3) are also common, while others (4) are less so.

he:f	(1)
ʎe:f	(2)
hr'e:f, h'ʎe:f, hre:f, re:f, r'e:f	(3)
hər e:f, er' he:f, ər he:f, ər e:f, ə r'e:f, (tə re:f, tre:f), fr'e:f,	(4)
ʃə ʎe:f, ʃt'e:f, ʃe:f, d'e:f, n'e:s, e:f, əs, əʃ	

Many of these variants can add final *-ə* before *sin* and, given **894C**'s example below, when functioning as a conjunction. The examples noted with *-ə* before *sin* are: **er' he:fə** / **ər he:fə** / **ʎe:fə** / **he:fə ʃin'** and *théise* as conjunction. **he:f ʃin'** occurs also. The example **he:f əŋ ʎortə 893P** *théis an ghorta* may well be higher-register pronunciation of the article, or perhaps an indication of *théise an* ...

In order to demonstrate the distribution and variety of use, speakers are listed chronologically here. Examples include *thar éis* as conjunction, although there may well be at least quantitative formal differentiation between conjunctive and prepositional functions. The single attested token of **d'e:f 892M** may be a reflex of historical *d'éis* or, given the speaker's other variants in **-r'e:f**, it may perhaps be an instance of derhoticised **r'** in utterance-initial position or even of delateralised *léis*. It is alternatively, although less likely, an instance of denasalised ***n'e:f**; however, **n'e:f** is not found in my Iorras Aithneach material, although it is common in neighbouring lects (cp. **n'e:s 01P**). The two variants **əs** and **əʃ** were noted in expressions involving the time by the clock only: from **44N** and **64M** below.

852S *thar éis, thréis, réis, léis: thar éis na, thréis a' choga, réis a dhínnéir, léis an ám sin, 852S2, 4.*

869P2-4 *séis* only, e.g. *séis a bpósta 869P2*, note *tréis* is emended to *séis* in **869P3.447**.

SID.46 **ʎe:f** xuə m' e ə'vq:l'ě ʎe:f ə 'to:rhə, 703

chuaigh mé abhaile ~ an tórramh;

ʃe:f ʃe:f Mp 235; xuə 'max ʃe:f ə 'mu:r ə v' e 'ka:t'ě 856 *chuaigh*

amach ~ an múr a bheith caite; ta: ʃe d' e nū:m' e:d ʃe:f ə ku:'g'

925 tá sé deich nóiméad ~ a cúig;

ʃt'e:f ʃt'e:f ə d'i:l'ě (s.v. *díle*) ~ *an díle.*

869Pt **ʃr'e:f** n'ij | ʃr'e:f | ?ə | nə hǽmfǽr'ə | *anois ~ na haimsire;*

ʃə ʎe:f | ʃə ʎe:f | nə hǽmfǽr'ə | ~ *na haimsire.*

It is possible that **869P2-4**'s *séis* and SID.46's **ʃe:f** and **ʃt'e:f** may be mistranscriptions of **ʃr'e:f** or **ʃl'e:f**. The form **ʃr'e:f** is particularly anomalous, and likely to be mistranscribed, given its unique initial cluster (1.192).

869P's daughters have regular **ʎe:f 04Br, 15W**.

875T *thréis, réis, léis: thréis, réis na scoile, léis na hoíche 875T1* (this is **869P**'s brother).

892M **hr'e:f** ARN1777, **892Mt**, *thar éis ər'e:f an oíche a chaitheamh ARN1069, d'éis | d'e:f a chuid ántro mór 892Mt.*

894C *ar théis a ghuil thríd ... 894C9;*

th'léis a bheith 894C9, Bhí sí thléis páiste 894C2;

léis a' lae 894C2, léis a' liagháin ... 894C2, léise sin chua ... 894C9;

théis 894C2, also théise sin 894C2.

894Ct **h'ʎe:f**.

898P **ʎe:f ə v' e ... ~ a bheith ...**

899D **r'e:f** [x2] ARN.

- 01C $\text{f}^{\text{e}}\text{:f}$ ARN.
 01P $\text{n}^{\text{e}}\text{:s}$; heard from this Doire Iorrais speaker only. (Cp. $\text{n}^{\text{e}}\text{:f}$, Beairtle Grialais (seanchaí), Ros Cíde, Ros Muc; $\text{n}^{\text{e}}\text{:f}$ is common further north in Connacht.)
 03V $\text{f}^{\text{e}}\text{:f}$ $\text{kula:f}^{\text{e}}\text{f}^{\text{e}} \sim \text{coláiste}$.
 04B $\text{f}^{\text{e}}\text{:f}$ (common).
 05M $\text{er}^{\text{e}}\text{f}$ he:f ; $\text{er}^{\text{e}}\text{f}$ he:f ə v^{ol} ... ~ a *ghoil*, $\text{er}^{\text{e}}\text{f}$ he:f ə d^{o} ; je:g ~ an *dó dhéag*; he:f ə v^{ol} (x2) ~ a *ghoil*, he:f gə rodər ~ go *raibheadar*; *Ach ansin ~ sin er he:fə fin' ansin ní raibh tada ann* 'after that, thereafter'.
 11C ~ go *raibheadar he:f gə rodər an-mhór le chéile*.
 12J he:fə fin' .
 12S $\text{hr}^{\text{e}}\text{:f}$, he:f ; $\text{hr}^{\text{e}}\text{:f}$ ə v^{ol} ~ a *ghoil*.
 14M he:f .
 16C $\text{ə}^{\text{r}}\text{he:f}$ (x3).
 16M $\text{hr}^{\text{e}}\text{:f}$, $\text{ə}^{\text{r}}\text{he:fə}$ fin' ~ *sin* 'all the same'.
 18J $\text{hr}^{\text{e}}\text{:f}$, $\text{h}^{\text{f}}\text{e:f}$, he:f , e:f . The last form noted in: *-Cé chás é, deir Séamas ansin a deir sé, thar éis fe e:f an méid a bhí díonta aige ach d'innis sé dhon tsaol é.* ARN7742. Also: *nuair a stop an cogadh ... Chuaigh báid na háite seo amach thar éis an chogadh, əmɑːx 'hr'e:f ə xoɡə* ARN8120-1; *céard a bhí mac Teamanaí a dhíonamh san oíche thar éis h'f e:f an méid sin* ARN8234.
 20C $\text{f}^{\text{e}}\text{:f}$; $\text{ba}^{\text{n}}\text{ə}$ $\text{f}^{\text{e}}\text{:f}$ ə $\text{v}^{\text{f}}\text{a:n}$ *bainne* ~ a *bhleán*.
 20MI he:f , $\text{hr}^{\text{e}}\text{:f}$, $\text{ə}^{\text{r}}\text{e:f}$ 20MI.
 22M hre:f .
 23J $\text{f}^{\text{e}}\text{:f}$ də le : ~ *do lae*.
 24M $\text{f}^{\text{e}}\text{:f}$.
 26Ps $\text{f}^{\text{e}}\text{:f}$ $\text{m}^{\text{i}}\text{:sə}$ ~ *míosa*; $\text{f}^{\text{e}}\text{:f}$ ə
 29N $\text{ə}^{\text{r}}\text{e:f}$ e | *thar éis é* (meaning requires elided *bás a fháil*).
 35E hre:f ə $\text{w}^{\text{a}}\text{:f}$ ~ a *bháis*.
 37J $\text{f}^{\text{e}}\text{:f}$ gə ... ~ *go* ... (conjunction).
 39D $\text{ə}^{\text{r}}\text{he:f}$ ə $\text{v}^{\text{a:lə}}$!!39D ~ an *ghála*.
 44N əs noted in: $\text{L}^{\text{æ}}\text{huər}^{\text{e}}\text{ əs ə tr}^{\text{i}}$: *leathuair* ~ a *trí*.
 51M e:f noted in: $\text{L}^{\text{æ}}\text{huər}^{\text{e}}\text{ e:f ə f}^{\text{e}}$: *leathuair* ~ a *sé*.
 52J $\text{f}^{\text{e}}\text{:f}$ most commonly, also $\text{h}^{\text{f}}\text{e:f}$.
 52P tre:f consistently.
 64M əf noted in: $\text{L}^{\text{æ}}\text{u:r}^{\text{e}}\text{ əf ə}$... *leathuair* ~ a
 69S1 $\text{f}^{\text{e}}\text{:f}$.
 72A $\text{f}^{\text{e}}\text{:f}$ $\text{bl}^{\text{i}}\text{ə}^{\text{n}}$ (x2) ~ *bliain*; $\text{f}^{\text{e}}\text{:f}$ kuplə l^{a} : ~ *cupla lá*.
 72C $\text{f}^{\text{e}}\text{:f}$ kuplə fæxtən ~ *cupla seachtain*.
 72N $\text{hr}^{\text{e}}\text{:f}$ $\text{sl}^{\text{a:m}}$ kolətə ~ *slám codlata*.
 73P $\text{f}^{\text{e}}\text{:f}$ ə d^{o} : ~ an *dó*.
 77C $\text{f}^{\text{e}}\text{:f}$... $\text{h}^{\text{f}}\text{e:f}$
 79MI $\text{hr}^{\text{e}}\text{:f}$ fin' ... ~ *sin*
 79J $\text{f}^{\text{e}}\text{:f}$ ə f^{e} : ~ an *sé*; $\text{f}^{\text{e}}\text{:f}$ e f^{o} | ~ *é seo*.
 80M $\text{L}^{\text{æ}}\text{uər}^{\text{e}}\text{ e:f ə toxt}$ *leathuair* ~ an *t-ocht*.
 82B $\text{f}^{\text{e}}\text{:f}$ ə toxt ~ an *t-ocht*.
 Cp. tre:f 18B, 52P and təre:f 66N which are most probably from external influence.

Table 7.22 presents the variants of *thar éis* and the number of speakers from whom they have been heard by me or transcribed phonetically in SID.46 by Wagner. The most common forms are underrepresented in this sample.

Table 7.22 Forms of *thar éis* and number of speakers noted

No.	he:ʃ	ʃe:ʃ	hr'e:ʃ	hl'e:ʃ	hre:ʃ	re:ʃ common	ne:s	re:ʃ
No.	hər e:ʃ	er' he:ʃ	ər he:ʃ	ər e:ʃ	ə r'e:ʃ	tə re:ʃ	tre:ʃ	
No.	ʃr'e:ʃ	ʃə ʃe:ʃ	ʃe:ʃ	ʃr'e:ʃ	d'e:ʃ	e:ʃ	əs	əʃ
	8	21	7	4	2		1	1
	1	1	3	1	2	1	2	
	1	1	1	1	1	3	1	1

Note the example ʃe:ʃ e: ʃo | 79J *thar éis é seo* with a direct object pronoun, for more traditional *ina dhiaidh seo*.

7.121 *tigh* — *un tosaigh ar*

tigh ʃi:, ʃi (petrified dative of *teach*)

ʃi: m' vr'æ:nhə 51P *TIGH an Bhreathnaigh*; ʃi: nə muŋks 01J *TIGH na moncs*; *TIGH an duine uasail* Sc249.20;

ʃi: wu:ns, ʃi: ʃail'ərs, ʃi: ʃuns 43M *TIGH Mhúns*, *TIGH Teaidhlears*, *TIGH Diuns*.

With short vowel: ʃi wə:rən' 892Mg *TIGH Mhórain*.

The preposition *tigh* cannot be qualified by an adjective, e.g.

**bhí mé seantigh Sheáin*, **bhí mé tigh ceart Sheáin* MØperm.

Instead *teach* with preposition *i* has to be used, i.e.

i seanteach Sheáin, *i dteach ceart Sheáin*.

i dtigh ə d'i:

DTIGH deabhail: ə ʃoʃ ə d'i: d'aul' S a ghoil *DTIGH deabhail*; go d'i: d'aul' S gabh *DTIGH deabhail*; got' ə d'i: d'aul' S gaibhte *DTIGH deabhail*.

GO DTIGH deabhail: ʃeŋ xi: gir'həd'i:ʃ gə d'i: d'aul' iəd S sé an chaoi a gcuirthidís *GO DTIGH deabhail iad* 'tell them to go to hell'.

Also *ó dhigh*

Ó DHIGH deabhail / deamhain: tə: ʃe kurh / got' o: ji: d'u:n' gə d'i: d'aul' S tá sé curtha / gaibhte *Ó DHIGH deamhain GO DTIGH deabhail*.

timpeall, *thimpeall* ʃi:mpəl, ʃimpəl, hi:mpəl, himpəl, ʃi:mp'əl, hi:mp'əl, etc.

Bhí orthub a ghoil THIMPEALL himpəl *Cruaich na Caoile* 892M1603;

hi:mpəl ən' il'ɑ:n' ... himpəl | kə'rəg' ə m'ækən 43J

THIMPEALL an oileáin ... THIMPEALL, Carraig a Meacan;

in áit eicín(t) THIMPEALL ʃi:mpəl an Ros Rua 11C;

ə goʃ ʃi:mpəl ə ʃi: ag goil *TIMPEALL an tí*.

With *thart* in *thart timpeall*: *thart TIMPEALL an gharraí*.

Less commonly *mórtimpeall*: tá muintir na tíre, *MÓRTIMPEALL na háite*, |

mə:r'h'i:mp'əl nə 'hā:t'ə | *crochta leis aige*, 04Btn.

Pronouns cannot be governed directly by *t(h)impeall*. Instead *t(h)impeall* combines with simple prepositions in {*t(h)impeall ar*+pronoun} or {*i*+possessive +*timpeall*}:

ʃi:mpəl er' *TIMPEALL air*;

vr'æh̃ə ʃe nə hi:mpəl 11C *bhreathnaigh sé ina THIMPEALL*;

n'í:l'əs am tæ:də nə hi:m:pəl S *níl fhios a'm tada ina THIMPEALL;*
tá rud eicint i do THIMPEALL inniu nach bhfuil ceart.

trasna træsna

træsna nə hai:v'ə 03V *TRASNA na haibhne; TRASNA an tsléibhe 11C;*
træsna n dre:m' S *TRASNA an draein.*

Pronoun objects are preceded by the preposition *ar*, e.g. **træsna er'** *trasna air*.
 There is also a possessive adverbial use, e.g.

cuirtear ar a DTRASNA le cúl a chéile ... iad Clad100.

un tosaigh ar, un tosach ar ən tos er', ən tosəx er'
v'i: je ən tAsəx orəm M *bhí sé UN TOSACH orm.*

7.122 Syntactical notes

Prepositions can commonly occur before adverbs and adverbial phrases (containing prepositions):

əs do:hi: gə ro je sə xul' a:t' xə ma: l'e ha:rt ən'fə 19P10
is dóichí go raibh sé sa chuile áit chomh maith LE THART ANSEO;

gə d'i: snə d'e:gə punt S *GO DTÍ SNA déaga punt;*
THART AR AG an haon ndéag 72N (more usually *thart ar an haon ndéag*, etc.).

The example **əs her' iəð j'in' 23M** *as thoir iad sin* 'those are from the east' was permitted by Seán but **əs ə ti:w her' / ser'** *Sq as an taobh thoir / soir* is his own preferred usage.

Note the preposition as conjunction before another conjunction in:

ta je gə dunə n'íj' o xal ə n'æ:xə mid'ə gə m'er'əka: 20My
tá sé go dona anois Ó SHULA NDEACHAIGH muide go Meireacá.

The construction with the preposition *ar* + subordinate clause is now obsolescent. Vernacular examples of *sásta ar* + subordinate clause are from older speakers:

SÁSTA AR a theacht 852S2, cp. *Tá mise AN-TSÁSTA AR sin 852S2*.

Cp. 6.47–6.48; 14 *ar* 9 (and similarly obsolescent *ábalta ar* CGT §250(r) (p. 146, footnote)). With *mar gheall ar*, the retention of *ar* before *go* is more common, e.g. (speaker **894C**)

MAR GHEÁLLAR GUR eitíodar... 9; cp. MAR GHEÁLLAR GUR thóig sí 'n geáll !6.

8 Functors

Functors are the major closed-class words and important syntactic or function words of the language, such as particles, conjunctions, adverbs and indefinite pronouns. Particles may be divided into two classes: a major class consisting of verbal particles and a minor class consisting of nominal particles. There are also verbal noun particles which are classified here among the verbal particles. The verbal particles (8.5 ff.) are functionally central to the morphophonology: they are the major triggers of verbal initial mutations, and special relative forms of the verb as well as dependent forms of irregular verbs are effected by verbal functors.

Nominal, adjectival and adverbial particles

The nominal particles consist of vocative particle a^L , numeral particle a^H , adjectival particles *níos* and *chomh*^H (in correlatives *níos ... ná*, *chomh ... le*), and adverbial particle *go*^H. For the adverbial particle *go*^H, see 8.181 ff. For the nominal particle *dhá*^L before abstract comparatives, see 7.18 and 8.73.

8.1 Vocative particle a^L

The vocative particle a^L precedes the noun it qualifies, e.g.

Bhuel anis, A BHEAN CHÓIR a 'v' æ'n 'xɔ:r', a deir sé, caithe mé an méid seo inseacht duit. 11C;

Bhuel anis, A THAIDHG a haig', a deir sé, caithe tú ghoil, ... 11C;

Bhuel A DHAOINÍ UAISLE, wel' a ʏi:n'i: uəfl'ə | meastú cé mb'fhearr lib scéal fada bog binn ná scéal gearr gairid? 11C;

a 'jer'əg'wa:stərt' M A DHEIRGBHASTAIRD!

Céard é héin, A BHAINBH? S (addressing a person).

It is generally elided in sentence initial position and before vowels, e.g.

| wa:r'ə | S A MHÁIRE! | vrain | vrain | S A BHRAIDHEAN!

in v'ə ku:l' 04B1 'A FHIONN MHC CÚIL';

ta mə 'ʏo:hən' orəms æhər' id'ər fe | 11C

-Tá mo dhóthain ormsa, A ATHAIR, a deir sé; in exclamations:

waid'an (v' æ'ni: noxt) A MHAIGHDEAN (Bheannaithe anocht)!

x'ia:rnə n daun' A THIARNA an Domhain!

Exceptionally it is retained prevocally:

o: | aʔ:æ:səl' ə d'er ʃa:n ə d'erʃe ... 892M2476

-Ó! A ASAIL, a deir Seán, a deir sé

An example of retention in a formal context is:

a oʃi:n' 04B1 'A OISÍN,'.

The particle and lenition are absent in the multiple invocation *Íosa, Muire (anocht)!* common as an exclamation (perhaps a *Íosa, Muire (anocht)!*); contrast *A Mhuire ' Chríost! 43M* and *Íosa ' Mhaighdean! 43M*. Similarly absent before *Muire*, at the beginning of a prayer, followed by a^L before *Dia*, in:

<i>i:sə mir'ə gəs ni:w' ɟo:səv' </i>	<i>A ÍOSA, MUIRE AGUS NAOMH JÓSAIV,</i>
<i>v'er əm' suəf d'i:h' mə xri: əgəs</i>	<i>Bheirim suas díb mo chroí agus</i>
<i>ma'nəm boxt </i>	<i>m'anam bocht.</i>
<i>x'ed əm' ə jiə gə wul tus ən'ʃo</i>	<i>Chreidim, A DHIA, go bhfuil tusa</i>
<i>la:hər'əx </i>	<i>anseo láthaireach. !05M;</i>

also absent preceding *Naomh* but present preceding *Muire* in:

i:sə wɪr'ə gus nɪ:v ɟo:səv' [-f' ?] 13Jd *A ÍOSA, A MHUIRE AGUS NAOMH JÓSAIV!*

When calling animals, vocative a^L is not used with forms which are specific to this function, e.g. (both examples calling cattle)

kaur'i:n' Cabhairín! Cabhairín! Cabhairín! Cabhairín!
p'eɪ:n' Peitín! Peitín! Peitín!

The vocative particle is absent in some cases similar to address:

o: buli: boxt P Ó! *BULÁÍ BOCHT* 'Oh you poor rascal!' (said to a cat).

Contrast the common use of the vocative with terms which are not specifically used addressing animals, e.g. (to a cat)

ta loxən' mɑ:ri: æd ə v'ehiəx P ... tá luchain maráithe a'd, A BHEITHÍOCH.

Compare the lack of a^L in the rhyme addressed to ants:

SEANGÁN, SEANGÁN tabhair do bhean leat!
Tá na cogáí ag teacht / tíocht. S, 43M.¹

For further examples of a^L , see vocative case (3.10) and lenition (9.46). There is a more substantial vocative interjection: *hóra*, e.g.

hɔ:rə x'ɑ:n' M HÓRA Sheáin!

8.2 Numeral particle a^H

The numeral particle a^H precedes cardinal numerals in non-adjectival counting, e.g. **ə hɪ:n** *a haon*. In quotative use:

abair A HAON leis sin!

-Dhá dhó, sin A CEATHAIR. 12S (quote in story); including usage from school:

(tr'i) fa k'æhər' ə do:je:g 16St (*a trí*) *fá (A) CEATHAIR A DÓ DHÉAG*
 'three by four is twelve'.

Also when the noun precedes the numeral, e.g. **bus ə hoxt** *bus A HOCHT*. Following *is (agus)* in non-adjectival numerals, e.g. [1a–d], also adjectival in progressive usage, e.g. [2], a^H is generally present before numerals 1–9:

naoi déag fiche 'S A SEACHT 06C; [1a]

naoi déag tríocha IS A SEACHT 11C1710; [1b]

k'ærəxə sə do: 23Jt *ceathracha IS A DÓ*, '(the year) '42', [1c]

k'æhər sə tr'i: 26Pct *ceathar[acha] IS A TRÍ* '43'; [1d]

ni:xə s ə ku:g' bl'iən' g i:ɪ^f | 11C *naocha IS A CÚIG bliain dh'aois.* [2]

The use of these numerals, particularly '30–90' inclusive, appears to have been acquired principally from school. After *is* 'and' the particle a^H can be absent, although some instances of omission may be the result of phonetic or sandhi elision of schwa (a^H):

k'ærəxə s hoxt ... k'ærəxə s ni: 23Jt *ceathracha IS (A) HOCHT / NAOI*, '(the years) '48, '49';

¹ The particle and lenition are, of course, present in other rhymes addressed to nonhumans, e.g. (Williams 1988) *A phuisín, a phuisín* §77 (Carna, Conamara); *A phortáinín bheannaithe* §66 (Co. Kerry); *A phriompalláin, a phriompalláin* §70 (Co. Cork); *A sheilmide, a sheilmide* §65a, b, d, e (a, d, e Munster; b An Máimín, Conamara and Ráth Cairn, Co. Meath); cp. *Ribe, ribe róibéis* §71a–c (Iorras Aithneach and Ros Muc).

fæskəs do: ... fæskəs tr'í: 29PCt *seasca IS (A) DÓ / TRÍ*, '(the years) '62, '63'.

There are examples without *is* a^H (followed by a^H (without *is*) in one instance) in:
oxto: fæ:xt nu: oxto: ə hoxt 23Jt *OCHTÓ SEACHT nó OCHTÓ A HOCHT*, "'87 or '88';

TRÍOCHA CÚIG pota 31Dt, *TRÍOCHA SEACHT duine* 25Tt.

a^H is generally absent in years containing teens (i.e. without *is / agus*):
naoi déag ceathair déag nó cúig déag 11C '1914 or 15'.

See also 'Numerals' (3.75 and 3.79 ff.).

a^H follows *aon* 'ace' before the card type *hairt*, i.e. (*an*) (*h*)*aon a hairt*.¹ Contrast common *aon spéireata*, *aon triuf*, *aon muileata*. Speaker 892M, however, has:

ən in ə ha:rt' nū n i:nt [sic] **ə sp'e:r'ətə** 892M

an AON A HAIRT, nū an AON A SPÉIREATA.

(The **tə** of **i:nt ə** here is perhaps (a slip of the tongue ?) through analogy with the *-ta* in *spéireata*.)

In non-adjectival serial counting a^H is generally absent (although *h* is heard with *aon*), e.g.

HAON DÓ TRÍ, caora bhuinneach bhuí, ... (beginning of rhyme).

It is often absent in citing telephone numbers:

seacht seacht seacht ... ~ A seacht, A seacht, A seacht, ... 23B '777...',
cúig seacht ceathair, naoi seacht dó 43M '574972'.

It is absent when the numerals are linked by *nó* and *agus / is* and are followed by the preposition *dhe* + plural noun, e.g.

trí NÓ CEATHAIR DHE bhlianta; dhá bhfuighinn ceathair NÓ CÚIG DHE ... ;

Trí NÓ CEATHAIR FICHEAD DE mhílte Clad1182;

tr'í: s k æhər' vl'iantə 31D *trí IS CEATHAIR DHE bhlianta;*

... gə he: nu: fæx g' k æ:nə 'poti: 892M1564

Níl aon phota dhe shé NÓ SEACHT DHE cheanna potaí;

dhe sheacht NÓ OCHT DHE photaí 892M1567;

seacht NÓ OCHT DHE nū ox(t) gə sheachtainí ann 18J7057;

seacht NÓ OCHT D'ordlaigh Clad1178, similarly Clad1176;

seacht NÚ OCHT DHE cheanna báid 30M.

Notice that a phrase ending *... nó dhó* need not be followed by a preposition, e.g.

uair NÓ DHÓ; ceann NÓ DHÓ.

a^H is also absent in *faoi dhó* 'twice', *dhá dhó* 'two twos', i.e. 'two multiplied by two'.

8.3 Adjectival particles; *níos, ní ba ... (ná ...)*

In the most common construction with the comparative of the adjective, the particle *níos* precedes the adjective. (For *ná*, see 8.176.) It is realised as **n'is** >> **n'is** >> **d'is** >> **f'is**. In historical tense contexts, e.g. past and conditional, forms containing the past copula, i.e. **n'í: bə** (**d'í: bə**, **f'í: bə**) *ní ba*, are optional for *níos*.

n'is **ta fe jin' n'is a:r** *S tá sé sin NÍOS FHEARR.*

n'is **n'is bíg'ə na: ŋ būn'əx** 46.120 *NÍOS BOIGE ná an buinneach.*

¹ The *a* in *aon a hairt* can be interpreted as a different particle, arguably a form of the preposition *dhe*. Cp. Co. Kerry *aon a hart* É. Ó hÓgáin (1984) *a*³ 2(c); borrowed 'of' as **ə** (11.71).

d'ís ə'n'ɪʃ d'ís mū: | **898P** *anois NÍOS MÓ*;
 n'ís >> d'ís, e.g. d'ís mu: **21Pt** *NÍOS MÓ*.
í'ís ... r'íəw í'ís aird'ə **12J88** ... *ariamh NÍOS AIRDE*.

The by-form *tí(-)*, queried in *tí ba mhó*, is not permitted by Seán, i.e. it is not known to him.

Relative copula, without preceding *ní*, followed by comparative *ná*, is mostly obsolescent, e.g.

agus DREAM IS ÓIGE NÁ MISE, choinicdar iad. 892M4827;
ní raibh FILE A BICH AB ÁILLE NÁ É SIN. 11C5309.

This contrasts with productive superlative *an dream is óige*, etc., although the comparative also occurs following interrogative *cé(s)*, e.g.

CÉS GOIRBHE anseo ná an áit thoir? 69S.

For adverbial use of the indefinite pronoun in comparative function with adjectives, e.g. *tuilleadh dona*, see 3.59.

8.4 *chomh^H ... (le ...)*

chomh^H is the adverb generally used before the adjective to form comparisons of equivalence, e.g. *chomh mór le* 'as big as', *chomh mór sin* 'that big', and intensive *tá sé chomh mór* 'it is so big', e.g.

chuir sé carr 'na dhiaidh, ag tarraint, stuif ... — bhí sé CHOMH xə LÁIDIR.
 (Suda)**894Cs** '... he was so strong'.

xə is the general form, spelt *chomh*; also (older) *gə*, *ʏə*, *ə*, *kə* (perhaps also *xo*).

xo: appears twice in SID.46:

xo: 'k' r' i: ənə Mp 47 *CHOMH CRÍONNA* (but contrast *xo* 'k' r' i: ənə 46.150
 which should correspond to Mp 47; cf. 1.413);

tə: fɪ xo: 'mɔ:ɪ ɪ ɛʃə 'b' rɪmpələ:n 46.808

tá sí CHOMH MÓR LEIS an bpríompallán.

Cf. *comh-* (3.98). Speaker **894C** has *chomh* ~ *go* taken down from him in manuscript material in RBÉ, including song and prose (9, 2, etc.):

GO HÁRD LE ... 894C3, bhí an oíthe GO DU' 7 nár léir 'uit ... 894C3 (8.168).

It seems these folklore transcripts are not fully accurate since, in the passage of his audio-recorded material that I have transcribed, he has *ʏə* and (phrase-initial) *ə*, similar to his forms of complementiser *go* (8.6, 8.10, see also 1.69 ff.):

| ʏə^ə wə́n' ʃe iəd ʏə dʊrəxtəx ugəʃ d'ɛ:ɔ ʃe' e' | **894C**

gur bhain sé iad CHOMH DÚTHRACHTACH AGUS d'fhéad sé é;

iəd ə xur ə brix' | ə tr'e:n əgəʃ d'ɛ:ɔ ʃi: e | 894C

iad a chur ag bruith CHOMH TRÉAN AGUS d'fhéad sí é.

There is a possible token of *xo*: from **894C** in:

n'í ro f'ær ə b'í v'í: g'im'əxt xo' f'i:ən' ɪ ɛʃ 894C

ní raibh fear ar bith a bhí ag imeacht CHOMH FLÁIN LEIS

but it is not very clear through laughter on the recording and may well be *ʏə*.

A fairly rare example of *gə* occurs in:

gə ma: s v'i:dər ən a:n | 03V CHOMH MAITH IS bhíodar i ndan.

Speaker **01P** (Doire Iorrais) has regular *gə*, e.g.

geártha tú CHOMH gə GAR ... CHOMH gə MAITH ná CHOMH gə TEIRIM 01P.

Also *kə* following *s* in: *ionann's CHOMH a'nəns kə HARD leis an gcéibh 01P.*

Also **kə 13J** and **xō ~ kō 894Cs** (13.9, lines 12, 15):

| χō 'fadə ... | kō 'fə'də s ,nāf | 'Ye:r 'dūms iəd | 894Cs
CHOMH FADA ... COMH FADA IS nar léar domsa iad.

Similarly, speaker **881J** (brother of **894Cs**) has **kə** phrase-initially in song.

Many examples of **kə** from speaker **00T** may be merely phonetic delentition, e.g.

aurdō:g kə mo:r a:n 00T *ordóg C(H)OMH MÓR ann* (possibly resulting from
 sandhi delentition **-g x- > -g k-**);
 more consistently **kə ma: ... kə daun'** *COMH MAITH ... COMH DOMHAIN.*

Cp. **ku'ə ... 00T chuile ...**

chomh ... le can also be used with exclamatory force where the basis of comparison, usually the object of *le*, and the principal thing being compared, are identical, e.g.

An bhfeiceann tú CHOMH GEAL LEIS! 12J;
əhə xə 'fæ:n a:l'ə 'ræt 79S *féacha CHOMH TEAINEÁILTE LEAT!*
buailadh Bleá Cliath an lá cheana théis CHOMH FABHLÁILTE LEOTHUB 12J.

Another way to express comparison of equivalence is the use of *an oiread*, e.g.

tá AN OIREAD pian orm LEIS an ngadhar héin. M (much pain).

Verbal particles

8.5 General

The two main positive verbal particles are the complementiser **gə** *go^N*, and the relative particle **ə** *a^{L/N}*. The negative particle is **n'i:** *ní^L*; the main interrogative particle is **ə** *an^N*. The main interrogative pronoun and adverb is **k'e:** *cé^{L/N}*, and a by-form of the interrogative adverb is **ka:** *cá^N*. Other particles function as conjunctions: *má^L* (realis), *dhá^N* (irrealis), negative *mará^N*; *shulá^N*; *ó^L*. Other pronominals and conjunctions have more obviously complex morphology containing one or more elements preceding *a^L* or *go^N* (less commonly preceding *a^N*, *an^N*, *dhá^N*, *má^{L/N}*, *nach^N*). There are similarly more complex interrogatives, e.g. *céard*, *cén uair*.

There are two forms which specifically function to mark past tense: *d'* and *-r*. Prevocalic **d(')** *d'* is an independent prefix which functions in the past tense, past habitual and conditional similar to lenition in consonants. General relative *a d'* has limited currency. In the past tense **r(')** *-r* is suffixed to verbal particles, except *má* (irrealis conditional *dhá* is rare in past tenses (contrast *shul dhár*)) and *ó*. **r(')** *-r* is also suffixed to *ná* in the present subjunctive. (It may, however, be absent, especially in younger speakers' usage.) With the copula, **r** is found in these and other contexts and combinations. The following list summarises the allomorphs of particles found with the finite verb in combination with *-r* (less central by-forms are described in the relevant sections). The two particles found exclusively preceding the verbal noun are **ə(g('))** *ag* and **ə** *a^L* (rare **əy** *a dh'*).

			General	Past
Positive	complementiser		<i>go^N</i>	<i>gur^L</i>
	jussive		<i>go^N</i>	
Negative	main		<i>ní^L</i>	<i>níor^L</i>
	imperative		<i>ná^H</i>	
	jussive		<i>nár^L</i>	
Relative	interrogative, complementiser, relative		<i>nach^N</i>	<i>nar^L</i>
	direct		<i>a^L</i>	<i>a^L</i>
	indirect, cataphoric		<i>a^N</i>	<i>ar^L</i>
Interrogative	positive		<i>an^N</i>	<i>ar^L</i>
	pronoun		<i>cé^L</i>	<i>cé^L</i>
	adverb		<i>cé^N, cá^N</i>	<i>cér^L, cár^L</i>
Conjunction	conditional	positive	<i>má^L, dhá^N</i>	<i>má^L</i>
		negative	<i>mará^N</i>	<i>marar^L</i>
	time ¹		<i>shula^N</i>	<i>shular^L</i>
		also	<i>shul dhá^N</i>	<i>shul dhár^L</i>
			<i>shul má^L</i>	<i>shul má^L</i>
			<i>shul má^N</i>	<i>shul má^L</i>
	time, causal		<i>ó^L</i>	<i>ó^L</i>
causal		<i>mar^Ø</i>	<i>mar^Ø</i>	

8.6 Complementiser *go*

go^N (**gə**, **ɣə**, **ə**, **Ø**, **ŋə**, **ŋ**); past *gur^L* (**gər**, **ɣər**, **ər**), also *go^L* (**gə**).

The general positive subordinating particle or complementiser is *go^N* which is used to introduce nominal, temporal, consecutive and final clauses, as well as some independent clauses. It also combines in forming many conjunctions. It is used in the jussive subjunctive and is sometimes used as a relative particle.

For examples of the progressive use of past *go^L* alternating with *gur^L* such as **gair'ə 64M** *go éirigh*, for traditional *gur éirigh*, see 8.96 and especially 8.100. For temporal and final *nó* (...) *go*, see 8.171, as well examples cited immediately below.

General **gə** *go*

For examples of the general realisation, **gə** *go*, see 8.11 and jussive use (8.9).

Obsolete **ɣə** *go*

Two older speakers, **869P** and **894C**, have a form **ɣə** *go*. Both speakers also have obsolete **ɣə** in the prepositions *dhe* and *dho* (both of which are generally **gə** in the dialect). For speaker **894C**'s forms, see 8.10. Speaker **869P** has **gə** generally but **ɣə** following *nó*:

| nū: | ɣə | dʊgə | NÓ GO dtuga ... ;
 | nū: ɣə ro ʃe^{əʔ} | gə ro dur | ə wu:ʃk'əxt | ʃa:xt m'it'ə | ʰə ha:lhə |
 NÓ GO raibh sé — *go raibheadar i bhfoisceacht seacht míle dho thalamh*;
 | nū:ʰə ɣə rodər | NÓ GO raibheadar ... ;
 | nū: ɣə goʔ | goli: ʃe | NÓ GO gcodlaí sé (All **869P**.)

¹ Cf. 8.130.

He also has **gə** following *nó*:

| **nū**: | **gə wə**: mid' t'ax | **869P** *NÓ GO bhfaighe muid teach.*

Minor variant ə go

In function as a final and temporal conjunction **ə** is common in, for example, phrases such as:

fan ən'ij ə waik'əl' ə v'ek'ə tu M *FAN anois, a Mhaidhcil, GO BHFEICE tú.*

Speakers **894Cs** and **899D** generally have complementiser **gə** but they also have **ə** (actually **ə̃**) phrase-initially in:

nū: **ŋə m'ex ə dʒa:b | gə m'edʒ fe fɪn' (l) d'i:nti: a'kəb | ə m'ex ə blak**
fɪn' l'i:nti: a'kəb | 894Cs *nó go mbeadh an jab, go mbeadh sé sin*
déantaí acub, GO mbeadh an blac sin líontaí acub;

n'í 'x'æpə'n' | ə w'il' | e:n 'xl'æs a:n | ax "stæ'd'e:r | 899D6597
ní cheapthainn GO bhfuil aon chleas ann ach staidéar.

8.7 Elision

The particle *go* can be phonetically reduced or absent, following vowels or consonants as well as phrase-initially, both as complementiser [1], as well as final [2] and temporal [3] conjunction.

du:rtʃi: ʃo ʔej hiəxt ʔiv'ɑ:l' ən' e:n'əx ʔe'h he:n' dæ:stox [1]

din'ə k'i:nt' wohə 21Pt *dúirt sí seo leis a thócht ag libhéail in*
éineacht léi héin GO dtastódh duine eicínt uaithi.

ta m'e x'æpə w:a'kə m'e i 21J *Tá mé ag cheapadh GO bhfaca mé í.*

ta m'e x'æpə b'e:r ta ga ji:nə ʃin' ... S

tá mé ag cheapadh GO b'éard tá dhá dhéanamh sin

xuələ m'e b'e:r du:r ʃe ... *St chuala mé GO b'éard dúirt sé*

əd'ər ʃe | m'ei | ʃiəd ə n'ia n'æ:r'əg'əd' St
a deir sé, 'GO mbeidh siad i ndiaidh an airgid'.

gəL'ə v'ek'ə tu: M *Gabh i leith GO bhfeice tú!* [2]

spɑ:n' e v'ek'ə m'e w'il' ʃe nɑ:n e o:l P

spáin é GO bhfeice mé an bhfuil sé i ndan é a ól.

wuəl' ʃe ʃiər | eg' ə g'e:v' | d'aiɖ ʃe wɑ:l'ə | 897P

bhuail sé siar ag an gcéibh GO dtéadh sé abhaile.

fan v'ek'ə m'e w'il' ə t'æ:s kurhə nuəs ek'ə S [3]

fan GO bhfeice mé an bhfuil an teas curtha anuas aici.

... 'ɑ:raɪt' i' d'əhə [sic] m'e wɑ:l'ə 25M

... áraidht í GO ndeachaigh mé abhaile.

As is clear from the examples, elision of *go* is common with final and temporal *go* and the verb *feic*. In fact realisations occur which are even further reduced, e.g.

... *go dté mise abha-, isteach, a deir sé, GO BHFEICE mé cén sórt ə d'ərʃe*

hek'ə m'ē k'ēn sɔ:rt nuaíocht atá acub seo. 11C.

Both the elided forms and the **ə(-)** forms of *gə^N* / *gə^L* are homophonous with the interrogative particle *an^N* / *ar^L*. It is perhaps mere chance that all my examples of **ə(-)** and elided forms with finite verbs retain a surface indication of elipsis caused by *gə^N* (cp. copula example cited: *go b'*). Examples without any surface trace of *gə^N*, however, no doubt occur, such as ***fan n'ærti: m'e: n takə** **fan go*

neartaí mé an taca, which seems possible to me. Such examples are attested with jussive *go*, e.g. (*go*) *sábhála ...* (8.9).

8.8 Nasal forms of *go*

Before the future stem of *teighre*, i.e. *go ngoth-* **gə ŋoh-**, the particle is often reduced to **ŋ** and **ŋ**; sometimes also before *gcaith-* and other verbs, e.g.

ta m' e x' æ:pə ŋ ŋohə M *tá mé ag cheapadh GO NGOTHADH*;
go dtige an lá a bhfuighead sé bás nó GO NGOTHADH sé ó mhaith nū' ŋ
ŋohəð fe o: wā: | 11C;
ŋ ŋæ:əf fe 11C GO *GCAITHEADH* [cond] *sé*;
gə m' ē:d' ŋ 'mūə́l' h̄əx̄ *go mb'fhéidir GO MBUAILTHEADH muid 31P* (13.21,
 line 4).

Note rarer **ŋə** (perhaps either a back formation from **ŋ / ŋ** influenced by **gə**, or consonant assimilation across schwa, or both) in:

| hēd' əm' gə m' ex fu:n orəm ə ɣol' a:ŋ ŋə ŋohən' a:n | 881N
chreidim dhá mbeadh fonn orm a ghoil ann GO NGOTHAINN ann;
b' e:d' ər' ŋə ŋohə: p' i:sə 66N *b'fhéidir GO NGOTHÁ píosa*.

Speaker **894Cs** has **ŋə** before other verbs, e.g.

nū: ŋə m' ex ə ɕə:b | ... 894Cs *NÓ GO MBEADH an jab, ...*

He has a general tendency for spontaneous nasalisation in velar contexts, e.g. **ūŋəs agus** (8.164). Cp. the innovative by-form **ŋə dhá** (8.26); 'double' eclipsis (9.143). Similarly:

GO SÁBHÁLA Dia | ^hə 'sə:vələ 'd' iə sinn! bhí ... 66L.

8.9 Jussive *go*

In the jussive there is a marked tendency to weaken *go* to **ə** or to completely elide it (phonetic weakening is generally common in phrase initial position, the main position for jussive *go*):

- gə** **gə ma:r' ə tu t' ex ə d' er ə ri: 03V**
-GO MAIRE tú t' éitheach, a deir an rí.
- ə** **wel' ə fər' əv' i: d' iə hu: | 00C** *bhuel GO SOIRBHÍ Dia thú,*
agus badh é mo dhreatháir Seán — GO NDÉANA Dia f̄ā:n ə 'n' i:nə 'd' iə
grásta agus trócaire ar a anam — a chaith iad. 05M.
- ∅ **da:xtər hu: S** *GO DTACHTAR thú!*
o: u:fə wuər' ə d' i: orən' S ó! 'uise *GO BHFÓIRE Dia orainn,*
(a:) sə:vələ d' iə f̄i:n' 19P3 (á!) *GO SÁBHÁLA Dia sinn!*
**a: da:rhi: d' iə f̄i:n' 19P3 á! *GO DTARRTHÁI Dia sinn!*
**o: da:rhi: d' iə f̄i:n' 43M ó! *GO DTARRTHÁI Dia sinn!*
gír' ə d' iə tɑ: ɔrt 11C *GO GCUIRE Dia an t-ádh ort,*
gə wəgə d' iə ən tla:n't ə ogəs k' ed bl' iən' wɑ: tu | wɑ | wɑ: tu gə
hi:l | 23Ms *go bhfága Dia an tslainte [a'd] agus céad bliain GO*
BHFAIGHE [slight stutter] tú dhe shaol!
n' i:nə d' iə grɑ:st er' *GO NDÉANA Dia grásta air! (uirthi, etc., common*
aside following mention of deceased; note the example badh é Peaits
Mhaitéis — ' NDÍONA Dia grásta air 's ' NDÍONA Dia grásta ar na fir
*uilig — badh é bhí, i gceannas, ARN7173), there is an example of this*****

aside without eclipsis in *d'ínə d'íə ... 18J8623*,
du:ɾɿ ʃi: m'æni: d'íə n'ʃœ | 894C dúirt sí 'GO MBEANNAÍ Dia anseo!'

There is regular alternation between the initial presence of *go* followed by its absence in a greeting and response sequence which occurs three times in succession in a cumulative tale:

-gə m'æni: d'íə ɣut' ... -GO MBEANNAÍ Dia dhuit, a dúirt ...
-m'æni: d'íə s mir'ə ɣut' ... -GO MBEANNAÍ Dia is Muire dhuit, a dúirt ... 869P.

This contrasts with the same speaker's retention of *go* when replying to query:

,gə m'æni: ... ,; ,gə m'æni: ... , 46.927
-GO MBEANNAÍ Dia dhuit; -GO MBEANNAÍ Dia is Muire dhuit.

Jussive *go* with the copula is commonly *gə mə go mba* (less often *gər gur, gə go*). It can also be elided completely, e.g.

seach(t) measa bheidheas siad bliain ó anocht! S,
fearr a bheas ... ! 36S.

8.10 894C, Colm Ó Caoidheáin, Glinsce; ɣə, ə

In my sample, speaker **894C** is unique in that he consistently uses the form with velar fricative *ɣə go* as a conjunction, phrase-initially also *ə*. He also has general *ɣ-* in the prepositions *dhe, dho* and *gan*, and *dhá* with noun and verbal noun and *dhá* 'if' (1.69). Examples of *ɣə go* from **894C** are found both phrase-medially and phrase-initially:

<i>go</i> complement	<i>xūn'ə́k' ʃi: ɣə ro n ti:l'ə g' ihə nə ta:lhū:nə </i> <i>choinic sí GO RAIBH an taoille ag ithe na talúna.</i>
<i>go</i> temporal	<i>g'ar ɣə da:n'ə́k' nə di:n'ə ʃœ ʃt'æ:x </i> <i>gearr GO DTÁINIG na daoine seo isteach.</i>
<i>go</i> jussive, in higher register	<i>ɣə m'æni: d'íə ɣit' id'ər ʃe: ə v'e:l ə tuərk'əʃ </i> <i>ugəs ɣə l'e:r' mə huər'əm' s tu: ʃa:n ə guər'əm' !</i> <i>GO MBEANNAÍ Dia dhuit, a deir sé, a bhéal an tsuaircis,</i> <i>Agus dho léir mo thuairim is tú Seán a' Guairim.</i>
<i>go ... le go</i>	<i>bə:də l'umsə nə: wəkə m'e: r'íəv ... ɣə v'ek'ən' i: h̃æw̃nə</i> <i>taki:hə l'e ɣə v'ek'ən' ən obər ʃo b'fhada lionsa ná a bhfaca</i> <i>mé ariamh ... GO BHFÉICINN Oíche Shamhna tagtháithe LE GO</i> <i>BHFÉICINN an obair seo;</i> <i> hr'ed'əm' ɣə ro 'mā:rk eg' ə 'sə:gərt er' l'e ɣə mə 'wā: l'ef ...</i> <i>chreidim GO RAIBH marc ag an sagart air LE GO MBA mhaith leis</i>
<i>nó go</i> temporal	<i>nu: ɣə wəkə ʃe t'íəxt ə bō:hər e </i> <i>NÓ GO BHFACA sé ag tíocht an bóthar é.</i>
<i>go b' copula</i>	<i>l'e ɣə g'æpəx ə f'ar ʃo ɣə b'e: xid' gubə:ʃt'ə he:n' ...</i> <i>le go gceapthadh an fear seo GO B' é a chuid gobáiste héin</i>
<i>go mba</i> copula	<i>no:r' ə hūn'ə́k' dər ɣəmə je: v' i: a: ʔn </i> <i>nuair a choinicdar GO MBADH é a bhí ann.</i> <i>eg' 'tispā:nt' ɣəmə ji: 'h̃æw̃nə v' i: an </i> <i>ag tuspáint GO MBADH í oíche Shamhna a bhí ann.</i>

Examples of frequent *ə go* from speaker **894C** phrase-initially include:

<i>go</i> complement	<i>du:ru: l'o:ʔb ə gæf' i: pu:k' i:n' ə xir' ə r' ə su:l' i: </i> <i>dúradh leothub GO GCAITHFÍ píúicín a chuir ar a súilí;</i> <i>v' i: ʃiəd ə d' i:nə ma:x ə ro ɣun' ə ka:l' ə </i> <i>bhí siad ag déanamh amach GO RAIBH a dhuine caillte;</i> <i>kr'ed'əm' ɣə gahə mid' ə ra: ə r' ʃo ri:nt' ɣə n' d'roxt'il ...</i> <i>Creidim go gcaithidh muid a rá GO RAIBH roinnt dhen Drochshaol</i>
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<i>go</i> final	ugəs hjukəx ə tr'iu: k'an ɣa: l'er' ə wəɖ fe ... <i>agus thiocthadh an trúí ceann dhá léir GO BHFAIGHEADH sé ... ;</i> xuə n tæhər ser' ə v'ek'əɖ fe ... <i>chuaigh an t-athair soir GO BHFEICEADH sé</i>
<i>gur</i> copula	kr'ed'am' ɣə l'er: mər tər n ʃa:nəxəs ər sə ɡ'an hiər ɣən' t'a:x ə v'i: n' t'in'ə creidim, dho léir mar tá an seanchas, GUR <i>sa gceann thiar dhen teach a bhí an tine.</i>
<i>gur</i> copula, in higher register	duəlgəs nə ni:n' hū:n mā'r v'i: sən ā:ū:t' ər eg' ʃæ:n:n'ə xlūʃənfə !! dualgas na ndaoine ann mar a bhí san áit, GUR ag <i>sean-ndaoine a chloisinnse</i>
<i>gurb</i> copula	v'i:dər ə d'i:nə m'a:x ... ər b'in' e: n tən'am' ə v'ox or' də x'e:l'ə bhíodar ag déanamh amach ... GURB in é an t-ainm a <i>bheadh ar do chéile.</i>

Instances of a^N , for expected go^N , which are transcribed in secondary sources from older speakers, must be viewed in the light of the phonetic merger of the complementiser by-form $ə go^N$ with relative and interrogative particles $ə a^N$, $ə an^N$. The particle a^N in, for example,

-Ní bheadh goir ar bith agad A BHÉADFÁ a dhul aníos? 852SbLL18,
can therefore be seen as a possible instance of complementiser $ə go^N$.

8.11 Functions of *go*; Nominal

The particle *go* is attached or postpositioned to many items to form subordinators (see 8.118). Jussive use is exemplified in 8.9. In the following sections nominal, temporal, consecutive, coordinative, final, and resultative examples are presented.

Nominal

gə a xə ʃe gə 'm'e:d'ər' gə 'ro 11C
Á! CHAITHEADH SÉ GO MB'FHÉIDIR GO raibh;
d'e:rhəɟ gə n'im'ə:n' ə'l'ig' l'e'h ax | 11C
DÉARFAINN GO n-imeoinn uilig léithi, ach ... ;
TÁ SÚIL A'M GO mbeidh 11C;
ach NÍ BALACH GUR mar a chéile a bhuaileas an dá ghalra iad. SÓC3.160;
- ... ach tá mé a' gul dhá bhronnadh ortsa, ANOIS GO dtaitimíonn sé leat
DT19;
CÉN FÁTH GO dtastaíonn ... ? S;
bhí an-íontas aige CÉN FÁTH GO rabh an oiread bainne ag na beithigh [i.e.
beithí] B19.61;
GOIDÉ'N CHIALL, a Rí, GO bhfuil tú ... ? 852S.

Complementiser *go* can be used without a matrix verb following a conditional clause, e.g.

MÁ D'ÓL se e sin GO GCUIRIDH se ar a shon M,

which is equivalent to:

má d'ól se e sin bí cinnte / tá mise ag rá leatsa go gcuiridh se ar a shon.

Similarly:

cheapfainn, ... , MÁ S rud é a dhéanfadh aon fhear sa domhan, GO RAIBH mé
in ann a dhéanamh. 866ESemr136.

One can compare the use of *is go* in:

gə cheidim GÁ MBADH í Artha an Ghrá héin é 's GO RAIBH SÉ i ndan [é ?] a
chur. 06C.

In fact adjectival *is go* occurs, e.g. (cf. *agus* dependency 8.165, temporal 8.167, comparative 8.168)

‘Dia dá réiteach,’ a deir an seanfhear, ‘NACH IOMAÍ LÁ IS GUR GEARR a mhairfeadh an chailleach mhór domsa’ 866ESc133.14.

8.12 Temporal, consecutive, coordinative

Temporal

gə *b’fhéidir go gcaitheá, A GHOIL as cionn leithmhíle ... ag tarraint do chliabh feamainne deirge ar do dhroim, thrí, scoltaireachaí, agus thrí charraigreachaí GO DTIGTÁ ag an mbád sin, 894Cs;*

TIÚRTHAIDH MISE AIRE mhaith dhon teach seo GO DTEAGA SIB. gə ‘d’æ:gə f̥iḃ̥ | 11C.

There is a rare example of *go nar* for more usual *nar* or *nó nar* in:

gə na *Ach sé chaoi raibh sé ar ball bhí na fir uilig AG IMEACHT GO NAR RAIBH gə na rə fágthaí ann ach í héin agus an chonra. 18J8883.*

The negative *nar* element, however, may be a rapid correction of *go* here.

In a certain discourse device, *go ...* is used as an interpolation:

je xi: ro nə ga:rənti: fa:do: gə n’i:nfi: m’ e yit’ v’i: ... P
sé an chaoi a raibh na garrantaí fadó — GO N-INSÍ MÉ dhuit — bhí ... ,
‘the fields long ago — you see [literally ‘(wait) till I tell you’] — were ...’.

Conditional and temporal meaning are sometimes combined in (*nó*) *go*, e.g.

Nuair a bhí, NÍ RABH aon mhaith ansin, NÓ GO MARAÍOD SÉ an chailleach draíocht — an spiríod. 866ESemr162.

Following a negative main clause, *go* can mean ‘by the time, before’ as in:

NÍ BHEIDH sé seo ite le mo bhéal a’m GO RINGEÁLA DEARA M.

Consecutive

Final and consecutive use often combine in *go*.

gə *Sé chaoi a gcaitheá, thíocht ansin ortha an dtigeann tú, ‘GUS í chrochadh le, le gró nú le rud eicint, nú le maide, ‘GUS cloch a chuir, faoin méid a cheapthá, bheadh ceart le briseadh dhi an dtigeann tú, thiocthadh amach ceart, GO DTEAGÁ uirthi le cloich, gə d’æ:gə: orhə ʔe ‘klo | mhór rabhnáilte, ‘GUS GO MBUAILTHEÁ anuas í go mbrisead sí. 896P (of hardened kelp).*

∅ **f̥i:s ʔe:f dug fe ... 11Ct síos leis GO DTUG sé**

Coordinative

agus / is go can coordinate a second conditional clause with a preceding real or unreal condition introduced by *má* or *dhá* (GGBC §741(ii) (§32.14)). For example:

gə *MÁS seanchas atá ag tastáil uait IS GO B’in é a thug as baile thú, Tá scéala faighte cheana agam nach bhfuil a’d ach caora is bó. !(Apad)-19P;*

... sheol sé leis. Agus MÁ SHEOL ariamh AGUS GUR SHEOL cheana chonaic sé ... 866ESc243.9;

Bhí go maith agus ní raibh go holc, MÁ BHÍ cheana AGUS GO RAIBH arís, nó go raibh sé dhá bhliain imithe. Sc244.33.

Contrast the more subordinate function of *is go* noted in nominal use (8.11).

8.13 Final, resultative

Final

gə CHUIR SÉ AN STÓCACH, agus píosa bréidín leis, GO DTÍ AN TÁILLIÚR GO NDÍONAD SÉ drár dó. 11C.

∅ d'ik'ə [sic] tu 'jt'æx m'e' d'er 'ji' l'ig'ə m'e' 'hæ:rəm ə 'wɑ:ft'əx 11C
AN LIGTHIDH TÚ ISTEACH MÉ, a deir sí, GO LIGE MÉ tharam an bháisteach?

Resultative

Consecutive and resultative functions of *go* can combine and may be difficult to distinguish. Examples beginning in consecutive and / or resultative negative *nach* are found in tale runs:

D'éirigh sé ... , AGUS CHUA SÉ dhon léim sin ar bhourd a' tsoithín.

D'árdaigh sé Thug sé a tosach go mhuir agus a deire go thír, NACH BHFÁGFAT SÉ téad tíre gan tarraint, ... , GO RO' sclog-sclog ... , GO RO' míoltógaí beaga na faraige 852Sb6.66;

D'árdaíodar uirthé suas a cuid seolta móra pocóideacha pacóideacha faoi bharra na gcrann NACH BHFÁGAIDÍS téid tíre gan tarraingt, maide rámhá gan briseadh ... 852SbLL121.

An example containing *is go* with consecutive and (especially the second token) with resultative functions occurs in:

Chuir sé a dhrioball [sic LL152 note] siar i mbéal Chéadtaigh IS GUR CHUIR SÉ an dubhán a bhí i mbárr a dhriobaill i gcroí Chéadtaigh IS GO DTUG SÉ an croí amach ina bhéal. 864MLL165.

Resultative *go* occurs in comparative function, usually in the correlative construction *chomh ... (is) go* (8.154).

8.14 *le* and *le go*

The preposition *le* with subordinating eclipsis, i.e. *le^N*, and the commoner and segmentally more complex *le go^N* share many functions with simple *go^N*, although both *le^N* and *le go^N* are much rarer than *go^N*. Adjectival or resultative (including manner) *le^N* and *le go^N* can follow *fáth* and *údar* (presumably also following *ciall* meaning 'reason (why)', cp. *goidé'n chiall go*, 8.11). This use can be rendered in English by 'for which, because of which'. Examples include:

-GO CÉN FÁTH, a deir an t-easpag, a deir sé, LE GO BHFUIL an seansagart ... i t'aghaidh chomh mór sin ... ? 866ESc211.25;

Sin é AN T-ÚDAR LE ' BHFUIL Ceám an Ascail air baistíthe ó shin. 866E-Semr94;

Is é AN T-ÚDAR LE AR TUGADH Cú Chulainn ar Setanta mar gheall ar ... 866ESc39.33;

Sin é AN T-ÚDAR LE GO RAIBH an cú aige, dá chosaint féin. 866ESc38.22.

(Cp. GCF §392, note 2 p. 196; *Sin é AN FÁTH LE GUR ÉIRIGH SÉ* FFG20 s.v. *le* 8(c)).

A nonfinite example is:

CÉN T-ÚDAR atá LE hiad a bheith ... 869P4.

le go^N can also follow noun phrases expressing time. The following is an example in which *le go* combines functions of temporal relative and intentionality or obligation:

nuair a tháinig A' LÁ LÉ GO NGOTHAIT SÍ go teach a' phobail ... 894C9.

This example was followed in the speaker's next sentence by *le go* with the primary function of a temporal relative:

nuair a tháinig A' T-ÁM LÉ GUR ÚIRT¹ A' SAGART léi a ghuil anuas 894C9.

The following example combines complementation with intentionality (recall speaker 894C's use of *γə go*):

*wēl'ʔ | v'ĩ m'ix'ɑ:l ðk saiv'n'ð hæ:nð | ugəs ə | hr'ed'əm | γə ro
'mā:rk eg' ə 'sɑ:gərt er' l'e γə mð 'wā' l'ef | kæ'nt' ə wæ'nt' æs |
894C Bhuel bhí Mícheál 'ac Suibhne cheana agus chreidim go raibh
marc ag an sagart air LE GO mba mhaith leis caint a bhaint as.*

Compare another example of the sequence *go ... le go* from 894C (8.10). A non-finite complementiser *le (gan)*, also combining nominal and final functions, is found in:

*agus d'fhiafraigh sé de — den seanfhear glic — go cén chaoi a bhféadfadh
sé LE clann mac Uisne a chur chun báis. 866ESc35.26;
'tá mé ordaíthe anseo ag Fionn, LE GAN sibse ná GAN aon fhear a ligean
thar tórainn go maidin.' 892Mtn.*

Nonfinite exceptive and nominal or manner functions combine in *ach le*:

*-A! ní hea, a deir Fiacna, ní raibh na Fianna góil an dhá-, dán seo ariamh,
ACH LE BHEI' i drioblóid. 892Mtn.*

These complementation uses of *le^N* are apparently obsolete and *le go^N* as relativiser or complementiser is obsolescent. Along with *le is go^N*, the functor *le (go^N)* is currently confined to its use as a conjunction expressing purpose, intention and manner (8.142, nonfinite 8.134).

8.15 Negative *ní, níor*

The independent negative particle is *ní*: (*ní*:, *dí*:) *ní^L*, past also *níir* (*níir*, *díir*) *níor^L*. Variants in *ní*-, e.g. *ní:l* 'M ní', can be attributed to phonetic phrase-initial weakening of *ní*-. A few speakers optionally denasalise the initial nasal (1.150):

*ní o: | dí: v'ex | ní: v'ex | ní: ... 20C neó, ní bheadh, [x2] ní ... ;
v'ĩ: gə ma: ogəf dí: ro gə dunə 26M bhí go maith agus ní raibh go dona.*

A negative correlative structure *ní ... ach* functions as 'only' (8.178), e.g. *Ní raibh ann ACH ceann; NÍL mé ACH ag magadh.*

8.16 Negative imperative, subordinate, relative, interrogative; *ná, nach, nar*

Imperative *ná*

ná: (*na*, *da*:, *da*) *ná^H*.

ná: is by far the most common variant. Examples:

*ná: ná: d'ĩ:n S NÁ DÉAN!
na' l'ig' 'jĩ:s e 18J7740 NÁ LIG síos é!
na ha:bər' ə wil' dər' orhə nus: gən dər' 43M*

¹ sic leg. The manuscript has *nduairt* but I have not heard this in the dialect and it is very likely a slip by the transcriber. Séamas Mac Aonghusa, who normally uses *nduairt* in his personal notes.

- NÁ HABAIR an bhfuil dáir ortha nó's gan dáir!*
da: **nu' na to:r' ... nu' da slig' 20C**sbjq *nó NÁ TABHAIR... nó NÁ SLOIG!*
da m' il' ag' i: e 20C *NÁ MILLIGÍ é!*
da **da m' il' e 20C** *NÁ MILL é!*
dæ: fkr' i:v ... 20C *NÁ SCRÍOBH níos mó!* **dæ laur' 20C** *NÁ LABHAIR!*

Speaker 20C was heard using **na:**, **na**, **da:**, **da**, **dæ**, **dæ:** (cp. his *dhá* 'if' **ga**(**o**), **ga**, **da**).

Jussive *nár*

na:r(**o**) *nár*, less common or rare **na:r**(**o**) *nar*.

8.17 Subordinate, interrogative

The negative complementiser and the negative relative particle are formally equivalent to the negative interrogative particle, with the exception of some limited rhetorical usage specific to the interrogative. The typical correspondences between positive and negative particles can be shown as follows (where the present tense is used to exemplify nonpreterite usage):

	present		preterite	
	positive	negative	positive	negative
interrogative	<i>an gcuireann</i>	} <i>NACH GCUIREANN</i>	<i>ar chuir</i>	} <i>NAR CHUIR</i>
complement	<i>go gcuireann</i>		<i>gur chuir</i>	
relative direct	<i>a chuireanns</i>		<i>a chuir</i>	
indirect	<i>a gcuireann</i>		<i>ar chuir</i>	

General **nax** *nach*^N, conditional rhetorical also **nax** *nach*^L. Past (regular verb and some irregular verbs) **nar**, **nar'** *nar*^L (rare *nár*^L attested before *r-*, i.e. **na: r-**), more limited **nax**, **naxr**, **nax or** *nach*^L, *nachr*^L, *nachar*^L (also **nax(o)r'** but no actual examples); also marginally **nax** *nach*^N.

For forms specific to alternative negative clauses, *nó nach*, *nó nacha*, *nó ná*, including changes in mutations, see 8.29. One example of *nacha*^N was noted in non-alternative use:

b'e:d'ar' naxə wix mid' | ... 16St *b'fhéidir NACHA BHFUIGHEADH muid, ...*

Negative dependent *nach* can have positive meaning, similar to (*ach*) *go*, in a double negative construction following *aimhreas ar bith*, i.e. *ní ... nach = ní ... (ach) go*:

NÍL AIMHREAS AR BITH NACH BHFUIL an dearg-ghráin ag gliomadóirí ... orthu Clad39.

Cp. *deabhal blas nach ...* (8.117).

8.18 Discussion

Reduction of the **a** vowel in *na-* to **ə** (schwa) is not usual but an example was noted between two strong stresses in:

'N'æ' nax 'ro 31Mq *an ea NACH raibh?*

As regards the choice of vowels **a** / **ɑ**, GCF §§418–20 presents the following almost complementary distribution in negative imperative, subjunctive and interrogative verbal particles:

	ɑ:	a
Imperative	nɑ:	
Jussive	nɑ:r^(r), nɑ: r-	
Past (excluding <i>nach</i>) before <i>r-</i>	nɑ:r^(r)	nar na r-
<i>nach(r)</i>		nax(r)

This system is the general rule in Iorras Aithneach. There are, however, limited jussive and imperative **na(-)** forms. There are very limited past **nɑ:()r-** and no **nɑ:x(-)** recorded from conversation. Almost all the forms not found in this canonical system are, however, produced, or permitted, by Máire (**16M**) in response to query. Máire was queried as to her use (Mq) and the permissibility (Mp is used as shorthand for Mperm in order to save space in the summary table below) of either vowel in the negative interrogative, the imperative and jussive subjunctive. Shaded areas in the two tables immediately above and below indicate the almost complete interchangeability of **ɑ:** with **a** in response to query.

Context	ɑ:	status	e.g.	a	status	e.g.
Imperative before <i>r-</i>	nɑ:	Mq	nɑ: laur' er'	na	Mp ¹	na: laur' er'
	nɑ:	Mq	nɑ: ruka:l'		MØp	*na: ruka:l'
Jussive before <i>r-</i>	nɑ:r'	Mp	nɑ:r' air'i:	nar'	Mq	na'r' air'i:
	nɑ: r-	Mq	nɑ: ro ma	nar	Mq	na'r ruka:lə tu
Past interr. before <i>r-</i>	nɑ:r'	Mq	nɑ:r' air'ə	nar'	Mq	na'r' air'ə fε
	nɑ: r-	04B	nɑ: rε²	nar	Mq	na'r ruka:l' tu
<i>nach</i>	nɑ:x	Mp	nɑ:x wa'kə	nax	Mq	na'x wa'kə

One factor involved in the choice of **ɑ:** vs. **a** is clearly the desire to maintain a contrast before *r*. Jussive **nɑ:r^(r), nɑ: r-** typically contrasts with past **nar, na r-**, e.g. **nɑ: ro** vs. **na ro** and **nɑ:r o:lə** vs. **nar o:l** (with *bí* and *ól* respectively). Similarly, Máire permits imperative **nɑ: laur' er' ná labhair air** (for usual **nɑ: ...**) but does not permit imperative ***na: ruka:l' ná rucáil** which would be homophonous with past **na: ruka:l' nar rucáil**. Máire claims not to use **nɑ:x nách** herself (nor have I noted any instances either from her or any other speaker), but says that some people use it: '*ag cuid acub*'. In SID, e.g. SID1.157, **nɑ:x** is very common including at our point 46. For similar **ɑ: ~ a** alternation in a commonly weakly stressed functor, see conditional conjunction **mɑ: ~ ma má** (8.25).

8.19 Examples of *na(r)*, *ná(r)*

Imperative	nɑ: (r-)	nɑ: ruka:l' e NÁ RUCÁIL é!
	na	na ha:bər' ə wil' ... 43M NÁ HABAIR an bhfuil ... !
	dæ	dæ laur' 20C NÁ LABHAIR!

¹ Mp = Mperm in this table.

² In subordinate past **sə nɑ: rε fε her' ə daun ... (Smbb)04B sa NÁR RAIBH sé thoir a domhan ... ;** also **na: ro fε ... 04B NAR RAIBH sé ... (8.19).**

Jussive	na:r	na:r <i>l'ig'ə d'ia gə m'ei</i> S <i>NÁR LIGE</i> <i>Dia go mbeidh!</i>
	na: r-	na: ro mah æ:dsə S <i>NÁR RAIBH</i> <i>maith a'dsa!</i>
	nar	nar hai tu gə d'ə: har mir' gən ba:hə 04B! <i>NAR THEIGHE tú go deo thar muir gan báthadh!</i> nar bə he: ə'wə:n dít' S <i>NAR BA hé amháin duit!</i>
Past interrogative	nar	nar xa m'e ma:x e M <i>NAR CHAITH mé amach é?</i> nar u:rɪ m'e ɪ'æt e <i>NAR 'ÚIRT mé leat é!</i>
	nar'	nə:r' im'ə ... <i>NAR IMIGH cráifis</i> 892M1564.
	na r-	... na: rō 17M ... <i>NAR RAIBH.</i>
Past subordinate	nar	v'i: bi:xəf d'e: o:rəm ... nar jə:r fi mə f'i:ba:n 03V <i>-Bhí buíochas Dé orm, a deir sé, NAR GHEARR sí mo phiobán.</i> b'og na:r a:n mə hu:l' am 03V <i>beag NAR FHAN mo shúil a'm.</i>
	na r-	... na: ro ʃe ... 04B ... <i>NAR RAIBH sé ...</i>
	na: r-	sə na: rɛ ʃe her' ə daun ... (Smbb)04B <i>sa NÁR RAIBH sé thoir a domhan ...</i>
		ha:l na: ro 18J8882 <i>tharla NÁR RAIBH.</i> Otherwise, this speaker, 18J, has regular na ro 18J <i>NAR RAIBH.</i>

8.20 Anomalous *nach*

There are two main contexts where the general dependent negative *nach* occurs anomalously, namely (a) in the past where the tense specific mutation and sometimes suffixed **r** are found with *nach* (for regular *nar^L*), and (b) in the conditional in rhetorical questions, generally preceding *shíltheá*. It is uncertain where the precise mutational trigger is, for example, in past *nach bhuaíl*, and particularly in conditional *nach shíltheá*. I shall adopt the more superficial analysis based on surface morphosyntax and take *nach* as the trigger. The contradiction between the regularly eclipsing particle *nach* and surface lenition of the tense is no doubt a major reason for speakers judging this usage incorrect. For similar *mara bhíodh* (regularly *mara mbíodh*), see 8.28.

8.21 Past *nach^L*, *nach(a)r^L*

The regular past negative dependent particle is **nar** *nar^L* (for **-r'**, see 2.88), both before vowels and consonants. With most irregular verbs *nach^N* is used, although *nar^L* is gaining ground (9.169 ff.). Otherwise, in the past tense a more limited use is found of the general, nonpast form but with past mutation, i.e. **nax** *nach^L* before consonants and **nax r-** *nachr^L* before vowels; also **nax ər** *nachar^L* before vowels and consonants; similarly, in the past impersonal for common **nar** *nar^{OH}* one also finds **nax** *nach^{OH}*, and even **nax d** *nach d'* before vowels. There is also an example of rhetorical *nach^L* (for regular *nach^N*). (Past *nach^N*, i.e. the general form without past mutation, is even more marginal.)

In the past negative subordinate and past negative interrogative of the verb *bí* 'to be', one finds a less common *nach raibh* alongside the regular *nar raibh*. The vast majority of speakers have *na ra(i)bh*, e.g. 869P5, SM, 17M. Speakers noted with *nach raibh* are brothers 881J and 894Cs from Caladh Fhínse; also speakers 00T, 45C6 (in *ce nach raibh?* 45C6) and 79S.

Two other brothers, 00T and 05Md from Roisín na Mainchíoch (the townland directly west of Caladh Fhínse), have unusually frequent past *nach(r)*, not just with *raibh*; they represent an apparent *nach(r)* family network. Speaker 00T shows a high proportion of *nach(r)* in the past, including a preference for *nach*

raibh. The order of the examples presented here from his recording, which include both relative and complementiser *nach*, is as in the narrative:

n'íl' e:n in'ə ... gə wi:n't'ər' i:n nax ma:ri:v |
níl aon nduine dhe mhuintir Fhi(o)nn NACH MARAÍODH;
b'og nax wa:rə fje ... beag NACH MHARAIGH sé ... ;
... nax rə:g fje ... NACHR FHÁG sé ... ;
nax ro nɑ:n ma'ru' gə d'o: d'o' gə NACH RAIBH ndán marú go deo deo dho

Similarly, one token is attested in the short recording from his brother in consecutive function:

wə:n' fje ... | gə nɑ:rdi:t' fje ... | nax rə:gə fje ... ta:l'hə gən tumə | 05Md
bhain sé ... , go n-ardaíodh sé ... , NACHR FHÁGA sé ... talamh gan tumadh.

The far younger speaker, 79S, has frequent use of *nach(ar)*:

nax ro [x3] 79S1 NACH RAIBH;
nax ə ru:rt' m'ε ... 79S1 NACHAR DHÚIRT mé ... ?
cén fáth NACH PHÉINTEÁIL sib ... ? 79S.

He has a unique example in my data of **nax rh** in:

d'im'ə ... nax rhim'ə 79S d'imigh ... NACHR HIMIGH?

This may represent an extension of **h** (aspiration) following **r** from the impersonal verb and / or from the copula and / or a phonetic process of devoicing from **x** in **nax nach**. He also has common *nach* in the copula: **nax b'æ'** [x5] 79S1 *nach b'ea* (for conservative *narbh ea*) and *nach b'in* 79S.

8.22 *nach(r)*

The form **nax (r)** *nach(r)*^L occurs frequently, however, in combination in adverbial *beag nach* 'almost', although actual usage of *nach* in this position is no doubt greater than its actual permissibility. Examples are:

b'og nax wuəl' tu: ft'æ:x er' ə gamo:g v'æ:rə m'ε 12S
BEAG NACH BHUAIL tú isteach ar an gcamóg bheara mé;
b'og nax ma:ri:w m'ε 43M BEAG NACH MARAÍODH mé;
b'og nax wuəl' ə klog'əm fi:n aurlɑ:r 54C
BEAG NACH BHUAIL a cloigeann faoin urlár.

Rhetorical use occurs in (cp. *nach shíltheá*, 8.24):

NACH SHÍL (sic) MUIDE NACH RU tú ' goil ag aireachtáil buille ' bith ...
869P4;

na xuə ɸuŋkən ... 43M NACH CHUAIGH Diuncan

There are other examples of subordinating past *nach*, less frequently in the oldest speakers' usage but quite common in speakers born after 1910–20:

m'ifə ma:ni: nax laur' fje orhu' M mise i mbannaí NACH LABHAIR sé orthú,
fare:r' g'e:r nax l'ig' m'ε ma:x iəd 43M
faraor géar NACH LIG mé amach iad.

Note *nach* (for *nachr* or more regular *nar*) in:

b'e:d'ər' nax u:rt' 51P b'fhéidir NACH 'ÚIRT.

In discussing interrogative and relative *nar* vs. *nach(a)r*, Máire¹ (16M) gave the following responses (where 'perm' stands for something Máire claims she would

¹ I did not record the name of the informant in the relevant notes, it was probably Máire but may have been Seán (12S).

say herself, ‘?perm’ for what Máire claims she would not say but which is still, in her own words, ‘all right’):

subordinate interrogative and relative clause:

... *NAR ÓL* (*se (é)*) *Mperm* vs. ... *NACHAR ÓL* (*se (é)*) *M?perm*;

rhetorical question:

s nax ro:l tu e *Mperm* *is NACHR ÓL tú é!*

nax ar o:l tu e *Mperm NACHAR ÓL tú é!*

Máire’s analysis concurs with the relatively few examples of *nach(a)r* noted from conversation. The relative clause examples have definite hesitation with addition of (ə)r as an afterthought:

n’ir a:gə k’iəra:n bə:nə ga:wə:n’ eg ə he:n’ nax ar jial’ fe *M*

níor fhága Ciarán bó ná gamhain aige héin NACH AR DHÍOL sé;

leaid nach, nach, NACHR ’ÚIRT nax (!) ru:rt tada le aon-nduine ariamh 52J.

In the following conversation *nachr* is replaced by regular *nar*:

-fa:ri:r g’e:r nax ra:n 16B *Faraor géar NACHR FHAN.*

-hə 19P *Hu?*

-fa:ri:r g’e:r nar a:n 16B *Faraor géar NAR FHAN.*

In rhetorical questions (with a slight hesitation after **nax**):

nax ri:nʃə m’e ha:nə yit’ e *M NACHR INSIGH mé cheana dhuit é!*

and with no hesitation:

nax ru:rt’ m’e l’æt e 47P *NACHR ’ÚIRT mé leat é!*

nax r’u:rt’ ʃi: l’æt ... 66N *NACHR ’ÚIRT sí leat ... ;*

nax rin’əʃ ... naxʔ rin’əʃ ... 66N *NACHR INIS*

An example of rhetorical *nach*^L was noted in the past habitual:

nuair a bhí mé trí bliana fichead is mar sin. NACH BHÍODH m’athair ag fuagairt fuagairt [emphatic repetition] orm. Bhuel bhíodh — chaointhin ag goil amach as an leaba ... 21Pt.

8.23 *nach*^{Ø/H} (impersonal), *nach*^N

Past interrogative *nach*^Ø (including *nach*^H before vowels) is quite common with the impersonal verb for regular *nar*^Ø (including *nar*^H before vowels), e.g.

[*ínseó*] *sé dhuit ... CÉ NACH RUGADH is nach mbéarf ar 852SbTS153* (cp. 152, 148),

nax ka:su: yu:n’ ər’i:ʃt’ iəd | 00B *NACH CASADH dhúinn aríst iad,*

bhí an tseamair Mhuire aige NACH GORTAÍOBH é 21Jq,

d’er ʃiəd nax bə:hu: i’ 32J *deir siad NACH BÁTHEADH í,*

’s dóichí NACH LABHRADH ar ... ’s dóichí NACH CUÍMREADH ar ... 52J,

ba:n’u: d’e ə xof ʃin’ nax ba:n’u: 52M

baineadh de a [or an] chois sin NACH BAINEADH?

manəm nax kahu: ma:x e 60M *m’anam NACH CAITHEADH amach é,*

particularly in rhetorical questions:

nax tugu: eg ə doxtu:r e *M NACH TUGADH ag an dochtúr é!*

nax rə:po:rtə:lʉ: lə: ha:n e *M NACH RAPÓIRTEÁLADH an lá cheana é!*

nax hu:ru: e ʃin’ gəb’ in’ e jehəd fe

NACH HÚRADH é sin gob in é a gheithheadh sé!

nax hix’u: n’ʃin’ iəd S *NACH HITHEADH ansin iad!*

Past interrogative *nach d’* with the impersonal verb was heard in rhetorical use from the younger speaker 66N (who has past impersonal *d’* before vowels, 8.44):

Stop, a dhreofúr, NACH D'ITHEADH nax d'ihu: mise an oíche sin! 66N.

Past *nach*^N is quite rare. One rhetorical example occurs in:

nax gir' b'æ:rl'i:n' f'ax g'i:n' ə'f'æ:x M

NACH GCUIR Beairtlin seacht gcinn isteach!

With the verb *tabhair* past personal *nach dtug* may influence regular impersonal *nar tugadh*, rarer *nach tugadh*, e.g.

nax dugu: k'ā:n æku: d'i:r' gən a:rd' ā:m ə'k'i:n't' 06C

NACH (D)TUGADH ceann acú i dtír dhon Aird am eicint?

8.24 Conditional interrogative *nach*^L

Conditional 2sg *shíltheá* is very commonly preceded by *nach*^L in rhetorical questions, e.g.

nax hi:l'ha: gə m'ox k'iel a'kəb'jin' S

NACH SHÍLTHEÁ GO mbeadh ciall acub sin?

hi:l'ha: gə m'ed'je na:m eg' nu:rə vr'a: ə hiəxt'frəʃən' nax hi:l'ha: M

shíltheá go mbeadh sé in am ag Nóra bhreá a thíocht froisin NACH SHÍLTHEÁ?

nax hi:l'ha: M, 23B NACH SHÍLTHEÁ?; nāχ 'hi:l'ɑ' 01P (13.10, line 42).

In this rhetorical context with *s(h)íltheá*, regular *nach*^N is in fact less common in my experience than *nach*^L. An example of *nach*^N was noted from **13P** (perhaps stylistically formal):

-Shíltheá ... (interviewer on Raidió na Gaeltachta)

-nax ji:l'ha: ... 13P NACH SÍLTHEÁ ... !

An example of *shíl* in the 1 plural past with rhetorical force is (8.22):

NACH SHÍL (sic) MUIDE nach ru tú ' goil ag aireachtáil buille ' bith ... 869P4.

There is a rare example of lack of eclipsis (of *f-*) in the personal verb following *nach*:

n' i: v' ehəʃs æ:d na:x f' auso:d' je 14M

ní bheadh fhios a'd NACH FEABHSÓDH sé.

Conditional rhetorical *nach*[∅] for regular *nach*^N is also rare:

nax kahən' hiəxt ə'n' iər 19P NACH CAITHINN thíocht aniar.

Interestingly, in the two personal examples noted, both rhetorical conditional *nach*[∅] (*nach caithinn*) and rhetorical past *nach*^N (*nach gcuir*, 8.23) precede base **k-**. Perhaps nonmutation is attributable to an avoidance of rhetorical **na(x) x-nach**^L *ch-*. Compare the example of *nach úirt* **51P** above (8.22), where *nach* may have been avoided while retaining *nach*^L.

Seán and Máire judge this rhetorical use of *nach*^L to be incorrect. For **nax hi:l'ha:** Seán claims that only **nax ji:l'ha:** is correct although admitting that the former is frequent. For **nax gir' ...** Máire claims only *nar chuir* is correct: **nar xir' e:** Mq 'nar chuir' é.

Conditional *má, dhá; mara*

There are two positive conditional conjunctions *má*^L, *dhá*^N and one negative *mara*^N. Certain by-forms of the temporal conjunction *sula*^N contain *má*^L, *má*^N, or *dhá*^N (8.130 ff.).

8.25 *má*

The conjunction used in real conditions is *má*. It is generally realised as **mā**(:), **ma:**, **ma**, e.g. **ma:** 00T, 12S, 16M, but also as **ma**:

05M *ma i:nfj:i:n má insíonn; ma | a:bri:n ... má abraíonn;*
'mæ' 'v i:əx má bhíodh; cp. **mā:s** *más* (copula).

12S *ma sæk'altər má saiceáltar.*

17M *ma fo:sən má phósann; ma hugən ... má thugann; ma's* *más* (copula).

It is rarely completely weakened, e.g.

m æ:n' hi:n tu: ... (male speaker (born c. 1935)) *MÁ AITHNÍONN tú.*

Stressed *má* occurs, for example, in one of speaker **05M**'s tokens above and in:

ta m'e g'iar or'ts forəm ma ji:nə yum 'ma ji:nən tu e d'er' ə ju:nə
19Pt 'tá mé ag iarraidh or'tsa teorán [turn] maith a dhéanamh dhom *MÁ*
DHÉANANN tú é, 'a deir an sionnach.

má can be used similar to a dependent negative conjunction following expletives, e.g.

frig' əm pors ma ta tæ:də hi:s a:n *M FRUIG AN PORS MÁ TÁ tada thíos ann!*
(of empty purse).

má can also have adverbial function meaning 'whether (or not), perhaps' with an elided or understood matrix clause, e.g.

chuaigh sé tao' isteach. MÁ CHUAIGH SÉ a chodladh NÓ NACH A NDEACHAIGH.
Nuair a bhí sé ag díonamh lae ... 01C6844–5, '... whether he fell asleep
or not [I do not know] ...';

with absent *nó* but alternative phrase nonetheless present in:

Gabhadh seachtar nó ochtar acub agus tligedh iad, agus cuireadh thar
sáile iad, MÁ'S FADA GEARR a cuireadh orthub (GT §503);

as well as an elided or understood alternative clause, e.g.

bhí cathaoir eile ánn, MÁ'S TINCÉARAÍ GHOID Í, ... 25M '... whether tinkers
stole it [or not, I do not know] ...'.

Compare:

Measaim nach mórán áirde a bhí aici air, MÁ BHÍ FHIOS AICI a leitheid a
bheith ann ar aon chor. SÓC1.84.

One example was noted of *má*⁰ for regular *dhá*^N in:

san Aird Mhóir, ... fear atá ann is níl mórán feoghlaím ná scoil aige. MÁ
BEADH ma' b'ex faithneóchaí ar do lámh, go raibh leigheas ann. Gá
mbeitheá ag siúl, 'gus lochán, chasachtáil dhuít nach mbeitheá, nach
mbeitheá thóraíocht. 892M.

8.26 *dhá*

The conjunction used in hypothetical or unreal conditions is *dhá*^N. Its phonetic forms are: **da:**, **ya:**, **ga:**, **a:**, **ga**, **a**, **gə**, (**ŋa**); cp. *dhá* (for example, < *dho* + *a* + VN, 6.35 ff.).

ga: is by far the commonest variant, it has been noted from the following speakers:

852S (*gá*), SID.46 also **869P2–4**, **881N**, **894BI**, **894C**, **899N**, **07M**, **12S**, **13P**,
14J, **16M**, **16S**, **20C**, **21Pt**, **23J**, **24M**, **25M**, **30Ms**, **31D**, **36P1**, **43M**, **52J**, **66N**,
72A, **72N**, **79J**.

ya: tends to occur in emphatic use, e.g. **ya:** **m' enjə** **43M** *dhá mbeinnse.*

ɑ: is more common in East Iorras Aithneach, e.g. **ɑ: 15Pt** (Cill Chiaráin), in all seven tokens noted from **15Pt**, who also has regular **ɑ: dhá** ‘two’.

Stress may be placed on the conjunction:

'**γɑ: m'əx** | '**γɑ: m'əx** *DHÁ mbeadh*.

Some younger speakers have apparent assimilation before **η-** to **ηɑ:**

| **ηɑ ηir'ɑ: 66N** *DHÁ (n)gcuirtheá* (in double eclipsis, 9.143);

ηɑ ηohət **ʃɛ 77C** *DHÁ ngothadh sé*.

Cp. *go* > **η(ə)** in this context (8.8).

The phrase *dhá mba rud é (is) go* ‘if (it were the case that)’ is common, e.g.

Sé an t-ám a mbeitheá ag goil amach, deireadh oíche, GÁ MBA RUD É GO bhféadthá a dhíonamh. 20A;

DHÁ MBA RUD É IS GO mbeadh tú ag iarraidh ... 52P.

Speakers noted with several variants of *dhá* are presented with their tokens here.

852S	<i>gá, dá, dhá, á 852S4.</i>
SID.46	γɑ: 734, 999, 949 [x2], 950, 1048, VIII, etc., gɑ: 34; γɑ: 146.
and 869P	869P2–4 consistently <i>gá</i> .
892M	γɑ: , ɑ: , γɑ: .
894BI	γɑ >> gɑ: >> ɑ: (in proportion 3:1:1).
894C	γɑ: , also gɑ: (phrase-initially). RBÉ: <i>gá</i> 2, 3, 9, <i>ghá</i> 9, <i>á</i> 2, 3, [x2] 9, <i>dá</i> 9; examples of <i>á:</i> in <i>Éirinn á mbeuch ... 2; a deir sé ‘á mbeadh’fhios’ 3; 7 á mbeuch ... 3.</i>
899N	γɑ: , ɑ: , cp. γɑ: !(Ams).
00CDO	ɑ: , ɑ: : ɑ' N'ɛrha: <i>dhá ndéarthá, ɑ' wix mid' dhá bhfuigheadh muid, ɑ' m'ɛn' dhá mbeinn, ɑ m'ɛx dhá mbeadh.</i> ɑ: : ɑ' m'ɛx <i>dhá mbeadh.</i> æ: : æ d'ukəx <i>dhá dtiocthadh, æ m'ɛx dhá mbeadh.</i>
01PDO	γɑ: , ɑ: .
14JBA	γɑ: >> da: (1).
20ADO	ɑ: d'it'ɑ: 20A <i>dhá dtíteá; gɑ: mə dhá mba.</i>
20C	gɑ(ː) generally, but gɑ and da were noted, in possible vowel harmony: gɑ ma'gərt'ɑ 20C perm <i>dhá mbagairteá,</i> da *da'rən'ɑ 20C Øperm <i>dhá *dtarrainteá.</i> Cp. this speaker's <i>ná nɑ:, nɑ, da:, da, dæ, dæ:</i> .
21Pt gɑ(ː).	25M gɑ(ː). 30Ms gɑ(ː). 43M gɑ: >> γɑ: . 64M gɑ. 66N gɑ' >> ɑ.
71Dt.1	ɑ: , ɑ , æ , i.e. ax ɑ: v'e:ta: <i>ach dhá bhféadthá; s ɑ dosəd'i:f is dhá dtosaidís; ɑ m'ɛx dhá mbeadh; æ d'ik'əx dhá dtigtheadh.</i>
72A	gɑ.
72N	gɑ(ː) , gə.
78B	da m'ɛx ... dhá mbeadh ...
79J	gɑ'.
79P	da jofən' dá gheofainn.

The perceptible increase in the variant **da(ː)** in the youngest speakers is no doubt attributable to extraneous influence, in particular standard spelling *dá*.

8.27 *mara*

The negative conjunction corresponding to positive *má* and *dhá* is **marə mara^N**, past **marə(r)** (also **mar**, **ma**) *marar^L, mara^L*. See also related *marach* (preposi-

tion, historically from *mara bheadh*, 7.89) and *marach go* (8.147).¹ In rapid speech **mar** occurs, e.g.

ææ' d' er' ə 'ta:l' u:r mā'r bul tu də hæl' u:r 'ā'n'wā' ʔ'ɪ'ug 11C

-A! a deir an táilliúr, MARAB FHUIL tú i do tháilliúr an-mhaith uiliug;

-Á uise nár raibh deá-rath ort, a óinseach, a deir se, tá tu-, MARAB É an chaoi **mar b'e xi**: a bhfuil tú ag fáil níos measa! Pt1.

There is an example of **marəmə**, based on copula past *mara mba*, preceding the verb *bí*, with no hesitation or any sign that it is a slip of the tongue:

gur an-fhada, ... a d'fhás aon fhata, (dh)á bhí sna poill, dhe bharr an fuacht, agus an sioc. MARAMA RAIBH marəmə ro poll fataí ann, a raibh an iomarca crafóig curtha air. 01Pt.

If this is the speaker's normal or genuine usage, it can perhaps be explained in the near homonymy between phrases such as *mara Seán a bhí ...* and *mara mba Seán a bhí ...* and between *mara mbeadh* and *mara raibh*.

Speaker **21Pt** has **marə** ~ **ma**, noted in:

MA(RA) BADH é sin é **ma' bə je: fin' e** badh é an cnoc é mar dúirt mé leis an móin, is MARA BADH é sin é **ma'rə bə je: fin' e**, ba, ag plé le féar é. **21Pt.**

He also has **mar** ~ **ma** *mar a* (comparative manner conjunction, 8.158) and **mar ə nans** for *marab fhuil i ndán is / agus* (8.28). Recall the by-form **ma má** (8.25).

Typical examples of *mara* are:

ar maidin amáireach ... caithe tú ghoil ... an bhean sin a phósadh. Nó MARA BPÓSA tú an bhean sin ... caithe tú a bheir' ag imeacht as seo. 11C;

-Níor casadh, a deir sé, ach MARAR mārər CASADH, a deir sé, casadh bean bhreá orm, 11C;

nar chlis ariamh ... ach MARAR mārər CHLIS héin ... 892Mtn.

mara has exclamatory function in, for example,

'marə 'bil' MARAB FHUIL! (very common);

An calar ar Seán [sic] MARA MBAINÉAT SE gáirí as na cuit M;

Ach nár thé an diabhal thar cheann acu MARA DTÉANN SÉ go Londain. 866E Sc190.5 (téann is historical present here);

ná raibh an t-ádh ar luch mhór anois féin MARA RITHEANN sí trasna an bhóthair agus MARA DTUGANN an Céadach áladh fúithi agus MARA LIGEANN sé é féin amach ... Sc61.17;

'Ná raibh an t-ádh anois féin ar a cnámha MARAR SHIÚIL sí ... agus MARA MBUAILEANN sí ... agus MARA NDÉANANN sí sionnach díom.' Sc117.8;

'An fiabhras tinte orthu MURA BHFUIL muid ite acu' Clad169;

cp. *ach u-, ní raibh aon mhaith dhó ag caint. MARA B'é chaoi a raibh sí ag goil un donacht ní raibh sí ag feabhsú tada. Pt1.*

Cp. *deabhal mara^N* (8.117).

8.28 **marab fhuil i ndán is / agus go; Concessive use**

The common phrase *marab fhuil i ndán is / agus go*, roughly translated 'unless it be the case that', can mean simply '(unless) perhaps'. E.g.

MARAB FHUIL I NDÁN AGUS GUR ugəs gər comharthaíocht rud a bich a bheadh ann. 11C3158.

¹ The derivation of *marach* from *mura* + *ach* in Filppula (1999: 214) is erroneous.

MARAB FHUIL INDÁN IS GUR ag díonamh poitín a bheidís;

marə bil' ə nɑ:ns gə wil' fi l'ehi: pɑ:ft' ə nɑ tæ:də S

MARAB FHUIL INDÁN IS GO BHFUIL sí le haghaidh páiste ná tada.

In this phrase the verbal form *-b fhuil* can be phonetically reduced or elided by certain speakers, e.g.

mar l' nɑ:ns gə ... 21Pt MARAB FHUIL INDÁN IS GO ... ;

mar' ə nɑ:ns gə b' e: pɑ:rək' bə fɪn' ə 21Pt

MARAB FHUIL INDÁN IS GO B'É Pádraig ba sine.

All three conditional conjunctions, *má*, *dhá* and *mara*, can have concessive force (GGBC §§750–3 (§33.2–5)). There is an example of non-eclipsis following *mara* in concessive use with the past habitual:

-' *mBíodh eim, rátaí le n-íoc ar na fuinneogáí? 69A*

-Ní bhíodh. MARA BHÍODH HÉIN, an bhfuil fhios a'd? bhí sé, bhí, faisean díonta acub dhe. 05M.

Concessive *mara mbíodh héin* is more common and doubtless considered the correct usage. Rhetorical *nach* (8.20 ff., e.g. 8.24) and concessive *mara* both have optional suspension of their lexically determined initial mutation in favour of the logical mutation of their actual assertions, i.e.

nach shíltheá ≈ shíltheá go cinnte,

mara bhíodh (≈ thar éis nach mbíodh) ≈ ní bhíodh go cinnte.¹

8.29 Negative alternatives with *nó*, *nó's*

In simple alternatives the disjunctive conjunction *nó* is used. In negative dependent alternative clauses *nó* and a variant *nó's*, rarely *ná*, combine in negative function with following *mara*, *ná*, *nach* and *nacha*:

imperative clauses								
interrogative clauses					<i>nó mara</i>	<i>nó ná</i>	<i>nó nach</i>	<i>nó nacha</i>
concessive clauses in <i>má</i> (<i>dhá</i>) ...					<i>nó mara</i>	<i>nó ná</i>	<i>nó nach</i>	<i>nó nacha</i>

See further below for rare examples of *ná nach* and *nó nach's* with interrogative clauses (8.31) and of *ná* (without *nó*) with a concessive clause (8.33), and the form *ə nu:s nax a(n) nó's nach* (8.33), as well as nonfinite *nó('s) gan* (8.34). The form *nacha* can be analysed as *nach an*, i.e. *nach* followed by the interrogative particle. It is conventionally spelt *nacha* but is often clearly realised as two separate morphs **nax ə nach an**.

Imperative 'let him do it or not', for example, can be expressed as:

díonadh sé é nó { *ná díonadh*
nach (n)díonadh
nacha ndíonadh

(There is further variation in the use of *nó's*, rarely *ná*, for *nó* and there is variation in the use in Echo position of verbal tense and endings.) Logically, one would expect a narrower choice of conjunctions. These logically expected variants are common; in most instances, in fact, they are the major variants:

¹ Historically, lenition followed *mani* (> *mara*).

imperative clauses		<i>nó ná</i>		
interrogative clauses			<i>nó nach</i>	<i>nó nacha</i>
concessive clauses in <i>má (dhá) ...</i>	<i>nó mara</i>			

8.30 Imperative

<i>nó ná</i> ^H	imperative	is most common: <i>CUIREADH NÓ NÁ CUIREADH 892M</i> ; <i>d'éirigh sé, agus, chuaigh sé suas ag an mbeairic, BÍOD SÉ in am aige a ghoil, le ghoil ar, ' dónamh, a bhít [beat] NÓ NÁ BÍODH.</i> <i>Ach bhí sé ag inean ... 06C</i> ; <i>BÍODH BEITHÍ BHAINNE ann NÓ NÁ BÍODH 'nū nā 'b'ix 11C</i> 'whether or not there were milch cows in it (house)'; <i>b'ix nu' na b'ix M BÍODH NÓ NÁ BÍODH</i> ; <i>nu na SqEcho, nu' na' 19PqEcho.</i>
<i>nó nach</i>		<i>nu' nax SqEcho nó nach.</i>
<i>nó nach</i> ^Ø	imperative	<i>ta k'æhər ə'n ə xum ə b'i b'ix ku:g'ər ə'n nu' nax b'ix 43M tá ceathar ann ar chuma ar bith BÍODH CÚIGEAR ann NÓ NACH BÍODH</i> ;
	present	<i>f'ek'əm' ... nu: nax f'ek'ən MqEcho</i> <i>FEICIM ... NÓ NACH FEICEANN.</i>
<i>nó nach</i> ^N	imperative = conditional	<i>d'inhəx fe ... nu: nax n'inhəx ... 72Nq</i> <i>DÉANTHADH sé ... NÓ NACH NDÉANTHADH</i>
	future	<i>o:ləm' e nu nax no:lhə MqEcho ÓLAIM é NÓ NACH N-ÓLTHAIDH.</i>
<i>nó nacha</i> ^N	future	<i>o:ləm' e nu naxə no:lhə MqEcho</i> <i>ÓLAIM é NÓ NACHA N-ÓLTHAIDH.</i>

8.31 Interrogative

<i>nó nach</i> ^N	future	is probably most common: <i>... nu nax muəl'hə MqEcho ... NÓ NACH MBUAILTHIDH, SqEcho, 31MqEcho</i> ;
	conditional	<i>nó nach nu: nax SM</i> ; indirect interrogative <i>nó nach nu: nax SqEcho, MqEcho</i> ;
	past	<i>nó nar^L: a ru ... nú ná ru 869P5.</i>
<i>nó nacha</i> ^N :	present:	<i>nu: dax [sic] ə wíl 20C NÓ NACHA BHFUIL</i> ;
	future:	<i>ə n'inhə tu ... nu: nax ə n'inhə 69S1</i> <i>AN ndéanthaidh tú ... , NÓ NACHA NDÉANTHAIDH?</i>
	conditional:	<i>ní bheitheá ... AN ... NÓ NACHA MBEADH ... 894C9</i> ; <i>AN mbead se sin ... , NÓ NACHA MBEADH, nu: nax ə m'ex 20C</i> ;
	present copula:	<i>n'í: f'əs əd əb' ə: nu: nax əb' ə: S</i> <i>níl fhios a'd AB EA NÓ NACHAB EA.</i> <i>nu naxə 31MqEcho.</i>
<i>nó mara</i> ^N :		<i>nu' marə SqEcho.</i>

Cp. *nó's mara*: ... **wil' fjad fo gol' gə ga:l'ə nu:s marə bil' 19B** (not from IA)
... *BHFUIL SIAD seo ag goil go Gaillimh NÓ'S MARAB FHUIL.*

ná nach^N:

future: -*Cuma liom, a deir sé, CÉARD DÉARTHAS AON-NDUINE, a deir sé, NÁ NACH NDÉARTHAIÐH SIAD, a deir sé, ach deirimse, a deir sé, gurb é an Céazar [Kaiser] an fear is naofa ar dhroim an domhain inniubh, a deir sé. 892M4626.* (This speaker generally has *nó nach*.)¹

The first interrogative alternate is dispensed with in:

Bhuel níl, ach, go ndeir siad liom, go bhfuil sí á, díonamh i gcúnaí, sa taobh ó thuaidh dh'Albain, 'gus, deir daoine go bhfuil sí á díonamh, i nDún na nGall is níl fhios a'm NÚ NACH BHFUIL. 'nū: nax wil' | 892M (of *ceilp*).

Speaker **894C** is the only speaker noted using this construction before interrogatives in *cé-*. Generally the *cé-* element when present in the first alternative clause is not repeated in the second alternative, e.g.

-*Cuma liom, a deir sé, CÉARD DÉARTHAS AON-NDUINE, a deir sé, NÁ NACH NDÉARTHAIÐH SIAD, ... ach deirimse ... gurb é ... 892M4626.*

Both *nú nach cén* (RBÉ) and *nú nach's céard* (audio recording) were, however, noted from **894C**:

Ach FÉBRÍ CÉN SCÉAL É NÚ NACH CÉN SCÉAL É, bhí ... 894C3;

'Is cuma CÉARD DÚIRT SÉ NÚ NACH'S CÉARD nu naxs k'erd DÚIRT SÉ ach tá muidé i bhfastú.' **894Ct.**

(Cp. -*Ó! muidé b'fhéidir gho mb'fhearr 'uit ghan é a chloisteál chor a bith, deir an mac, ná é a chloisteál. 894Ct* '... you might be better off not to have heard it ... than to have heard it', where the compared 'than to have heard it' is normally absent, similar to the *cé-* element in second position.)

8.32 Concessive *má ... nó, dhá ... nó*

With *má ...*

nó mara^N **ma ha:və:lən mid' nu ma'rə sə:və:lə | b'ei mid' ... 31MqEcho**
MÁ SHÁBHÁLANN MUID NÓ MARA SÁBHÁLA(IDH), beidh muid

nó ná^(L) **ma fuər je e nu' nər wuər' 43M** *MÁ FUAIR SÉ iad NÓ NÁ BHFUAIR.*

nó nach **nu: nax** MqEcho.

nó nacha^N *chuaigh sé tao' isteach. MÁ CHUAIGH SÉ a chodladh NÓ NACHA NDEACHAIGH. Nuair a bhí sé ag díonamh lae ... 01C6844–5.*

With *dhá ...*

nó nach^N **ga duga' yum e nu' nax d'urha' Msbjq**
DHÁ DTUGÁ dhom é NÓ NACH DTIÚRTHÁ.

8.33 Use

Speakers vary in their choice of conjunctions and by-forms. Some speakers, such as, for example, Seán and Máire, are more given to *nó mara* than others. Some

¹ Given that the syntax under discussion involves phrasal alternatives, the second of which is a negation of the first, it is noteworthy that the assertive ~ non-assertive (*nó* ~ *ná*) contrast is mainly redundant. Different interpretations or syntactic bracketing are, however, possible depending on which conjunction, *nó* or *ná*, is used. Cf. 8.172 ff. One can only speculate whether, for example, speaker **892M4626** intended a non-assertive interpretation of *ná* in this instance.

are more given to *nó nach*, e.g. Seán, Máire and family, than to *nó nacha*, e.g. 20C (who uses frequent *nó nacha*). In fact, speaker 20C has an example which suggests that the *ə* in *nacha* has a parallel in his initial interrogative:

n' i: f' əs am ə r ə b' e: nu: nax ə b' e: 20C Níl fhios a'm AR AB é nó NACHAB é.
20C's speech rhythm might suggest that we are not dealing here with 'phonological' or 'epenthetic' *ə* in interrogative *ə r b' arb* but that the second schwa in *ə r ə b' e: ar ab é* has been triggered by analogy with the following (*nach*)*ab é*. There is a similar surface parallelism in alternative function with one *ə* element in each clause in:

... ə wíl' f' iəd ... ə nu: s' nax wíl' | 36P

... an bhfuil siad ... A(N) NÓ'S NACH bhfuil.

The *ə* in the second clause (in *ə nu: s' nax*) may represent a repetition of the interrogative particle *ə an* of the initial clause; alternatively, or as a contributory factor, there may be analogy with the final conjunction *ar nós* (8.136) which has common by-forms *nu: s* and *ə nu: s*.

Some usage is not fully permissible and may violate the usual initial mutation rules. We can cite the use of *nó nach*^(H) with an imperative form; and of *nó ná*^N (implying **nó ná^L* with a regular past verb) in a concessive clause instead of more usual *nó mara*^N or *nó nach*^N. We can also cite the concessive construction in *má* with the copula followed in the second alternative clause by the imperative of the verb *bí* without *nó*:

xahət f'i: e j'i:nə | nu ma:rə n'i:nəx | v' i f' e:b' i k' e:rd ə xur f'i ə n l' e dɔ:
his er xu:l nə t' in' ə | mas n' ə:p' k' i:n' pə:k e na b' i:x | d' aul f'e xi ro
wəhə f'o " e 19P Chaitheadh sí é a dhéanamh nó mara ndéanadh, bhí féibí
céard a chuir sí ann le dó thíos ar chúil na tine, MÁ'S NEAIPCÍN PÓCA É NÁ
BÍODH. Deabhal, sé an chaoi a raibh uaithi seo é!

An example of an alternative to a subordinate temporal clause was produced in query:

gə d' ə:gə tu nu nax d' ukə Msbjq ... GO DTEAGA TÚ NÓ NACH DTIOCTHAIDH.

Cp. Echo in 'Verbs' (5.97 ff.).

8.34 Nonfinite

Speakers also have preferences regarding *nó* and *nó's*. The latter is particularly common in nonfinite *nó's gan*. Contrast finite *nó nar* with nonfinite *nó's gan* in the following passage:

níl fhios a'm AN RAIBH aon dochar (dh)om a dhíonamh NÚ NAR RAIBH ach ba
chuma liom A BHEITH NÚ'S GAN A BHEITH. 892M.

From other examples one can ascertain that this speaker has *nó nach*, *ná nach*, *nó nar*, *nó ná* (all finite) but nonfinite *nó's gan*. Similarly we have:

nó ná [x2], nó's gan 'nu: s gən 889P;

nó ná, nó nach [x2], nó mara SqEcho, nó nach, nó nacha S, but nó's gan S;

nó nach, nó ná, nó's gan 43M (Seán's (S) daughter).

Further examples of *nó ('s) gan* before verbal nouns in the alternative negative clause are:

ma's it' ə nu: | gən ix' ə m' e: id' ə r f'e 17M

'MÁS ITE NÚ GAN ITHE MÉ, 'a deir sé, 'whether I am eaten or not';

kumə l' um ə jə:rə nu: s gən g' ə:rə S

cuma liom (É) A GHEARRADH NÓ'S GAN GEARRADH.

(For nonfinite *gan*, see 8.106.) Similarly with a verbal adjective:

k'e s d'ej e fip'atl'ə nu: gən fip'atl'ə M
cé is deise é FUIPEÁILTE NÓ GAN FUIPEÁILTE?

Also with other nominal antecedents (or nominal complements of the second clause), e.g.

na ha:bər' ə wíl' dər' orhə nu:s gən dər' 43M
ná habair AN BHFUIL DAÍR uirthi NÓ'S GAN DAÍR!

8.35 Haplology in dependent negative *ná na(r), *nach nar

The logical form *ná na(r) of a subordinate negative past comparative clause is realised as *ná (nár)* by haplology in:

gəs ju:n ə 'hu:fk'ə v'i' fɪfə muh er' ə 'grukān | 'nā r 'e:ŋ 'vlas ɾ'e
f'ek'al ek' əx ə 'krukān | krukān 'lū:m | 18J8874

agus DHEAMHAN A THÚISCE A BHÍ SISE AMUIGH ar an gcnocán NÁR RAIBH AON BHLAS LE FEICEÁL AICI ach an cnocán [slip] lom.

Cp. **ha:l nər: ro 18J8882** *tharla nár raibh*; otherwise regular **na ro 18J** *nar raibh*. Similarly, the actual meaning 'almost did not remain', i.e. 'almost lost', must be derived from *beag *nach nar fhan* rather than the surface form *beag nar fhan* (unmarked meaning 'almost remained'):

b'og nar: an mə hu:l' am 03V *BEAG NAR FHAN mo shúil a'm.*

hóbair (8.232) is often followed by the negative particle in positive meaning, e.g. *hóbair nar cailleadh* 'almost died'. The meaning is negative 'almost did not die' in this example (heard by 56Pe from a male speaker from An Bhánrach Ard):

Hóbair nach gcaillfí chor a' bith é. Nach raibh sé 'ninety eight'!

8.36 Prevocalic d'

The functions of prevocalic **d(')** *d'* in the secondary tenses are similar to those of lenition in consonants. Although labelled prevocalic *d'*, it also occurs before consonants when *f*- is lenited in the initial clusters *fhl*- and *fhr*- (thus clearly distinguishing *fhlr*- from *llr*-), e.g. **d'í ox d'fhliuch, dr' æ:gro:x d'fhreagródh**. For its optional use before borrowed initial *j*-, see 8.37. Prevocalic *d'* generally agrees in palatality with (historical) vowel quality (cf. 'Sandhi' 2.85 ff.); it almost always agrees with the quality of *f*- (which is mute in lenition), e.g. **dær' d'fhair, d' o:ləm' d'fheoghlaím**, with rare exceptions, e.g. **dek'- d'fheic**-. There is a complementary distribution between past *d'* and past *-r*. (They have evolved historically from *ro* which was partly replaced by *do*.) The type of contrasts are exemplified in three tenses here:

	Present	Past Habitual	Past
	<i>ólann</i>	<i>d'óladh</i>	<i>d'ól</i>
<i>a^L</i> DirRel	<i>a ólanns</i>	<i>a d'óladh</i>	<i>a d'ól</i>
<i>a^N</i> IndRel	<i>a n-ólann</i>	<i>a n-óladh</i>	<i>ar ól</i>
<i>ni^L</i>	<i>ní ólann</i>	<i>ní óladh</i>	<i>níor ól</i>

For a more consistent system in the present direct relative containing *a d'ólanns*, see 20My's speech (8.38).

There are some rare instances of elision or omission of *d'* with the verb *abair* (examples noted in the past habitual):

a:bri:ʃ ʃe ʃo 'kaur'uər' 11Ct (*D'*)*ABRAÍODH SÉ seo corruair* (perhaps due to initial weakening in this example);

ka's abri:x 'mid' ... ʃeʃ M 'cas' ABRAÍODH muid ... leis.

The absence of both *d'* and lenition is very exceptional; noted in the verbs *fan* and *fág* in:

an bhliain deir'nach, ar líonadh stór an Chaisil le ceilp, 'gus ar ceannaíobh go daor í. Péibí céard, a bhí suas leis, FAN sí ann | 'fā'n ʃi: 'ān ariamh gur thit an cloigeann dhen stór, 'gus gur leáigh sí amach le báisteach na bliana. 892M;

Tháinig sé anoir, 's fágadh, FÁGA s fa:gu: | fa:gə FEAR an chapail abhus aríst é, 892M2279.

In our dialect *d'* is regular before *fhl-* and *fhr-* in all leniting contexts without *-r*, including following other particles (cf. GGBC §562 (vs. §20.7)):

má d'fhliuch; má d'fhreagair; an fear a d'fhliuch é.

Absence of *d'* before *fhl-* is rare and has been noted from secondary sources only, in conservative contexts, in the relative past, future and conditional:

is leis A FHLIUCH MÉ mo scóig !894C9;

in the formula in a cumulative tale as related by brothers **869P** and **875T**:

uisce FHLIUCHFACH cloch ... 869P3 (x7);

uisce ... A FHLIUCHFAS ... FHLIUCHFADH cloch 875T1 (x5).

When the verb *oscail* is stressed non-initially, *d'* may be absent:

u'skil' m'e he:n' e 66N (*D'*)*OSCAIL MÉ héin é* [past tense].

(Further examples in 1.380.) On the other hand, eclipsis is not lost before *oscail* when stressed non-initially in:

ma:nəm nax nə'sklo:x mid' e M *m'anam NACH N-OSCLÓDH MUID é.*

8.37 Borrowings

The borrowed verb 'humour' > **ju:mər** *ghiúmar* takes optional *d'* in query, e.g. **ju:mər ʃe ~ d' u:mər ʃe Mq** (*d'*)*ghiúmar sé, d' u:mərədər Mq d'ghiúmaradar, d' u:mərət ʃe Mq d'ghiúmaródh sé.* The forms in *d'* were suggested by me to Máire.¹ In conversation, only **ju:mərə:l' ʃe Mq** *ghiúmaráil* has been heard, e.g. past **ju:mərə:l' ʃe Mq** *ghiúmaráil sé.* For the frequent absence of *d'* with modern borrowings in initial vowels, see 11.170.

8.38 Relative *a d'*

Méaraí Mhaidhcíl Mhaitiú Uí Mhaoil Chiaráin, speaker **20My**, has consistent prevocalic *a d'* with verbs in almost all leniting relative positions regardless of tense. Where all other speakers have prevocalic leniting relative *a^L*, regularly elided before vowels, speaker **20My** has *a d'*.² It was noted categorically in **20My**'s conversation and in elicitation, e.g.

ən dín'ə d' ɛrnəx ə da'nəns 20My *an duine deireanach A D'FHANANNS ... ;*

nuər' ə d' i:səs m' ɛ mə ji:n' ɛ'r 20My *nuair A D'ÍOSAS mé mo dhínnéar;*

... ə danəns ən' ʃo 20Myq *Cén fear A D'FHANANNS anseo?*

¹ Potential *d'* is absent in past *iúmar* from Mionlach in FFG s.v. *ghiúmaráinn*. This was the basis of my query.

² Cf. GCF §392 n. 2 p. 195 'very rare' examples: *pres a d'fhanam siad, fut a d'fhanós*. Also found among certain families in An Cheathrú Rua (East Cois Fharraige, speakers born c. 1930) according to Ruairí Ó hUiginn (personal communication).

... ə d'ikəns ən ... 20Myq *Cén fear A D'ÍOCANNS an ... ?*
 k'en uər' ə duədo:s ... 20Myq *Cén uair A D'FHUADÓS ... ?*
 Cé D'IMRÍONNS ... ? Cé D'ÉALÓS ... ? Cé D'FHANTHAS ... ? 20Myq.

The only verb which does not have preposed a *d'* in these positions is *faigh*:

... f'ær: a:ns ə tær'əg'əd 20Myq *Cén fear A FHAIGHEANNS an t-airgead?*

Some of 20My's children have been noted with regular *a*^l but her son 54Cc produced one example of a *d'* in the short conversation I had with him:

... fámaire ar iasc a theaganns agus A D'IMÍONNS aríst 54Cc.

Speaker 20My's brother, 26P, and sister, 29C, do not have this generalised use of relative a *d'*, although 29C has: 'títheabhaí' *d'abraíonns muide* 29C (noted once).

From other speakers a *d'* with nonhistorical tenses occurs in a marginal usage with future and present forms in contexts where the (2sg) conditional is common, e.g.

Deabhal duine ar bith beo A D'FHEICTHEAS tú anseo. Ha! Ha! Deabhal duine ar bith beo A FHEICTHEAS tú anseo. M (corresponding to a *d'fheictheá*);
 ... A D'ABRAÍONNS muid. 16M, 29C (corresponding to a *d'abródh muid*);

rukəm da:msə da:bri:ⁿ kid' akəb | 20Pá
 'rúcam damhsa' A D'ABRAÍONN(S) cuid acub.

Regarding a *d'abraíonns*, compare the remarks on *d'abraítí*, *d'abróifí* (8.40), cp. *abraíodh* (8.36).

8.39 Innovative *ní d'*, *dhá d'*, *an d'*

Speaker 66N was heard with two tokens of innovative *d'* following functors in the personal verb:

n'í | ní: dæ:r'ə m'e e: 66N ní, NÍ D'AIRIGH mé é;
gɑ: dek'ɑ: [sic d] re:r' ... 66N DHÁ D'FHEICTHEÁ aréir

Her regular usage, however, is traditional, i.e. *níor airigh*, *dhá bhfeictheá*.¹ With her *ní*, *ní d'airigh* 66N we can compare the similarly hesitant:

n'í | n'í: a'n ... 66N ní, NÍ FHAN ... (cited in 8.100).

For *ní d'* and *an d'* in the impersonal, see 72Nq (8.44, Table 8.7).

8.40 *d'* with impersonal (VfC-imprs), change in progress

Verbal *d'* with the impersonal is undergoing expansive change. Speakers can be placed on a slope of usage which rises from the conservative minimal *d'* to maximal *d'*. The change can be treated as a variable with a maximum of three variants for verbs in initial vowels, i.e. *hV-*, *V-*, *d'V-*, and with two variants for verbs in initial *f-*, i.e. *f-*, *d'fh-*. For example:

ho:lti: ~ o:lti: ~ do:lti: (h / d')óltaí, f' iərhi:t' i: ~ d' iərhi:t' i: (d')f(h)iathraítí,

or schematically:

(Vf-imprs) → <h> <f> <V> <d'>.

A related feature is the variable treatment in the impersonal of initial consonants other than *f-*, e.g. conditional *caithfí* alternating with more progressive *chaitfhí*.

¹ In 2002 I heard consistent interrogative personal past such as *an d'ól? an d'fhág?*, and personal conditional *an d'fhágthadh tú?* from a male native of Ros Cíde, Ros Muc, born c. 1995. I take this to be a possible example of incomplete language acquisition, now common in those born after c. 1990. Cp. *an sea?* heard from the same speaker's three-year-old sister in 2004 (for traditional *ab ea?*).

This variable, of initial consonants other than *f*-, can be denoted as:

(C-imprs) → <C>, <Ch>.

Both variables together can be denoted as (VfC-imprs). The two main internal constraints on the variables (Vf-imprs) and (C-imprs) are tense and initial phone (vowel or *f*- or other consonant). A third possible factor is the regularity or frequency status of verbs. In the initial stages of the change it seems that tenses most prone to have <*d*'> are those most progressive with regard to lenition of initial consonants, i.e. <Ch>, in the impersonal. The environment with strongest <*d*'> use in older speakers seems to be verbs in initial *f*- in the past habitual and conditional. Younger speakers have <*d*'> even in the simple past. Some younger speakers have <*h*> alternating with <*d*'>. The most progressive usage, seen in speaker **72N**, shows stronger <*d*'> use in some contexts in the impersonal than in the personal verb. In older speakers the irregular verb *abair* has <*d*'> in the past habitual *d'abraítí* and conditional *d'abróifí* apparently more often than other verbs. In this verb <*d*'> is no doubt influenced by the initial *d*- in its other by-forms, i.e. *deir* (including *deirtaí*), *dúirt*.

Speakers from central Iorras Aithneach, **892M**, **10N**, **12S**, **16M**, **18J**, **36P**, **43M**, **55S**, **66L**, **66N**, **72N** and **77C** are dealt with in greater detail below in chronological order. There are three siblings in this group, Seán (**55S**), Lissy (**66L**) and Noel (**72N**) Ó Gaora, from Tóin an Roisín, Máfnis. One speaker, **01P**, from Doire Iorrais (North-East Iorras Aithneach) is also described.

8.41 Speakers 866E — 12S

866E This speaker has what is a rare example for him of dependent past <*d*'> before *f*-:
agus fágadh a leath ag Rí an Deachma ... Agus NUAIR A D'FHÁGADH, bhí ...
Sc98.32.

892M This speaker was noted with innovative lenition, i.e. <Ch>, twice in independent **xa'f'í**: *chaití* (phrase-initial), *chaití* (ARN3718 slightly unclear, with conditional meaning); and once in dependent:

... *caithead sé GUR MHARAÍOBH an mhuc*, **892M**

(no doubt a 'slip', perhaps a form of compensation for the lack of lenition on *caithead sé* (cf. 1.404 and 9.8) and influenced by regular *gur mharaíodar / mharaigh sé* which would also be appropriate in this context). He also has one token of dependent past <*d*'> before a vowel:

Ach go deimhin, NUAIR A D'OSCLAÍOBH an doras, fuair ... **892M2510**.

01P Peaitín J6 Ó Nia from Doire Iorrais was noted with 8 conditional tokens and 2 past habitual, all 10 of which were lenited or took <*d*'>:

CHAITHÍ, DHÓIRTFÍ, D'FHÁGFÍ, THIÚRFÍ, BHAINFÍ, CHUIRTÍ, THUGTAÍ **01P**.

In the past he has regular nonlenition but alternates <*d*'> with <*f*> in:

... *fuəgəri:v ... | duəgəri:w ...* **01P** (*D'*)FUAGRAÍODH.

In the past before vowels he has <*h*> and <V>:

| *'hair'í:w 'æ:s | ... | gər air'iu: æ:s* | **01P** (*gur*) (H)ÉIRÍODH *as*.

As will be shown in the description, speaker **01P**'s use of lenition and <*d*'> is about sixty years (in apparent time) ahead of central Iorras Aithneach use.

10N *d'imr'í:t'í: d'imrítí*. This represents the second oldest example in apparent time

from central Iorras Aithneach of the use of <d'> for more conservative (h)imríttí, showing the past habitual to be an early innovative context.

12S An uncommon form of past *d'fh-* for Seán was noted in:

d'iarhiu: ji S D'FHIATHRAÍODH dhi.

8.42 16M

16M Based on notes (on paper slips) taken from conversation, as well as Mt-tí, Mq-tí (5.52), and my general acquaintance with her speech, a tentative description of Máire's usage can be deduced. In the past tense Máire seems to use <h> more often than <V>, and to use *f-* regularly; in the past habitual and conditional she seems to use <V> more often than <h> (at least in nonrelative position), least often <d'>, and with verbs in initial *f-* she has <d'> more often than <f>. In the case of verbs in initial *f-* some (perhaps the more common verbs) are more prone to take <d'> than others. For example, **da:t'i:** [x3] Mt-tí *d'fhaightí* is the only form I recall hearing of the past habitual of irregular *faigh* from Máire; similarly, **d'ek'ti:** *d'fheictaí* is her usual form for *feic* but <f> only occurs in **fo:d'it'i:** [x2] *fóidítí* in Mt-tí. Table 8.1 presents a tentative summary.¹

Table 8.1 (VfC-imprs); mutated impersonal, 16M

Verb in initial	Past	Past habitual / Conditional
C-	C-	C- >>> Ch-
V-	<i>h-</i> >> V- >>> (d'-)	V- >> h- >> d'-
<i>f-</i>	<i>f-</i>	<i>d'fh-</i> >> <i>f-</i>

Máire's examples are:

Past	<d'>	a rare example of <d'> in the past was noted in dependent position, followed later in the discourse by <h>: <i>tiú suibhintí</i> [£2.70] <i>A D'ARDAÍÚ an lá cheana e ... tiú suibhintí A HARDAÍÚ an seanphinsean M.</i>
<V>		note that these examples contain -r <V>: gər umpu: ma:x Msl <i>GUR IOMPADH amach</i> ; -n'ir a:rhíu: ... M <i>NÍOR ATHRAÍODH ... -ha S Ha?</i> -n'ir harhiu: ... M <i>NÍOR HATHRAÍODH ...</i> -na:r harhiu: ... S <i>Nar hathraíodh ... ?</i>
<h>		note that these examples contain a <h> and -r <h>: no:r ə ha:bri:t'i: Msl <i>nuair A HABRAÍTÍ; A HARDAÍÚ M</i> ; k'erd ə hi:ku: er' ə ga:rtə Msl <i>céard A HÍOCADH ar an gcárta</i> ; -n'ir harhiu: ... M <i>NÍOR HATHRAÍODH ...</i>
Conditional	Ch-	xa:f'i: ka:f'i: ka:f'i: m'e ho:rt' ... [repetition for emphasis] Msl <i>C(H)AITHFÍ mé a thabhairt ...</i> ; wanf'i: Mt-tí <i>BHAINFÍ.</i>
	<d'>	do:l-f'i: e Mq88 <i>D'ÓLFÍ é</i> ; d'iarho:f'i: ji:tsə [x2] Msl <i>D'FHIATHRÓIFÍ dhíotsa.</i>

¹ As indicated above (8.40), Ch- stands for a lenited consonant, C- for an unlenited one, e.g. C- - Ch- in *caithfí ~ chaitfhí*.

Future <V> *NÍ ÍOSFEAR M.*

In discussing *d'V-* and *d'fh-* use, Máire (Mq) has a greater preference for non-*d'* forms than in her actual conversation. It is likely that other speakers have similar conservative 'conscious' preferences so that results of direct queries, as presented below, will not reflect the conversational or vernacular usage directly. This relatively infrequent variable is, however, otherwise difficult to access.

8.43 18J — 55S

18J This speaker has general nonlenition of consonants in the impersonal, e.g. *bainfí, cuirfí, ní faightear*. Lenited tokens, however, occur of initial *c-*, i.e. in the conditional *chaithfí ~ caithfí*; and even in the past (examples from ARN):

NÍ CHAITHEADH aon urchar 7193, ach(,) CHAITHEADH na hurchair 8184, is(,) CHAITHEADH a ghoil 8273,

Sé an áit AR CEANNAÍOBH í nuair A CEANNAÍOBH í, CHEANNAÍOBH ar bheagán í, agus sin é an t-am A CEANNAÍOBH ... 8245.

An instance of <*d'*> may be due to the serial effect:

agus D'ÍOCADAR é ... agus D'ÍOCADH é. 8802.

In fact, there is an instance of nonlenition of the personal verb which may well be due to the serial effect of an impersonal form:

NÍ TOSÓIFÍ dhá cuir sin go mbeadh sé, ... tuairim's a haon a chlog A TOSÓIDÍS ... 7010-3.

32J This speaker has a noteworthy example of <*d'*>: *do:grí:u: d'fhógraíodh.*

36P1 Conservative usage in query; as set out in Table 8.2, but **36P1** does use <*d'*> in the conditional.

Table 8.2 (VfC-imprs); mutated impersonal, 36P1

Initial	Future example	Past example	Conditional example
C-	C- <i>osklo:fər</i>	C- <i>mə:ri:w</i>	C- <i>k'æ:nɔ:fi:</i>
V-	V- <i>osklo:fər</i>	<i>h- ho:lu:</i>	<i>h- ~ d' ho:lfi: (x3+)</i>
with <i>ní</i>	<i>h- ní hær:rho:fər</i>	<i>h- ní:ir hær:hi:w^v</i>	<i>~ do:lfi: (x2)</i>
			<i>h- ní: ho:lfi:</i>

43M As set out in Table 8.3, Máire's (**16M**, Table 8.1) eldest daughter, **43M**, alternates between more conservative forms with neither lenition nor <*d'*> and more progressive use with lenition and <*d'*>.

Table 8.3 (VfC-imprs); mutated impersonal, 43M

Initial	Present	Future	Past	Psthab / cond
C-			C-	<i>Ch- >> C-</i>
with <i>ní</i>	C- ~ <i>Ch-</i>			
direct relative	C- ~ <i>Ch-</i>	C- ~ <i>Ch-</i>		
V-			V- ~ <i>d'- >>? h-</i>	<i>d'- >> V-</i>
<i>f-</i>			<i>f- >>? d'fh-</i>	<i>d'fh- >> f-</i>

Given the difference between **43M** and her mother, both in the use of **-tər** (5.47, 5.49) and of lenition in the present impersonal, speaker **43M** shows partial influence on her mother **16M** (i.e. in lenition only) in the exchange:

-N' i: yu:ntər | ə nu:ntər 43M Ní DHÚINTAR an NDÚINTAR?
-N' i: yu:nt'ər 16M Ní DHÚINTEAR.

- 55Sq** Speaker **55Sq**, as set out in Table 8.4, has less use of <h> than either **43M** or **66Lq** (his sister) and regular use of <d'> before vowels in the conditional and past habitual.

Table 8.4 (VfC-imprs); mutated impersonal, 55Sq

Initial	Future	Past	Conditional	Psthab
C- V- with <i>ní</i> interrogative direct relative	C- V- o:l-f'ər V- N' i: o:l-f'ər V- o:l-f'ər	V- o:lu h- N' i:r hō:lu V- ə:r o:lu	C- k'ænof' i 55S d'- dō:l-f' i: V- N' i: o:l-f' i:	d'- dō:lti: V- N' i: o:lti: d'- ə dō:lti:

8.44 66L — 77C

- 66Lq** Speaker **66Lq** shows strong use of <h> which in the past habitual / conditional alternates with prevocalic <d'>. This <h> usage appears to mark her as more conservative than her elder brother **55Sq**.

Table 8.5 (VfC-imprs); mutated impersonal, 66Lq

Initial	Future	Past	Psthab / cond
C- V- <i>h-</i> ... ə (rel) <i>harhof'ər</i> ε		C- ə:r k'æ:nu: tædə, ... , N' i:r k'æ:nu: <i>h-</i> harhi:v, hō:lu, ə:r / N' i:r hō:lu:	C- k'ænof' i: q <i>h- ~</i> dər'ho:f' i: <i>d'-</i> dō:l-f' i, hō:l-f' i:

- 66Nq** As shown in Table 8.6, in query in the past tense this speaker has mostly <d'> before vowels as against <f'>.

Table 8.6 (Vf-imprs) with past impersonal, 66Nq

Verb in initial	Past	Response in query
f- V-	f- d'- V-	f' iərhu: (x2), fuəl' u, fə:fk' u:, fə:gu: d' imr' u:, d' i:nfu:, d' umpru:, dō:lu, d' ihu:, d' iəru: u:nti:u

Examples from conversation are:

| d' ix' u: ... **66N D'ITHEADH** ... ;

je xi: dardu: n' t'el'ə'v' ifun 66N Sé an chaoi D'ARDADH an teilibhisium;

Stop, a dhreofúr, nach D'ITHEADH nax d' ihu: mise an oíche sin! **66N.**

The co-occurrence of two conservative variants is noteworthy, <V> and 2 Conjugation impersonal ending, in the example **u:nti:u 66N iontaíodh.**

72Nq This speaker's impersonal mutations differ minimally from the personal in that <d'> alternates with <V> in the impersonal past and conditional. The only traditional specifically impersonal usage, <V>, is outlined by a border in Table 8.7. Furthermore, <d'> is used in the past impersonal following *ní* and interrogative *an* (for traditional *níor* (*h*)- and *ar* (*h*-) where it does not occur in the personal. This highly innovative generalisation of <d'> which is confined to the impersonal in his responses is shaded in grey in his table. It remains to be noted in the impersonal from conversation. For similar personal examples from speaker 66N, see 8.39 and compare rhetorical *nach d'itheadh* 66N above.

Table 8.7 (VfC-imprs); mutated impersonal, 72Nq

Initial	Summary	Response in query			
		Present	Future	Past	Conditional
C- with <i>ní</i>	of use	du:n'ə ^m f'ər (N'i) harN'if'ər N'i: yu:n'həx- f'ər			
	<i>ní Ch-</i>				
V- drel with <i>ní</i> interr	V-, <i>d'</i>	o:ləmf'ə r	o:lhəf'ər, arhəf'ər	o:lu, dərhu	o:ləx-f'ər, d'o:lhəx-f'ər
	past <i>a d'</i>			ə d'o:lu	ə d'o:lu
	cond <i>ní V-</i> ;	N'i:	N'i o:lhəf'ər	N'i d'o:lu	N'i o:lhəx- f'ər
	past <i>ní d'</i>	o:ləmf'ər	N'i arhəf'ər	ə d'o:lu	ə d'o:lu
past <i>an d'</i>					

The analogical base for the innovative extension of <d'> (shaded in grey in Table 8.7) seems to be the regular non-alternation in the traditional impersonal following leniting particles, i.e.

traditional	{	alternating personal	{	<i>d'ól,</i>	<i>níor ól</i>
innovative 72Nq		non-alternating impersonal		<i>(h)óladh,</i>	<i>níor (h)óladh</i>
				<i>d'óladh,</i>	<i>ní d'óladh</i>

77Cq This speaker has impersonal <d'> before vowels in the past and conditional and no impersonal <h> before vowels in past, future or conditional in his responses to a short questionnaire.

8.45 Summary

As well as the problem of direct elicitation, the considerable amount of gaps in my material unfortunately hinders thorough analysis of these developments in apparent time. A frequency comparison of speakers from central Iorras Aithneach is, however, worthwhile, based on some of the data in their respective tables.

Table 8.8 (VfC-imprs); summary of main variants

Initial	<i>Ch-</i>	<i>d'-</i>	<i>V-</i>	<i>C-</i>	<i>h-</i>								
						c	c	c, cc	c	c	p	p, c, cc	p, c
								p	p			c	
						p, cc	p, c, cc	p	cc	p, c, cc			
Speaker						16M	36P1	43M	55Sq	66Lq	66Nq	72Nq	77Cq

Table 8.8 summarises the speakers' main variant(s) for three contexts:

p = past tense of verbs in initial vowels;

- c = conditional and past habitual of verbs in initial vowels;
 cc = conditional and past habitual of verbs in initial consonant, i.e. choice of C- or Ch- as indicated in the left-hand column.

For example, Máire (**16M**) has main variants p and cc in the bottom row (past <h>, conditional and past habitual <C>) and c in the middle row (conditional and past habitual <V>); whereas speaker **66Nq** has p in the top row (<d'>). It is apparent that the two older speakers bundle features in the bottom left of the table; the middle generations are spread top and bottom; and the youngest generation, represented by the last two speakers, bundle in the top right; and that context 'c' leads the change.

An intergenerational contrast is clear in Máire's Echo form of speaker **66N**'s statement in the exchange:

-d'íthu' Íug ε **66N** D'ITHEADH uiliug é.
 -^híthu | **16M** HITHEADH.

Interrogatives

Interrogatives (i.e. interrogative pronouns, adjectives, and adverbs), most of which begin in k' (k) c-, are described in this section.

8.46 Positive interrogative *an, ar*

General ə (ən) *an*^N.

Past ər, also ə, (er', or) *ar*^L, irregular ə *an*^N. For alternation and change in past ər ~ ə, see 8.96 ff.

I have found only one example of ən for general ə *an*; it occurs in the formal query context of SID.46:

ŋ gl'in' tu: m'e: 46.390 AN GCLUIN tú mé?¹

Speaker **66N**'s ŋ' (syllabic ŋ') with *ceap* occurs for her more common 'double' eclipse in ŋ' æp- (*n*)*gceap*- (9.143):

ŋ' g' æpæx tus ε vrain' **66N** AN GCEAPTHADH tusa é, a Bhraidhin?

This speaker has nasalised forms of *go* as ŋə and *dhá* as ŋa. Her ŋ' before *ceap* here can be interpreted as addition of nasalisation to interrogative ə *an* (and possibly velar place of articulation if not copied in sandhi from the following consonant) but there may also be influence from spelling.

¹ The canonical form is ə. The rare example of ən 46.390 (more precisely ŋ, i.e. syllabic *n*) cited here must be differentiated from a modern spelling pronunciation ən *an* common, for example, in the speech of radio and television presenters from Conamara (noted by me in broadcasts in 2001; cp. speaker **79Sq**, 8.100) as well as elsewhere. The pronunciation ən *an* is presented in Chung and McCloskey (1987: 218), Ní Chiosáin (1991: 74) and Doyle (2001: 29) but no source is given. D. Greene (1962: 73) indicates that 'in the modern language the form of the particle is invariably [ə'] — that is to say the *n* is never heard except before vowels'. This [ə'] is the etymologically regular reflex from the expected Old Irish form. Greene discusses the 'confusion', in the orthography, of the interrogative particle with the present interrogative copula. An explanation of ŋ in ŋ gl'in' 46.390 *an gcluín* may also lie in some type of 'confusion' with copula ən, especially given the absence of the synchronically regular verbal suffix *-ann* with *cluín* in this phrase. Cp. innovative copula in *is tig le < tig le*. Nonetheless, preconsonantal *n* is found in SID1 in Co. Donegal: *an bhfuil* Mp 24 pt 71, 80 (also 23); *an mothaíonn tú* Mp 131 pt 78 (also 62); also in Co. Waterford: *an dh'ithis* Mp 91, pt 2, and *an dh'airigh tu* Mp 118 pt 4, 5. Forms such as those heard by Wagner in Donegal may be the ultimate source for Chung and McCloskey's ən *an* (op. cit.).

There is a rare stressed instance of the interrogative particle, past *ar*, noted in the solemn catechismal question:

'er' ə 'rʉg 'mir' ə 'ma:k | 'or ə 'rʉg 'mir' ə 'ma:k 05M AR RUG Muire mac?

This is formally similar to the preposition *ar*, generally realised as *er'* but also *or* (in sandhi). A written example also indicates a form equivalent to the preposition *er'* *ar*:

AIR CHUALA tú uaidh an lad sin as an France? Mlt [i.e. 'France'].

Also with a clear vowel in:

,er xuəljʃ, 46 (s.v. *cluínim*) AR CHUALAIS?

8.47 *cá, cé, té, go cé, etc.*

The main pronominal, adjectival and adverbial interrogative is *cé*. The considerable systematic formal variation in synonymous by-forms containing *cá, cé, té, -dé*, as well as preposed unstressed *go*, is mostly obsolescent. Forms in *k' - ~ t' -* are synonymous, as are the obsolescent forms in initial *gə*, i.e. *gə k' - ~ gə t' - ~ gə d' -* (1.74). For possible **ɣə d' -* and *ə k' -*, see 894C (8.56).

	<i>cá</i>	<i>cáid(e)</i>	<i>cé</i>	<i>té</i>	<i>-dé</i>	<i>céard</i>	<i>téard</i>	<i>-déard</i>
1. Pron	kɑ:		k'e:	t'e:		k'e:rd	t'e:rd	
2. Adj	kɑ:		k'e:	t'e:				
3. Adv	kɑ:	kɑ:d'(ə) kɑ:d'ə:	k'e:	t'e:				

With preposed *gə*

1. Pron	gə k'e:	gə t'e:	gə d'e:	gə k'e:rd	gə t'e:rd
2. Adj	gə k'e:	gə t'e:	<i>goidé</i>		
3. Adv	gə k'e:	gə t'e:	<i>goidé</i>		

The interrogative adverb *tuige* also has a variant with preposed *gə*, i.e. *tig'ə ~ gə tig'ə* (8.57). Emphatic (rhetorical) particles *cé nach*, etc., the impersonal cataphoric pronoun (*an*) *té* (6.55), and the concessive conjunctions containing *cé*, i.e. *cé go* and *cés moite go*, also have *k' - ~ t' -* (8.149). Cp. *ə k'e:-*, **ə d'e:-*, 852S, 894C (8.56).

Reduced variants are found:

cá **kɑ:**, but also **ka**.

cé **k'e:**, also **k'e**, **k'a**, **k'ə**, rare **kə**.

céard **k'e:rd**, also **k'erd**, **k'ed**, **herd**.

Speaker 64M frequently uses reduced forms (cf. reduction in his pronouns, 6.16 ff.):

céard: **k'e ta gə dunə ... céard atá go dona ... ?**

cén: **k'ə b'æ:ləx cén bealach? k'e / k'ə fa: cén fáth?**

For forms of pronominal and adjectival *cé* and *cá* with the copula, see 5.337 (8). The main function of *cá* is adverbial. Interrogatives are followed by relative clauses as appropriate, e.g.

cé bhíonn ann? (subject); *cé mbíonn tú?* (adverbial).

Other interrogatives

For pronoun *dol'ə*, *del'ə doile* (cp. *der' ə hun doir a shon*, etc.), see 8.61. For *ce*, *ceadh*, *c(h)eal*, etc., preposed to *nach*; and *a* preposed to *ní*, see 8.62.

8.48 cá

1. Pronominal *cá* is rarely used with the copula in exclamatory function:

kɑ:r xɑ:s e M *cár chás é!*

2. Adjectival use is confined to collocation with *fios*: *cá bhfios* (8.102).

3. The most frequent use of *cá* is as an interrogative adverb of place. In this use it most frequently occurs preceding *bhfuil* in the general present of the substantive verb. In fact in the meaning 'where is', *bhfuil* is preceded by *cá* exclusively; it most often coalesces with *cá*, i.e. **kɑ:l'** (spelt *cáil*, *cá'il*, *cál*) >> **kɑ: wil' cá bhfuil?** E.g.

kɑ:l' [x2], **kɑ: wəl tu 'gɒl'** *CÁ BHFUIL tú ag goil?* SID.46 s.v. *cá*;

tá's á' msa CÁ'IL an áit a bhfuil a' baile 7 is minic a bhí mé ánn **866E**ÓC223; also Sc291.

A retort to a person repeatedly asking '*Cáil ... ? Cáil ... ?*' contains both variants:

nɑ: bɑk ɽe kɑ:l' nɑ: kɑ: 'wil' ɑx tɔ:rə n rud M

ná bac le 'CÁIL' ná 'CÁ BHFUIL' ach tóraigh an rud!

In all other contexts the adverbial by-form *cé* seems to be more common (8.52). Interrogative *cá* also collocates frequently with *raibh* and (*n*)*deachaigh*, past of irregular verbs *bí* and *teighre* respectively, and with *cuir*. It occurs least often with other verbs (and tenses). Examples:

kɑ: ro m'e t'iaxt ... 11C5853 *CÁ RAIBH mé ag tíocht ... ?*

kɑ: n' a:xə f'ib' 46.914 *CÁ NDEACHAIGH sib?*

kɑ n' æ:xə fi: n' i:f 19P *CÁ NDEACHAIGH sí anois?*

kɑ:r 'xĩr'f'ib' è 46.914 *CÁR CHUIR sib é? [sic];*

Ach, a deir sé, CÁ GCUIRTHIDH kɑ' gir' hə mé é? **11C**;

kɑ:r a:gə mid' ə kɑ:r ... 18Bm *CÁR FHÁGA muid an carr ... ?*

kɑ m'ehɑ: gɒl' 01J *CÁ MBEITHEÁ ag goil?*

Speaker **869P** (SID.46) shows a fairly high incidence of *cá*, as seen in the examples above. In **869P2–5** *cá* is very frequent in its usual collocations, *cá ndeacha* (x5(+)) vs. *cé ndeacha* (x1); *cá ru* (x7) (vs. *cé ru* not noted); but also *cá thugadar ... ná cár fhágar ... , cá ngohainn ... , cá ngohaidís*. Also in his recording, e.g.

| kɑ' v'e:xə m'e fi:wər ə xĩæ'v'ə ... 869P

CÁ BHFÉACHTHAIDH mé faobhar an chlainme ... ?

This speaker does, however, have frequent *cé*, e.g.

p'ei b'i k'e: 'ŋhə tu, ... 46.709 *péibí CÉ NGOTHAIDH tú; CÉR tugú ... 869P3.*

Contrast the use of *cá* before *raibh* with *cé* before *as* in the same section of discourse:

CÁ RU sé ... 7 CÉAS a dtáinic ... 869P.

In fact, *cé* (*b'*)*as* is all but categorical in the dialect. Speaker **894Cs** provides a rare example of *cá* before a 2 Conjugation verb:

- ... *go bhfeice tú CÁ N-ISLEOIDH, kɑ: n' i:ʃl' o: siad sin.* (Suda)**894Cs**.

Some younger speakers seem to use *cá* more frequently, presumably influenced by standard (spelling):

kumə kɑ si:hən' 56N *cuma CÁ SUÍTHINN*;

kɑ jehət ʃe ... [x3] 72C *CÁ GHEITHEADH sé ... ?*

kɑ xir'həs m'e ... 79S *CÁ CHUIRTHEAS mé é?*

8.49 cáide, cáideó**cáide**

Distance,	<i>cáide</i> ^L :	-CÁIDE a shiúil tú? adeir sé 875PDT11 ; <i>d'fhiarthai sé dhe CÁIDE shiúil sé, 875T1</i> .
Time, present	(perfective):	<i>CÁIDE anseo thú?</i>
future	<i>cáide</i> ^N :	... <i>kɑ:d' ə d'ugəd' i:f</i> M ... <i>CÁIDE dtiugaidís</i> ; <i>cáide go</i> ^N : <i>CÁIDE go dteaga sé?</i> [x2] Sq. <i>cáide go</i> is most common. Speaker 27Mdq recognises this only, not <i>cáide</i> ^N 27MdØperm .
past	<i>cáid</i> ^L :	<i>kɑ:d' o: ha:n' ək' fε</i> M <i>CÁID Ó tháinig sé?</i>

cáideó

Time, past	<i>cáideó</i> ^L :	<i>CÁIDEÓ tháiniceadar?</i>
------------	------------------------------	-----------------------------

There is future time reference meaning 'how soon?' in a younger speaker's example (for traditional *cáide (go)*):

kɑ:d' o: jɑ:r'həs tu ən heɟ ə'r' i:f **79S**

CÁIDEÓ ghearrthas tú an heij [< hedge] *aríst?* (or perhaps, with independent prosody for both elements, *kɑ:d' o: cáid ó*).

Compare innovative future reference of 's an (< go, 7.41). For use of *cháide go* as a temporal conjunction, see *shula* (8.130).

8.50 cé, té, go cé, go té, go dé

The main pronominal and adverbial interrogative is *cé* (and its by-forms). The vowel may be reduced: *k' e:*, also *k' e*, *k' e*, *k' a*, *k' ə*; rare *kē* (8.52), *kə*. Compare the reduction and coalescence indicated (if accurate) in (8.59):

k' jaküb kain' t' əs f' ar ... **SID.46** (s.v. *cainnt*) *CÉ ACUB caint is fearr*

1. Pronominal nonpersonal function is rare (perhaps confined to a small minority of speakers) in absolute use meaning 'what?':

| *k' e* | **05M** *CÉ?*, | *k' e:* | **79S** *CÉ?*

In non-equivalent comparative *cé* is used in the copula construction, e.g.

CÉS GOIRBHE anseo NÁ an áit thoir? **69S**.

Similarly, in some set exclamations, e.g.

CÉ(R) CHÁS é! CÉ HÍONTAS!

cé is the usual personal interrogative pronoun, e.g.

k' e: v' i: a:n *CÉ bhí ann?*

k' e: u: he:n' *CÉ THÚ héin?* also *k' a hu he:n'* **64M**,

k' e: hi: m' v' æ:n' jin' *CÉ HÍ an bhean sin?*

[*ínséó*] *sé dhuit* ... *CÉ NACH RUGADH IS NACH MBÉARFAR* **852SbTS153** (cp. 152, 148),

k' e x' æ:pəns tu ho:k' əs lā:v' ɾ' æt S

CÉ cheapanns tú A THÓIGTHEAS láimh leat?

We can recall speaker **20My**'s generalised relative *d'* before vowels and lenited *f* (8.38):

k' e: d' imr' o:s ... **20Myq** *CÉ d'imreos* ... ?

The relative particle *ə* ^L is realised following *cé* in an instance from the highly literate speaker **35E**:

k'e: | ə stukaəs ... 35E *CÉ, a stuchas ... ?*

cé regularly precedes the third person masculine of inflected prepositions in prepositional interrogatives (see 8.63). The presence of *cé é*, for expected *cé leis*, is noteworthy in the response in:

-*CÉ LEIS a gcuirthidís marc anois ar an tsail nó pleainc ná, maide rabhnáilte ná rud a bich a bheidís a ghearradh?* **11C**

-*Bhuel ínseoidh mise dhuit É. Ínseoidh mise dhuit CÉ É. ... yut' 'e: | ... yut' 'k'e: 'e:ʔ | 892M1332-3.*

For *cé nach*, see 8.62; for *cé* 'which', see 8.59.

8.51 Adjectival

2. In adjectival use with the article generally **k'ē:n** or **k'e:n** *cén*, seldom **k'e: ən** *cé an*, with elision of the article **k'e:**, **k'e**, etc.

k'e:n | **k'ē:n** | **sə:rt** | **f'ə:r** | **v'ex a:kəb** | **869P**

CÉN SÓRT fear a bheadh acub;

k'e: **n'ix'ə** **20Cq** *CÉN ITHE ... ?*

k'e: η **k'e: η fə:** ... **04Bt** *CÉN FÁTH ... ?*

k'e: **n'ix'ə** ... **20Cq** *CÉN ITHE ... ?*

k'e: ən **oɣəs k'e: | ən v'e:d'** ... (Smds)**04B**

agus CÉ AN MHÉID, a deir sé, a bhí sa bhfear?

k'e:ən **'təxər as 'fö gə 'kə:rnə** 46.977

CÉN T-ACHAR as seo go Carna?

Forms complex interrogatives *cén áit*, *cén bealach*, *cén chaoi*, *cén fáth*, *cén t-údar*, *cén uair*, etc.

The article is elided especially in common interrogative phrases, but mutations remain:

k'e: **k'e xi:** *CÉN CHAOI* is general, further reduction in (cp. **15W**, 8.56):

| **'p'e'b'i k'e hi: r 'wog fe i** | **35E** *Péibí CÉN CHAOI AR BHOG sé í.*

k'e / k'e fə: is **79S**'s general form, e.g.

k'e fə: e jin' **79S** *CÉN FÁTH é sin?*

kə **kə xi' wə'hə: e jin'** **79S** *CÉN CHAOI AN BHFAIGHTHEÁ é sin?*

Noted from speaker **79S** only. Cp. **k'ə fə:** **64M** (8.47).

Pronominal **k'e** before **d** can be taken as a reduced form of *céard* (via **k'ed** in sandhi):

k'e d'air'ə yə: *S CÉARD D'ÉIRIGH dhó?*

k'e du:rt' fe *CÉARD DÚIRT sé?*

cp. *CÉ DÚIRT an púca ... ?* FFG s.v. *machairí*, meaning *céard dúirt ... ?*

Genitive relationship occurs, e.g.

CÉN INÍN í meas tú? **66N** (more commonly *cé leis í?*);

CÉN PEATA thú? *CÉN PEAITÍN thú?* (Mary Conroy, native of Camas).

Similarly, in query 'Whose ...' was translated (effortlessly and confidently) as:

CÉN INÍN í sin? *CÉN MAC é sin?* *CÉN T-ATHAIR é sin?* **27Mdq**.

For possible genitive use in type 4 interrogatives with complex prepositions, e.g.

CÉN LINN a raibh tú ann? **Mq**,

(< *le linn*), see 8.64 ff.

Plural:

k'e: nə *CÉ NA TÍOBHAÍ a mbíonn tú ann?* **10B**;

bheadh barúil mhaith a'inn an dtigeann tú CÉ NA DÁTAÍ ar fhágar sin ... agus b'fhéidir CÉ NA DÁTAÍ ar cailleadh iad **11C**.

Quantity:

-k' em ba'n ə ta tu iərə M CÉN BAINNE atá tú a iarraidh?

-ha **19P** *Ha?*

-k' e v' e:d ba'n ə ta tu iərə M CÉ MHÉAD BAINNE atá tú a iarraidh?

Níl fhios CÉN BHAISTEACH tá air M.

In exclamation:

CÉ A LIACHTAÍ k' e: ɣ' iəxti: AMHRÁN a rinne sé sin, agus dán a rinne sé!

892M5398 (lenition of *liachtaí* indicates *cé a^L liachtaí*),

CÉ LIACHTAÍ UAIR a tháinic sé! **12Sperm**.

Common in exclamatory *cé hiontas!* (8.50), *cén t-iontas / t-ionadh*, e.g.

Nach é scoth na bhfear ar fónamh é,

Is CÉN T-IONADH é a bheith ina ghiúistís! (NUath) **11C**.

The substantive verb is sometimes absent with *cén*, e.g.

k' e:m' b' e:rlə e:r' l' iəma:n M CÉN BÉARLA ar 'liamán'?

8.52 Adverbial

3. As adverb of place *cé* is general, e.g.

CÉ raibh / mbeidh / ndeachaigh / tú?; CÉ as thú?

An instance of nontraditional *kē* was noted in (13.26, line 53):

| d' iərə je jīŋ' ,kē 'ro mūd s' xil' ə ho:rt | 64M

d' fhiathraigh sé dhinn cé raibh muid is chuile shórt.

This seems influenced by the common by-form *k' ē cén*. The nonpalatality of the initial may be a phonetic reduction or influenced by *cá* or a combination of both factors.

The adverb of place *cé / cá* is synonymous with *cén áit*, which is the usual stand-alone form and relative antecedent:

CÉN ÁIT?; CÉN ÁIT IS fearr leat?

Adverb of manner, attested as subject of the verb *bain* only:

CÉ BHAINNEANN sé dhuit? **869P2**;

-k' e wa:n' ən' je jīn' it' 19P *CÉ BHAINNEANN sé sin dhuit?*

-hæ **BóC** *Hea?*

-k' e wa:n' ə kid' gi:l'tə jīn' it' 19P *CÉ BHAIN a cuid gaolta sin dhuit?*

Adverbial use of *cé* before *chomh* and *mar* with manner function, e.g.

CÉ CHOMH MÓR is bhí sé?

héibe CÉ CHOMH DAINGEAN agus bheadh sé socraí aige **06C**;

CÉ MAR THAITHNIGH leat?

d' fhiadraigh sí de CÉ MAR RINNE sé inniu. **866ESc114.34**;

-Níl a fhios á'm, a deir Mac Rí in Éirinn, go bhfeice mé tuilleadh den tsaol tharm, go bhfeice mé CÉ MAR BHÉAS an aimsir ag imeacht. Semr132.

Use of *cé* and *cá* as adverbs of reason is also current with a few basic verbs of motion:

ka:l' je t' iəxt M *CÁ BHFUIL SÉ AG TÍOCHT* 'why is he coming?'

xuə ji: ə'ft' æx t' i: f' æt' f' a:d' i:n' əs d' i:n' fə ji: gə v' æ:m f' æt' f' a:d' i:n'
k' e: rə ji: gól' | M *Chuaigh sí isteach tigh Pheait Pháidín is d' insigh sí dho bhean Pheait Pháidín CÉ RAIBH SÍ AG GOIL*;

Chuadar isteach ... d'innis siad dhon bhuachaill CÉ RABHADAR A' GUL
B19.61;

nuair a chuaigh d'inis Bean na Luibhe dí cén ghnótha a bhí aici chomh fada léi féin ... -Tá a fhios agam go maith ... CÁ BHFUIL TÚ AG DUL. Tá do mhac go dona ... 866ESc299.7–11.

There is a similar use of *áit*, e.g. *sé an áit a dtáinig mé ...* 'the reason I came was / is'; cp. causal conjunction *an áit a^N* (8.143).

8.53 *go dé, go té*

1. *go dé* (also spelt *goidé*, rarely *go dté*) survives in current traditional dialect in a vague meaning in negative constructions with *f(h)ios*:

DHEAMHAN FHIOS GOIDÉ SIN FFG (s.v. *goidé*) explained as 'cá bhfios?';

ní:l'əs gə'd'e: fɪn' k'e rɪn' e Mq *NÍL FHIOS GO DÉ SIN cé rinne é*, explained as 'cá bhfios cé rinne é?'

Older speakers, **852S** and **894C** (8.55 ff.), however, show more extensive use of *go dé*, comprising pronominal, adjectival and adverbial use.

1. *go té* (also spelt *goité*) is also rare. In response to query Máire offered the following example which she explained as 'cé hé sin?':

ní:l'əs gə't'e: fɪn' k'e rɪn' e Mq *NÍL FHIOS GO TÉ SIN*.

2. Adjectival use was noted following negative *fhios* in:

NÍL FHIOS á'm cén chiall é ná GOITÉ'N T-ÚDAR É. 866EÓC220 §4 (corrected in MS from *goidé'n*).

8.54 *céard, téard, go céard, go déard*

1. Interrogative pronoun *céard* 'what', *k'erd* generally, also *k'erd*, *k'ed*. E.g.

CÉARDA chuir an ghaoithe mhór sin ort? M

CÉARD A mhíníonn sé anis mar déarthá, 'an tornóig a ghlanadh'? 11C;

níl fhios CÉARD AB fhiú í 06C;

CÉARD SEO bhí tugthaí anuas ann chor a bith? M;

CÉARD SEO EILE bhí aige? M;

CÉARD SIN anois? a deir Fionn Mac Cumhaill 866ESc49.22;

peibí CÉARD A dhíonas an dá scrabhaindí M.

k'ed (reduced), e.g.

k'ed ta fɪb' ə jɪnə 52P CÉARD ATÁ sib a dhéanamh?

For *k'e céard* before *d*, see above (8.51).

There is an example of *chéard* in:

Níl fhios á'm CHÉARD a dhianthas mé 866ESemr68.

This may be compared with *x'erd chéard* which occurs frequently in the speech of **889P**, although he spirantises initial *c-* in many words unhistorically (1.405).

Cp. *ceal* ~ *cheal* (8.62). Speaker **29N** has *herd* ~ *k'erd*, e.g.

herd | herd durt ma:r'ə ... 29N CÉARD dúirt Máire ... ?

céard is common without the copula before pronouns, e.g.

CÉARD É héin? 'What (is it)?'

CÉARD mé / thú / é / í / muid / sib / iad héin? 'What am I / are you (etc.)?'

CÉARD IAD sin?

chuir mé leanúntas CÉARD É. 881J;

peibí CÉARD É an t-‘aigín’ S;
níl fhios a’ m CÉARDE ‘smáileog’ Sq;
Ní raibh fhios acub ... CÉARD É múin sleáin;
deabhal fhios a’ msa beo CÉARD IAD do chosmhuintir S (context: discussing
 the meaning of the word *cosmhuintir*).

3. Also adverbially, meaning ‘why’ or ‘what ... for’ in:

-Fear an-tréan an-saibhir a bhí ansin agus u-, CÉARD A THASTAIGH airgead uaidh? 894Ct.

There is an adverbial use of *céard mar*, for common *cé mar*, meaning ‘how’ in the example:

-Bhuel, a deir sé, CÉARD MAR rinne tú? 11C (enquiring how much money had been made).

One can compare the quantitative function in:

Níl fhios CÉARD É a cuid airgid i Meireacá 05M ‘... what her money [is worth] ...’ i.e. ‘how much money’.

8.55 Variation in *cé, té, go cé, go dé, etc.*

The variation within the interrogatives, apart from adverbial *cá ~ cé* described above (8.48 ff.), will be discussed here and the usage of various older speakers presented chronologically. Some older speakers show a wide range of interrogative variants. Most speakers, for example, Máire, and perhaps all younger speakers have a narrow range: *k’er*, *k’er:d cé*, *céard* (with neither *t’*- nor *gə*). Forms in *t’*- are somewhat rare, being more common in the related conjunctions (cp. **04B**, **12S** below).¹ One can compare both historical *cad eile > d(‘)el’ə* and *cad ar a shon > der’ ə hun* where *gə < ca(d)* has apparently been lost. It is my impression that *gə go* is more common in dependent position (in the few older speakers who have prevalent *gə go*). For example, *níl fhios a’ m go cén ...* seems more common than sentence-initial *Go cén fáth ...*. The variants with preposed *gə go* may have added emphasis, especially for speakers who use them less frequently; see the examples of *go dé* from speaker **894C** and *go té* from speaker **866E** below. Historically only forms in *cé(-)* and *go dé(-)* are correct. From these older variants the mixed items *go cé(-)*, *go té(-)* and *té(-)* evolved. Other factors may have been involved, such as the impersonal pronoun (*an*) *té / cé* (6.55), the voicing alternation in *cad é > go dé*, and the phonetic palatal change *k’ ~ t’* (1.74, 1.407 ff.). The use of speaker **852S**, if accurately transcribed by the folklore collector Brian Ó Lochlainn, indicates that the unhistorical forms are in fact minor variants, i.e. his *cé* and *go dé* are commoner than *té* and *go cé*, and the speaker has historical *céard* and *go déard* but no (noted) unhistorical *go chtëard*. In fact I have no token of (hypothetical) **go téard* at all. The rhetorical interrogative particle *ceadh* also has *k’ ~ t’* alternation (only one token of each noted) in *k’a ~ t’a* (8.62). Cp. *ə k’er-*, **ə d’er-*, **852S**, **894C** (8.56).

¹ The distinction is categorical in the text in English-based orthography taken to be written by a native of An Clochán (Stenson 2003: xxvii): ‘As a question form, whether meaning ‘who’, ‘what’, or ‘where’, *cé* is always realized with a velar initial, as *kea*, *keah*, *c(h)ea* or *ceah*, whereas in the phrase *cé go* ‘although’, *cé* appears as *thea / teah*, normalized as *té*.’

8.56 Speakers' usage

852S Our oldest source (**852S**1, 2, 4, DT) has a wide range:

go dé, go cé, cé, té; go déard, céard.

Frequencies: *cé >> go dé >> go cé, té; céard >> go déard.*

His examples have the following functions:

- 1. Pronoun ‘who’**
*go dé: nó a bhfuil fhios agat GOIDÉ tá a’ caint leat? ...
 sin é Miadac.
 cé: CÉ hé héin, CÉ acu.*
 ‘what’ *go déard: d’fhiarthaigh sé GOIDÉARD a bhí air.
 céard ~ go dé: d’fhiafraigh sé ... CÉARD a chas anseo iad ...
 GOIDÉ a chas anseo iad DT7.*
- 2. Adjective**
*go dé: GOIDÉ sórt caoi é sin ort, GOIDÉ’N t-údar atá
 agat,
 GOIDÉ’N chaoi, GOIDÉ’N chiall, a Rí, go bhfuil
 tú.
 go cé: GO CÉ chaoi.
 cé: CÉN spota, CÉN fear, CÉN fáth, CÉ chaoi, CÉ
 mhéad.
 té: TÉ’N fáth.*
- 3. Adverb**
*go dé: d’iarra Rí na nGiúdaighthe dhe GOIDÉ as é,
 cp. GOIDÉ ndeacha !5.
 cé: ... dhó CÉ as é.*

In his short audio recording speaker **852S** has *k̪.ɛ:n* in *cén chiall ... , chén áit ...* phrase-initially and *cén t-údar* phrase-medially. There is one token of phrase-initial *ə.k̪.ɛ:n* in *cén t-achar ...*. It is difficult to know whether *ə* is lexical here or a discourse filler common in **852S**’s speech. Cf. **894C** below.

866E It may be significant that *go* is found frequently with *cén / tén* but not with the shorter forms *cé / té* in **866E**Semr; for example, one finds *go sén bealach* but not **go cé thú héin*. This distinction, e.g. *go sén* vs. *cé*, might reflect historical *cad é an* (adj) vs. *cé* (pron). There is also one token of *go céard*:

ní rabh ’ fhios ag Rí na Spáinn GO CÉARD A DHÉANFADH SÉ le Mac Rí in Éirinn Semr170.

Rarer *go tén* occurs in:

*a mbeihíots a’d GO CÉN POÍNTE ná GO TÉN (cén) NÚIMÉAD Semr148,
 níl fhios á’m CÉN CHIALL é ná GOITÉ’N T-ÚDAR é. ÓC220 §4 (corrected in MS
 from goidé’n).*

There may be stylistic (variational or emphatic) use of *go té* here in the synony-

¹ The forms with *go* from Iorras Aithneach supplement McCloskey’s (1990: 226–8) discussion of fronted and final prepositional interrogatives (similar to the position of the preposition in types 1a and 1b respectively in 8.64 below). The block on fronted prepositional interrogative with disyllabic *go dé* in ‘northern dialects’ (op. cit. 227, i.e. Donegal dialects) would not seem to hold for Iorras Aithneach. This is apparent from speaker **866E**’s instance of {*go cé + mar gheall*}. Although I have no relevant example with a resumptive pronoun (i.e. prepositional pronoun), one can safely postulate *go dé leis ... ?* Compare also *goidé as é 852S* and *Ar maidín Dóna’ go cé léir mhiste !894C6*. The contrast described by McCloskey for Donegal, *ca leis ... ?* vs. **go dé leis ... ?* etc., can be analysed diachronically rather than primarily in terms of the number of syllables. The older, shorter *ca* occurs with the more conservative syntax: *ca leis ... ?* The innovative, more analytic *go dé (< cad é)* occurs with the more progressive syntax with final prepositional pronoun: *go dé ... leis?* Similarly, *ca leis / ca hair / ce hair ... ?* vs. *cé hé sin ... leis?* (GT 193 §501).

mous pairs *go cén pointe ... go tén núiméad* and *cén chiall ... goité'n t-údar*.
Further examples:

Agus dúradh léi nach bhfuigheadh nó GO CÉ MAR GHEALL a dtiocfadh sí ag iarraidh lóistín acu féin nó CÉ D'ORDAIGH di é. Sc160.22;¹

TÉARD, TÉ MAR thaithníos, TÉ'N BEALACH, etc., B17.

For *chéard* Semr68, see 8.54.

- 869P** SID.46 has *c-* examples only, with a fairly high proportion of *cá* (8.48).
- 870B** Speaker **870B1**–2 (Leitir hArd) has *té(-)* >> *cé(-)*; with *té(-)* (x11) vs. *cé(-)* (x1); the single *cé* token is *cé aige*. Contrast *cál tú ...* (i.e. *cá bhfuil tú ...*).
1. Pronoun 'who' *té: TÉ bhain, TÉ acú;*
2. Adjective 'what' *TÉN t-achar, TÉ NA geasa;*
3. Adverb 'where' *TÉ ru mé.*
1. 'What' *téard: TÉARD d'fheic(f)inn.*
- 875T** Speaker **875T1** has overwhelming *c-* usage, e.g. **3.** 'where': *cé ru* (x3+), *cér chónaí, cé bhfuíge* (x2) [*bhfuighidh*], *cé seasfach sé*; and so also for **1.** 'who' *cé*, 'what' *céard*, but there is one example of a variant with prefixed *go-* in **3.** *go tuige nach ... 875T1.*
- 894B1** *k'erd.*
- 894C** Speaker **894C** has overwhelming *cé, cén, céard* usage but a single token of *go dé* 'who':
GO DTÉ a bheadh ar an marga ... ach cailín an chaiptín mhóir 4.
In fact, given his functor *ɣə go* usage for general *gə*, this transcribed *go dté* may well represent **ɣə d'e*: (for which his audio recordings should be checked). Furthermore, given that his *ɣə go* alternates with *ə* one might expect **ə d'e*, etc. Indeed, *ə k'e*: occurs in:
ə far'ə | ə k'e:n tæ'n əm' mīū: gānt' o:f' i: orhə | 894C
ag faire CÉN t-ainm mná a gcainteoiífí uirthi.
But this speaker (like **852S**) has a tendency to use the filler *u-* phrase-initially, e.g.
ʃk'urə | ə ʃi:s | ugs v'i: ... 894C ag sciorradh u- síos agus bhí
Initial *ə k'e*: might therefore be *u-* [hesitation filler] *cé*.
- 899D** Speaker **899DARN** has *k'-* in *céard, cé ndeachaigh, cén airde*; but *t'-* in *cén chiall* and perhaps also in *cé(n) chaoi*.
- 899N** *t'/k'e:, t'/k'e:n, t'/k'e:rd 899N1.*
- 04B** The usual initial is *k'-*, e.g. *k'e:n tu:ðər 5 cén t-údar ...; k'es f'ar 10 cés fearr ... , k'e: v'e:d (x3), k'e:rd (x1)* (Smds); but *t'e:rd d'e:rħəs (x1) téard déarthas*. He uses both *k'e:* and *t'e:* as conjunctions.
- 11C** The most common initial is *k'-*, but *t'-* in:
-Ara TÉN fáth a dtiúrhainnse ... ? a dúirt an sagart. 11Ctn.
The context, an anecdote about the poet Micil Mac Suibhne, implies that the *t'-* form may be marked for register in **11C**'s usage.
- 12S** Seán was rarely recorded using interrogative *t'-* forms:
t'e:r tɑ: tu: jī:nə S TÉARD atá tú a dhéanamh?
He uses *t'e:s mit'ə cés moite* regularly in alternation with *k'es mit'ə*. He does, however, recognise the *t'-* variants; when queried he responded:

d'ɛrħəd'ɪ:f t'ɛ:n aɪt' t'ɛ:n aɪt' ə wɑ:kə tu: e' abri:n kɪd' akəb t'ɛ: wɑ:kə
tu: e Sq déarthaidís 'TÉN áit?' 'TÉN áit an bhfaca tú é?' Abraíonn cuid
acub 'TÉ bhfaca tú é?'

Cp. his brother **18Pc**.

15W There is an example of *cé* for *cén chaoi* in:

f'e:b'ri: k'e rodər fɑ:ðo: **15W** féibrí CÉ raibheadar fadó.

This is perhaps a 'phonetic' reduction, possibly in haplology with *-í* in *féibrí*.

18Pc This speaker, brother of **12S**, has a more noticeable use of *t'* - forms:

t'e n'æxə ... t'e ŋ xi' wil' ... **18Pc** TÉ ndeachaigh ... TÉN chaoi a bhfuil ... ?

8.57 (go) tuige

(go) *tuige* **tig'ə**, **gə tig'ə** 'why, what for' (often followed by negative verb).

TUIGE?; *TUIGE sin?* LL8.

TUIGE NACH dtáinig tú? Mp 242, *TUIGE NACH dtáinig sib?* 46.947.

tig'ə nax m'eha: M *TUIGE NACH mbeitheá!*

GO TUIGE NACH ... **875T1**.

-Ar labhair tú ... ? -Ó! níor labhair mé, a deir sé, TUIGE labhairéoinn? **889P**.

-TUIGE ndeir tú é sin? **04Btn**.

Nach minic, a deirinn léithi, tá m'athair i mbáid ... agus níor thug an mhaighdean mhara léithi é. Agus TUIGE dtiúrthad sí mise léithi, nuair nar thug sí m'athair léithi? **869Pt**.

tuige is also used nominally, e.g.

-TUIGE? B6C -CHUILE THUIGE. S 'For all sorts of reasons';

-TUIGE ... ? -TÁ TUIGE LEIS, a deir sí P;

Sin é AN TUIGE anois, Inseoidh mé dhuít CÉN TUIGE é sin FFG s.v. *tuige* 2.

The phrase *chuire's tuige* is used as a retort or impudent answer, e.g.

-Cé raibh tú aréir? -CHUILE'S TUIGE! Mq;

-Cáil tú ag goil? -CHUILE'S TUIGE! Mq (cp. FFG20 s.v. *tuige* 2).

This phrase *chuire's tuige* is not known to Seán (**12Sq**), indicating its marginal status.

tuige nach is also used by some speakers in exclamatory function (resembling *cheal / 'n ea nach*, 8.62), e.g.

-TUIGE NÁR chuala tú, adeir Mac Rí Lochlann, gur bhain ... - ... nach breá nach gcuala tú go dtug Fathach Mór ... **852SbTS**;

TUIGE NACH bhfaca sí an cut dho mo chrúcáil! **10B**

'You would think she had seen the cat scratch me!'

TUIGE NACH gcuala tú cheana é! **14M** 'Surely you heard it before!'

TUIGE NACH n-aithníonn tú féin mé a ghrá gléigil mo chroí thú ! CABI §138(b) v. 2 (also (c), (d) v. 2; corresponds to *té nach* in (a) v. 2, cited further below (8.62), and *ceannach* (e) v. 2).

8.58 *cén fáth, cén chiall*

cén fáth, cén chiall, cén t-údar, cén t-ábhar 'why'.

Cén fáth a / go is the general item for 'why', e.g.

k'ɛ:n fɑ: nã:x 'boisən tu' | 11C CÉN FÁTH NACH bpósann tú?

CÉN FÁTH eile A mbead se air ach é sin? **893P**,

-CÉN FÁTH duit a bheith a' caoineadh? **864MDT61**.

Cp. *Is cuma leis a' gcat mara CÉARD É AN FÁTH S.*

Some older speakers have *cén chiall* 'why', e.g.

- 'CÉ A' CHIALL NÁR thug sib a' fear atá ar a' gcarraig lib?' **852Sb6.68**,
 'CÉN CHIALL NACH dtairneót sib héin í?' [E. Ó Neachtain ÓC210],
 CÉN CHIALL NAR chuir aon-nduine acub ó shin an cheist air? **892M3212**,
 'CÉN CHIALL,' a deir sé, 'A ngofadh?' **866ESc51.36**,
 TÉN CHIALL AN bhfuil chuile rúta giúsaí fásta ar chloich? **899D6688**,
 ach TÉN CHIALL GO dtiocthadh faitias ar dhuine ar bith ... ? **899D6861**,
 -CÉ AN CHIALL an gotha sin atá ort? adeir sí. **852SbTs143**,
 -CÉN CHIALL do gháire? adeir an rí. **875PDT17**,
 -CÉN CHIALL duit a bheith liath? adeir an crann. **864MDT62**.

Also common is *cén t-údar* 'why'. Examples of *cén t-ábhar* 'why' are:

- ... go bhfiafraí tú dhen fhear mór atá ann CÉN FÁTH NACH ndéarna sé gol ...
 -CÉN T-ÁBHAR, ar sé, NACH ndéarna tú gol ... ? **852SbLL107**,
 d'fhiafraigh mé dhi CÉN T-ÁBHAR a raibh sí ar a' mbealach sin **869PDT82**.

8.59 cé (acub)

cé (acub) 'which' in alternative questions.

cé acub can be used when alternatives are queried, e.g.

- agus ag smaoiniú CÉ ACUB A DHÍONTHAD SÉ: ghoil agus pósadh nú imeacht,
 nú céard ab fhearr 'ó dhíonamh choir a bith. **11C**;

- K'jaküb kain' t' əs f'ar ...** 46 (s.v. *cainnt*) CÉ ACUB CAINT is fearr ... ;¹
 ní fheictheadh sé CÉ ACUB CUPÓG a leagthadh sé a lámh air **869Pt**.

cé acub is, however, not obligatory in alternative questions and these examples can be rephrased as ... *céard a dhíonthad sé ...* and *cén chaint ...*. Reference in the alternative can also be to 1 or 2 person plural, in which case *ag* is inflected accordingly, e.g.

- CÉ AGAINN bean is sine? FFG s.v. *cé 2*; CÉ AGAINN atá bréagach?
 CÉ AGAÍ fear is fhearr? CÉ AGAÍ is fhearr?

There is an example of *cé* without *acub* with 3 person reference before the simple preposition *dhe* in:

- CÉ DE NA TRÍ RÍOCHTA is fearr a bhfuil dlíobh ann? FFG s.v. *cé 3*.

In 3 person reference before the copula *acub* is optional, e.g.

- CÉ FEARR leat tae ná cafaí? CÉS FEARR leat tae ná cafaí?
 CÉ ACUB IS FEARR leat, tae ná cafaí?

cé can have adverbial function, e.g.

- k'e s d'ej e fip'ɑ:ɫ'ə nu: gən fip'ɑ:ɫ'ə M**
 CÉ IS DEISE é fuipeáilte nó gan fuipeáilte?

8.60 cé mhéad, cén sórt

cé mhéad (cén méid) 'how much', e.g.

- ax k'e: 'v'ed ə ta tu: 'iər er' | 11C** Ach CÉ MHÉAD ATÁ tú a iarraidh air?

Rapidly-spoken examples were transcribed with *cé méid* from traditional speakers but they were perhaps misheard by me or were reduced versions of *cé mhéad*. Younger speakers, however, were heard with clear *cé méid*. E.g.

¹ Coalescence in *cé acu(b)* is lexicalised in other lects but this example from the Vocabulary in SID.46 and **k'jakə** cited by Wagner (1959: 192) from Carna are the only instances from Iorras Aithneach found in my material.

CÉ MÉID píonta d'ól tú? S, *CE MÉID stampaí a chuir sí fios air?* M,
k'e m'e:d' akəb ta ... (male, born c. 1950, RM) *cé méid acub atá ... ?*
... f'iar'h'u: yum k'e m'e:d' ... 66N ... fiathrú dhom CÉ MÉID ... ,
k'e m'e:d'^s 72N CÉ MÉID?

S. Ó Murchú (1998: 39 §12.9) also reports *cé méad* for Conamara Irish. He further cites *cén méid* for 'what size', for which I have heard *cén mhéid* (e.g. *cé an mhéid*, 8.51) although *cén méid* 'what size' is probably also permissible.

cén sórt 'what sort of', *céardós* 'what sort of'.

cén sórt is the general item for 'what sort of', e.g. *CÉN SÓRT FEAR é héin?* S. There is no article in the transcript of: *GOIDÉ SÓRT CAOÍ é sin ort?* **852S**.

A minority of speakers have *céardós*, e.g.

k'erdos 'æmjər' ə v'i: 'æ'ɔd | 35E7266 CÉARDÓS AIMSIR a bhí a'd?
k'erdos ... 52J CÉARDÓS ... atá i gceist a'd?

Speaker **35E** also has rare demonstrative *séardós*. Given attested *séardód* and *séar sórt* (6.56), one would therefore expect for 'what sort of' corresponding **céardód* and **céar sórt*.

8.61 *doile, 'd ar a s(h)on*

doile, deile; dol'ə, del'ə, d'el'ə 'what else'.

doile can modify following interrogatives *céard* and *cén*: *doile céard* 'what else', *doile cén* 'what other'. It is used in contexts where, for example, a speaker rhetorically reinforces a previous statement which an interlocutor is contradicting. Its force is therefore often more rhetorical, sometimes slightly aggressive, than simply interrogative. Examples:

del'ə M DOILE? also **d'el'ə 12J DEILE?**
DOILE CÉARD déarthad sé?
DOILE CÉARD e 'meántán'? M; *DOILE CÉARD é héin?* M;
del'ə k'e:n a:t' M DOILE CÉN áit?

'd ar a s(h)on go der' ə hun gə ~ der' ə sun gə 'why, don't you dare' (or one could analyse synchronically as *doir* [preposition] *a s(h)on*).

der' ə 'sūn ə d'er f'e' | gə d'uka: əg' iərə 'lɔ:əft'i:n' | ənə l'ehəd'ə fə gə
'hə:x | 866E -'D AR A SON, a deir sé, GO dtiochá ag iarraidh lóistín ina
leithide seo dhe theach!

der' ə hun gə n'ihə: S 'D AR A SHON GO ndéanthá?
der' ə hun nax n'ihə: S 'D AR A SHON NACH ndéanthá!
der' ə hun gə n'ihə: e M 'D AR A SHON GO ndéanthá é?

8.62 *ce nach, etc., negative rhetorical '... not really!'*

In emphasis the dependent negative interrogative particle *nach* (past *nar*) can be premodified by *ce, te, té, ceadh, teadh, cean, teadh, c(h)eal, ciodh*, and by copula *an ea*. (*ce* could be analysed synchronically as a reduced form of *cé*. Expected or possible but unattested forms in *t-* are **tean*, **tiodh*, perhaps even **teal*.) Cf. *tuiqe*, 8.57. These are often used in emphatic questions in reaction to preceding statements but also independently. Note the separation by quotative *a deir sí* of the initial interrogative element and *nach* (s.v. *teadh*).

k' e	<i>ce</i>	k' e nax ro 45C6 <i>CE NACH raibh?</i>
	<i>te</i>	<i>TE NACH dtigeann tú ' Sheáin 's mé ' fháilt ó mo mhuintir féin? !CABI §43(a) v. 3.</i>
	<i>té</i>	<i>TÉ NACH n-aithníonn tú fhéin mé ró-chéadsearc mo chroí thú ... TÉ NACH gcuímhríonn tú 'r do mharaga !00M CABI §138(a) v. 2, 5, also 9.¹</i> <i>TÉ NÁRBH fhearr dhuit mise ná réic go bhuachaill óg !869P CABI §166 v. 2.</i>
k' a	<i>ceadh</i>	<i>CEADH NACH k' a nax n-aithníonn tú ... (Asls)03V, o' k' æ' nax wil' 13Jd Ó! CEADH NACH bhfuil?</i>
t' a	<i>teadh</i>	<i>-Agus TEADH 't' æ , a deir sí, NACH gcuímhríonn tú ar Dhia, a deir sí, agus ar an Maighdean Mhuire nú 'il grá dia a bith ionad? 866E (one example). Cp. tea FFG24.</i>
	<i>cean</i>	<i>CEANN NACH bhfeiceann tú anois í? 894C4 (one example).</i>
k' al	<i>ceal</i>	k' æl. nax næhi:n' [sic] jib' m'e 04B1 <i>CEAL NACH n-aithníonn sib mé?</i>
x' al	<i>cheal</i>	<i>CHEAL NACH bhfeiceann tú í? 894C2,</i> x' æl nax næ:nh' in ... 01J <i>CHEAL NACH n-aithníonn ... ?</i>
	<i>ciodh</i>	<i>CI NACH bhfeiceann tú 894C2.</i>
n' æ'	<i>an ea</i>	n' æ' nax wil' M AN EA NACH bhfuil? 'n' æ' næx 'ro 31Mq <i>AN EA NACH raibh?</i>

The last form, **n' æ' an ea**, is the general usage for Seán and Máire and family, for whom **n' æ' an ea** is confined to this rhetorical negative usage (expecting an affirmative answer); for interrogative copula (i.e. in copula function) they use the usual form for our dialect (**ə**)**b' æ: ab ea?** The form (**ə**)**n' æ' an ea** is used by a minority of speakers in straightforward present copula function. Speakers who use **n' æ' an ea** exclusively in the rhetorical function (both preverbally and as an independent phrase) understand it formally as a copula interrogative and at least one speaker (**31Mq**) dissociates it formally from elements such as **k' a ceadh**. As well as the usual phrase-initial rhetorical **n' æ' ... 31Mq**, in response to query, speaker **31Mq** produced phrase-initial rhetorical **ə n' æ' ... 31Mq**, with an initial schwa which, in this particular rhetorical function, I have not heard in conversation.

The independent negative *ní* (past *níor*) can also be used interrogatively when intensified in information questions and in rhetorical function by preceding *ar ndóigh* (sentence adverb) and *a* (interjection). This occurs both in sentence initial position and in tag questions (where *ní* is repeated).

a(r)nu: *Agus AR NDÓIGH NÍ CHEAPANN tú gur rúta é? 01C6678,*
ar ndóigh **n' i:l' ən er'əd p' iən ə'noxt ort æ:nu: n' i:l' M**
NÍL an oiread pian anocht ort AR NDÓIGH NÍL?

¹ There is an example of *té* without *nach* in this function in:

Té n-áitníonn [perhaps mistake for n-aithníonn] tú do mhénchrois a ghrá dhílis mo chléibh thú !869P CABI §158(c) v. 3.

This line corresponds to:

Tuige nach n-aithníonn tú do mhéin-chris a ghrá ghléigil mo chroí thú ! CABI §138(d) v. 2 (similarly (c) v. 2, with do mhéin-chrios).

a a **æ' n' i:l' 16M A NÍL?**
æ' n' i: hin' ... 12S A NÍ hin ... ?
Bhuel an t-am sin NÍ RAIBH aon bhád innill thart, A NÍ RAIBH? a n' i'
ro 21Pg6003,
Ní cheart go mbeadh an solas air, go mbeadh sé dúinte, A NÍ
cheart? | æ' n' i x æ:rt | 66N.

In rhetorical responses and other Echo contexts these negative uses are common. In positive rhetorical responses, adverbs, conjunctions and interjections occur, e.g.

Negative: *-Níl (...).*
-Ce nach bhfuil?, Cheal nach bhfuil?, 'n ea nach bhfuil?

Positive: *-Tá (...).*
-An bhfuil?, -Dháiríre?, -An bhfuil, dháiríre?, -Muisse?,
-An bhfuil muis?, -Muisse tá!, -Ach an bhfuil?

8.63 Prepositions in the interrogative

Interrogative pronouns *cé* and *céard* generally precede prepositions. Simple prepositions generally occur inflected in the 3m, e.g.

k'e: 'je wil də 'forfə ... 'd' i:ntə | 866E CÉ DHE A BHFUIL do phursa déanta?
CÉARD FAOI A MBEITHEÁ ag streillínteacht? S.

For some 3f and 3pl pronominal examples, see 6.9. Prepositions may govern interrogative pronouns directly, especially in young people's speech. An example of *céard*, which is fairly rare as an object of a preposition in direct interrogative among older speakers, was noted from Seán, where he parallels the syntax of the preceding statement:

-er' ə f'e:d Ar an téad.
-er' ə g'erd S AR AN GCÉARD?

In the more usual syntax, i.e. *cé(ard) air?*, this syntactic echo would be absent. Another example has *céard* in an embedded clause:

tá barail a'm DHE CHÉARD TÁ i gceist a'd 21Pt,

which is equivalent to *tá barail a'm céard atá i gceist a'd* or *tá barail a'm dhen rud atá i gceist a'd*. Similarly:

... aon bhreithiúnas a bhaint AS CÉARD A BHÍ scríofa ar an ubh FFG20 s.v.
céard 2.

There are examples of embedded *cén* and embedded *céardós*:

Caití croínte AR CÉN FEAR A GHOTHADH síos. 35E9133;
thosaigh sé ag cuímhriú, AR CÉARDÓS k'erdos' CLEAS A D'IMREODH SÉ 35E1.

Examples of *cé* premodified by a preposition are from younger speakers:

dho ché **ba:n' ə gə x'e: ... 43M 'bainne DHO CHÉ?' a deir**
ag cé **- ... eg' dʒæ:k' i: dʌd M ... ag Jaicí Deabhaid.**
-eg' k'e 56N AG CÉ?

Speaker 56N from Ros Muc frequently uses the more traditional construction, but with direct relative syntax (common in her siblings and her Ros Muc cohorts), e.g.

- ... s k'e eg' ə ta fə k'æ:ni: 56N ... is CÉ AIGE ATÁ sé ceannaíthe?

Note the nontraditional example:

- ... eg'ə M ... aige.
 -k'e: eg'ə eg' 66N CÉAIGE AG?

(Perhaps a mixture of *cé aige* and *ag cé* with transposed *ag*.) That some of the interrogative syntax is being influenced by English is implied by use of English syntax and *wh*-word, again in syntactic echo context, in:

- v'i: n'æ:n' ... M Bhí Neain ...
 -v'i: hu: 25C BHÍ 'WHO'?

Cf. 11.168. The rapid increase in use of interrogatives as direct objects of prepositions, especially by younger speakers is also through English influence:

- ə g'erd 43M I GCÉARD? fi x'erd 72C FAOI CHÉARD?
 kosu:l' I'ə k'erd 72C COSÚIL LE CÉARD? 'Like what?' used by speaker 72C
 as a general query such as traditional *Céard atá i gceist a'd?*

8.64 Complex prepositions; Mq

In order to investigate the syntax of interrogatives based on complex prepositions, Máire was requested to question the prepositional content of clauses supplied by me. Only rarely in the query session was she pressed or queried as to any given syntax. For example, I said *Bhí mé ar aghaidh Sheáin* and Máire proffered *Cé ar (a) aghaidh a raibh tú?* Mq. She had no difficulty in producing interrogatives. Most of them are, similar to the example *Ar an gcéard?* cited above (8.63), second-instance sentences based on the previous discourse, more precisely explicatory echo questions. Her questions are listed below; the number preceding Máire's (Mq, and some other speakers') contributions stands for the salient syntax of the clause used, as follows:

Syntax	used with complex prepositions
1a. Possessive, front	<i>ar son, as cionn, dhe bhuíochas, dh'fhuireasa, dho choinne, faoi chomhair, i gcionn, i leaba, i dteannta.</i>
1b. Possessive, end	<i>(dho choinne), faoi dhéint, i mbun, i ndiaidh.</i>
2. Inflected preposition	<i>in éineacht le, mar gheall ar, thimpeall (ar).</i>
3. Nonpossessive or unchanged	<i>ar aghaidh (?), ar fud, ar nós, dho réir, faoi cheann, faoi chomhair, go ceann, go dtí, in aice (?), in áit (?), i ndiaidh, in éadan (?), i measc, i dteannta, le haghaidh, le hais, thar éis.</i>
4. Article	<i>ar fhuaid, dhen bhuíochas, in imeacht, i rith, i dtaobh, le linn, le taobh.</i>
5. Other	<i>faoi chomhair, i rith, le cois, mar gheall ar, thar éis, timpeall, trasna.</i>

The type of relative clause used is indicated by the final letter following the number: **i** = indirect relative, **d** = direct relative. For example, **1ai** indicates possessive syntax with fronted preposition and indirect relative clause, as in:

Cé AR A SHON [fronted preposition] *A NDEARNA* [indirect relative] *tú é?*

When more than one syntactical structure was proffered by Máire with any given preposition, the order of the examples presented below follows the order of her production. Prepositions with vowel-initial nominal elements are difficult to classify as the 3m possessive pronoun *ə a* is phonetically elided preceding

vowels. Speaker **66N** was present during some of the query session and offered some relevant sample questions which are included below, as are a few spontaneous examples from Máire (M) in conversation and from other speakers. As far as I am aware, there is no section in GGBC dealing specifically with the syntax of these interrogative clauses; type **1ai** is the only type exemplified, e.g. *Cé ina choinne a raibh tú ag imirt?* (GGBC §661, but glossed in the second edition by type **1bi** *cé a raibh tú ag imirt ina choinne?* §27.10).¹

8.65 Examples

ar aghaidh

3i (or **1ai**) -k' e er' ai ə ro tu M CÉ AR (A) AGHAIDH A RAIBH tú?

ar feadh

Note *Cé ar feadh ... MØperm.

ar fhuaid

4i -k' en uəd' ər x' u:l' f' iəd Mq CÉN FHUAID AR SHIÚIL siad?
Also ... uəd' ... Mq, perhaps a slip of the tongue brought about by the unfamiliar preposition.

ar fud

3i -k' e' er fud ə wíl' f' iəd Mq CÉ AR FUD A BHFUIL siad?

ar nós

3i -k' e' er nūs ə wul tu Mq CÉ AR NÓS A BHFUIL tú?

ar son

1ai -k' e er' ə hun ə n' a:rnə tu ε Mq CÉ AR A SHON A NDEARNA tú é?

as cionn

1ai -k' e' əs ə x' i:n ə ro tu Mq CÉ AS A CHIONN A RAIBH tú?

dhe bhuíochas, dhen bhuíochas ar

3i -k' e gən wixəs ə n' a:rnə tu a Mq
CÉ DHEN BHUÍOCHAS A NDEARNA tú é?

1ai -k' e gə: wixəs ə n' a:rnə tu a Mq CÉ DHÁ BHUÍOCHAS A NDEARNA tú é?

dh'fhuireasa

-kahə m' e d' i:nə gə wər' əsə BóC
Caithidh mé déanamh dhá bhfuireasa.
1ad -k' e gə: wir' əsə xahəs tu d' i:nə Mq
CÉ DHÁ BHFUIREASA A CHAITHEAS tú déanamh?

dho réir (dho léir)

3i -k' e gə re:r' ər' in' əf' tu η f' k' e:l Mq
CÉ DHO RÉIR AR INNIS tú an scéal?

dho choinne

(1bi) -k' e' hi' ə n' ə:xə tu gə kin' ə Mq CÉ hí A NDEACHAIGH tú DHÁ COINNE?

1ai -k' e gə: xín' ə n' ə:xə tu Mperm CÉ DHÁ CHOINNE A NDEACHAIGH tú?

faoi cheann

-b' e m' e a:n fi: x' a:n fæxtən' ə BóC
Beidh mé ann faoi cheann seachtaine.
3d -k' e fi: x' a:n ə xaəs tu v' e a:n Mq
CÉ FAOI CHEANN A CHAITHEAS tú a bheith ann?

¹ For simple prepositions, see McCloskey (1990: 226–8) and p. 1502 n. 1.

<i>faoi chomhair</i>	- ta m'e re: fi:nə xur' BóC <i>Tá mé réidh faoina chomhair.</i>
5i (= 2i)	- k'e fi: wil' tu re: Mq <i>CÉ FAOIA BHFUIL tú réidh?</i> - <i>Tá mé dhá dhéanamh faoi chomhair an easpaig.</i> BóC.
3i	- k'e fi: xur' ə wil' tu ga ji:nə Mq <i>CÉ FAOI CHOMHAIR A BHFUIL tú dhá dhéanamh?</i>
1ai	- k'e fi:nə xur' ə wil' tu ga ji:nə Mq <i>CÉ FAOINA CHOMHAIR A BHFUIL tú dhá dhéanamh?</i>
<i>faoi dhéint</i>	<i>Tháinig mé faoi dhéint buicéid.</i> BóC.
1bi	- k'er da:n'ək' tu fi:nə je:n' Mq <i>CÉARD A DTÁINIG TÚ FAOINA DHÉINT?</i>
<i>go ceann</i>	<i>Beidh mé ann go ceann bliana.</i> BóC.
3(i)	- k'e gə k'ən ə ... Mq <i>CÉ GO CEANNA ... ?</i>
<i>go dtí</i>	
3	<i>CÉ GO DTÍ? M 'to where? how far? whither?'</i> - gohə m'e gə d'i: e S <i>Gabhthaidh mé go dtí é.</i> - he k'e' gə d'i: e M <i>He? CÉ GO DTÍ É? 'to(wards) whom?'</i>
<i>i gcionn</i>	- <i>Sí M. atá i gcionn na mbeithíoch</i> BóC.
1ai	- k'e' nə g'i:n ə wil' ji' Mq <i>CÉ INA GCIIONN A BHFUIL sí?</i>
<i>i mbun</i>	- <i>Sí M. atá i mbun X.</i> BóC.
1bi	- k'e: wil' ji: nə wun Mq <i>CÉ A BHFUIL SÍ INA BHUN?</i>
<i>in aice</i>	
1a or 3i	- k'e næ:k'ə wil' je Mq <i>CÉ IN(A) AICE A BHFUIL sé?</i>
<i>in áit</i>	- m'ijə ta na:t' x'ən' BóC <i>Mise atá in áit Sheáin.</i>
1ai or 3i, or 4i	- k'e na:t' ə wil' tu Mq <i>CÉ INA / IN / AN ÁIT A BHFUIL tú?</i>
<i>i ndiaidh</i>	- <i>Chuaigh mé ann i ndiaidh Jaicí</i> BóC.
1bi	- k'e n'æ:xə tu nə jiə Mq <i>CÉ A NDEACHAIGH tú INA DHIAIDH?</i>
1bi	- x'u:l' m'e ə n'ia wə:r'ə BóC <i>Shiúil mé i ndiaidh Mháire</i> - k'e r x'u:l' tu nə d'ia Mq <i>CÉR SHIÚIL TÚ INA DIAIDH?</i>
3d	- x'u:l' m'e n'ia nə m'ehiəx BóC <i>Shiúil mé i ndiaidh na mbeithíoch.</i>
3i	- k'e n'ia v' i tu fu:l 66Nq <i>CÉ I NDIAIDH A BHÍ tú ag siúl?</i> (Following 66Nq) - k'e n'ia ro tu fu:l Mq <i>CÉ I NDIAIDH A RAIBH tú ag siúl?</i>
<i>in éadan</i>	
1a or 3i	- k'e n'e:dən ə wil' je Mq <i>CÉ IN(A) ÉADAN A BHFUIL SÉ?</i>
1a or 3d	k'erd ta fjəd fo n'e:dən 60M <i>CÉARD ATÁ siad seo IN(A) ÉADAN?</i>
<i>in éineacht le</i>	
2i	k'e n'e:n'əx l'əf wil' ko:l'im' Mq <i>CÉ IN ÉINEACHT LEIS A BHFUIL Cóilín?</i>
<i>in imeacht</i>	- ... <i>in imeacht na seachtaine</i> BóC.
4d	- k'e n' t'im'əxt ə v'i: tu ən'jo Mq <i>CÉN T-IMEACHT A BHÍ tú anseo?</i>
<i>i leaba</i>	
1ai	- k'e nə l'æ:bə ro tu' g obər' Mq <i>CÉ INA LEABA A RAIBH tú ag obair?</i>
<i>i measc</i>	- <i>Tá sé i measc na neantógaí</i> BóC.
3i	- k'e m'æ:sk ə wil' je Mq <i>CÉ I MEASC A BHFUIL sé?</i> - <i>Níor mhaith liom ghoil ina measc</i> BóC.
3	- k'e m'æ:sk nax ma' l'æt ə yol' Mq <i>CÉ I MEASC NACH maith leat a ghoil?</i>
<i>i rith</i>	- ... <i>i rith na seachtaine.</i> BóC.

1512 Functors

- 4d** -k'en rix' ə v' i: f'e ən' fo Mq CÉN RITH A BHÍ sé anseo?
(but 66N??perm).
- 5** i rix' k'en ta:xər ... 66Nq I RITH CÉN T-ACHAR ... ?
- i dtaobh*
4i -xuələ tu di:w wa:r' ə BóC Chuala tú i dtaobh Mháire.
Note -k'en ti:w ər xuələ tu fi: Mq, 66Nperm CÉN TAOBH AR CHUALA tú faoi?
type **1a** is not permitted here:
*Cé ina thaobh ar chuala tú? 66NØperm, MØperm,
presumably because *ina thaobh* would be interpreted as a normal noun
phrase: 'in his side'. Cf. *le taobh*.
- i dteannta*
3(d) -Chaith mé i dteannta an bhalla é. BóC.
1a -k'e d'ə:ntə xa' tu ε [x2] Mq CÉ I DTEANNTA A CHAITH tú é?
-k'e nə hə:ntə ... Mq CÉ INA THEANNTA ... ?
- le haghaidh*
3i -k'e: ɣ'ehi: ro f'e f'in' eg' ə M CÉ LE HAGHAIDH A RAIBH sé sin aige?
1bd CÉARD TÁ muid isteach LENA AGHAIDH ɣ'e nai an tseachtain seo
chugainn? 66N (isteach lena aghaidh, noted from conversation, is a
calque on English 'in for': 'what are we in for', i.e. 'what is in store
for us').
cé le haghaidh ... is Máire's regular use, and is most common in the dialect. Speaker
20C has frequent k'e: ɣ'e nai ... Cé lena aghaidh ... , i.e. type **1ai**, the more conserva-
tive use. There is an example of structure **1bd** varying with **1add** in:
-Meas tú CÉARD AB FHEARR na páirceannaí breá sin LENA AGHAIDH anois?
CÉARD LENA AGHAIDH AB FHEARR A BHEADH na páirceanna sin nó céard a
d'fheilfeadh iad. 866ESc150.31, 151.16.
(Spelt *lena n-aghaidh* and *le n-aghaidh* respectively in the printed version (Sc), both
possible spellings for ɣ'e nai. In the first instance the speaker may have used a plural
possessive pronoun ungrammatically, i.e. ɣ'e(nə) nai *lena n-aghaidh*. The plural
possessive was possibly triggered by the plural *páirceannaí*. The question is rephrased
when it occurs a third time: - ... cén ní ab fhearr a dhéanamh leis na páirceanna sin?
Sc152.9.)
- le hais*
3i Bhí mé i mo shuí le hais an doiris. BóC.
-k'e: ɣ'e hæ:f ə ro tu' də hi: Mq CÉ LE HAIS A RAIBH tú i do shuí?
- le cois*
5d -Tá sí trí bliana le cois an dá scór. BóC.
-k'e v'e:d ə ta f'i: ɣ'e ko:f ə da: sko:r' Mq
CÉ MHÉAD ATÁ sí LE COIS an dá scóir?
- ... ina loighe le cois an chlaí BóC.
5i (2i) -k'e ɣ'ej ə ro f'e nə lai Mq CÉ LEIS A RAIBH sé ina loighe?
- le linn*
4i -Bhí mise le linn Sheáin ann. BóC.
4d -k'e: n' l'i:n' ə ro tu a:n Mq CÉN LINN A RAIBH tú ann?
4d k'en l'i:n' ə v' i: tu 66Nq CÉN LINN A BHÍ tú?
(Both speakers independently.)
- le taobh*
4i -m'if ə v' i: ɣ'e ti:w wa:r' ə BóC Mise a bhí le taobh Mháire.
-k'en ti:v ə ro tu Mq CÉN TAOBH AN RAIBH tú?
- mar gheall ar*
2d -Rinne sé é mar gheall ormsa. BóC.
2i -k'e mar ja:l er' rin' f'e ε Mq CÉ MAR GHEALL AIR A RINNE sé é?
Ní thiúrat sé go shása' go'n scológ agus go ngoiteat sé an pota uaidh
agus go n-imeót sé i ngunfhios, gan fios aige CÉ MAR GHEALL AIR A
NDIANFAT SÉ é. 866EB16.111 (cé = what).
Cp. ... nach ceart a dhul thar ghol mrá gan fios a'ad, adeir sé, CÉ MAR
GHEALL AIR. 866EB16.112.

5i	<i>Agus dúradh léi nach bhfuigheadh nó GO CÉ MAR GHEALLA DTIOCFADH sí ag iarraidh lóistín acu féin nó cé d'ordaigh di é.</i> 866ESc160.22.
<i>thar éis</i>	- <i>Bhí sé théis an cúig.</i> BóC.
5i	- <i>CÉN T-ÁM A RAIBH SÉ?</i> Mq.
5i	- <i>CÉN T-ÁM A RAIBH SÉ THRÉIS?</i> Mq.
3i	- <i>CÉ THRÉIS A RAIBH SÉ?</i> Mq.
<i>timpeall</i>	- <i>Bhí sé ag goil tímpeall an tí</i> BóC.
5i	- <i>k' e'n a:t' ə ro fe gol' f'impəl</i> Mq <i>CÉN ÁIT A RAIBH sé ag goil TIMPEALL?</i> - <i>Chuir mé mo lámha thímpeall air</i> BóC.
2(d)	- <i>k' e er' ə xur tu himpəl iəd</i> Mq <i>CÉ AIR A CHUIR TÚ THIMPEALL iad?</i>
<i>trasna</i>	- <i>Chuaigh mé trasna bóthar / abhainn</i> BóC.
5i	- <i>k' e'n a:t' ə n' æ:xə tu træ:snə</i> Mq <i>CÉN ÁIT A NDEACHAIGH TÚ TRASNA?</i>

8.66 Synopsis

Types **1** and **2** are regular. When the final element of the complex preposition is nominal, e.g. *ar son*, interrogatives have pronominal syntax (type **1**). When the final element is a preposition, e.g. *in éineacht le*, they exhibit a prepositional pronoun (type **2**). Type **3** syntax is used with two main kinds of prepositions: those which do not normally have possessive objects, e.g. *ar fud*, *ar nós*, *go dtí*; and those ambiguous cases whose nominal element begins in a vowel, e.g. *ar aghaidh*. This type also includes some prepositions that can take possessive objects and it presumably represents a minor syntax (for Mq) for such prepositions. Type **4** is a minor usage which contains a miscellaneous group of prepositions, both those that do not take possessives generally, i.e. *in imeacht*, *i rith*, (*i dtaobh*), and those that do, i.e. *le linn*, *le taobh*, *dhe(n) bhuíochas*; whereas *ar fhuaid* is obsolete or obsolescent. The article in *cén* may have genitive or possessive function in at least some of the instances in this type (cp. 8.51). For example, *cén t-imeacht* might not be, literally, 'which duration' but rather 'whose duration' or 'duration of what'. In type **5**, only the initial preposition is retained in these interrogative tokens: *faoi chomhair*, *le cois*; or the final preposition is dropped, in *mar gheall ar*; or another interrogative lexical item is used: *cé mhéad*, *cén t-am*, *cén áit*; and / or the preposition is used adverbially: *timpeall*, *trasna*. This last type is far more common in normal conversation where there is less emphasis on interrogating specific prepositional content. Recall that **Cé ar feadh ...* is not permissible, presumably because *Cén t-achar / Cén fhad ...* are the normal option.

8.67 Relative

Direct: ə a^L (rare gə go^N); rare prevocalic ə d(ˈ) a d' in all tenses (8.38).

Indirect, generally: ə a^N, infrequently gə go^N; past ər, ər' (er', er) ar^L, infrequently gər (gər') gur^L, also ə a^L.

Negative direct and indirect: generally nach^N, past nar^L (8.16 ff.).

Cataphoric relative pronoun: ə a^N, infrequently gə go^N.

Essentially, the choice of relative depends on the presence or absence of a resumptive pronominal. In the absence of a resumptive pronominal, i.e. usually a prepositional pronoun or a possessive pronoun, the direct relative is used; where a resumptive pronominal is present, the indirect relative is used. Furthermore, non-

clefted adverbials mostly take a^N but a^L is also found, especially with time adverbials. E.g.

a^L (subject)	<i>an ropadh is an chaint A BHÍODH ar bun S;</i>
a^L (fronted)	<i>is aige ATÁ sé M; ní minic A DÉARTHÁ é M;</i>
a^N (preposition)	<i>bó A MBEADH foighdeán AICI S;</i> <i>cé acú AR CHUIR siad a lámh ANN 894C;</i> <i>Gá mbeadh beithíoch ann A MBEADH briseóchaí 'mach AIR;</i> <i>Cosúil le duine thú A MBEADH troímse curtha DÍOT S;</i> <i>Séard é an duine cunórach, A MB'FHEARR LEIS an strainséara ná a chomharsa héin S;</i> <i>Agus iomú cúntúirt 'NDEACHAIGH mé THRÍD. 889P;</i> <i>níl fhios a'm cé AIR A RAIBH se ag feitheamh S.</i>
a^N (possessive)	<i>Fear A MBEADH íochtar A bhronn briste CAR (s.v. cadairlín);</i> <i>teach A RAIBH similéar ina cheann ARN8812.</i>
$a^N >> a^L$ (adverbial)	<i>CÉN CHAOI A NGOTHÁIDH tú abhaile? M;</i> <i>CÉN UAIR A RAIBH / A BHÍ sé ann?</i> <i>CÉN UAIR A GHORTÓINN mé héin 21Pt.</i>

Indirect relative a^N is used although the article, rather than the possessive pronoun, qualifies the object in the genitive relation:

Dúirt an chailleach léithi nuair a d'éireodh sí ar maidin amáireach suí faoi chrann A MBEADH braonachaí drúchta a' tuitim as NA BILLEOGAÍ; B19.60.

It is significant that the antecedent *crann* is inanimate. The actual example cited here, however, resembles indirect locative use of a^N (preposition + noun phrase + a^N , 8.77).

In certain prepositional interrogatives there is an optional and innovative use without resumptive pronominal; the relative is nonetheless usually indirect (type **3i** and some **5i** in 8.64 ff., above). Such innovative indirect use resembles the indirect relative usual with manner adverbials (8.71). E.g.

a^N (possessive)	<i>Cé LENA AGHAIDH A RAIBH sé sin aige? (historical usage)</i>
a^N (Ø possessive)	<i>Cé LE HAGHAIDH A RAIBH sé sin aige? M (innovative, usual)</i>
a^N (Ø prep pron)	<i>go cé MAR GHEALL A DTIOCFADH sí ag iarraidh lóistín Sc160.</i>

For some examples with time and manner adverbials, see 8.71. For locative a^N following prepositional phrases, see 8.76 ff. Clefts are generally followed by a^L , but see 8.83.

In analysing instances of relative go^N for more common a^N , as well as the use of the indirect relative particle go^N common in Munster, one should bear in mind speaker **894C**'s by-form of the complementiser $\text{ə } go^N$ (8.6, also 1.69), which is formally identical with the relative particle $\text{ə } a^N$. Such formal ambiguity might be related to use of relative $g\text{ə } go^N$ for more common $\text{ə } a^N$.

The old use of a double prepositional relative is found in the set phrase which refers to a person's family or ancestry, e.g.

K'e: yar d'i:v hu' cé dhár díobh thú?

8.68 Form

A clear vowel is sometimes heard in the past form *ar*, especially in deliberate pronunciation (similar to interrogative *ar*^L, 8.46):

er: **bād er im'ə fe orhə 03Ct** *bād AR imigh sé ortha.*

er: **ən wɑ'd'ən' ər jial' fe i gəs er dug fe l'ef i !(Abó)21Pt**

an mhaidin ar dhíol sé i agus AR dtug sé leis í.

(In this example from **21Pt** the final token of *ar*^N occurs for more regular *ar*^L or *a*^N in a slip of the tongue perhaps triggered by the preceding *ar*^L. Cp. anomalous *shular ndeachaigh*, etc., 8.130.)

Relative *a* can be classified as weak schwa, undergoing frequent elision (or being frequently absent, cf. 2.6 ff.). For example, it is elided (or absent) in:

sə 'f'æ:x wil' ə 'kal'in' 'o:g jin' ōn | 11C

sa teach A bhfuil an cailín óg sin ann.

The following is an example of retention following a vowel in more deliberate speech:

fe: ə xūm ən' 'jin' ə tō:rɑ:n frɛʃin' lox nə 'N'i: | 11C

Sé A chum ansin an t-amhrán froisin 'Loch na Nia'.

8.69 Indirect subject

The indirect form of the copula is regular in relative clauses of classification which contain resumptive subject pronouns, e.g.

'níl mé i ndiaidh m'inín,' a deir sé, 'ar FHEAR ar bith as Éirinn,' a deir sé,
'AR FEAR É.' ər f'ær e: | 866Et (Sc184.35).¹

An example of indirect subject relative with a finite verb occurs in hesitant production in:

Ní rud í, AN FHEAMAINN DEARG, a bhfuil, A BHFUIL sí i riocht fanacht, ach,
thar dhá — Níl sí i riocht fanacht an dá lá, tá an iomarca sú inti.
894Cs.²

In this instance the purpose of the pronoun *sí*, which triggers *a*^N and which follows the copula phrase, is perhaps to focus on *an fheamainn dearg* as subject (or as topic) rather than *rud*. Compare fronted topic use exemplified further below with *go*^N in *DREÁMANNAÍ go leánn SIAD ...*; also *BEAN ... gur mheáigh, an chloch a d'úmpair sí ...* (8.75). For possible indirect relative with resumptive subject pronoun following a vocative phrase, see p. 1899 n. 1.

8.70 Direct

The direct relative verb is sometimes used in parenthesis, typically with the verb *abair* (cf. **ə d'ər'hən' 21Pt, ə jər'hən' 66N** *déarthainn*, 9.130), e.g.

tō:g' æhər nu mā:hər | d'ər'həs m'e | tɑ fjad ... 19P

tóig athair nó máthair, DÉARTHAS MÉ, tá siad ...

'take a mother or father, for example, they ...';

'Beidh baiste acub sin,' déarthaidh tú — DÉARTHAS TÚ, 'Dé Domhnaigh seo chugainn.' 21Pt.

The optionally lenited verb *c(h)reidim* occurs both in parenthesis and as matrix verb most often when expressing opinion; cf. 1.193, 9.132.

¹ Actually *'níl mé i ndiaidh ar m'inín,' ...* in a slip of the tongue.

² For theoretical discussions of resumptive subject pronouns, see McCloskey (1990: 214–6, 240, 244) and Duffield (1995: 170–82).

Transitive verbs are used in an impersonal construction expressing instrument or sufficiency with the relative, e.g.

rud mór ar nús, is cos ánn, chomh mór le, mar déarthá, le cheann [sic] dhe na, dhe na soithí sin síos a, bhíonns agaí, NA BAIDHLEARZ MHÓRA SIN tá, tá, TÁ BRUITH AN CHÓCÓ. 889P ‘... those large boilers used to boil cocoa’;

-wil’ tu g’iəɾə ʔe: BÓC *An bhfuil tú ag iarraidh tae?*

-brin’i:n’ b’og b’i:d’əx ə hlik’əs ʔə:bl’əʔ M

BRAOINÍN beag bídeach A SHLOIGTHEAS TEAIBLIT. ‘A small quantity (enough) to swallow a tablet’, literally ‘A tiny little drop which will swallow a tablet’.

8.71 Alternation with adverbials

There is some alternation following adverbial phrases of time between direct and indirect relative (GGBC §§658, 666 (§§27.8, 27.11); Ó Siadhail 1989: 313). Time adverbials mostly take indirect relative:

An chéad AM A DTÁINIC sé don áit seo B19.51;

an darna LÁ A DTÁINIG sé, bhí sé ag tíocht ag an Aifreann S;

Cosúil le OÍCHE e A MBEADH beithí ceanglaí istigh i dteach a’ d M;

gurb é AN T-ÁM chéanna é A RAIBH an trioblóid seo ar bun 01Pt (cf. 1.405);

agus AMANTA A DTAGANN corrchluiche scadán agus ronnach isteach. Clad14;

LAETHEANTA glana gréine A MBÍNIN ar murbháidhte éisg, Clad139.

There is an example in direct relative from a speaker cited immediately above:

... CÉN T-ÁM A D’FHÁGA sí é, an chéad oíche, 01Pt.

With *achar* and *uair*, direct relative is common:

AN T-ACHAR A BHÍONNS na daoine beo M, CÉN T-ACHAR A BHÍ sí ann 31P;

sin é AN UAIR A BHEADH an aithmhéala ortha Clad1235,

sin é AN UAIR A BHÍODAR ina n-iascairí maith 892M1540.

Examples of manner adverbials with the indirect relative are:

-Agus sin é AN FÁTH, a deir sé, A NDEACHA mé go dtí thú agus A DTUG mé an pota liom. 866EB1.115;

go CÉN BEALACH A DTIÚRTHA mé liom thú? 866ESemr50;

Agus ní rabh fhios aige CÉN BEALACH ná CÉN BÓTHAR A NGOTHAD sé ánn.

866ESemr90;

Thaspáin | ‘u:spá:n’ sé dom AN BEALACH A NGOTHAINN. 899P;

’gus ní hé ’ CHAOI chéanna A NDÍONANN muide an poll fataí A RAIBH sé díonta ’ chor a’ bi’ ag na Sasanaí. 897St.

In fact adverbial *bealach* *a*^N occurs twelve times in the long tale *Eochair Mac Rí in Éirinn* (866ESemr) without any token of adverbial *bealach* *a*^L. Ó Siadhail (1989: 313–4) cites an instance of *bealach* *a*^L from ‘younger speakers’ in Iorras Aithneach (Carna) which I recall hearing from speakers born since 1940 and less often from older speakers:

an BEALACH A RINNE sé é (in speakers who have ndearna with a^N);

cheapthainn gurb in é an BEALACH A BHEIDHEAS sé. m’ b’æ:ləx ə v’ei ʃe M;

’Gus chuala mé ... gobh é an BEALACH A DHÍONFÍ léithi sin, san am sin, fear agus a bhuicéad aige, ag cuir fadhaitvais ortha, 894P.

In the following example there is hesitation and a switch to direct relative following the fronted indirect adverbial clause in the initial sequence:

-Abair leothub go b'é AN LÁ A RAIBH sib ag cuir an arbhair, A NDEACHAIGH, A CHUAIGH mé thart. ... -AN LÁ A RAIBH muid ag cuir an arbhair seo, a deir sé, chuaigh sé thart anseo. S.

8.72 Cataphoric

Examples of cataphoric relative $\text{ə } a^N$ are (e.g. object of verb, of preposition *ar*, of comparative *ná*):

Fear bocht gan chéill a bhí i Seán, agus chaitheadh sé A DTÁINIG is A DTIOCFADH. 864MDT35 (i.e. he would spend much money);
 - ... Agus má fhaigheann tú lóistín na hoíche go maidin, ar A BHFACA tú ariamh **er' ə ,wa:kə tu 'r' iəv**, a dúirt sí, ná téire ar aon leaba! **11C**;
b'fhada liomsa ná A BHFACA mé ariamh ... go bhfeicinn Oíche Shamhna tagthaíthe 894C.

Cataphoric a^N acts as a definite noun phrase taking proleptic *é* (**35E7691** below):

je: wi:ha: ... 897S *sé A BHFUIGHTHEÁ ...* (of amount paid);
dúirt Muracha go rabh sé ag iarra na hiníne uirthe le pósa. Ar ndó badh é A RABH ón máthair é 866EB16.115;
sin é A BHFUIL mé a iarraidh ort 866ESc52.7.

The object or totality in question is often governed by the preposition *dhe* following the relative verb phrase (cp. *dhe + a^N > dhá^N*, 8.73):

thosaigh muintir Mhaínse ag cur síos ar A BHFACADAR muide a mharú DHE BHRAIN an lá sin 892Mt;
Agus, sé A BHFUIL je: wil' DHE THORAS le díonamh a'd ortha sin, a ghoil thimpeall chúig uaire ortha, agus ... 35E7691 (note also *sé a^N*);
sin A RAIBH DHE MHEÁCHAN aige iontú S;
Bhí ... a' gaine' mín a' gul in íochtar le neart A RABH GO SHEOL ag a' soitheach a' treabhadh na farraige ... (run)866EB16.117 (this is an instance of genitive relation between a noun (*neart*) and a^N);
 ... *cén chiall A BHFUIL GO CHION ag a' mada bheag ar a mháistreás 852SbTS138*, '... why the little dog is so fond of his mistress'.

Common in combination with indefinite pronoun *gach* (8.238), also *gach uile*, possibly also *gach's*, e.g.

ag iarraidh bheí' ag baint díob GACH A BHFÉADADH muid. 'd' i: b ə 'gah ə 'v' e: dæx ,mid' | 899P;
GACH A MBÍODH air fliuch, ina ghuta bháite 14M;
tá siad seo ina suí, draíodóirí ag an bhfathach mór, GACH A BHFUIL ag gabháil leis acub. Semr124,
'dhá chéad déag míle ar gach taoibh dhíom, agus GACH AR léir dhom uaidh sin amach,' a deir Mac Rí in Éirinn 866ESemr156;
gax el' ə rə a:n S GACH UILE A RAIBH ann;
GACH'S A BHFUIL i mo bholg tá sé i ndáil le bheith insithe dhuit FFG (s.v. bolg 6).¹

With *dhe* following the relative:

¹ This token (transcribed by de Bhaldraithe) is my only example of *gach's a^N* for Iorras Aithneach. It is not known to Mq. In contrast, *gach's a^N* is common in Cois Fharraige and Mionlach (GCF §392 s.v. *is a*; FFG20, 24 s.v. *gach* 1) as is *i ndáil le (bheith)* (GCF §402 p. 207; FFG20 s.v. *dáil*; cp. 8.126 below). It is therefore possible that this example in fact comes from outside of IA (e.g. FFG20) and that the IA attribution is mistaken or that the eastern usage influenced de Bhaldraithe's transcription here.

summonsáilhe mé GACH A BHFUIL D'IASC sa bhfarraige fréna chéile.
866ESemr102.

There is an unusual negative example in:

agus go leor acub a ghoth go Meireacá. 'S ánn a ghodar. Go Meireacá a ghodar, gach a, GACH A NAR CAILLEADH ACUB. gax ə n̄ar 'kaɫ' u: akəb |
872Pt '... they went to America, (all) those who did not die'.

Although the speaker hesitates before using the construction in the negative, and one can interpret his hesitation as an indication of the anomalous structure, the retention of *a* before *nar* is nonetheless noteworthy. One could argue that *a nar* is an indication of the status of cataphoric *a*^N as a pronoun since it is followed in this instance by the relative particle *nar*. The negative *nar cailleadh* contrasts with positive *cailte* (in the context of a description of the previous inhabitants of deserted dwellings) used earlier in the discourse by **872P**. The usual negative equivalent of (*gach*) *a*^N is, for example, *an méid nar cailleadh* (GGBC §674(c) (§27.23), CGT p. 134) or *aon-nduine l duine ar bith nar cailleadh*.

8.73 *dhá*^N

Cataphoric *a*^N is commonly combined with the preposition *dhe*, realised as **gɑ:**, **ɣɑ:**, **dɑ:**, **ɑ:** *dhá*^N.¹ The phonetic realisations of cataphoric *dhá*^N resemble other functors spelt *dhá*, for example, the prepositions {*dhe l dho* + possessive pronoun *a*} (6.35 ff., 7.18). Cataphoric use with *dhá*^N is very common, where the partitive meaning can be weakened or 'bleached' (in terms of grammaticalisation), e.g.

chuínigh DUINE DHÁ gɑ: RAIBH sa mbád, gá mbeadh deis eicint a'inn a gheárrthadh é **899D6502**;

'Gus, tháinic FEAR aníos i dteach ann, tarthúna, DHÁ RAIBH sa soitheach, 'gus dúirt sé ... **896P** 'and a man came up (and went in)to a house that evening, (a man) from the vessel, and he said ...';

cp. *chaitheadh FEAR DHÁ gɑ: RAIBH ar an vuins a bheith ag scaoileadh an rud sin.* **01C6314** 'a man (among those who were in the boat who was) on the winch ...' or 'a man on the winch would have ...'.

bhí dúil in ól ag achuile THÁILLIÚR DHÁ gɑ: BHFACA muide **11C**;

ach tá sé beo i gcúnaí agus cupla DUINE eile DHÁ gɑ: RAIBH in éindí leis **11C**;

- ... *i gcruth is, a deir sé, go mbeidh seacht mbuille a'm, a deir sé, ar an deabhal, a deir sé, in aghaidh BUILLE, DHÁ ɣɑ: MBEIDH aige orm.* **894Cstn**;

an galra sin ... ní imeoidh dhíotsa ná dh'AON-NDUINE DHÁ BHFUIL sa teach n̄a g ē:n' n' ə gɑ wíl' sə 't' æx ... go brách ... mara bpósa sí mise. **11C**;

bhíodar ag fáilt faocha, mar tá sa gcladach, FAOCHA GÁ BHFUIL sa gcladach, is bhainidís an tsúil as an bhfata, ... agus chuiridís an tsúil síos insa bhfaocha, **11C2831**;

Níl aon CHOR GÁ DTIÚRTHÁ nach gcaitheá bhei' ag baint tarraint as. **896P**.

The following is an example of *dhá* used without strict partitive function (since one door only is mentioned); the relative is indirect and may be prepositional:

ní ghothadh an sean-nduine sin amach ag — nú go n-usclaítí AN DORAS DÁ dɑ: DTÁINIG sé isteach ann. **05M**.

¹ For speaker **01P**'s use of cataphoric *dhá*^L, which is idiosyncratic in my material, see 8.82.

There may, nonetheless, be partitive meaning involved, i.e. ‘the door, of the doors of the house, through which he entered’. Compare:

Agus tá siad á thabhairt chun suime, ... CÉN BEALACH NÁ BÓTHAR DÁ DTÁINIG MAC rí le bantiarna as Éirinn — go gcaithfeadh sé gur duine acub thusa a tháinig anseo féibí bealach a dtáinig tú ann, 866ESemr124.

Cp. *GON CHONTAE DÁ DTÁINIG siad as (10.93)*. Also used temporally, e.g.

Ach AM EICINT, GÁR SCAOIL sé síos an chloich luaí, bhí sé ag rá nar bhréag a’ bích a bhí ann, gurb éard a thug sé aníos, dusán fraoigh. 11C3033.

The verbal particle **ga**: *dhá*^N very often introduces a relative clause following an abstract comparative which is itself preceded by the nominal particle **ga**: *dhá*^L, usually **ga**: ... **ga**:, e.g.

GÁ FHEOUS [fheabhas] GÁ N-OIBREÓ tusa 7 GÁ N-OIBREÓ mise 866ESemr78;

GÁ CHIUÍNE GÁ MBEAD SE 35E;

agus, GÁ, GHLIC GÁ RAIBHEADAR seo bhí Páraic é héin glic. 18J8572.

It is clear from these and other examples (3.69 ff.) that in general **ga**: *dhá*^N has little if any partitive meaning in this abstract comparative use.¹ Use of the direct relative *a*^L in this context is an obsolescent alternative, e.g.

GÁ BHUÍHE BHÍONNS a’ blá 869P5.

8.74 Particle *go*

The single example noted of direct relative **gə** *go*^N is:

AN CEANN GO MBEADH lán, scuabthaí uainne acub 897St (for regular [1] an ceann a bheadh lán ...).

Perhaps the speaker was influenced by an alternative use with nominal conjunction *go* and the verb *bí*, e.g. *an ceann a bheadh lán, go bhfuil sé scuabthaí, ...*. This speaker, **897S**, also has an instance of cataphoric *go*^N. See further marginal examples [4] (this section) and [1–3] (8.75).

Indirect relative **gə** *go*^N is seldom used in the dialect in general; it is, however, very frequent in **08B**’s speech:

ˈn̩ æːrt̪ d̪iːn̩ ə ɡə d̪uɡ ʃiː t̪ æːbl̪ ət̪ d̪oːb̪ 08B [2]

neart DAOINE GO DTUG SÍ teiblit DÓIBH;

... ɡəːsʊːr ɡə d̪uɡ ʃiː t̪ æːbl̪ ət̪ oː 08B GASÚR GO DTUG SÍ teiblit DHÓ. [3]

Possible examples from other speakers are more marginal or ambiguous, e.g.

SA MBAILE GO BHFUIL MÉ ANN [uttered slightly indistinctly and hesi- [4] tantly;

more regularly:] ... sa mbaile a bhfuil mé ann 892M1119–20, sa [5] mbaile a bhfuil mé ann 892M1180.

The two constructions *an oiread (is) a* and *an oiread go* (‘amount which’ and ‘amount that’ respectively) are sometimes very close in meaning:

ən er̪ əd əs ə xir̪ hɑː fiː d̪ə huːl̪ M [6]

AN OIREAD IS A CHUIRTHEÁ faoi do shúil (‘very little’);

n̩ iːr̪ ɑːɡə ʃe ən or̪ əd ɡə l̪ ækɑː br̪ ɑːn er̪ 19P [7]

níor fhága sé AN OIREAD GO LEAGTHÁ biorán air.

¹ There are, notwithstanding, examples where one can adopt the historical partitive interpretation. The partitive meaning in the following example involves *aon ghaiscíoch ... dhár*, not *dhá fheabhas dhár*:

AON GHASCÍOCH gá fheabhas (fhús) GÁR LEAG cos ar bóthar ariamh ná GÁR RUG ar chlainne 866ESemr78.

8.75 Topic *go*

In a type of topic fronting, *go*^N is more common. It corresponds to both unmarked direct and unmarked indirect relative:

- for direct **dr' a:məni: gə l' a:n fjad əmax æs ə si:l 12S**
 relative: *DREAMANNAÍ GO LEÁNN SIAD amach as an saol* ‘there are some classes of people who fade away without descendants’;
- for indirect **ra:lʃə | ga:ri: gə m'ox klai mah er' S**
 relative: *ráilse* — *GARRAÍ GO MBEADH clai maith AIR*; where, however, the **gə** may be a reduced form of conditional conjunction *dhá*, if not actually misheard for **ga dhá**.

With the copula, in topic fronting as well as unmarked relative use, indirect *go*^N is not uncommon:

ə:mən' ə gər wa: l' ɛf' ... 49M AON-NDUINE GUR MHAITH LEIS ...

With embedded relatives, as well as usual *a*^N ... *a*^L, one occasionally finds *go*^N (indirect relative) ... *a*^L, or *go*^N (indirect relative) ... *go*^N (conjunction; in negative past, as in the examples cited, *go*^N ... *nar*^N):

'Gus choinic mé BEAN, sa mbaile bhfuil mé ann, GUR MHEÁIGH, AN CHLOCH A D'IÚMPAIR SÍ, GUR MHEÁIGH SÍ na chúig céad. 896P (of ‘stone’ of hardened kelp);

GLITICHÍN bheag GO SÍLHEÁ NÁ ru mórán mathas' ÍNTI 894C2;

7 tháinic GLITICHÍN bheag amach as GO SÍLHEÁ NÁR thada í 894C2.

See 8.85 [4], [5].

There are two examples of *go*^N as relative cataphoric pronoun (regular *a*^N). There is an adjacent **gə** *go* / *dhe* in both of these examples:

ma:nəm ... gə b'e: gə wəl' 'wemʃə e jja:l 897S [1]

m'anam ... go b'é GO BHFUIL uaimse é a dhíol;

ta gaxəl'e k'ina:l din' a:n s gə wíl' gə re:lt er' ən er: S87 [2]

tá gacha le cineál duine ann IS GO BHFUIL dhe réalta ar an aer.

There is also a further instance of *gur*^L in place of usual direct relative *a*^L:

d'aul as gər hukəð j'i marəx gər ... S [3]

DEABHAL AS GUR THIOCTHADH SÍ marach gur ...

This last example is a slip of the tongue and example [2] is also incorrect or marginal; in both cases the relative **gə(r)** may be attributed to an anticipation of the following **gə(r)** later in the utterance (in *dhe réalta* and *gur ...* respectively).

8.76 Indirect locative

Following many adverbial clauses and conjunctions, *a*^N functions as the subordinator, e.g. (in prepositional interrogative)

go n-insí tú dhom cé thú agus CÉRB AS AR FHÁGA tú 875PDT17.

With *áit* the particle *a*^N is used, without any resumptive pronominal for the most part. Where there is no resumptive pronominal in the relative clause (i.e. in this instance there is generally no resumptive *ann*), one can classify *a*^N as an adverbial subordinator or as an adverbial relative pronoun. Examples:

with *ann*: *ÁIT A MBEADH puíteach ANN S,*
 ... *nach 'tóchar' atá ar an ÁIT A MBÍONN an sionnach ANN S;*

without *ann*: *an ÁIT A BHFUIL an sprigáil M,*
istigh san ÁIT A RAIBH sé. 11C,
chuile gharraí loirg, chuile ÁIT A MBEADH fataí bainte 25Mt,
Gheall Dia afarc dhuit, a Chim, san ÁIT A BHFUIL tú ' léabh S,
tá fhios a'd an ÁIT A MBÍONN sí páirceáilte aige,
fonn is faitíos ortha triall ar an ÁIT AR CHEAPADAR an gol a
bheith. SNG292,
Is ÁIT é NACH GCOINNÍONN siad mórán beithíoch ach an méid
bheas a' méide talthúna bheas acub in ann a thóigeál 869P,
nuair a tháinig sé chomh fada leis an ÁIT AR CHEAP sé an teach a
bheith, sé an chaoi a raibh teach nua déanta ann. 864MDT52,
bhreachaigh sé ina thimpeall agus ní fhaca sé ÁIT a bich ann A
GCUIRTHEAD sé an corp ach amháin teampall a bhí ann 11C
 (the instances of *ann* in the last two examples are not resumptive
 but mean 'in the place, there');

in coordination:

nó ar na carraigreacha fiáine san ÁIT A MBÍONN sruthanna tréana
na mara móire, AGUS A MBÍONN na tonntracha go síoraí ag
coipeadh ... Clad202;

regularly without *ann* following interrogative *cén áit* 'where', e.g.

CÉN ÁIT A RAIBH mo chréatúr ach sínte ar an leaba M,
ach CÉN deabhal dh'ÁIT A BHFUIL sé ag iarraidh ghoil? M;

also in causal function, e.g.

sé an ÁIT A RAIBH sí ag tíocht, dho mo choinnesa P,
Nach in é an ÁIT A BHFUIL me ag vundaráil wundəra:l' [<
wonder] P;

also most frequently without *ann* following verbs of motion, e.g.

ÁIT a bí' A NGOTHA' sé sin nach gcaithidh Seán ... M,
an ÁIT A NGOTHA' tú isteach ar an leaba S.

Also genitive *áite*, plural *áiteacha*:

without *ann*: *ainm NA HÁITE A BHFÁSANN sí. Clad164;*
... cleachtadh a'inn a bhei' tabhairt céibheannaí ar NA HÁITEACHA
A BHFUIL muid héin. er nə 'hɑ:ɾ'əxə wɪl' mid' 'hɛ:n | 01Pt,
 cp. type (a) (8.77).

Cp. *Tá ÁITEACHA thíos ar thóin an phoill is mó A DTAIGHIGHEANN*
an t-iasg ná a chéile, Clad114 (changed in second edition to ...
is mó a thaithíonn an t-iasc ná ... Clad13).

In fact, this adverbial a^N is found following nouns other than *áit*, where a^N functions as an adverbial conjunction similar to *san áit a^N*. This use reflects (at least partially) the prepositional origin of a^N in such cases, e.g. *áit a^N < áit i^N*.¹

8.77 (a) Following a prepositional phrase

In seven collated examples the definite antecedent is in a prepositional phrase which precedes a^N (*a raibh* (past *bí* (x5); also *bí* (x4) in 8.79 [11–4]), *ar fhága* (x1) and *ar rugadh* (x1)):

Nuair a tháinig sé CHUN NA TRÁGHA A RAIBH AN OILPHÉIST, bhí sí ina [1]
codladh roimhe. 852SbLL113;

¹ Cp. CGT §§233, 239, 268 (e) (including footnotes).

- chудар ag marcaíocht ar a gcuid capall agus shiúladar THAR AN* [2]
BHFUINNEOIG A RAIBH AN RÍ, AN BHAINRÍON AGUS AN INÍON AG BREATHÚ
ORTHA [i.e. *orthú*] **864MLL80** ‘... they walked past the window where
 the king, queen and the daughter were looking at them’;
- go dtáinig sé isteach INSA GCALADH AR FHÁGA SÉ. 875PDT19;* [3]
- ugəs k’erɔ ə hjukəx əft̪ a:x hri: ska:l’p̪ ə t̪i:ʔ² | ax ga: g̪r̪ ɛ:n̪ ɔ̪ |** [4]
ugəs hœsə ʃe ska:l as k’i:n f’el’əm’ | er’ ə ma:d̪ ə ma:t̪əl’ | ə ro
ʃe fadu: nə t̪in̪ ɔ̪ | 894C *agus céard a thiocthadh isteach thrí scailp*
an tí ach ga gréine agus thosaigh sé ag scaladh as cionn Féilim AR
AN MAIDE MATAIL A RAIBH SÉ AG FADÚ NA TINE;
- nuair a bhí sé ag tíocht anuas, ag an dó dhéag, tao’ thoir, soir, óN* [5]
GCOSÁN A RAIBH SÉ AG GOIL, | ‘ser’ | ‘o:ŋ gus̪:n̪ ɔ̪ ro ʃe ‘gol’ | bhí an
fear ag tíocht chaige anoir. 05M;
- agus gá bhfanadh muid AR AN MARC A RAIBH MUID 18J7961.*¹ [6]

In the following example the antecedent noun is in the genitive case (cp. [1]) following a prepositional phrase (note the following *ann* which is not resumptive):

- Bhí teach an uair sin AR LÁTHAIR AN TÍ AR RUGADH MÉ FÉIN, agus* [7]
fíodóirí ag obair ar tuarastal acu ann. SÓC2.282.

There is an example with prepositional function (i.e. not (primarily) locative, but with absent possessive *aige*), also with a definite antecedent in a prepositional phrase, in:

- fear ... agus píobaí ceoil aige, agus an chéad tsinneán a chuala Cod as* [8]
na píobaí ceoil ní dheárna sé ach rith CHUIG AN BHFEAR A RAIBH SIAD
agus na píobaí a bhaint de ... An fear a raibh na píobaí ceoil aige ní
*dheárna sé ach ... 852SbLL138.*²

¹ Compare further examples from song, from Mionlach, An Caisleán Gearr, and from the celebrated writer Máirtín Ó Cadhain, Cois Fharráige (East Conamara):

- AS AN BPÁRLÚS ÁLAINN AR CHAITH sé a shaol !39D,* [i]
an fhad siar ÓN SEAS A MBEIDH ní ag iomra FFG24 s.v. cor¹ 7, [ii]
Ligh sé an giodán DEN BHÓTHAR A RAIBH siad. (M. Ó Cadhain 1977: 100). [iii]

The actual antecedent in [iii] is *an giodán den bhóthar* so that *a^N* is not strictly speaking governing a prepositional phrase but rather directly follows a prepositional phrase contained in its antecedent. Similarly, compare {type (c) ... type (a)}:

- Tá go leor CUASANNA, A MBÍONN rónta, AR AN TAOBH THAR ANEAS agus poill dhoimhne* [iv]
trá AR AN TAOBH THOIR ADUAIDH A MBÍONN an fharráige cineálta. Clad266.

There are examples of {*sa X go^N / ar^L ... Ø* resumptive prepositional pronoun} attested from Munster and Donegal (*sa bhocaid ... go bhfuil an gual* GCD §623; C. Ó Cadhlaigh 1940: 393 §472; cf. p. 1521 n. 1). The examples might suggest a haplological basis, at least synchronically, for the avoidance of repetition of prepositions in this structure, as discussed further below (8.78).

² This example (similar to the locative examples in this section) has *a^N* functioning outside of the two canonical prepositional relative structures of Irish, e.g. (i) *an fear AG A raibh siad* (historical standard use, now a feature of southern Irish and Scottish Gaelic), (ii) *an fear A raibh siad AIGE*. Cf. 10.92. It seems unlikely that the editor of the text cited, Seán Mac Giollamáth (who does standardise his folklore editions), would have deliberately changed either of these constructions in the storyteller’s speech to the structure (iii) *chuig an bhfear A raibh siad* as found here. It is also unlikely that *aige* was erroneously omitted in the edition. Interestingly, there are instances of relative type (i) in folklore transcriptions published by Seán Mac Giollamáth, e.g.

- Nuair a hosclaíodh an seomra AS A dtáinig an dá cheann déag dhe chailleacha dubha ... Nuair a hosclaíodh an seomra A dtáinig an dá cheann déag dhe mhuca agus muc gan cheann aniar AS, ... 852SbLL136,*

but I have not heard this relative type (i) in conversation or narrative.

8.78 (b) Other *ann*; Discussion

Two other adverbial examples without the resumptive pronominal have *ann* in a preceding clause:

ní raibh TEACH A' BICH ANN, an t-am sin NAR RAIBH CÓRTHA MÓR [9]

MILLTEACH. Bhuel séard é córtha, ... 11C1132–3;

TÍOFAÍ DTEAGAD SÉ ANN ní bhfuighead sé deoch íontub, TÍOFAÍ [10]

BHFUIGHEAD SE A BHÉILÍ. 11C.

Example [10] has the added complication of containing *íontub* (referring to *tíofaí*) as well as containing ellipsis: *tíofaí [eile a dteagad sé íontub / ann] a bhfuighead sé a bhéilí*.

In the two types exemplified above there is an avoidance of a sequence of two prepositions, although such a sequence is required by the canonical prepositional relative. That is to say (a) with antecedents contained in a prepositional phrase (or containing such a phrase, as in [ii]–[iii], p. 1522 n. 1), or (b) following existential or resumptive pronominal *ann*. For instance, two examples cited above:

(a) *gá bhfanadh muid ar an marc a raibh muid,* [6]

(b) *ní raibh teach a' bich ann, an t-am sin nar raibh córtha mór millteach,* [9]

would involve repetition of the same preposition in the canonical relative structure:

(a) *gá bhfanadh muid AR an marc a raibh muid [AIR],* [6a]

(b) *ní raibh teach a' bich ANN, an t-am sin nar raibh córtha mór millteach [ANN].* [9a]

Other examples would require two different prepositions, e.g.

(a) *AR an maide matail a raibh sé ag fadú na tine [FAOI ??].* [4a]

The added preposition can seem incongruous in cases such as [4a] which is an indication of the semantically less precise locative function (i.e. 'where') of the indirect relative in some of these clauses.

8.79 (c) Other (prepositional) phrases; Noteworthy direct relative

There may be no relevant preposition in one instance and a further example with preceding preposition in:

Ní mórán aice A MBÍONN SÍ nach mbíonn cúil-bhealach aici le [11]

n-imtheacht má bhíonn sí i sáinn. I GCUID DE na haiceachaí A [12]

MBÍONN siad ar feadh uair de ... Clad126.

Two other examples lack either a preposition in the antecedent or the form *ann* but they do have a prepositional phrase following the relative verb (*bí*):

Bhuel sin é AN FHUAIGH, A MBÍOD sé ag tóigeál rudaí, a d'fheileadh é AS [13]

AN SIOPA IS AS CHUILE SHÓRT. 892M4248;

Ab in é an BAIRE A MBÍONN siad cruinníthe I MULLACH A CHÉILE? M. [14]

The direct relative has locative force in:

s kumə ɾɛʃ ə ʋ ei ʃɛ nə xolə 05M is cuma leis A BHEIDH SÉ INA CHODLADH (corresponding to ... *cé / cá mbeidh ...*; not to ... *cé leis a mbeidh ...*, although the actual occurrence of *leis* may have caused some confusion with *cé leis*).

As stated, with *áit* as antecedent the indirect relative is most common. The following example is ambiguous as to direct or indirect relative (because of

optional *-r* and loss of the contrast $a^L \sim ar^L$, cp. example cited under *teara amach le*, 8.81):

s dúnə n a:t ə ha:n'ək' tu *M is dona an ÁIT A THÁINIG tú.*

Indirect relative also occurs with *fág* following *áit* (cp. [3] above):

t'air' er' æ:f sən a:t' ə r' a:g' tu 19P *téire ar ais san ÁIT AR FHÁGA tú.*

(Cp. *an t-am a^N* >> *an t-am a^L*, 8.127.)

In the negative the direct–indirect contrast is of course suspended, e.g. (followed by positive indirect relative)

nuair a casadh isteach in ÁIT álainn é NAR RAIBH sé ag cloisteál tada ach ceol aoibhinn álainn agus aoibhneas an tsaoil aige istigh san ÁIT A RAIBH sé. 11C.

Direct relative alternating with indirect, traditional use

8.80 Direct relative for indirect

The direct and indirect relative particles are generally kept distinctly separate in the speech of traditional speakers although there are some cases of ‘leakage’. Most examples of anomalous usage consist of direct relative a^L for indirect relative particle a^N . These will be described first. (For younger speakers, see further below, 8.89 ff.)

Manner relative, *caoi*

With *cén chaoi*: **k'ε xi: d'air'ə ɾ'ib' M CÉN CHAOI A D'ÉIRIGH lib?**

k'ε xi: d'air'ə ɾ'ε ʃin' M CÉN CHAOI A D'ÉIRIGH leis sin?

Máire has far more commonly *cén chaoi ar éirigh le ... ?* Her direct relative is perhaps influenced here by the synonymous *cé mar d'éirigh le ... ?*

Occasionally the direct relative or parataxis follows the discourse marker *sé an chaoi* (8.231). Examples contain leniting tenses (past habitual), e.g.

Sé chaoi raibh sé acú ansin, té nar raibh aon teideal aige dhon fheamainn, SÉ CHAOI GHOTHAD SÉ, gheithead sé uathub seo é. 06C;

ʃε xi: 'hainʃə ser' a:n 19P SÉ AN CHAOI THEIGHINNSE soir ann.

8.81 Prepositional

Verb-and-preposition collocations show some lexicalisation where the direct relative occurs as if the complex were treated as a simple transitive verb with direct-object antecedent.

cuir fíos ar **n'i:l'əs am k'ε:rd ə xir'hən' ʃ'is er' ɾ'ε ɬa:rə M**
Níl fhios a'm CÉARD A CHUIRTHINN FÍOS AIR le Deara.

imigh le **ən m'isur: ə v'i:x mid' əg' im'əxt ɾ'εʃ 43J**
AN MIOSÚR A BHÍODH MUID AG IMEACHT LEIS.

teara amach le **x'æ:p ʃε gə mi:ntəx ə rud ə ha:n'ək' tu ma:x ɾ'εʃ M**
cheap mé go mb'iontach AN RUD A THÁINIG TÚ AMACH LEIS.
(English-based idiom ‘come out with, say’; alternatively, this could be indirect *a tháinic* (without *-r*).)

teighre amach le **x'ε:d xal'i:n' v'i: ʃε gəl' ə'max ɾ'εʃ 43M**
an chéad CHAILÍN A BHÍ sé ag goil amach LEIS.

teighre thrí 7 *iad a' cur síos ar A' TRIOBLÓID A CHUADAR THRÍD 894C2.*
teip / clis ar **ám' f'ær' ə hɛp'əx' ɛr' nu x'lfəx' ɛr' ... (Smds)04B**
AN FEAR A THEIPTHEADH AIR nó A CHLISTHEADH AIR ... [where air
is reflexive].

For further instances of these phrasal verbs, see the examples in fronted syntax below (8.83) and in the discussion of lack of concord (8.86 ff.).

With *maírg* the direct relative can be generalised:

nax mar'əg' ə v'ox' truəi' eg'ə' yit' M
nach MAIRG A BHEADH truaí AIGE dhuí;
t'et' fe' f'æ:di:l' is mar'əg' ə v'əx' truəi' eg'ə' yoi: M
téadh sé ag feadaíl is MAIRG A BHEADH truaí AIGE dhó.

8.82 Other examples

Some miscellaneous examples are collected here. Most contain the direct relative of the verb *bí*; most in *bh-* with tense lenition: *bhí*, *bhíodh*, *bheadh*, but also *bheidh(eas)* (x2) and *tá* (x2). There are several indefinite antecedents.¹ The slightly hesitant instance in:

b'ed'ər' gər' nə' kaur'v'æ:n' ə v'i:x' brɔ:g' orhə' 05M

b'fhéidir gur, na, CORRBHEAN A BHÍODH BRÓG UIRTHI,

was perhaps influenced by, or intended as ... *corrbhean a bhíodh ag caitheamh aon bhróig* or the like. Similarly,

d'iarhə' fe' ji:m' k'e' agə'n' ə v'i:ŋ' kr'ed'ə' k'æ:rt' eg'ə' M

d'fhiathraigh sé dhíom CÉ AGAINN A BHÍ AN CREIDEAMH CEART AIGE,

was perhaps influenced by a hypothetical *cé againn a bhí ceart* or the like.

Cp. **nə' f'ir' vr'ə: | klæn' ri:hi' gəs' pr'i:nsi' | ə v'i: | ə g'ə:n' gə' xir' ər' f'il'ɛ:r' ə' jætə' (Smds)04B** *NA FIR BHREÁ, clann ríthí agus prionsaí, A BHÍ, A GCEANN DHÁ CHUIR AR PHILÉAR AN GHEATA,*

perhaps 'planned' as *na fir ... a bhí dhá gcuir ar philéar an gheata*.

The direct copula relative *ba mhó* perhaps influenced the following relative *a bhí* in:

Agus creidim go mbadh é AN T-ATHAIR ba mhó A BHÍ AN MHÁTHAIR AG GOILLEADH AIR, d'éirigh sé ... 866ESc282.16; cp. le cláí a bheidheas, ... a thaobh 01P below.

Cp. *Bhuel SÉN ÁIT é is fiáine A D'FHÉADHTÁ, CUR SÍOS AIR. 894Ct.*

Examples of apparently unmotivated direct relative *a^L* include:

| din'ə' v'əx' æ:n' ha:kəb' ɛr' | 05M *DUINE BHEADH AITHNE ACUB AIR;*²

dhá mbeadh DUINE ánn A BHEADH A SHLAINTE AIGE 04F;

... ach AN MÉID A BHEIDH SIAD AG BAINT UASÁIDE AS. ... le CLÁÍ a bheidheas, A BHEIDHEAS A THAOBH, díreach ó dheas. 01P (second anomalous *a^L* token possibly influenced by preceding regular *a bheidheas*; cp. this speaker's *dhá^L* further below in this section);

ach AN BEITHÍOCH TÁ ME IN ÉINEACH' LEIS, ... S;

Bríd an chéad DUINE CHOINIC mise sin AIR M;

¹ Cp. *thál go bhfuil duine agam a labhrós leis M* (8.86 and 8.143).

² Cp. this speaker's *corrbhean a bhíodh bróg ortha 05M* (cited above) and *is cuma leis a bheidh sé ina chodladh 05M* (8.79).

Bhuel, á gcuireadh, duine acub ansin a lámh, SA BPLÁTA A BHEADH FÁINNE AIR, phósthad sé roimh(e) bhliain. ... sa bpláta raibh an t-uisce ann, 892M;

... is mú ATÁ TÓIR anis ORTHUB, 17Mpt;

ga:ri: mo:r ə v ox ə f' e:r a:n 19P

GARRAÍ MÓR A BHEADH [past habitual meaning] AN FÉAR ANN

'the large field where the hay used to be'.

Speaker **01P** has consistent anomalous lenition with most verbs (perhaps indicating direct relative) following his cataphoric *dhá^L* (8.73):

dhá a: mheabhraí DHÁ a: CHOINIC muid, gur an-fhada, san earrach, a bhí sé nuair a d'fhás aon fhata, DHÁ BHÍ sna poill. | a: 'v' i: snə 'paíl' | ...

... ar a-, chuile, féarthaí, DHÁ a: THAITHNÍODH léithi. 01P;

cp. Ach rud a' bith beo DHÁ D'FHEICTHEAD SÍ ar an gcéad iarraidh, sé a bhí scuabthaí. 12St (rare for 12S);

but **01P** has regular indirect relative with *bhfuil*:

aon-nduine DHÁ a: BHFUIL beo agus DHÁ a: BHFUIL imí ... 01P.

Leniting cataphoric **a: 01P** *dhá^L* may have arisen through analogy with (i) the leniting nominal particle, e.g. **a: 01P** *dhá^L*, general with abstract comparatives, and (ii) leniting temporal and causal conjunction *ó^L* (< preposition *ó^L*) in its common by-form **a:**.

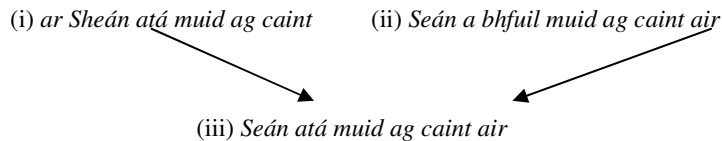
Finally, we can note the example of direct relative for more common complementiser *go^N*:

ag caint ar Jack a bhí sí, ... , agus go mb'fhada léi A BHEADH an tseachtain amuich. 866Et (Sc185.27),

perhaps influenced by regular *is fada a bheadh ...*.

8.83 Fronted antecedent governed by preposition

The clefting of constituents contained in prepositional phrases usually involves (i) fronting the prepositional phrase followed by direct relative *a^L*. Less often (ii) the preposition remains unfronted and the fronted element is followed by indirect relative *a^N* and a resumptive pronominal. More rarely still (iii) the two constructions merge and the final preposition is preceded by a relative clause introduced by *a^L*.¹



Examples of type (iii) are listed here. Examples [4] and [6] contain both types (i) and (iii). Example [4] is the only instance of a pronoun (with inanimate reference here) as main antecedent.

12S busəni: ta f'jɪəd ə t'æxt er' ... BUSANNAÍ ATÁ siad ag teacht AIR? [1]

f'jɪn' e ta m'e ki:vr'u: n'ij' er' sɪn É ATÁ mé ag cuimhniú anois AIR. [2]

¹ Mac Cana (1985) exemplifies from the literature types (i) (pp. 210–1), (ii) (pp. 211–2) and 'an interesting hybrid instance' (iii) (p. 212). Cp. (for (i) and (ii)) Mac Cana and Ó Baoill (1990).

	nə rudi: x̄i:n' i:n f̄iəd er'	[3]
	<i>NA RUDAÍ A CHUIMHNÍONN siad AIR (a mharáionns mé héin).</i>	
	ʃe: v' i:d' i:ʃ ə pl̄a:ʃt' e:rəxt ʃ' eʃ s ʃ' eʃ ə v' i:d' i:ʃ ə pl̄a:ʃt' e:rəxt	[4]
	<i>SÉ A BHÍDÍS ag pláistéarach LEIS, is leis a bhídís ag pláistéarach.</i>	
12J	ə k' a:n eʃ ə t̄a: mud' ə ka:n't' er'	[5]
	<i>AN CEANN eile ATÁ MUID ag caint AIR.</i>	
16M	Shíltheá gur i mbeat [bath] atá sé, más BEAT ATÁ sé ANN.	[6]
	<i>TÍ-SEOIRTS TÁ mise ' caint AIR.</i>	[7]
	maik' əʃ ə v' eis t' i: wa:r' ə eg' ə 	[8]
	<i>MAIDHCIL A BHEIDHEAS — tigh Mháire AIGE.</i>	
	ʃiəd nə t̄ə:bl' əʃ s əs mu: t̄a: m' e nə n' iə <i>Siad NA TEAIBLITS is mó</i>	[9]
	<i>ATÁ mé INA NDIAIDH ('miss, feel absence of').</i>	

All examples containing resumptive prepositional pronouns have 3m forms. There is a lack of number concord in examples [1], [3] and [7]. For inter-generational variation between interlocutors, **60M** (iii) and **16M** (ii), see 8.91. Compare anomalous:

(iv) *Is air atá an aois teagthaí air M,*

an unusual blend of correct (i) *is air atá an aois teagthaí* (heard in conversation) and (iii) *is é* [animate] *atá an aois teagthaí air* (which I do not recall hearing in conversation, cp. [4]).

8.84 Prepositional interrogative

With prepositional interrogatives, indirect relative a^N is most common, both with fronted and final prepositions. Examples with a^L , however, do occur. Given a choice, in many of the instances cited below, speakers would no doubt prefer indirect relative a^N .

Prepositional pronoun	With fronted preposition before verb: <i>CÉ AIR ATÁ se seo ag faire? S.</i> k' e eg' ə t̄a:s e' ʃi:n' S <i>CÉ AIGE ATÁ fhios é sin?</i> <i>CÉ DHÓ BHÍ sé ag comhaireamh</i> 18J. <i>CÉ MAR GHEALL AIR A RINNE sé é?</i> Mq (Máire typically has indirect <i>a ndearna</i>).
	With preposition following verb: - ... ə pl' e: ʃ' e ag plé le ... -k' e:rd ə xuə ʃi:b' ə pl' e: ʃ' eʃ S <i>CÉARD A CHUAIGH sib ag plé LEIS?</i> n' i:l' əs am k' e:rd ə xir' hən' ʃ' is er' ʃ' e ɔa:rə M <i>Níl fhios a'm CÉARD A CHUIRTHINN FIOS AIR le Deara (8.81).</i> k' en sɔrt k' i:n ta tu er' 47P <i>cén sórt CINN ATÁ tú AIR?</i> (of pills).
Possessive	With fronted preposition before verb: <i>CÉ DHÁ BHFUIREASA A CHAITHEAS tú déanamh?</i> Mq. With preposition following verb: k' erd ta ʃiəd ʃo n' e:ðən 60M <i>CÉARD ATÁ siad seo INA ÉADAN?</i> 'What are they at?' (younger speaker). With variation in position of preposition: <i>-Meas tú CÉARD AB FHEARR na páirceannaí breá sin LENA AGHAIDH anois? CÉARD LENA AGHAIDH AB FHEARR a bheadh na páirceanna sin</i> 866E (8.65).

No anaphora With fronted preposition before verb:

CÉ FAOI CHEANN A CHAITHEAS tú a bheith ann? Mq.

See 8.64 ff., above (whence examples Mq, cited here) for possessives in the interrogative with complex prepositions, generally with indirect relative a^N .¹

8.85 Indirect relative for direct

The object of an embedded verbal noun in a relative clause can be expressed by direct relative with $\{a^L + VN\}$ or by indirect relative and $\{dho + possessive + VN\}$, i.e.

talamh a bheitheá ag goil a chur, or *talamh a mbeitheá ag goil dhá chur*.

An example of ‘confusion’ between both types is:

... fi: iəxtər 'təlhə m'ehə: gəl' ə 'xur (l) nu: 'ŋər ɔ' | 20A [1]

... faoi íochtar TALAMH A MBEITHEÁ goil A CHUR, nó i ngar dhó.

There is anomalous indirect relative following temporal *ó* in:

g' m' e tu 04B Ó MBEIDH tú (for regular *ó bheas tú*). [2]

Compare the opposite phenomenon of the phonetically identical *a:* (for cataphoric *dhá*) followed by lenition in **01P**'s usage above (8.82).

There is an example of indirect manner relative for regular direct relative in a comparative temporal clause:

Agus AR A' DÁ LUA' 7 A BHFACA sí afarc air thit sí i ngrá leis, 866E- [3]
Semr126.

An indirect relative precedes an embedded direct relative in:

ní fhaca sé, sórt ní ' bith ' GCEAPTHAD SÉ ' BHÍ ag díonamh na mísc [4]
869Pt.

This was perhaps ‘planned’ by the speaker to be ... *a gceapthad sé go raibh sé ag díonamh* ... but ... *a cheapthad sé a bhí* ... would be usual. Note the alternation in the sequence: direct (for indirect) — direct (correct) — indirect (for direct), found in:

Ach an dtigeann tú, is iomú RUD, A THIOCFAS DUINE AMACH LEIS, 'gus [5]
THIGTHEAS DUINE, A GCEAPTHAIDH [perhaps *gceapthad*] SÉ faoi rudaí
dhen tsórt sin. ARN6924.

It is possible that the initial token of prepositional a^L (direct) relative, triggered by phrasal *teara amach le* (8.81), led the speaker wrongly to correct the final relative clause to indirect relative. The type of embedded relatives containing a^N ... $g\sigma^N$ or

¹ In the light of the descriptions in McCloskey (1990: 226–8), Ua Súilleabháin (1994: §8.59) and in my material, one can suggest two possible dialectal clines (which may be interdependent) in prepositional interrogatives: one concerning word order; the other concerning the relative particle. In Munster the preposition is regularly fronted and both a^L and a^N (typically in the form $g\sigma^N$) are common. In Donegal the preposition often remains unfronted and only a^N is regular (for change in progress, however, see p. 1533 n. 1). It appears that the usage in Iorras Aithneach lies between these two poles: it may in fact be closer to Munster practice concerning syntax and closer to Donegal use concerning preponderant a^N . The suggested clines will need to be tested and expanded with far more data from many more lects but a rough description can be set out provisionally as follows (examples postulated by me):

		Syntax		Particle a^L
Donegal	<i>cé leis a raibh sé?</i>	~	<i>cé raibh sé leis?</i>	
Iorras Aithneach	<i>cé leis a raibh sé?</i>	>>	<i>cé raibh sé leis?</i>	>> <i>cé bhí sé leis?</i>
Munster	<i>cé leis go raibh sé?</i>		~	<i>cé leis a bhí sé?</i>

a^N ... a^N (discussed in McCloskey 1990: 217–9) may also be of relevance here (e.g. (postulated) *an rud a gceaphaidh duine go dtiochaidh sé amach leis* or *an rud a gceaphaidh duine a dtiochaidh sé amach leis*).

Following subject *séard* in:

SÉARD A MB'ÉIGEAN ach na beithí a scaoileadh aníos M. [6]

Contrast regular:

Ach an oíche seo SÉARD A BHÍ ann, an-ghar dho Lá Nollag ARN5820.

Gender, person and number concord

In prepositional relatives there may sometimes be disjunction between the gender, number and person of the inflected preposition and its antecedent. Where there is lack of concord the 3m most frequently occurs for the 3f or 3pl. (For many examples with nontraditional relative type, see 8.94.)

8.86 Gender

3 masculine for 3 feminine prepositional pronoun

- 869P** *air* *an CHÉIBH fhada a dtugtar Céibh Numó AIR, 869P4;*
ní fheictheadh sé cé acub CUPÓG a leaghadh sé a lámh AIR 869Pt.
- Clad** *as* *cén CHEARD den spéir a bhfuil an ghaoth ag séideadh AS. Clad202.*
faoi *Sa DÚICHE a bhfuil mé ag trácht FAOI, Clad204.*
- 892M** *air* *an TSLAT ' dtugann siad soil AIR. ARN1450;*
faoin GCATHAOIR, a deir sé, bhfuil tú i do shuí AIR, tá an giorria ARN2721.
- 899N** *ann* *... AG AN BPAIRC a raibh na fir ag obair ANN.*
thrid *bhí COILL MHÓR le ghoil ag an bhfeili- — ag an mbuachaill seo le ghoil leis na caoire THRÍD.*
- 01P** *ann* *cp. ar an GCISEOG, nuair a dhóirtfí ANN iad.*
- 06C** *air* *theagaidís isteach i gcongar, AILL a dtugann siad an Aill Dhubh AIR.*
- 11C** *air* *In a local song: Níl aon OBAIR ariamh, a deir sé, a gcuas trácht AIR [referring to obair] a mbeadh m'íntinn sásta nú go bhfeicinn í [referring to Cúirt an tSruháin Bhuí (or obair)] !(SGuair).*
Cp. Denvir (1996: 75 line 83).
- 12S** *air* *SEANMHÁTHAIR a mháthar a bhfuil mise ' caint AIR.*
- 16M** *air* *an BÁD a raibh sé ag obair AIR (bád (m. noun) regularly takes f. reference);*
'S dóichí go b'é an FHUINNEOG tá air a mbíonn glas AIR;
hi: m'e sə gahir' ə wil tusə də hi: er' əgəs ...
shuigh mé sa GCATHAOIR a bhfuil tusa i do shuí AIR agus ... ;
ə xahir' ə wil' tusə də hi: er' kir'hə mid' suəs stair' r'
an CHATHAOIR a bhfuil tusa i do shuí AIR cuirthidh muid suas staighre í;
recall the example Sí an BHLIAIN is mú a raibh féar AIR í / E (cited 6.4).
aige **ka:l' ə v'æ:n' jin' | v'æ:n ə wil' tisə fanəxt eg' ə**
cá bhfuil an bhean sin? An BHEAN a bhfuil tusa ag fanacht AIGE?
ən toxri:d' ə ro mɑ:r' i:n got' eg' ə
an TSOCHRAÍD(E) a raibh Máirín gaibhte AIGE.
ann **n' t'e:dəx ə wɑ:n't' gən' l'æ:bə ro bɑ:b ən**
an t-éadach a bhaint dhon LEABA a raibh Baba ANN;
Cp. tɑ:s æd he:n' k'e:n i:f' ə ro m'e n tɑ:m jin' ə:n
tá fhios a'd héin cén AOIS a raibh mé an t-am sin ANN
(in this instance ann is not simply adverbial meaning 'there').
- 19P** *ann* **k'e:n in'og ə ro n soləs ən 19P3** *Cén FHUINNEOG a raibh an solas ANN?*
- 35E** *ann* *nuair a bhíonnas súilíní thart leis an mbuidéal nó thart leis an NGLOINE a mbeidh sé ANN. ARN8504 (the antecedent may include buidéal here).*

- 43M** *leis* x'e:d xal'im' v'i: fe gol' ə'max l'ef
an chéad CHAILÍN a bhí sé ag goil amach LEIS.

The antecedents are mostly inanimate (cf. 6.2 ff., 8.87) but there are three examples of human antecedents: *seanmháthair* **12S**, *bean* **16M** and *cailín* **43M**. These are no doubt the least acceptable for speakers in more self-conscious production. Compare the slip of the tongue in:

thál go bhfuil duine agam a labhrós leis M,
 for ... *a labhrós liom* or ... *a labhróidh mé leis.*

3 feminine for 3 masculine prepositional pronoun

Examples occur of *rud* as grammatical antecedent but with feminine logical reference and feminine pronominals (cp. 8.88):

RUD a dtugann siad SCRAEPEAR ORTHA **11C1156**;
LÁIMHÍN, LÁIMHÍN. ['handle'] *Sin é an RUD a mbeireann siad ORTHA.* **27Md.**

8.87 Number; 3m for 3pl prepositional pronoun

3 masculine for 3 plural is frequent with *air* for *orthub*:

busəni: ta fjad ə t'æxt er' ... S *BUSANNAÍ atá siad ag teacht AIR?*
nə rudi: xī:n' i:n fjad er' S *NA RUDAÍ a chuimhníonn siad AIR (a mharaíonn mé héin);*
nə 'ru:di: xī:vr' i: fje er' S *NA RUDAÍ a chuimhníodh sé AIR!*
NA RUDAÍ a chuimhrídís AIR! S; TÍ-SEOIRTS tá mise 'caint AIR M;
nə rudi: wil' m'ijə ka:nt' er' 43M *NA RUDAÍ a bhfuil mise ag caint AIR;*
k'e nə hæn' t'i: bai 'aʔik's ə wil' dæ:di: er' 43M
cé NA HAINTÍ-BAIDH-AITICS a bhfuil deaídí AIR?
k'en sɔ:rt k'i:n ta tu er' 47P *cén sórt CINN atá tú AIR? (of pills);*
 cp. *CE MÉID STAMPAÍ a chuir sí fios AIR? M.*

It is also common with *ann* for *iontub* in the sense 'where':

-Tá cuide dhe NA COILLTE seo ' dtigeann tú a mbainthidh tú na slatachaí ANN, nach dtóigthidh aon, ghliomach go deo. **896P**;
NA HÁITEACHAÍ a ndeachaigh mé ANN; Cé NA TÍOBHAÍ a mbíonn tú ANN? 10B;
TÍOFAÍ dteagad sé ANN ní bhfuighead sé deoch iontub, tíofaí bhfuighead se a bhéilí. 11C (contrast relative *ann* with nonrelative *iontub* here);
snə fupɪ: m' i:d' i: f d' e: l' a: l' an S *SNA SÍOPAÍ a mbídís ag déileáil ANN.*
 Cp. ... *as NA GLUIS a bhfuil mé ANN! 10B*;
Is aoibhinn go NA CÁBÁIN a dteigheann mo ghrá ag ól ANN! (Amnb)
 CABI §61(b) v. 6.

Other prepositions noted are *roimh(e)*, *le*, *thrí*:

Mar is dóch gurb é — is dóch gurb IAD na BAMANNAÍ 'gus na TEAINCEANNAÍ a raibh faitias acub ROIMHE, **892M2326**;
gəŋ ɣol' hri: nə rudi: n' æ:xə m'e hri:d' 19P
gan a ghoil thrí na RUDAÍ a ndeachaigh mé THRÍD;
Na RUDAÍ a dtiocthad si 'mach LEIS! 43M;
Cé NA 'VISITORS' tá sí ag súil LEIS? 66N.

Phrasal verbs occur here as in the examples of lack of gender concord (cp. anomalous direct relative, 8.81), i.e. *cúimhnigh ar*, *cuir fios ar*, *bí ag caint ar*, *bí*

ar (of pills (in 43M and 47P's examples above), where English relative 'the pills one is on' is perhaps rendered adverbially as if related to adverbial usage such as 'to turn the television on' *an teilbhisean a chasadh air*), *teara amach le, teighre thrí*. Similarly, in nonfinite clauses, e.g.

DÁTAÍ le cúimriú a'd AIR 76M.

As in instances of gender disjunction (8.81) the majority of examples have inanimate antecedents. The only example containing an animate antecedent was heard from a younger speaker, 'visitors' 66N.

8.88 Person

Person

2 singular pronominal (logical antecedent *thú*) occurs for 3 masculine grammatical reference to *duine* in:

Cosúil le DUINE THÚ a mbeadh troímse curtha DHÍOT S.

Cp. 3f for 3m (8.86) and [*fear mé*] *a bhfuil ... a'm* further below.

3 masculine for grammatical 2 singular:

tu he:n ə m'ox ə b'ædəməs a:n S TÚ HÉIN a mbeadh an beadamas ANN.

Empty antecedent

The 1sg antecedent is understood but not grammatically present in the expected position in:

Shín sé ocht scilleacha a'm. -Muisé baidhe deaid! a deirimse. Shíltheá, a deirimse, go mba cheart go mbeitheá i ndan an punt héin a dhíonamh, A BHFUIL an méid sin múna curtha amach A'M le fail-beara le seachtain! 899Nt,

which can be understood as ... *a dhíonamh* [(*le tabhairt dom*), *mar is fear mé or mise*] *a bhfuil ... a'm ...* or ... *a dhíonamh* [*le tabhairt domsa*] *a bhfuil ... a'm ...* or the like. In the following example *duine* is not repeated but acts as head of another prepositional relative:

Séard é an duine cunórach, A MB'FHEARR LEIS an strainséara ná a chomharsa héin S.

Simple pronoun

I have one example in which a plural antecedent is cross-referenced in the subordinate clause by a simple third masculine resumptive pronoun, which is itself governed by the preposition *go dtí*:

k'e nə dɪ:n' i: o:gə gahə tu' goɫ [ɣ- ?] gə d'i: e n'uw ə vraɪ.ən M

*CÉ NA DAOINÍ óga AN GCAITHIDH TÚ GHOIL GO DTÍ É inniu, a Bhraidhean?*¹

Cp. interrogative *cé go dtí é?* (8.65).

8.89 Younger speakers

Variation and change in relative usage is found in young people: speakers born since the 1960s and in particular since the 1970s. The most common innovation is the replacement of traditional indirect relative *a^N* with the direct type *a^L* (with resumptive pronominal where appropriate) but further significant innovations are found. The five types found are:

¹ This question was posed by Máire in the context of my fieldwork with younger speakers.

- (1) Direct relative a^L is frequent in place of traditional indirect relative a^N .
- (2) Less frequent is the use of indirect relative a^N for traditional direct relative a^L .
- (3) There are some young speakers whose speech has transferred eclipsis (of the traditional indirect relative a^N) to verbs with the direct relative ending in $-s$ (in traditional (a) indirect relative or (b) direct relative position).
- (4) There are a few rare examples of direct relative lenition, a^L , without traditional relative verb inflection in $-s$.
- (5) There are some examples of lack of relative marking, as shown by the non-relative verb or nonmutation or both.

Speaker **66N** has instances of anomalous direct relative in nonrelative context through parallelism with a following relative form in the versions of the proverb:

Ní ix'əns ax ən' te: ə xakəns 66N *NÍ ITHEANNS ach an té a chacanns;*

Ní xa'kəns ax ə k'e: ?ix'əns 66N *NÍ CHACANNS ach an cé a itheanns.*

Seán's version of this proverb is *ní chacann ach an té a phlacanns*. In one of her versions speaker **66N** has the semantic equivalent of *phlacanns*, i.e. *itheanns* with the relative form 'retained', in initial nonrelative position and *chacann(s)* is transposed to final position. Her usual present stem of *ith* is *íos-*.

8.90 (1) Direct a^L for traditional indirect a^N

The most common change in young people's dialect involves loss of a distinctive eclipsing indirect relative particle, i.e. traditional $a^N > a^L$.

Adverbial

sé an chaoi

66N **je xi: xuə je ft'æ'x orəm** *SÉ AN CHAOI A CHUAIGH sé isteach orm;*
je xi xolə:s m'e max e *SÉ AN CHAOI A CHODLÓS mé amach é;*
je xi: | im'əns ... *SÉ AN CHAOI, A IMEANNS [i.e. imíonn] na cosáí ... ;*
je xi: ta ... *SÉ AN CHAOI ATÁ*

69S **fin' e xi: ta: je 1** *sín é AN CHAOI ATÁ sé.*

cén chaoi

66N **k'e xi ta ...** *CÉN CHAOI ATÁ ... ?*

áit

69S **fin' e n a:t ə hæ'stɪ:ns ə faid' 1**
sín é AN ÁIT A THASTAÍONNS an foighid.

Lack of $-s$, i.e. type (4) innovation, is found following *áit* in:

k'en a:t ə xur'ən tu (iəd) [x2] 69S1 *CÉN ÁIT A CHUIREANN tú iad?*

73P **sən a:t ə v'i: fɪəd əg obə'r** *SAN ÁIT A BHÍ siad ag obair.*

79S **ən a:t ə v'i:ns nə b'ehi: ... 1** *IN ÁIT A BHÍONNS na beithí*

The interrogative particle *cá* takes the direct relative, including lenition, in:

79S **ka xir'həs m'e ...** *CÁ CHUIRTHEAS mé é?*

This direct relative $cá^L$ is, however, not used by many other (slightly older) speakers whose speech is cited in this section, cf. *cé mbeidheas 66N* (8.93).

There is nonmutation and nonrelative verb, type (5) innovation, in:

je xi: k'æ:ni:m mid' iəd | 77C1 *SÉ AN CHAOI CEANNAÍONN muid iad.*

Cp. *sé chaoi ghothad sé*, etc., (8.80).

Cataphoric $a^N > a^L$

An example of cataphoric a^L was heard from a speaker born in the 1970s:

Sin é A FUAIR mé dhe ghrian ó shin **76Mt**.

8.91 Prepositional

The use of nontraditional a^L in prepositional relative seems to be prevalent with indefinite antecedents (cp. 8.82), as seen in many of the following examples.

47L *di:n ə ta kl'æxt a:kəb* *DAOINE ATÁ cleachtadh ACUB.*

60M *fe maik'əl ə v'i: m' m'il' a:n er' sé* *MAIDHCIL A BHÍ an milleán AIR.*

ə'n dr' a:m ə v' eis [perhaps *v' ais*] *m' æ:s orhu:*

AN DREAM A BHEIDHEAS meas ORTHÚ.

dr' a:m ə ta fe l'e fadə n la: ukəb *DREAM ATÁ sé le fada an lá ACUB.*

Speaker **60M** repeats (for emphasis) his own use with a^L , seemingly uninfluenced by Máire's (**16M**) indirect particle a^N , in the following exchange:

-kaur'ær ə ta maik'əl' er' **60M** *CORRFHEAR ATÁ Maidhcil AIR!*

-kaur'ær ə wil' maik'əl' er' **16M** *Corrfhear a bhfuil Maidhcil air!*

-kaur'ær ə ta maik'əl' er' **60M** *CORRFHEAR ATÁ Maidhcil AIR!*

(*Maidhcil* here refers to **60M** himself.) Máire seemed to repeat the sentence in agreement, not in correction, but perhaps with a slight realisation of preference for the indirect particle. Cp. 8.83.

66N *ən fʊmrə v' i:ns nə l'æ:ds nə gol a:n*

AN SEOMRA A BHÍONNS na leaids ina gcodladh ANN.

69S *k'e:rd fi: ə v'i: fe'* *CÉARD FAOI A BHÍ SÉ?*

73P *din' e ta ri:n't' pə:k eg' ə* | *DUINE é ATÁ roinnt póca AIGE.*

78Pb *'kaur' yin' ə ta obər' eg' ə* *CORRDHUINE ATÁ obair AIGE.*¹

Cp. parataxis in *k' a:n an | ta ... orhə* **72N** *ceann ann, tá ... uirthi.*

Direct a^L prepositional relative with 3 masculine for 3 plural pronominal:

nə k' i:n' ta tu' ka:n't' fi' **74S1** *NA CINN ATÁ tú ag caint FAOI.*

Prepositionless dative relative occurs in two questions which contain *cén sórt* qualifying borrowings:

k' en so:rt mu:ɖ ə v' i: fa:n ə'n' u | [perhaps *ə'n' uv*] **66N**

Cén sórt MUID A BHÍ Seán inniu?

k' en so:rt mə'n' u:vərs ta tu' yə'l | **72N** *cén sórt MAINIÚBHARS ATÁ tú a ghoil?* 'what type of manoeuvres are you going on?'

Relative verbal *-s* is absent, innovation (4), in:

k' en a:t' ə xur' ən tu (iəd) [x2] **69S1** *CÉN ÁIT A CHUIREANN TÚ iad?*

LE SPEAL A BHAINÍO(NN) MUIDE e **78B** (traditional *a bhaineanns*).

¹ In Ros Muc, directly to the east of Iorras Aithneach, the direct relative particle is even more common and occurs in older speakers than in our dialect. Examples are from siblings **56N** and **59P**:

sə:lə'n' gə d' o: ə wə:rd ə ta fe a:n **56N** *is álainn go deo an váird atá sé ann;*

Sibse atá se tastáil uaib **59P**;

an teach sin thiar atá an fhuinneog mhór ann **59P**.

Examples from a Donegal family (Gaoth Dobhair) are cited in Ó Siadhail (1979: 146), where speakers between thirty and forty years of age (in 1979; they were presumably born c. 1940–49) show some extension of a^L , whereas a speaker between twenty and thirty years of age (presumably born c. 1950–59) has a^L in all relative contexts cited (cp. Ó Siadhail 1989: 313–4). This evidence suggests that Gaoth Dobhair may be closer to Ros Muc than to Iorras Aithneach in the timing of this change.

8.92 (2) Indirect a^N for traditional direct a^L

Following *nuair*:

nu³r' ə wə:kə (female born c. 1983, Aill na Brón) ... *NUAIR A BHFACA* ... ;
nər' rə mid' ... 78E *NUAIR A RAIBH muid* ... ,

but also **nur' ə v'i:ns-f'əɹ əg' iəɹ oɹm 78E** *NUAIR A BHÍONNSFEAR ag iarraidh orm*

Direct object:

AN RUDA NDEARNA sé ə rud ə' | n'ɑ:rnə ʃe le Pádraigín 72N.

In copula fronting:

ər hæ:m' ə wil' ɛr' 85M *Ar HAIM A BHFUIL air?*
 (= *Ar haim atá air?* 'Is it ham that is on it?').

Interrogative, in embedded clause:

k'ɛr tɑ ʃe hæ:pə wil' ʃe j'i:nə n' iʃ 79P

CÉARD ATÁ sé ag cheapadh A BHFUIL sé a dhéanamh anois? (unless one interprets as nontraditional double interrogative: *céard ... an bhfuil ...*).

Following *sé an chaoi* in adverbial relative the traditional indirect relative past tense allomorph *ar* is replaced by a^N (the traditional nonpast form):

ʃe xi: vr' i:u' 'p'i:sə mɔ:r ... 71D1 *SÉ AN CHAOI A BHFRÍODH píosa mór*

Eclipsing for leniting relative was also noted from **70P**, speaker **66N**'s brother. It may be significant that four of the six speakers whose examples are quoted here are young males (females: **78E** and woman born c. 1983, Aill na Brón). It is tempting to view eclipsis here in a similar light to the verbal pronoun <*dar*> (5.404, 5.408 ff.): a possible reactionary male extension of an otherwise regressive element.

8.93 (3) Direct relative verb with eclipsis

This usage combines traditional eclipsis of the indirect relative, mostly in traditional indirect relative position, with the morphology of the direct relative verb. It is not widespread among these innovative young speakers.

(a) Examples in traditional indirect relative position are:

66N **f'ə:b'i: k'ɛ m' eis** [perhaps **m' ais**] **tu ... féibí** *CÉ MBEIDHEAS tú ag goil;*
k'ɛ xi: m'i:ns p'æ:tri kɑ:nraɹ ə wɑ:r'ə

CÉN CHAOI A MBÍONNS Patrick Conroy, a Mháire?

TEACH é A MBÍONNS nacáil [< knock] gá dhíonamh ANN.

74N **b'ɑ:ləx³ m'i:ns dɪn'ə kɑ:nɹ'** *AN BEALACH A MBÍONNS duine ag caint.*

79P (**k' ɛ xi:**) **n' ɛ:rhəs m' ɛ** (*CÉN CHAOI A*) *NDÉARTHAS mé é?*

80S **ə x'ɛ:d uər' ɛl'ə d'ukəs dʊr fɑnhə dər əʃt' i**

an chéad UAIR eile A DTIOCTHAS dʊr fanthaídh dʊr istigh.

(The exact speaker identity for this example is not clear from my notes; it may have been **80S**'s sister, **82B**.)

82B **k'ɛ v'ɛ:d uər' ɛl'ə ə nɑ:brɔ:s tu ɛ** *cé mhéad UAIR eile A N-ABRÓS tú é?*

Recall the anomalous relative in *Ní CHACANNS ach an cé a itheanns* **66N** (8.89).

(b) There are also examples of eclipsis with direct relative morphology in traditional direct relative position.

74N *nor' ə m'ins ə t'in' ən* NUAIR A MBÍONNS *an tine ann.*

75C *... m'ins m'ifə ...* ... A MBÍONNS *mise ...* .

8.94 Apparent time: 1971 — 1984

Although some younger speakers seem to adopt a simple innovative relative use, others display both traditional and innovative use, e.g. 66N who has traditional a^L and a^N , but also innovative a^L as well as a^N + relative *-s*. A thorough investigation of younger speakers' full relative systems has not been attempted. In this section, however, I demonstrate some of the complexity found in speakers born between 1971 and 1984.

72A has been noted using direct relative a^L only, including instances for traditional indirect a^N .

Following *an* *ʃe ŋ xi: vr'ænh'i:ns m'if' er' |*

chaoi sé an chaoi A BHREATHNAÍONNS mise air.

ʃin' e ŋ xi: ek'əns m'if' e | sin é an chaoi A FHEICEANNS mise é.

Prepositional *ə dr'əm ə ta m'e gol' l'ə:b | an dream ATÁ mé ag goil leob.*

ən ət' | ... ə ta forbərt' ən | an áit — ... ATÁ forbairt ann.

78B has mixed usage: some traditional direct relative use, some spread of direct particle for traditional indirect relative and substantial spread of indirect particle for traditional direct relative.

Traditional usage occurs in leniting direct relative following *mar* and in fronting.

After *mar* *mar i:ns xul'ə ... mar* BHÍONNS *i chuile ...* .

Fronting with absence of relative *-s*, type (4) innovation:

le speal A BHAINÍO(NN) muid e.

Nontraditional leniting particle occurs following *áit* and in prepositional relative (examples contain *tá*).

After *áit* *ən ət' ə ta ... an áit ATÁ ...* .

Prepositional *k'er ta mid' ə ka:nt' er' ən'if' |*

céard TÁ muid ag caint AIR anois?

g'e:m' ta m'ifə kaŋk' er' | géim TÁ mise ag caint AIR;

din'i' ta ge:lq' a'ku' | daoíní TÁ Gaeilge ACÚ.

Nontraditional usage of eclipsing relative occurs in subject relative, following *nuair* and in fronting.

Subject *din'i' ə wakə ha:n a daoiní A BHFACA cheana é.*

Following *nor' ə m'ei ʃe ə gə:rnə nuair A MBEIDH sé i gCarna.*

nuair nər' ə m'e ʃiəd nuair A MBEIDH siad.

Object *æ:ʃt'i: ... əs mu: n'i:hə [sic] mig' | ʃe*

aistí ... is mó A NDÉANTHAIDH muid, 'yeah'.

with *is mó* *ge:lq' ə s mu: m'i xil'ə ʃin'ə ...*

Gaeilge is mó A MBÍONN chuile dhuine (a labhairt).

b'ér:lə s mu: m'i xul'ə ...

Béarla is mó A MBÍONN chuile (dhuine a labhairt).

78Rb has nontraditional direct particle in the following examples.

Prepositional *n'i:l'əs k'e:nə ka:rəni' tər mud' ə got' ə tri:d'*

níl fhios cé na carrannaí ATÁ muid e gaibhte TRÍD.

ən v'æ:n ə v'i: mid' ə kuərtiəxt er'

an bhean A BHÍ muid ag cuartaíocht AIR.

There is also loss of number and gender concord in her examples and we can compare the 3m prepositional pronoun *as* referring to plural ‘flowers’ in:

flaurs ... gá gin’ a:l ə’max æs [x2] *FLABHARS ... dhá gcoinneál amach AS.*

79A has *nuair* a^N with direct relative verbal *-s*:

nuair A MBÍONNS ... , nuair A BHFEICEANNS tú

Similarly, negative direct subject relative (with traditional eclipsis) but direct affirmative relative *-s*:

fin’ bok el’ə nax mar’os e he’n’ *sin boc eile NACH MARÓS é héin.*

84P has examples of direct relative a^L , some in traditional subject position and some in adverbial position where traditional dialect has generally indirect relative.

Subject *an rud A BHÍ mé ag iarraidh fáilt amach.*

Adverbial *cén t-am A THIOCTHAIDH siad* [translation];

se chaoi BHÍ se ag fanach [sic] *thoir.*

He has, however, frequent eclipsing a^N in traditional direct relative contexts.

Subject, object *céard DT(I)ÚRANN dar air?*

(interrogative) *cén t-ainm DTIÚRANN tu air?*

Adverbial *nuair a ngotha’ me ar ais*; cp. *ón ám ngotha’ tú*

In the consuetudinal present of the verb *bí* he has eclipsing a^N in traditional direct relative contexts but with traditional direct relative ending *-s* in the form **m’is**.

Subject *na rudaí MBÍOS* [perhaps *mbíonns*] *orthú*;

na cinn A MBÍOS ar an raedíó;

an chéad rud A MBÍOS ar maidin a’inn ná, meats [< maths].

In summary, the following usage was found in this small sample of speakers born between 1971 and 1984:

	innovative	for	traditional
72A	a^L		a^L, a^N
78B	$a^L \pm -s$		$a^L + -s$
	a^L a^N		a^N a^L
78Rb	a^L		a^N
79A	$a^N + -s$		$a^L + -s$
	$nach^N + -s$		$nach^N$ no <i>-s</i>
84P	$a^L, a^N, a^N + -s$		$a^L + -s$
	a^L		a^N

8.95 Suffixed *-r* in verbal particles

In the past tense *-r* is suffixed to verbal particles (see 8.5). It is realised as **r**; in conservative use, also **r’** before historical front vowels (2.88). As described in the discussion of ‘Epenthesis 5’ (1.367), **ə** is sometimes heard between *-r* and a following consonant (generally a continuant), e.g.

n’i:rə jial’ fe ax ... M NÍOR dhíol sé ach

There is a discussion in GCF §423 as to whether ambiguous surface forms in sandhi containing in particular irregular verbs in initial *r-*, such as **gə rin’ə**, **n’i:**

rí $\acute{\text{a}}$ and **gə** **rug**, **n**́ $\acute{\text{i}}$ **rug**, should be interpreted as *go rinne*, *ní rinne*, *go rug*, *ní rug* or *gur rinne*, *níor rinne*, *gur rug*, *níor rug*. There is some evidence supporting the synchronically more regular interpretation of underlying *gur* and *níor*. One clear token in higher register is:

gər **rug** **ʃib**́ **orəm** **04B1** *GUR rug sib orm*.

Máire was asked to pronounce *ní(or) rinne sé* very slowly. She pronounced *níor*:

ń $\acute{\text{i}}$ **r**́ | **ri**́ $\acute{\text{a}}$ **ʃe** | **n**́ $\acute{\text{i}}$ **r**́ **r**́ $\acute{\text{i}}$ **n**́ $\acute{\text{a}}$ **ʃe** **Mq** *NÍOR rinne sé*.

There is possible support for *gur raibh* in:

kŕ $\acute{\text{e}}$ **d**́ $\acute{\text{a}}$ **m**́ **ʃə** **gahə** **mid**́ **ə** **ra** | **ər**́ $\acute{\text{a}}$ | **ʃo** **ri**́ $\acute{\text{n}}$ ́ **ʃə** | **n**́ $\acute{\text{a}}$ **drox**́ $\acute{\text{i}}$ **l** ... **894C**

Creidim go gcaithidh muid a rá GUR — raibh roinnt dhen Drochshaol ..., although the speaker may have intended to use copula *gur* before changing to *bí*.

Slips of the tongue occur, e.g. **n**́ $\acute{\text{i}}$ **r**́ **a:kə** ... **12S**, **12J** *níor fhaca ...*. A younger speaker, however, has consistent *-r* here: *gur fhaca 77C*, *níor fhaca 77C*.

Note irregular **xul** **ar** **n**́ $\acute{\text{a}}$ **xə** **m**́ $\acute{\text{e}}$ **00B** *shular ndeachaigh mé* (8.131), but regularly ... **xul** **ə** **n**́ $\acute{\text{a}}$ **xə** **m**́ $\acute{\text{e}}$ **00B** *shula ndeachaigh mé*.

8.96 Loss of *-r*; Relative a^L , a^H

Loss of *-r* in the older generations is no doubt constrained by such factors as speech rate and self-monitoring. Some speakers are more given to *-r* loss than others. Of the older generation, speaker **11P** has most prevalent absence of *-r*. In his recorded interview *-r* occurs regularly before vowels, e.g. **n**́ $\acute{\text{i}}$ **r**́ **iər** **mid**́ **11P** *níor iarr muid*; but **n**́ $\acute{\text{i}}$ is usual before consonants, e.g. (all **11P**)

ń $\acute{\text{i}}$ **xr**́ $\acute{\text{i}}$ **xnə** *Ní chríochnaigh*; **n**́ $\acute{\text{i}}$ **hən**́ **ə** **ʃe** **hə** *Ní thaithnigh léithi*;

so also with the copula **n**́ $\acute{\text{i}}$ **xə** **s** *Ní chás* (present *ní cás*).

For younger speakers, see 8.100.

Relative a^L , a^H

These examples of a^L , a^H for historical indirect relative ar^L , ar^H are ambiguous, being identical to historical direct relative a^L , a^H :

gən **ʃe** **god**́ $\acute{\text{u}}$ **wai** **n** **tə**́ $\acute{\text{r}}$ **ə** **g**́ $\acute{\text{e}}$ **d** **S** *dhon té A goideadh uaidh an t-airgead*,

Se chaoi A hiumprú [i.e. **ʃe** **xi**: **humpru**: for *hiompraíodh*] *anuas e* S85,

ə **xi**: **hə**́ $\acute{\text{g}}$ **ədər** **nə** **gə**́ $\acute{\text{s}}$ **ur**́ *M an chaoi A thóigeadar na gasúir*,

ʃe **xi**: **gortur** **mə** **ʃlu**́ $\acute{\text{n}}$ **sə** | **fir**́ $\acute{\text{e}}$ **dər** **mə**́ $\acute{\text{x}}$ **sən**́ **ə** **ə**́ $\acute{\text{s}}$ **pək**́ $\acute{\text{ə}}$ **l**́ **gər** **b**́ $\acute{\text{e}}$ **xi**

gort́ $\acute{\text{i}}$ **v** **mə** **ʃlu**́ $\acute{\text{n}}$ *M sé an chaoi A gortaíodh mo ghlúinsa fuaireadar amach san easpaicil gurb é an chaoi A gortaíodh mo ghlúin*.

b́ $\acute{\text{a}}$ **ɲ** **xə** **d**́ $\acute{\text{a}}$ **ə**́ $\acute{\text{s}}$ **l**́ **ə**́ $\acute{\text{g}}$ **tur** **də** **hu**́ $\acute{\text{l}}$ **ə**́ $\acute{\text{r}}$ **iəw** **orhə** | **P**

bean chomh deas A leag tú do shúil ariamh uirthi.

Notwithstanding the formal ambiguity, the likely classification can often be established from a speaker's general usage. For example, instances of past tense *sé an chaoi* a^L / a^H can be classified as probable indirect relative with elision of *r* if the speaker has regular present tense *sé an chaoi* a^N with unambiguous indirect relative.

An example of **ən** occurs for *ar* in an apparent slip of the tongue, perhaps influenced by the alternative pronunciation **ən** **tə**́ $\acute{\text{m}}$ *an t-am*:

tə́ $\acute{\text{m}}$ **ən** **xum** **ʃi**: **nə** **hə**́ $\acute{\text{r}}$ **ə**́ $\acute{\text{n}}$ **11C** *an t-am* [AR] *chum sí na hamhráin*.

Cp. interrogative **ə** *an*, rare **ɲ** (8.46).

8.97 Negative *ní*^L

Before past irregular verbs such as *thug* and *tháinig* the historical use is *ní*:

ní hug fɛ (Smds) **04B** *Ní thug sé; Ní tháinic me chúnamh dhíb* **52J**.

níor thug and *níor tháinig* are, however, most common. Absence of *-r* is especially prevalent before *c(h)*-:

Ní chuir me ... S,

ní: kir' u: k' ɛf' ə b' ih orhə M *Ní cuireadh ceist ar bith uirthi*,

ní: xuələ M *Ní chuala* (*ní* is historical here); but *n'ir xuələ* is more common for older speakers, e.g. **11C**,

ní: xim' ə **23B** *Ní chuimhnigh*,

-ər xur tu ... S AR chuir tú ... ? -ní: xir' əs **23C** *Ní chuireas*,

n'ir xim' ə **52Cr** *Ní chuimhnigh*.

Other examples:

ní mar'u: ɛŋ' x' a:n ... **881N** *Ní maradh aon cheann ...* ,

Ní tóigiú é sin ar chor a bith S.

Before vowels:

Ní iarr Máirín garraí bi' ora S;

ní: ən' dʒai:ɪl' m' e he:n' e **19P** (x2) *Ní injááil* [*< enjoy*] *mé héin é*,

ní: ən' dʒai:ɪl' 19P (x1) *Ní injáidheáil* [*< enjoy*];

-ər ɔskəl' tu' nə swi:ʃs S AR *oscail tú na svúits?* *-ní: əskəl' M Ní oscail*.

The last two verbs, *injááil* (*< enjoy*) and *oscail*, have second syllable stress, optionally so with *oscail*, and can be analysed as consonant-initial on the level of the stressed stem (not to mention syllabic realisations of the unstressed initial syllable: *n'* and *ʃ*); before consonants of course the absence of *-r* is not as aberrant or salient as before vowels. Further *r*-less examples, of *ní* and *go*, before vowels were heard from younger speakers (8.100).

Note the spelling in: *ní dhubhairt tú go bhfuair tú mo chárta* Mlt (for spoken *níor úirt*). Also negative interrogative *na^L* in *ná chuir se ...* M84 (more accurately transcribed probably *na chuir*, ambiguous with *nach chuir*).

8.98 Other particles: *go*, *cé*, *mara*, *le*

go^L *gə fuəw ʃa:xg græ:k' ən mi:l' ɔrəm* **04Bl**

GO fuadh seacht gcráiceann moilt orm.

cp. *gə xir' əʃ* **04Bl** *GUR chuiris* (the transcription is corrected by me from the slip of the tongue *go chuiread cleamhnais*).

d'aul mo:rɑ:n blɑ:s gə hɔsə n wɑ:hər' i: he:n' ə ɡ'urɑ:n **11Ct**

deabhal mórán blas GO thosaigh an mháthair í héin ag gearán.

cé^L *k'e: xur tu: ... M cé chuir tú ... ?*

mara^L is common in the past (with *-r* absent possibly through both dissimilation and weakness of second syllable position). It is found often in FFG, e.g.

MARA bhuaill FFG, *MARA chaill* FFG *mara* 1.

cp. *le^L*, the higher-register relative pronoun (cf. 10.94), with locative function in: *sa gcaladh LE bhuaich gə:ʃə l'e wuəx sí an geall* **!11C**.

8.99 Copula

In the copula *-r(-)* is absent more than with full verbs. For examples of past *ní*, *a*, *go*, *a*, *mara*, *go*, see 'Copula', past and jussive subjunctive, column c (5.337). E.g.

ní: x'ært gə yin' e **19P** *Ní cheart dho dhuine é*.

In response to query, where Máire has regular *-r* with other particles, she has copula *mará^L*, e.g.

ma:r ə xɔ:rh e' nɔ fɔ:n Mq *MARA chóirthe é ná Seán,*
ma:r ə wu: nɔ: fin' ɛ [in slow pronunciation **ma:rə ə wu: ...**] Mq
MARA mhó ná sin é.

Similarly in complex forms *-arb* alternates with *-ab* and *-arbh* with *-abh*. Speaker **19P** inserts *r*, perhaps in selfcorrection, in repetition of a phrase in:

N'i: v'e:d'ər' | n'i:r v'e:d'ər' ... n'i:r v'e:d'ər' | 19P
NÍ BH'fhéidir — NÍORBH fhéidir ... NÍORBH fhéidir.

Forms without *r* before vowels are presumably more common in younger speakers, e.g.

x'æ:p m'ɛ gə u'hasəx ə k'a:n e fin' 66N
cheap mé GO úthásach an ceann é sin.

There are nevertheless forms which show spread of *-r-*, i.e. *-rmb-* and *-rdh-* presented in columns *kk*, *ll*, *mm* and *nn*, 'Copula' (5.337 ff.).

8.100 Use and depletion in younger speakers

Large-scale *-r* loss occurs in many younger speakers born in the 1950s and especially the 1960s and later. Table 8.9 gives an idea of the variation in recordings of this age group.

Table 8.9 Suffixed verbal *-r* in younger speakers

Environment Speaker	C-		V-		indrel C-		copula		shula
	<i>níor</i>	<i>ní</i>	<i>níor</i>	<i>ní</i>	<i>ar</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>níor</i>	<i>ní</i>	
51P1	+ ?	2							1
64M		2	2	1					
72N	2	3			1				
78B	5	7	1				2		
79MI	1	2	1				2		
79Sq		1	1		interrogative				
					2				

Examples from some of these speakers, as well as **66N**, include:

51P1 **ʃe skɔ:r bʃiəntə xul ə ka:l'u: e le scór blianta** SHULA *cailleadh é.*

54C **k'e: f'e:n'fai:l' ... cé phéinteáil ... ?** 'where did ... ?'.

64M **n'i: hu:ru: ní húradh, gair'ə ʃumsə** GO *éirigh liomsa.*

In conversation in 2005 speaker **64M** mistook one instance of my past tense *cé^L* for 'where'.

66N **n'i: xu:kə:l' m'e r'iaw e 66N** *ní chúcáil mé ariamh é;*

n'i: | n'i: a'n e:nin' ə ʃt'i ... ní, ní fhan aon-nduine istigh ...

72N In order of occurrence: **n'i: hug ní thug, n'i: wuəx ní bhuaich, n'i:r xi:m'r'ə ní chuimhnigh, n'i:r l'ig' u: níor ligeadh, n'i: ʃig' ní lig, ... fa: ə wuəx m'e ... fáth A bhuaich mé.**

78B This speaker's tape-recorded interview has an initial series of *N'i(i)* forms:

n'i spá:n' ʃiəd ... ní spáin siad, n'i wa:n' mid' ... ní bhain muid, n'i x'æ:nə ní cheannaigh, n'i: wuəx ní bhuaich,

followed by a series consisting of *N'i:r*:

n'i:r wuəx ... níor bhuaich, n'i:r fɔ:s ... níor phós, n'i:r æ:r'ə m'e' ... níor airigh mé, n'i:r xuələ níor chuala, n'i:r xuələ níor chuala, n'i:ʳ xuələ níor chuala;

followed by:

Ní kahu: (x3) *ní caitheadh.*

- 79Sq** This speaker was noted for his lack of *-r* in conversation. In translation query he produced no *-r* form before consonants; he produced past interrogative *ən* (a spelling pronunciation of regular nonpast *an* incorrectly applied to the past context) and, when pressed for his ‘natural’ pronunciation, *ə* only, e.g. *ən vr’if ... ə vr’if ar bhris, ə hlig’ ar shloig*, cp. *ən wuər’ ... ə wuər’ an bhfuair.*

8.101 Copula pro-form *ea*

The particle *ea* is best classified as a pro-form, i.e. pro-predicate, used almost exclusively with the copula in negation, affirmation and interrogative, i.e. in Echo contexts. Usage following a fronted constituent such as in *Lá sneachta fuar géimhre bu dh-eadh a bhí ánn*, **869P4** is obsolescent (5.381). Cf. rare adverb *mar jæ: mar dh’ea* (8.213). Pro-adverbial use is found, e.g.

go mbadh EA cheana! ‘May it indeed be (so)!’

where stressed *ea* is similar to stressed *é* and *amhlaidh* in, e.g.

go mba hé dhuit!; ní hé sin duitse;

Ní mar a chéile raibhiteáil is raimis ní hé sin M;

go mb’amhlaidh dhuit!

Cp. *Deabhal e.* (8.116); *nach é go mbíodh sé ag gáirí fúmsa* **21Pt** (8.231).

8.102 Clitic *fhios*

Clitic *fhios* usually expresses ‘to know’ mostly with the irregular verb *bí*; the logical subject, when expressed, is governed by the preposition *ag*, e.g. *tas ‘a:m tá fhios a’m* ‘I know’. When syllabic it is generally *əs*, sometimes *is*. With *bí*, the allomorphs of the lexeme *fhios* are realised:

> *-s /-dh_*; also, e.g. *b’ins bíonn fhios*, otherwise mostly:

> *-əs /C_*, *-s /N_*.

See *bí* (5.246 ff.) for various forms such as:

future *b’ehəs beidh FHIOS*,

conditional *eg’ mair’ əs ar ə v’ehəts S ag Máire is fhearr a bheadh FHIOS*.

Stressed *fhios* also occurs in the meaning ‘to know’; examples from SID.46 are:

unstressed: *‘tas a:gũm* (s.v. *agum*) *tá FHIOS agam*;

stressed: *‘n’i:l’ ‘is am vil tu: ... 742 níl FHIOS a’m an bhfuil tú ...* ;

‘n’i:l’ ‘is a:m tɑ:də fi: ‘jin’, 965 *níl FHIOS a’m tada faoi sin*;

‘n’i:l’ ‘is a:m, (s.v. *agum*) *níl FHIOS a’m*.

Cp. *‘b’ei is ek’ə gə ‘m’æ’ 869P beidh FHIOS aici go maith.*

Also: *ar maidin amáireach má bhímse beo, a deir se, beidh FHIOS a’msa, b’ei*

his ‘āmsə a deir se, an bhfuil aon bhlas ... 11C.

It also occurs neither stressed nor cliticised, e.g.

ga m’ehəts æ’N’ iəd | ax ‘N’i:l’ is ‘fari:r | 11C

dhá mbeadh FHIOS a’inn iad ach níl FHIOS faraor;

-Bhuel gotha’ mise go Fínis, a deir sé, agus beidh FHIOS agam, b’ei his

‘agəm a deir sé, ar fíor, a deir sé, an focal sin. 11C;

... rau is aku’ k’e: rə je ... P ... raibh FHIOS acú cé raibh sé

Also with *deabhal*, *d(h)eamhan*, *deabhac*: **d'auləs d'auls**, **ju:nəs**, **d'aunəs**, **d'aukəs**; also, heard phrase-finally in Echo function as *fios*: **d'aul f'is** *deabhal fios*, **ju:n f'is** *dheamhan fios*.

Forms with *cá*:

ka wis dum 11C *cá BHFIOS dom*,
this by-form **ka: wis** is indicated by the spelling *cá wiss* !894C9;
ka: wus generally;
ka: v'is ... nāx in' ē n 'f'ær ... 11C *cá BHFIOS ... nach in é an fear ...* ;
ka: v'is 869P, **ka: v'is dum [x2] 894N** *cá BHFIOS dom*;
ka v'is 14M, **ka: v'is 49J** *cá BHFIOS*;
'ka 'gus 'dum 05M (one example, perhaps a slip of the tongue).

For forms with *gan* and *go*, i.e. **ə ŋunəs** *i nganfios* and **ə ŋiv'əs** *i ngobhfios*, see 'Adverbs' (8.209). Also, meaning 'not knowing', **gən f'is** *gan fios* and **gən is / əs gan fhios**:

go n-imeót sé i NGUNFHIOS, gan FIOS aige cé mar gheall air a ndianfat sé é.
866EB16.111, '... leave in secret, not knowing why ...';
gan FHIOS gənəs a'msa nach dtioctha' calar orm !05M;
Ach nuair a bhí sé seo ag obair agus gan FHIOS gən əs aige leis an faobhar a chuir leis an drochspeal, **11C5075**.

8.103 *níos fearr fhios; fios*

A minority of speakers have duplicate use of *fhios* in the sequence {*bí + fhios ... f(h)earr + fhios*}, e.g.

TÁ'S a'tsa NÍOS FEARR 'IOS FFG (s.v. *fios* 9);
Nuair nach BHFUIL A FHIOS acub NÍOS FEARR A FHIOS (Páraic Ó Conaire, An Coillín, aged c. 70 (⇒ born in the 1880s), de Bhaldráithe (1956–7c: 243; includes examples from Cois Fharraige);
nax wil'əs eg' ə n'is f'ærəs ə wil'əs æd 24Mr
nach BHFUIL FHIOS aige NÍOS FEARR FHIOS an BHFUIL FHIOS a'd?
n'í raus n'í: b'ærəs 21J *ní RAIBH FHIOS NÍB FHEARR FHIOS*;
n'í raus akəb n'is 'f'ærəs 35E9348 *ní RAIBH FHIOS acub NÍOS FEARR FHIOS*;
go MBEADH FHIOS aige NÍOS FEARR FHIOS 64M (consistently);
go MBEADH FHIOS m'exəs aici NÍOS FHEARR FHIOS n'is æ:rəs 66N (consistently).

Máire does not use, nor does she permit, this duplication of *fhios*, i.e.

TÁ FHIOS aici NÍOS FEARR M, Mq.

Stressed *fios* as a noun is common in the meaning 'to know' in nonfinite clauses, e.g.

b'fhearr dho na daoine GAN FIOS a bí' (bh)eith acub ar na rudaí sin. Mar dhá mbeadh gan AON FHIOS a, dhá mbeidís gan AON FHIOS a bhei' acub ... Sé an rud is — ba dona a bich, fios a bhei' ag na daoine ar na rudaí seo. ARN1264–6;
ba mhian leob FIOS fháil | f'is a:l' ... cén sórt bean a bheadh acub héin **869Pt**.

Stressed *fios* can also mean 'knowledge' (e.g. *tá fios a ngrutha acub*) and 'to send for' (e.g. *tá fios a'm air*), as well as 'supernatural knowledge' (e.g. *tá fios aige*).

Verbal noun particles

The two particles found exclusively preceding the verbal noun, **ə(g(**) *ag* and **ə**^L, are described in this section. The preposition **gə**n *gan* functions as the negative nonfinite particle.

8.104 **ag** + verbal noun

ə, **əg(**), **eg'** *ag*. For {*ag* + 3 possessive pronoun} > *dhá*, *gá*, see 6.35 ff.

The verbal noun particle spelt *ag* generally has the form **ə** before consonants and **əg(**) before vowels. For palatality of **-g(**), see 'Sandhi' of proclitics (2.85 ff.). Rare examples of non-emphatic **eg'** *ag* (the current form of the, historically identical, simple preposition *ag*) occur in the slightly hesitant (881J):

əgəs ə' | v'i: | dər ə | eg' fu:l ə lɑ: fo | ... v'i:dər ə | eg' fu:l ə lɑ: fo |
Agus u-, bhíodar AG SIÚL an lá seo. ... bhíodar AG SIÚL an lá seo.

There is a clear example of **eg'** noted in emphatic usage (note its co-occurrence with unreduced **tispā:nt'** rather than the more common **spā:nt'**):

v'i:d'i:f ə god' γuba:ft'ə [sic a:] g' im'əxt | əsən i:hə n'fin' ə god'
'γuba:ft' ugəs γa xah er' ə 'mo:hər | eg' 'tispā:nt' γəmə j'i: h̃æ'ṽnə
v'i: ɑn | 894C *Bhídís ag goid ghobáiste, ag imeacht isan oíche ansin ag goid ghobáiste agus dhá chaitheamh ar an mbóthar AG TUSPÁINT go mbadh í oíche Shamhna a bhí ann.*

It may be significant that the phrase *ag tuspáint* probably combines progressive and purpose functions here. The context is an interview conducted by Séamas Mac Aonghusa and the use here is emphatic more than formal. Another possible example occurs in similar emphatic speech, which also has an instance of stressed second syllable:

... , ag ə bearradh na driobaile ... Ach baidhe deaid feicímse [sic] chuile fhear AG BEARRADH eg' 'b'ærə drioball gá chapall héin nuair a gheithidh sé fada é, toibeann go maith! | 'te'b̃iñ⁰ gə 'mā^ā | 01P,

(unless this is a slip of the tongue, through confusion of *ag gearradh* with *ag bearradh*). Stylistically formal **eg'** for verbal noun *ag* is generally a phenomenon found in younger speakers (influenced by spelling and school, etc.).

In rapid or lax speech *ag* is sometimes absent before *iarraidh* (cf. 8.108, 8.109). In this context *ag* is absent in some examples of *ag iarraidh* (or historical *dh'iarraidh*) from 35E's speech. He has one noted instance of **ə** before **iə**rə. Some of his examples are:

Chaith muid a ndhá lá ' iarraidh 'dredge' xa 'míd' ə 'ŋá: 'lɑ: 'iərə 'driɔ̃ |
mhac Mharcaisín Churraoin a bhaint. 35E (13.21, line 69);

Is iomú cleas, a d'imríodh locht an phoitín froisin, ar, ar na gardaí IARRAIDH, BHEITH goil i bhfalach orthub agus A-, agus A-, IARRAIDH BHEITH cuir poitín i bhfalach orthub. 35E8539;

bhíodh chuile dhuine ansin, A IARRAIDH BHEITH | ə iərə v' e *ag coisint agus ag sá. Bhíodh sé IARRAIDH BHEITH fe iərə v' e ... 35E9136.*

Prevocalic *d'* + VN occurs in 66N's speech with *iarraidh*, presumably acquired from her mother who is from near An Cheathrú Rua, e.g.

ta fe d'iərə t'il'ə 66N *tá sé D'IARRAIDH tuilleadh.*

This *d'* spreads in 66N's speech to other environments with *iarraidh*, i.e. for general *dhá iarraidh*:

ga d'iarra | 66N *DHÁ D'IARRAIDH*.

If, however, 66N had completely lexicalised *d'* here one would expect *dhá *dhiarraidh*. An even younger speaker has generalised *ag* with *iarraidh*:

... **a: g'iarra** | 79A ... *DHÁ 'G IARRAIDH* (feminine reference to *bád*).

8.105 Use

Particle *ag* with the verbal noun indicates progressive aspect:

bí ag ól; bí gá ól; bhí siad ag siúl; níl aon ghrutha a'inn ag imeacht.

It also has a nonfinite final function, often with retention of progressive meaning (8.142).

There are two extensions of the progressive use of {*ag* + verbal noun} that can have perfective meaning.

{(copula +) *ag* + verbal noun + subject}, e.g.

ə'n'if ə t'iaxt hu M *anois AG TÍOCHT THÚ?* 'Have you just arrived?'

{*ag* + verbal noun + *dho* + logical subject} can mean 'before ...', e.g.

bhí mé ag ithe AG GOIL isteach DHOM 'I ate just before I came in (to island)';
Bhí mé ag ól tae AG GOIL aniar DHOM gol' ə'n'iar yum 64M 'I drank tea
just before I came east (from Maínis to Ros Muc)';

v'i je kurhə xol əd ə gol' ə'ner' it' 19P

bhí sé curtha a chodladh a'd AG GOIL anoir DHUIT?

For examples of adjectival qualification of the progressive verbal noun, see 5.231.

The adverb of degree *sórt* comes between *ag* and the verbal noun in:

ə sórt ru:pəl' ə'k'ia't' | mór:an ə goni: a:r'ir' ə 31D

AG SÓRT RÚPÁIL eicint, mórán i gcónaí dháiríre.

The phrase {*ag* + verbal noun} or similar use with progressive *ag* is sometimes nominalised, e.g. (in copula subject position)

obər d'ə:s ə ba'nt' æ:ti: 20A *obair deas AG BAINT fhataí* (i.e. *is obair ...*).¹

There is an example in subject position with the verb *bí* where the second token of *ag eascainí* occurs for more usual *eascainí*:

nuair a bhíodh na slata ag briseadh, bhíodh muide ag eascainí. Is ní raibh

AG EASCAINÍ ag goil ag díonamh na hoibre ceart chor a bith. 892M.

The nominal unit {*ag* + verbal noun} can be governed by a preposition. There are some examples of the preposition *le* in this context:

v'i: je xə ma: yit' v'e kahə kloxə l'e gi:hə l'e g'iarə v'e ga ji:nə jin' M
bhí sé chomh maith dhuit a bheith ag caitheamh clocha le gaoithe LE AG
IARRAIDH bheith dhá dhéanamh sin.;

-ə N'ix'an' je e *An itheann sé é? -l'e g askən' i: M LE AG EASCAINÍ.*

Also *eidir* + {*ag* + verbal noun}:

Tháiniceadar i dtír ansin ... , (bh)í na, cupla bó le réiteach is chaon tsórt agus rudaí le díonamh, agus bhíodar ag obair leothub, EIDIR AG OSCAILT an éisc agus ag plé leis na beithí agus chuile shórt go raibh píosa mór dhen oíche caite 11C2180–1;

ed'ər' kir' n er'əd fo ... ga vra'hə 20Mlt *EIDIR AG CUIR an oiread seo ... dhá bhraicheadh* (cp. 11.11, including *as ag goil*).

¹ See Ó Cuív (1952: 180) for late seventeenth-century examples of the extension in the use of {*ag* + verbal noun} as a nominal unit. Cp. Mac Cana and Ó Baoill (1996: especially 187–8).

Also *gan* + {*ag* + verbal noun}:

*bhí chuile dhuine ag goid fheamainne uaidh agus GAN AG TABHAIRT gan a
torr' aon phínn dó ortha 897St* (perhaps phonetically reduced from *gan
iad' tabhairt*);
gan ag ithe tada 'not eating anything'.

Also complex prepositions *ar nós* [1], *dhe bharr* [2], *le haghaidh* [3], *in éineacht
le* [4]:

... *NÚS, AG EASCAINÍ is, bhei' ag eascainí is rudaí mar sin. 35E;* [1]

tá cupla ceann' fáil go dona, DHE BHARR AG ITHE siúcra 60M (of teeth); [2]

capall ... , mbeadh roinnt coirce faighte aici LE HAGHAIDH AG OBAIR. [3]

Íehi: g obər' | 06C;

cp. *bhíodh, amadán, acub LE HAGHAIDH [AG ?] DÍONAMH spraoi 'gus,*

[AG ?] DÍONAMH grinn dóib. Íehi: d'ínə sprí: gus | d'ínə gr'ín'

do:b' | 35E1;

IN ÉINEACHT LE ' DÍONAMH rudaí eile P 'as well as doing other things'. [4]

8.106 *gan* + verbal noun

The preposition *gan* functions as a negative verbal noun marker, e.g.

*Tá aon fhear amháin istigh i mbaile an dtigeann tú, i ndan an baile a
choinneál GAN ROINNT;*

chuirinn romham amantaí GAN é a LIGEAN isteach ar chor ar bith P.

Recall the example of *le gan sibse ná gan aon fhear a ligean* (8.14). *a^L* is retained with irregular verbs *a bheith*, *a ghoil*, *a theacht / thíocht* (8.108), e.g. *b'fhearr gan a ghoil ann*. An example of *gan* + {*dhá* + verbal noun} occurs in:

v'í:d'í:f ə f'í:ní:l' gəŋ gə ma'ru' xər ə b'í | v'í:x | 10B

bhídís ag sianaíl GAN DHÁ MARÚ ar chor ar bith, bhíodh (context: pigs).

An alternative construction here is reflexive *gan iad dhá marú*. Cp. *gan ag tabhairt* (8.105). For examples of *nó('s) gan* in alternative nonfinite clauses, including clauses without verbal nouns, see 8.34.

8.107 *a^L* + verbal noun

ə a^L, əŋ a dh'.

The particle *ə a^L* is the verbal noun complementiser. It connects a verbal noun with a disjunctive object. In subordinate clauses it sometimes connects a subject to its verbal noun (5.233). A particle *ə a^L* also functions to indicate third person pronominal objects of verbal nouns (i.e. (historical) 3m possessive), so that, for example, third plural objects can be expressed in three constructions (i) possessive *a^N* (conservative), (ii) *iad a^L* (progressive), and (iii) *a^L* (limited use) (6.46 ff.).

There are two attested tokens of the form *əŋ a dh'* before a vowel (actually before lenited *f* of *fháil*), heard from **892Mg** (Glinsce) only:

*ach nach bhfuil fhios a' dsa nar raibh fear Árann i ndan AON MHÓIN — A
DH'FHÁIL, ag tabhairt sé ə na'n e'n 'wūn' ə | ə ɣa:l' | to:rɫ ʃe: phunta
dhéag ar locht É SEO DH'FHÁIL | e' 'ʃo ɣa:ʔl' | 892Mg.¹*

¹ Cp. higher register *d'fháil*, *a dh'insean*, 10.90; and *a fháil* (/C_ [x2]) ~ *a dh'fháil* (/V_ [x2 or x3]) from An Clochán in Stenson (2003: xlix–l).

The form **ə ga:l'** is aberrant for speaker **11C** and most likely a slip of the tongue influenced by **giəsk** which follows it:

ní raibh úthás ar bith ná inSean scéil le raibheadar A FHÁIL dh'iasc. Ye rodər ə ga:l' giəsk 11C2166.

Regular examples of **ə a^L** are:

nach in É atá siad A IARRAIDH!

ka mīd' mīd' hē:n' ə 'xa:frək'ən | 894Cs

Caithidh muid MUID HÉIN A CHAISREACAN;

CHOMH FADA is tá tú i ndan A FHEICEÁL mórán suas, 896Pt;

MAR fheiceann tú na siúinéaraí tá molta go maith A DHÍONAMH anis. 01Pt;

k'e:rd ə v'i: ji: wuəxta:l' er' ən'jin' P

CÉARD a bhí sí A BHUACHTÁIL air ansin?;

ní raibh fhios a'd CÉARD a bhí tú A RÁ ná A DHÍONAMH S;

sin é A bhfuil mé A IARRAIDH ort 866ESc52.7;

dhá mhéad fuaim DHÁ raibh sí A BHAINT as an túirne ariamh, bhí ... 894Ct;

Agus badh é Janáí a bhí ag roinnt an éisc, agus SÉARD a chuaigh sé A DHÍONAMH trí leith dhen iasc. ARN7828;

ʃe:rd ə kir'u: ə ji:nə mīd' ə dīg'a:l' 19P

SÉARD a cuireadh A DHÉANAMH muid ag dígeáil;

Chuaigh sé sin ag troid, is ní raibh AON FHEAR dhá raibh ag tíocht air, nar raibh sé A MHARÚ 'gus A CHUR sa bhfarraige. 892Mtn;

n'i:l' ʃe jin' ə iəɾə ax b'æ:dəməs S níl sé sin A IARRAIDH ach BEADAMAS;

casadh mise in áit ... nar raibh mé A AIREACHTÁIL ach CEOL AGUS AOIBHNEAS 11C.

When the disjunct object is a clause or stands for a clause, **a^L** (historically anaphoric possessive) is used with **rá** and less commonly with **ceapadh** and perhaps less usually with some other verbal nouns. (Vowel-initial verbal nouns, e.g. *inseacht*, are ambiguous, **a^L** may be actually absent at the structural level or, alternatively, phonetically elided.) Examples of **a^L**:

Creidim go gcaithidh muid A RÁ ə rɑ: go raibh roinnt dhen Drochshaol ... 894C,

tá sé chomh maith dhom A RÁ gur ... m ə rɑ: gər ... 11C,

i nGaillimh, ná in aon áit, tá sé chomh maith dhom A RÁ S,

ach bhí tú i ndan A RÁ 'Ní ro dur' froisin Sq,

níl mé i ndan A RÁ céard a dhíonthas mé,

níl mé i ndan A RÁ 'nā:n ə rɑ: faoina haois 11C,

cp. Níl mé i ndan A RÁ anis a ainm ná tada. 11C;

théis muid héin A CHEAPADH go ndearna M.

Verbal noun *fiathraí* has optional **a^L**:

ar miste dhom A FHIATHRAÍ cá ... əɾə m'ift'ə ɣum iəɾhi: ... 11Ct;

an miste dhúinn FIATHRAÍ cé thú féin ná cérb as thú? Semr68.

There appears to be an increase in use of clausal **a^L** for some younger speakers, probably through external influence. For instance:

Ní raibh mé i ndan fháil 'over' an Béarla a bhí aige 43M.

Examples of other verbs without **a^L**:

ach ní raibh siad i ndan DÍONAMH AMACH cé acub amadán ba mhú. 35E1;

'agus dúlán [dúshlán] fearú Éireann, FÁIL AMACH u- cé a'inn ab fhearr.'

!!(Atm)39D.

Used in direct prepositional relative in three rare examples (one of which contains *ghoil* (cp. 8.108) and the other two contain *ch-* (cp. 9.81) based on the typical direct object relative syntax {relative a^L ... a^L VN} (cp. 8.110):

agus go bhfaca siad CÉARD bhí, na daoíní A GHOIL UN CINN LEIS insa [1]
tír. 881Jt;

k'e:rd ə v'i: f'i: xɑ:n't' er' M [2]

CÉARD a bhí sí A CHAINT AIR (for traditional *cé air a raibh sí ag caint*);

wil's æd gər b'e: v'i: m'e xi:vr'u: or' [3]

an bhfuil fhios a'd gurb É a bhí mé A CHUIMHNIÚ AIR? (male speaker,
born c. 1935).

Lack of sandhi elision of a^L occurs in an example from a younger speaker:

l'e e: ɔ xir' | 72C le é A chuir.

8.108 *a bheith* / *thíocht* / *ghoil*; Rare a^L

The verbal nouns of three irregular intransitive verbs are preceded by a^L in contexts where *ag* is absent (and where other verbal nouns lack any particle):

bí (ə) *v'e a bheith*;
teara (ə) *hiəxt*, (ə) *haxt a thíocht*, *a theacht*;
teighre (ə) *ɣol'*, (ə) *ɣol a gho(i)l*.

Contrast, for example, regular *in am dúiseacht* with *in am a ghoil*, and regular *ag caint ar tosaí* with *ag caint ar (a) thíocht*. This use of a^L with these three verbs is categorical, although there may be some optional omission of a^L in the case of *tíocht* / *teacht*. The presence of the particle is often indicated solely by lenition. E.g.

tɑ: f'e l'e v'e / l'e haxt / l'e ɣol' tá sé le bheith / le theacht / le ghoil.

Contrast, for example, *le n-imeacht*. Cf. *dho* + a^L + *bheith* > *dhá*, *dho*, *dhona*, *a* (7.28). Since *a bheith* is never preceded by *ag*, it is always lenited.

Confusion of a^L and *ag* in double verbal noun constructions is exceptional for the older generation in our dialect. For example, there is regular use of double *ag* in *ag goil ag*:

nax wil' tu goł' ə f'ausu' 19P nach bhfuil tú AG GOIL AG FEABHSÚ;
ach bhí AN FEAR SEO, bhfuil mé AG GOIL AG TRÁCHT AIR, ... 11C.

The verbal nouns in initial position in double verbal noun constructions that show particle 'confusion' are *g(h)oil* and *iarraidh*. The following are attested:

<i>ag goil a^L</i>	}	beside anomalous <i>a^L ghoil a^L</i>
<i>a^L ghoil ag</i>		
<i>ag goil ag</i>		beside unusual <i>ag goil a^L</i>
<i>ag iarraidh a^L</i>		beside anomalous <i>a^L iarraidh a^L</i>

There are examples from three old speakers (**866E**, **05M** and **11C**) of preceding object followed by a^L *ghoil a^L* (for regular *ag goil a^L*):

Agus is é AN SÓRT IASCACH a bhí mé A DHUL A DHÉANAMH ag dul ag tógáil
potáí gliomacha. 866ESc25.4;
'CÉARD tá tú A DHUL A DHÉANAMH liomsa, ... ?' 866ESc192.31;
sin é ' raibh muid A GHOIL ' FHÁIL as. 05M;

... *faoi go raibh an bhean óg ag goil ag pósadh. Nuair nach É HÉIN a bhí sí* 'GHOILA PHÓSADH agus ... 11C;
 AN FEAR a bhí sí 'GHOILA PHÓSADH 11C;
 Agus, *seobh SCÉILÍN BEAG atá mé* 'GHOIL 'INSEACHT ... 11C.

But regular *ag go(i)l a^L* occurs from the same speakers (866E and 11C) and most other speakers, e.g.

'CÉARD tá tuid AG DUL A DHÉANAMH anois?' 866ESc169.26;
mar a dhíonthá le CAORA bheitheá AG GOILA BHEARRADH. 11C;
 NA FATAÍ tá tú AG GOIL A GHEARRADH 01P.

Similarly, there is an example with following object of *a^L ghoil a^L* for regular *a^L ghoil ag*:

br' e ə ho:rt' or ɣi:n' ə k'i:n' ə ɣo:l' ə ji:nə ə l' ehəd' ə ʃo gə ru'd 19P10
breith a thabhairt ar dhuine eicín A GHOIL A DHÉANAMH A LEITHIDE SEO dhe
rud.

There is one example of *ag goil a^L* for usual *ag goil ag in*:
sagairt ... AG GOIL A CHUIR ola ar dhaoine 899Nt.¹

8.109 *iarraidh*

With 35E's use of (ə) *iərə iarraidh* for *ag iarraidh* (8.104), we can compare speaker 21Pt's examples of preceding object with *a^L iarraidh a^L* for regular *ag iarraidh a^L*:

... NA CINN atá tú ' IARRAIDH A CHOINNEÁL ... *coinneoidh sé NA FATAÍ tá tú* ' IARRAIDH **fat u' iərə** A CHOINNEÁL. 21Pt.

This is in contrast with regular:

k' e:rd ə v' i: tu: g' iər ə xir' er' 19P10
CÉARD a bhí tú AG IARRAIDH A CHUIR air?

However, (sporadic) examples occur more often in younger speakers:

... ə v' i: m' e: iər ek' ə'l 72C ... *a bhí mé A IARRAIDH A FHEICEÁL;*
(séard a bhí mé) A IARRAIDH A DHÍONAMH iərə ji:nə 72C;
k' e:rd ta m' e iərə jinə | 78Rb *CÉARD atá mé A IARRAIDH A DHÉANAMH?*

8.110 *a^L > ag*

In older speakers nonlenition of *f-* is rare enough in the context of tradition *a^L*. *Céard tá tú a fheiceál?* for example, is regular. Nonetheless with *fáil* nonlenition is found. The oldest speaker noted with *a(g) fáil* for traditional *a fháil* is a returned migrant from North America but it is also found in near contemporaries:

k' e:rd ə v' i: m' e fa:l' | 893P *céard a bhí mé A(G) FÁIL,*
gur b'in é tá sé FÁILT 894C9,
ju:n fa:l' na fa:l' v' i:dər fa:l' er' M
dheamhan fáil ná fáil a bhíodar A(G) FÁIL air.

Nonlenition of *fáil* in this syntax becomes very common in young people's dialect. Nonlenition is nonetheless regular with adverbial phrases and *ag fáil*, e.g.

¹ The historical syntax is actually *ag goil a^L* but it is difficult to tell whether the single example, heard from 899N, represents a continuation of this usage, as seen with other verbal nouns in initial *c-* such as *ag goil a chúnamh* (9.81), or whether it is an instance of later particle 'confusion' similar to *a^L ghoil a^L*. Cp. 10.90, e.g. ... *ó chuaidh tú mholadh an Speedwell*, !Sóc1.83, and O'Rahilly (1972: 233) and Ó Siadhail (1989: 278 §11.1.6(ii)).

níós raímhre atá tú AG FÁIL [x4] M,
n'ís m'æ:sə tɑ:dər fɑ:l' níós measa atádar AG FÁIL (speaker born c. 1935).

Another returned migrant, speaker **04Br** (cf. **893P** above), supplies examples of *ag* for *a^L* (otherwise usually heard from much younger speakers). There is an example with anomalous eclipsing relative and *ag* in:

nə hæ:n'əmr'əxi: m'i:d'i:f ə bli:x er' nə ga:rənti: 04Br
na hainmreachaí a mbídís AG BLAOCH ar na garrantaí,

corresponding to {relative *a^N* ... *ag* VN + resumptive prepositional pronoun} (similar to {relative *a^L* ... *a^L* VN} in anomalous examples [1–3] above, 8.107). Interestingly the same sequence, *v'ehɑ: d'i:nə*, was noted from **04Br** and **892Mg**:

k'e:rd ə v'ehɑ: d'i:nə tr'i: x'e:d bl'ian' ... 04Br
céard a bheithéa' 'DÉANAMH trí chéad bliain ... ?
bhuail tú ansin é mar a bhuaithéa dornán a bheithéa' 'DÉANAMH le
haghaidh súgán is ... mar ə wuəl'hɑ' daurnɑ:n ə v'ehɑ' d'i:nə l'ehi
su:ɡɑ:n s ... 892Mg.

Also anomalous with *díon* is:

Ó! ní raibh cur síos ná inSean scéil, ach a raibheadar AG DÍONAMH airgead
[perhaps airgid] le ə d'ín æ:r'əɡ'əð l'e aon liamán amháin. 06C,

for expected *a dhíonamh dh'airgead*.

The use of *ag* for traditional *a^L* is probably more common when the object follows the verbal noun, e.g.

séard a thosaigh sí AG ITHE hesə fi: ɡ'ihə ar dtús, iasc is fataí 33M.

8.111 Younger speakers

Many younger speakers consistently or frequently generalise *ag*.¹

- 57P** (*an rud atá tú*) *ɡ'iaərə ... AG IARRAIDH.*
66M consistently, e.g. *k'er tɑ' fɪ fo d'ínə céard atá sí seo AG DÉANAMH?*
ən rud ə tɑ mɑ:r' ə ɡ'iaərə an rud atá Máire AG IARRAIDH.
66N ... *k'er d tɑ m'e m'ín'ɑ:l' ... céard atá mé AG MÍNEAIL [< mean].*
69K *k'e:rd tɑ tu ɡo:l' céard atá tú AG ÓL?*
72A *fɪn' ɛ tɑ m'e ɡ'iaərə sin é atá mé AG IARRAIDH;*
xul' ə ho:rt v'i: tu ɡ'iaərə chuile shórt a bhí tú AG IARRAIDH.
79MI *kud' ə v'i: ɛ:r'ən' əɡ' im'ərt' | cuid a bhí Éirinn AG IMIRT.*
86R *Céard a bhí sib AG ÓL?* (consistently, in 1993).

ag > zero (or *a^L*)

There is an example of the opposite tendency, i.e. loss of *ag*, before *iarraidh* in nondisjunctive:

tá mé IARRAIDH, má tá muid IARRAIDH ... 78J.

This seems unrelated to *d'iarraidh* common in dialects to the east of Iorras Aithneach (cp. **66N**, 8.104). Cp. *ag iarraidh* ~ *a iarraidh* **35E** (8.104) and *a^L iarraidh* **21Pt**, etc., (8.109).

¹ For examples from Kerry and Donegal, see Ó Siadhail (1989: 295, examples (251–3)), Duffield (1995: 264, note 21) and GCD §683. For earlier examples, principally from Innis Oírr, see B. Ó Catháin (1993: 202–3).

Negative *deabhal*, *deamhan*

8.112 General

The nouns *deabhal*, *d(h)eabhac* and *d(h)eamhan* are followed by a^N in negative function before the verb. In obsolescent use both *deabhal* and *deamhan* can be preposed by **gən** *dhon*, apparently also **ən** transcribed as *an* (perhaps < *(dh)on*). The eclipsing particle which follows *deabhal* (etc) is classified for the purpose of the classification of copula forms as interrogative an^N . It is, however, formally identical to the indirect relative particle a^N . Cp. the eclipsing particle in the final conjunctions *ar fhaitíos a^N*, *féachaint a^N* (8.118, 8.137). See also Ó Siadhail (1986: §12.2) which can be complemented and expanded (e.g. *dheamhan mara ...* §12.2.2) with examples from FFG s.v. *deabhal*, *deamhan*, *dhe*, *dheabha* and *de* 1., as well as 14 *cos* (b), *deabhal*, *deamhan* and *dhe* 3. Compare expletive *I gcuide dhon deabhal le do ghiúslaí* LFRM (s.v. *giúslaí*) with *dhon deabhal*, *dhon deamhan* below.

Our dialect does not apparently have *deabhal mé go^N* (assertive) FFG20, 24, nor *d(h)eamhan mé (mise) go / mara* FFG20, 24, 32. In fact the use of (assertive) *deabhal mé* by speaker **19B** (native of Doire an Locháin in East Cois Fharrage but resident in Maínis) is the subject of comment locally:

-*Cén chaoi bhfuil tú, a Bheairtle?*

-*DEABHAL MÉ maith go leor,*

corresponding to *múise maith go leor* or *maith go leor a mh'anam* in Iorras Aithneach.

The expletive and intensifier functions of *deabhal / deamhan* are related to their negative function. *deabhal* occurs modifying the indefinite adjective in, for example, *chuile dheabhal ceann* 'every single one' in contrast with negativised fronted theme in *deabhal ceann* 'none'.

Examples with negative function are classified into three main types, exemplified with *deabhal*:

1(a) *deabhal a^N*, **1(b)** *deabhal a^N ... dhe*, **1(c)** *deabhal is móide a^N*;

2(a) *deabhal ceann (a^L)* and **2(b)** *deabhal blas go^N*;

3. *deabhal mara^N*.

8.113 1(a) *deabhal a^N*

deabhal:

DEABHAL A BHFACA mise chor a bith thú. S.

dhon deabhal:

- ... Agus DHON DEABHAL GRUTHA abhaile anis a'm, ná A NGOTHA' mé abhaile. ... dúirt sé DHON DEABHAL A CHOS. **866E**tn (cf. *dhon deamhan* Sc237.5).

dheamhan:

gəs ju:n ə 'hu:ʃk'ə v'i ʃiʃə muh er' ə 'grukān | 'nā r 'e:ŋ 'vlas ʔ'e f'ek'al ek' ax ə 'kru:kān | kru:kān 'lū:m | **18J8874** agus DHEAMHAN A THÚISCE a bhí sise amuigh ar an gcnocán nár raibh aon bhlas le feiceál aici ach an cnocán [slip of the tongue] lom.

deamhan:

d'áun ə m'ehəts æd 05M DEAMHAN A MBEADH FHIOS a'd.¹

dhon deamhan:

gəun d'áun ə m'ehəts æd ... 05M DHON DEAMHAN A MBEADH FHIOS a'd ... ;
'DON DEAMHAN NÁ DON DIABHAL A DTÓGFAIDH mé an eangach go brách
Sc237.5.

There is a subordinate example following temporal *nó go*^N:

*Bhuail caint agus comhrá ansin agus seanchas iad nó GUR DHEAMHAN AR
AIRÍODAR iad féin leis an seanchas agus leis an gcomhrá ... nó go raibh
an ghrian go hard ina suí. 866ESc204.4.*

8.114 1(b) *deabhal a*^N ... *dhe* + object / subject

The preposition *dhe* can govern (i) the object of transitive verbs or (ii) the subject of intransitive verbs (heard from older speakers), e.g.

- (i) *Agus DHEAMHAN AR AIRIGH Paddy DI nó go raibh sé in am bricfeasta
866ESc199.12 'Paddy did not perceive her ...';
d'iar fe i' tr'i: huər ə l' e 'pə:sə s d'aul ə bə:səd j'i' je 11C
d'iar sé í trí huair le pósadh is DEABHALA BPÓSTHADH sí DHE;*
- (ii) *-DHEAMHAN A NGABHFAIDH níos fuide DÍOMSA, a deir sé, ABg62;
-AN DIABHAL, a deir sí, A NGABHFAIDH a chodladh DÍOM, 866ESc203.1;
jun ə ro t' iəxt d' i:b P DHEAMHAN A RAIBH ag tíocht DÍOB;
d'aul ə ɣohə ser' gə x' a:n Mq
DEABHAL A NGABHTHAIDH soir DHE SHEÁN;
DEABHAL A N-IMEOIDH DÍOM Mperm.*

Further examples: 14 *dhe* 3., GCF §407 *dheamhan ar chuala mé den fhocal sin* and *de* 1. FFG(20), with verbal adjective ... *caillte dhe* (8.115); cp. the partitive use of *de* after a negative verb in, for example, DIL s.v. *de* C (h) p. 148 and Ó Siadhail's (1986: 327, 329) emphasis on the quantitative nature of negative *deabhal* (etc.).

A comparable construction, of type 2(a), contains *blas*. The subject usage is *deabhal* (etc) *blas dhe Sheán nach ...*, '(low and behold) Seán (verb)'. E.g.

*DEABHAL BLAS DEN cheart NACH BHFUIL acu 43Mlt 'they are absolutely
right';
DHIÚN BLAS G'FHEAR a' ghiorráin NÁR THOSA' a' claim-áil a' tsearra' as
deire 894C2 (equivalent to thosaigh fear an ghiorráin ...);
DHEAMHAN BLAS D'INÍON Rí an Deachma ... NÁ RAIBH tugtha [ar siúl] ag
fathach as an Domhan Thiar 866ESc102.8.*

A possibly anomalous positive example, similar to 2(b), is:

*DIABHAL BLAS DHEN TSEANBHEAN nuair a ghabh sí ann an lá seo GUR INIS sí
d'iníon an rí go raibh a leithéide de strainséar(a) ann. 866ESc104.29.*

8.115 1(c) *deabhal is móide a*^N

deabhal (etc) *is móide a*^N is equivalent to *ní móide go*^N (for *móide a*^N compare

¹ Examples of unlenited *deamhan* indicate that the phrase *agus é séimhithe* 'lenited' in FFG s.v. *deamhan* (last sentence) can be emended to *agus é séimhithe [den chuid is mó]* or 'generally lenited'. There is in fact an unlenited example in FFG s.v. *deamhan* 3(b): *Deoun mise mar bfana ...*

GCF with *ní móide go^N* §§250 n., 391 but also *ní móide a^N* §407). Direct copula relative follows *deabhal* here, i.e. *deabhal is móide a^N* for expected **deabhal ar móide go^N*. E.g.

DHEAMHAN IS MÓIDE BHFUIL an fhad sin cailte DHE FFG s.v. *de* 1 (also permitted by Máire regarding *dheamhan is móide a^N* GCF §407).

8.116 2(a) *deabhal ceann*

deabhal, *d(h)eabhac* and *deamhan*, the last cited mostly lenited as *dheamhan* (as well as obsolete *dhon deabhal*, *dhon deamhan*) can also precede fronted themes (nouns, verbal nouns, pronouns, adverbs and other elements) to give negative force to the utterance.

deabhal:

d'aul gr'im' isəs tu xi:hən' wəhəb jin' 11C

DEABHAL GREIM a íosas tú choíchin uathub sin;

DEABHAL AR AIS ariamh FFG s.v. *deabhal* 8;

DEABHAL BLAS a rinne sé ach é a ól. 11C 'what did he do but drink it!' (very common with *blas*);

*agus an bás ag dul trína chroí agus DIABHAL LABHAIRT. ... agus DIABHAL COR a rinne Paddy agus é ag srannadh. 866E*Sc203.11–20;

-Ar ól tú 'Murphy's' ariamh? -DEABHAL E. S 'No'.

dheabhal:

The lenited variant *dheabhal* was noted in secondary sources; it is permitted by Máire. E.g.

DHEABHAL BLAS íosfas mé dhi tá sí fuar beithíoch FFG s.v. *beithíoch* 2;

Agus DHIABHAL BLAS a rinne sí ach cromadh ar an gcaipín ... Sc156.31.

dhon deabhal:

*-Ó! muise DHON DEABHAL gəN' d'aul pINN ariamh a'm, a deir Jaic, ach seacht agus sé pínne. ... agus deabhal blas a d'icheadar ... 866E*tn;

*- ... Agus DHON DEABHAL GRUTHA abhaile anis a'm, ná a ngotha' mé abhaile. ... dúirt sé DHON DEABHAL A CHOS. 866E*tn;

DON DIABHAL ANN ach go raibh Tadhg bocht ar an leaba nuair thit ... Sc263.22;

gəN d'aul mo:rəN ... 13P, 32Js *DHON DEABHAL MÓRÁN ...* .

dheamhan:

ju:n k'ə:n *DHEAMHAN CEANN*;

-Níor chualas, Níor chuala, ... deabhal cloisteál muis, DHEAMHAN CLOISTEÁL. 05M;

DHEAMHAN BLAS dhá mbeadh déanta sa lá acu nach mbíodh leagtha ar maidin B19.51.

deamhan:

*DEAMHAN DEOIR d'ū:n' d'o:r' bhainne a bhí ar maidin ná tráthnóna ag na beithí. 892M*2708;

ax d'ə:n dín'ə d'isəx e' | 27Md *ach DEAMHAN DUINE a d'íosadh é;*

d'əun i:hə nax ... 05M *DEAMHAN OÍCHE nach ... ;*

d'əum blə:s ... 05M *DEAMHAN BLAS ... ;*

d'əunəs a:gəm 05M *DEAMHAN FHIOS agam.*

There is one recorded example which appears to have initial **d-** but this may be a **d'**-, reduced in initial position:

daum blás l'e 'd'ín ā'm 11C *DEAMHAN BLAS le déanamh a'm.*

The **au** vocalism in *d(h)eamhan* is obsolescent, e.g. **05M**; in fact, Máire mistakenly claims it is not a local form.

deabhac:

d'aukəs a:gəm 05M *DEABHAC FHIOS agam;*
DEABHAC A' FEANC a d'fhan air.

dheabhac:

a: jaukəs k'ε v'e:d a:t' ... 05M Á! *DHEABHAC FHIOS cé mhéad áit ...*

We can note here the negative idiom *deabhal mo chos*, etc., used in locative contexts (14 *cos* (b)).

8.117 **2(b) deabhal blas go^N; 3. deabhal mara^N**

2(b) deabhal blas go^N

deabhal blas go^N and *dheamhan blas go^N* have assertive function, e.g.

Agus DEABHAL BLAS GUR SHEAS sí, gur sheas an seanchapall bán, ar a, ar a lorga, agus d'éirigh sé dhe léim. 869Pt;

DEABHAL BLAS GUR FEARR dhom a ghoil soir FFG s.v. *deabhal* 14;

DHEAMHAN BLAS GO BHFEILEANN se ... thu, 20C.

Also *deabhal mórán blas go^N*:

d'aul mo:ra:n blás gər hosə n wə:hər' i' hein' ə g'urə:n 11Ct

DEABHAL MÓRÁN BLAS GUR THOSAIGH an mháthair í héin ag gearán 'it wasn't long until ...'.

Similarly, *deabhal blas nach^N*, e.g.

DEABHAL BLAS NACH FUAR a bhídís 23Jt 'they were practically raw'.

3. deabhal mara^N

deabhal mara^N and *dheamhan mara^N* also have assertive function (cf. 8.27), e.g.

DEABHAL MARA NDÍONFAD. FFG s.v. *deabhal* 15;

DHEAMHAN MARA BHUAIL truaí don páiste [sic] é FFG s.v. *dheamhan* 3(c).

Compare expletive emphatic use such as:

'is é LÁR AN DIABHAIL é,' a deir sí, 'MARA DTUGA mé féin agus mo dheartháireacha ... a dhóthain féin don dochtúr.' **866ESc205.11.**

Conjunctions

Subordinating and coordinating conjunctions are described in this section. The structure of subordinators is described in 8.118–8.126. Examples of the various functional types are presented in sections 8.127–8.163. Coordinators are described in 8.164–8.178.

8.118 Subordinators

The relevant sections in 'Verbal particles' (8.5 ff.) deal with nominal conjunction *go* (8.6) (including negative *nach* (8.17)) and conditional conjunctions *má* (8.25), *dhá* (8.26), *mara* (8.27), as well as the relative particles (8.67). For verbal noun particles *ag* and *a*, also functioning as subordinators, see 8.104 ff. Here, subordination in finite clauses will be analysed first; for nonfinite clauses, see 8.126.

Alternative morphological interpretations are possible for some subordinators and even between different variants of the ‘same’ subordinator. For example, the initial element in the final conjunction *is go^N* (8.140) could be analysed as the monosyllabic form of *agus*, or the conjunction could be taken as a variant of synonymous *le is go^N* with elided *le*, or it could be taken as a reduced form of *i riocht is go*, or as a form of the preposition *i^N*, related to *(in)sa go^N*, or as a combination of these possibilities, or unanalysed and treated as a simple subordinator. The final alternative is adopted here for *is go^N*.

There is also ambiguity as to the status of the mutating element; whether, for example, *ó* is to be interpreted as *ó^L* or *ó a^L*; and whether *ach a^N*, *mara^N*, *shula^N* all contain a particle *-a^N*, which takes the subjunctive but does not occur independently and which would be related on an abstract level with *go^N*. The interpretation that *a^N* is present is supported by alternants which replace the *-a^N* of *shula^N* with other elements or particles, such as *shul dhá^N*, *shul má^N* and *shul (is)^L* (8.130).¹ The distinction between *an^N* (interrogative) and *a^N* can also be indeterminate. In *féachaint an^N* in particular only the subjunctive verbal form indicates a definite *a^N* interpretation in *féach a dtiugaidís*.² In a form such as **hi:n̄t̄ ə k̄:e:rd̄ féachaint céard** unverbation of {*féachaint + a^N*} is well advanced. Since, however, even with older speakers who have productive subjunctive inflection, conditional use is general with *féachaint ...* we can on balance interpret the particle as *an^N*. (Cp. *ar fhaitíos go^N / a^N*, 8.135.) Postposed nasalising schwa (*ə^N*) in a subordinator can therefore be one of three functors: indirect relative *a^N*, subjunctive dependent particle *-a^N*, or interrogative *an^N* (not to mention *ə go^N*). For synonymy and polysemy among particles, see 8.121. These remarks and the general description apply to traditional speakers (cf. younger speakers’ relative, 8.89 ff.).

With regard to the complex subordinators containing prepositional phrases, most can optionally omit the initial preposition. The form without the preposition can therefore be classified as a nominal phrase, e.g. *ar fhaitíos go* and *faitíos go*. Given that the form with the preposition is often etymologically and logically more basic, the prepositionless variant is classified in my list along with the variant containing the initial preposition. Similarly, in subordinators which have an optional initial article the variant with the article is taken as the basic variant. Other nominal phrases have no initial preposition or particle, even though the sense may demand one, e.g. *féachaint an* functions basically as if it were *ag féachaint an*. There are forms where the etymological nominal element (as well as the preposition) is phonetically uninterpretable as such, e.g. **f̄:ai:n̄t̄ ə féachaint an** and **rəs gə i riocht is go**. These could be categorised strictly synchronically (for most speakers) as simple subordinators, e.g. *feidhint(e) an* and *ros go*.

8.119 List of subordinators

All simple and complex finite subordinators are listed here.

¹ Cp. O’Nolan (1934: 140 §223 III(a) 2) where it is stated that *shula^N* contains indirect relative *a^N*.

² Only one subjunctive token noted (8.137). In GCF §383 the ambiguous status of the subordinating particle is evident in the inconsistency of the spelling of the particle as both *a* and *an* in *féachaint a / an* and *faoi dhéint (?) a / an*. Cp. *deabhal a^N / an^N* (8.112).

Simple subordinators

Free $dhá^N$, go^N , $má^L$, mar , $mara^N$, $nach^N$, $ó^L$, le^N , $shula^N$ also $shulá^N$ also $shul^L$

With particles:

a^L (a) $chúns$ (is) a^L (also $chú^L$ analysable as free), $mar a^L$, $nuair a^L$
 go^N $anúns go^N$, $cé go^N$ also $té go^N$, $is go^N$, $mar go^N$, $nó go^N$ also $nó ... go^N$ (cp. $nós go^N$), $sa go^N$ and $insa go^N$, $sost$ (is) go^N , $thara go^N$ (cp. preposition $thar$)
 $dhá^N$, go^N , $má^{L/N}$, $nach^N$, (a^L) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} shul$ (is) $dhá^N / is go^N / má^{L/N} / nach^N / (is) a^L$ \\ (variants of $shula^N$) \end{array} \right.

Complex subordinators

Simple preposition with:

a^L cp. $mar a^L$, $ó^L$ (analysable as $ó a^L$)
 a^N $ach a^N$ (ach is primarily the contrastive coordinator), le^N (analysable as $le a^N$), $roimh(e) a^N$, (two by-forms of $shula^N$ can be analysed as $tha(i)r a^N$)
 go^N $ach go^N$, $faoi go^N$, le (is) go^N , $marach go^N$, ($ó go^N$)
 $mar a^L$ $seachas mar a^L$, $tha(i)r(e)as mar a^L$ or $tha(i)r is mar a^L$

Prepositional phrase with:

\emptyset $ach amháin$, $as ucht$, $mar gheall$ (air)
 go^N $ach amháin go^N$ also $amháin is go^N$, $ar chuntar go^N$, (ar) $s(h)úil$ (is) go^N and $le s(h)úil agus / is go^N$, $as ucht go^N$, (dhe) $bharr go^N$, $dhe bhríthin agus / is go^N$, $go dtí go^N$ also $nó go dtí go^N$, (i) $gcruth agus / is go^N$, (i) $gcuma go^N$, $i ndiaidh is go^N$, (i) $riocht (agus / is) go^N$, $le cois go^N$, $le haghaidh go^N$, $mar gheall (air) go^N$ also $i ngeall air go^N$, $mar ó dhia go^N$, $ón uair go^N$, $sa gcaoi (is) go^N$ also $ar chaoi go^N$, $thar éis go^N$; cp. $cés múite / moite go^N$ also 's moite go^N
 $nach^N$ (ó)n uair $nach^N$
 a^N (ar) $f(h)aitíos a^N$, $sa gcaoi a^N$
 a^N , a^L (ar) $nós a^N$ also (ar) $nós a^L$ (minority variants of (ar) $nós mar a^L$) $san am a^N$ also $an t-am a^N$ and (san am a^L) $an t-am a^L$
 go^N , a^N (ar) $f(h)aitíos go^N$ and $le fhaitíos go^N$ (minority) and (ar) $f(h)aitíos a^N$
 go^N , a^N (ar) $nós go^N$, $sa nós a^N$ (minority)
 $mar a^L$ (ar) $nós mar a^L$, (dhe) $léir (is) mar a^L$, cp. $ar ghualainn mar a^L$, $le hais mar (is) a^L$; etc.

Nominal (adverbial) phrase (also verbal noun phrase) with:

a^L	<i>an chuma a^L, (an) f(h)ad is a^L (cp. a fhad is a^L also chomh fada is a^N), an t-achar is a^L</i>
an^N	<i>(ag) féachaint an^N</i>
a^N	<i>an áit a^N, an chaoi a^N</i>
go^N	<i>cp. amháin is go^N (also prepositional ach amháin go^N)</i>
$nach^N$	<i>ionann is nach^N</i> also <i>chomh ... (agus / is) go^N, (an) oiread ... (agus / is) a^L / go^N</i>

Verbal items with:

go^N	<i>(cuir) i gcás go^N, (nó) go bhféachaint an^N and go bhféachaint go^N, (ó) tharla (is) go^N</i>
a^N	<i>féach a^N</i>

8.120 Variability and use; 1. Separation, 2. Parataxis

1. Separation

Subordinators can be separated from their particles by adverbs, the quotative verb (e.g. *a deir*) and by parenthetical comment clauses (e.g. *an dtigeann tú?*). Examples are:

<i>nó _ go</i>	<i>... nó AR BALL nar raibh ...</i>
<i>amháin is _ go</i>	<i>... , amháin is, A DEIR SÉ, gur suarach ...</i>
<i>ar nós _ go / a</i>	<i>... ar nós, A DEIR SÉ, go / nach mbeidh ...</i>
<i>dhe bhrín _ agus go</i>	<i>Go bhrín, A DEIR SÉ, agus gur mise an fear is fearr ...</i>
<i>dho léar _ mar a</i>	<i>... dho léar, IS DÓICHÍ, mar a bhí sé ag at ...</i>
<i>féachaint _ cé</i>	<i>... féachaint, A DEIR SÉ, cé bhfuighinn ...</i>
<i>i riocht _ agus go</i>	<i>... i riocht AN DTIGEANN TÚ agus go mbeadh ...</i>
<i>i ngeall air _ go</i>	<i>... i ngeall air B'FHÉIDIR go raibh ...</i>
<i>ó tharla _ go</i>	<i>-Ach ó tharla, A DEIR SÉ, go bhfuil mé ... ARN4026</i>

As is clear from the examples the separation can occur before or after *agus / is*. Separation is regular when the conjunction is superordinate to a temporal or conditional clause, e.g. *le {dhá ...} go* (8.125). Separation is very common in parataxis, e.g.

... ach amháin, A DEIR SÉ, tá ...

2. Parataxis

Both *mar* with parataxis and *mar go^N* function as causal subordinators (8.144). Similarly, *as ucht* and more often *as ucht go^N* function as concessive subordinators (8.149). Similarly, concessive *amháin is go^N* (8.149); exceptive *ach amháin (go^N)* (8.153). As a (causal) conjunction *mar gheall (air) go^N* generally contains *go^N* but there are examples of paratactic use of *mar gheall air* and *mar gheall* (8.144); so also comparative manner (*ar nós (mar) a^L*) but also more recent paratactic use of *ar nós* (8.156).

8.121 3. Synonymy, polysemy: $mar a^L$, a^L , a^N , an^N , go^N

(a) There are a few synonymous forms with variant particles:

$mar a^L \sim a^N \sim a^L$	$(ar) n\acute{o}s mar a^L, (ar) n\acute{o}s a^N, (ar) n\acute{o}s a^L$	comparison
$a^N \sim a^L$	$san am / an t-am a^N, san am / an t-am a^L$ $an chaoi a^N, an chuma a^L$	time manner
$go^N \sim a^N$	$(ar) f(h)ait\acute{i}os go^N, le fhait\acute{i}os go^N, (ar) f(h)ait\acute{i}os a^N$ $(ar) n\acute{o}s go^N, sa n\acute{o}s a^N$ (minority)	final final
$an^N \sim go^N \sim a^N$	$f\acute{e}achaint an^N, (n\acute{o}) go bhf\acute{e}achaint an^N,$ $go bhf\acute{e}achaint go^N, f\acute{e}ach a^N$	final

When adverbial phrases (which take both direct and indirect relatives) form conjunctions, both a^L and a^N are found, e.g. temporal $an t-am a^L / a^N$, manner $an chaoi a^N$ and $an chuma a^L$.

Other conjunctions of course show distinct functions, e.g.

$mar a^L$ (comparative of manner)	vs.	$mar (go^N)$ (causal);
$sa gcaoi a^N$ (comparative of manner)	vs.	$sa gcaoi (is) go^N$ (final);
ha:lə by-form of $shula^N$ (temporal)	vs.	ha:lə gə by-form of $(\acute{o}) tharla$ (<i>is</i>) go^N (causal).

For $n\acute{o} go^N \sim go^N$, see 8.171. Recall that for go^N certain older speakers in general, and speaker **894C** in particular (8.6, 8.10), have the variants **gə**, **ɣə** and **ə**, the last being homophonous with a^N , an^N . Any given token of nasalising **ə** is therefore potentially ambiguous in speaker **894C** in particular.

The Ó Dubháin brothers **881J** and **894Cs** from Caladh Fhínse have a^N in subordinators conveying manner which normally have go^N and $mar a^L$. These are final $sa n\acute{o}s a^N$ and comparative $(ar) n\acute{o}s a^N$ (possibly also final $ar n\acute{o}s a^N$ and $sa riocht a^N$). This minority-use comparative $ar n\acute{o}s a^N$ is also found in speaker **875TLL**.¹

(b) There are also several conjunctions which have more than one function:

- $go, le, le linn, \acute{o}, i gcruth agus / is go$, cp. relative a ;
- $má$ (conditional conjunction, but also rare variant of $shula$ (**27Md**));
- $shula$ (note also variants of $shula$ which are related or similar to other conjunctions, e.g. **ha:ls gə** homophonous with a variant of $(\acute{o}) tharla (is) go$; $cháide go$ similar to $cáide(\acute{o})$; $chuns (a)$ ‘before’ **34M**, but ‘while’ generally).

For $as ucht$ in causal and concessive functions, see nonfinite examples (8.126). Similarly, polysemy is common in coordinators (8.164 ff.): $ach, agus, ná, n\acute{o}$.

8.122 4. agus / is ‘and’ in subordinators

The basic cumulative coordinator $agus / is$ can be used to link the initial part of various subordinators to their specific particles. Use of $agus / is$ is found mostly before go^N but also before a^L and $mar a^L$. Following consonants it is regularly realised as **s**, less often as **əs**, e.g. **ə xu:ns əs** Mperm $a ch\acute{u}ns is$, **er’ hu:l’ əs gə ar shúil is go. It seems that is in subordinating conjunctions is susceptible to a**

¹ Cp. GCF §386 comparative $(ar) n\acute{o}s a^N$ and $(ar) n\acute{o}s mar a^L$; in GCF §383 the relevant final conjunctions have go^N only: $n\acute{o}s go^N$ and $i riocht is go^N$.

greater degree of fusion than *is* ‘and’ in the core coordinating function of *is* / *agus*. In coordinating function *is* / *agus* following consonants is realised as *s* (rare *z*), *əs*, *uɣəs*, etc. The voicing of *is*, in an example from a younger speaker, indicates fusion or grammaticalisation of the phrase towards the status of a conjunction:

ən ædʒ ə war ʃe | 69S AN FHAD IS a mhair sé.

Note the historical doubling of *is* in **ə xúns əs** Mperm *a chúns is* (the form permitted by Máire based on a query about the literary form *a chomhuain is*, 8.127). There may also be doubling in *sost (is) go^N*, i.e. *sost < as ucht 's* (cp. *rost < i riocht 's*). Compare doubling by a minority of speakers in *ionann's ... is* (8.168). The optional use of *agus* (the disyllabic full form of the coordinator) with some conjunctions can indicate that these conjunctions may have less of a core subordinator status and more of a correlative structure. Cf. *agus* (8.164). In most subordinators *agus* / *is* is optional (and obsolescent in some, cf. 8.123 (ii)(b)). It is optional in:

(a) *chúns (is) a^L*, *an oiread ... (agus / is) a^L*, *an oiread ... (agus / is) go^N*,
 (ar) *shúil (is) go^N* and *le s(h)úil (agus / is) go^N*, *dho léir (is) mar a^L*,
 (i) *riocht (agus / is) go^N*, *le hais mar (is) a^L*, *le (is) go^N*,
 (with *nó go^N* cp. *nós go^N* (< *nó is* and / or (ar) *nós*), (*ó*) *tharla (is) go^N*,
sa gcaoi (is) go^N, *sost (is) go^N*, *tha(i)r is mar a^L* (or *tha(i)r(e)as mar a^L*),
sul is dhá^N, *sul (is) a^L*, cp. *chuns (a^L* (minority variants of *shula^N*).

Probably optional generally in those concessive subordinators which have *is* (8.149 ff.):

amháin (is) go^N, *i ndiaidh is go^N*, *ionann is nach^N*, *sost (is) go^N*.

Also optional in certain marginal temporal subordinators (8.124):

an dá lá (agus / is) a^L, *ar an bpointe (bois(e)) (agus / is) a^L / a^N*.

In others the presence of one form or other of *agus* / *is* is obligatory (i.e. the only usage I have noted):

a fhad is go^N and *chomh fada is go^N*, *chomh ... agus / is a^L*,
i gcruth agus / is go^N, *dhe bhríthin agus / is go^N*.

Comparative, manner or concessive functions are central to most of the conjunctions which take *agus* / *is*. This can be related in particular to the comparative function of *agus* / *is*, e.g. *ní hionann iad is na cinn eile* (8.168), and the adjectival function of *is go*, e.g. *nach iomaí lá is gur gearr a mhairfeadh an chailleach* (8.11), and perhaps to the concessive use of *is go* following a conditional phrase, e.g. *dhá ... is go ...* (8.11). In this context it is also worth mentioning the final conjunction *is go* (8.140). The prevalence of comparative function is seen in the correlative use with *chomh* and (*an*) *oiread* where there is a contrast between comparative *chomh ... agus / is a^L* (obligatory *agus* / *is*), *an oiread ... agus / is a^L* (prevalent *agus* / *is*) on the one hand and optional *agus* / *is* in resultative *chomh ... (agus / is) go^N*, *an oiread ... (agus / is) go^N* on the other.¹ Of the conjunctions which take *agus* / *is* those minor variants of the temporal conjunction *shula^N*

¹ Also evidenced in GCF §386 *chomh ... is a^L* (comparative) and GCF §384 *chomh ... go^N ~ chomh ... is go^N* (resultative); however, all examples with (*an*) *oiread* in GCF §§384, 386 have *is*. Contrast GGBC §728 n. 1 (§31.7) for obligatory resultative *agus* / *is* in the absence of demonstrative *sin*.

which contain *is* are systemically the most anomalous given (a) the weaker comparative function, and (b) use before *dhá* (in *sul is dhá^N*).

Cp. the minority form *an t-achar is a^L* **01C** (8.155), **66L** (8.127) which is generally nongrammaticalised, i.e. *an t-achar a^L*.

When subordinators are combined, *agus / is* can occur before particles other than *go^N* and *a^L*, e.g. *i gcruth agus nuair, chomh maith is dhá* (8.125). *is* (no clear example of *agus*) is prevalent in the syntax of abstract comparatives, e.g. *dhá luaithe (is) dhá mbeithéa*, so much so that it may fuse with the morphology of abstract comparatives (3.69). Cf. possible *gach's a^N* for general *gach a^N* (8.238).

There is an (optional) *s* element, which does not alternate with *agus* and which occurs following the coordinator *nó* in the alternative negative construction, i.e. **nu:s nó's** (8.29). Speaker **894C** also has alternative negative **nu: naxs nó nach's** before *cé*-interrogatives.

With the synonymous pairs of subordinators containing the optional cumulative coordinator (*agus / is*) we have discussed here we can compare the synonymous subordinators containing the optional alternative coordinator (*nó*), i.e. *nó go* and *go* (8.170 ff.).

8.123 5. Change and variation

As will become clear from the examples listed further below, there is substantial change and variation within the subordinator system.

(i) *go^N* is placed (unhistorically) before *féachaint an / go* by only three of our oldest speakers; all three are from South-West Iorras Aithneach: speaker **852S** of Dumhaigh Ithir and the brothers **869P** and **875T** of An Coillín (8.137).

(ii) Reduction is a common feature of functors.

- (a) Reduction in some of the elements within complex subordinators is evident. The *air* in *mar gheall air go^N* is obsolescent. The examples of (*ar*) *nós a^L* were heard from two young speakers for common (*ar*) *nós mar a^L*.
- (b) Interposed *is* is obsolescent in some forms: *sul (is) a^L*, *le (is) go^N*, perhaps also *le hais mar (is) a^L*, (*ó*) *tharla (is) go^N*.
- (c) Phonetically reduced or shorter variants are also (at least quantitatively) progressive in, for example:

	Older	Younger
<i>chúins</i>	ə xu:ns əs	xu:ns ə, xəns
<i>i riocht (agus) go</i>	ə r'oxt (ogəs) gə	rəs gə
<i>féachaint an</i>	f'ixənt' ə	f'e:n' ə
<i>mar gheall (air) go</i>	mar ja:l er' gə	ma a:l gə, ma a:l
<i>nuair</i>	nuər'	nər', na
<i>(ó) tharla (is) go</i>	hɑ:rɫə gə, o: hɑ:l s gə	hɑ: gə
<i>shula</i>	hɑ:l a:	hɑ:lə

- (d) Several functors may be noticeably reduced in nontraditional use: adverbials *anseo, ansin, mar sin / seo* (6.81); conjunctions *nuair, mar gheall*.

(iii) Several subordinators are obsolescent:

ar chuntar go^N, as ucht go^N, (ar) súil (is) go^N and (le) s(h)úil (agus / is) go^N, (cuir) i gcás go^N, dhe bhríthin agus / is go^N, i gcruth agus / is go^N, (i) gcuma go^N, (in)sa go^N, sost (is) go^N;

or found among a minority:

an t-achar is a^L, aníns go^N, is go^N, thara go^N.

I do not recall hearing any of the youngest speakers use *an áit a^N* with causal sense.

(iv) One innovative subordinator has been noted: *ó go^N* for traditional *ó^L*. Similarly, *le haghaidh go^N* is also progressive, *le go^N* being general in traditional usage (cf. ‘Prepositions’ 7.118). There is one recently established subordinator which contains a borrowed element: *fuits go^N* (< which), 8.163. This is perhaps quite recently current for Máire. I first noticed it from her in the mid-1990s. For other borrowed conjunctions, more recent or less widely used than *fuits go^N*, see 11.168.

(v) There is some evidence for an increase in parataxis among the youngest speakers, for example, *mar gheall tá ... 79J*, for traditional *mar gheall go bhfuil ...*

(vi) Certain subordinators have a significant amount of variants; for example, *shula^N* (8.130), *féachaint a^N* (8.137), *i riocht (ag)us go^N* (8.139), *sost (is) go^N* (8.151). Similarly, variation occurs in subordinators composed of compound prepositions which themselves have many variants, e.g. *thar éis (go)* both finite and nonfinite (8.151, 8.133).

8.124 Marginal subordinators

Certain phrases commonly have a subordinating function but have little or no semantic or formal distinction from their use in nonsubordinating contexts. Such phrases are termed marginal subordinators here.

Preposition

The compound preposition *maidir le* can govern subordinate comment clauses, e.g. *maidir le dhá mbeadh*; nonfinite *maidir le bheith*. Similarly, *ar chuntar* forms comprehensive subordination *ar chuntar go*, e.g. *ar chuntar nach ...* Sq; cp. nonfinite final 8.142. Compound preposition *i dteannta* has comparative function before a nonfinite clause in:

I DTEANNTA A BHEITH achrannach, is minic a bhíos comhrac idir é féin agus an portán glas. Clad85.

Temporal

Examples of time nouns and adjectives commonly found in subordinating function are:

an dá lá (agus / is) a^L, e.g.

AN DÁ LÁ bheidheas mé beo M;

ach tírtha mise bourd úr, teach úr, cupán úr, mias úr, leaba úr dhuit AN

DÁ LÁ agus bheas tú beo, agus ná bac le deasaí ... 866ESemr44.

ar an bpointe (boise) (agus / is) a^L / a^N, e.g.

AR AN BPOINTE BOISE is a ndeachaidh sé ag marcaíocht air ...
864MLL79;

Tháinig sé go Gaillimh agus, AR AN BPOINTE agus a bhfuair sé traíail chuaigh sé isteach tigh Ruáin, agus d'innis sé a scéal ann. 11C.

chomh luath agus / is a^L, e.g.

Deabhal blas a rinne sé ach é a ól. Is CHOMH LUATH is bhí sé ólta aige scantraigh sé. 11C;

Chuir sí duine dhe na searbhántaí i gcoinne an chulaith shíoda agus chuir sí ortha an chulaith shíoda CHOMH LUATH is tháinig sí. Agus CHOMH LUATH agus bhí an chulaith shíoda ortha agus shiúil sí siar 's aniar an t-urlár, nuair a shínead sí amach ... 11C;

bhí an bhean ina suí síos ... Agus CHOMH LUATH agus tháinig an bheirt isteach d'éirigh sí ina seasamh 11Ctn.

Locative

Locative subordination is usually expressed by *san áit a^N*, e.g.

Tá sé san áit ar fhága tú é; Fan SAN ÁIT A bhfuil tú!

Similarly, with other prepositions *ar / as / thar an áit a^N*, etc., e.g.

... nach 'tóchar' atá AR AN ÁIT A mbíonn an sionnach ann S;

mar ní thioctaidh aon duine as mo ríocht go deo ins an áit seo, ná AS AN ÁIT ar b'as mé. 866ESemr68.

We can compare the use of *áit a^N* in:

ní móide go mb'fheárr dhuít ÁIT A mbeitheá anocht ná in éineacht linne Semr98.

See 8.76. For causal *an áit a^N*, see 8.143.

8.125 Combined and qualified subordinators

Two examples of a subordinate time clause as the object of comparison occur in:

agus bhí an bréidín AN FAD CÉANNA A BHÍ SÉ, AN T-AM AR cuireadh sa stuc é.
... -... Tá sé CHOMH FADA ... ANNIS LEIS AN AM AR chuir sib sa stuc é.
ARN1187–9.

The phrase *an chaoi a^N* expresses manner subordination. It is preceded by *le* (possibly tautologically) and *ar* with perhaps both manner and comparative function in:

ugəs kr'ed'əm' | ɣə ʎ'er ma'r | tɔ' n ʃa:nəxəs | ər sə g'ɑ:n hiər ɣən' t'ɑ'x | ə ʋ'i: n' t'ɪn'ə | ʎe er' ə gi:ə | ə dɑ:n'ək' | ə ɣr'iən' ə | ə'ʃt'ɑ'x |
894C *agus creidim, dho léir mar tá an seanchas, gur sa gceann thiar dhen teach a bhí an tine LE AR AN GCAOIA dtáinig an ghrian isteach.*

There are examples of resultative, causal and final (manner) conjunctions in superordinate relation to a temporal conjunction:

Bhí dhá bhád aige, bád seoil, agus corach, I GCRUTH AGUS NUAIR A thiocthadh | ə gru gəs nuər' ə hjukəx an aimsir ciúin agus nach mbeadh an ghaoth ann, d'fhágadh muid an bád seoil 'na ndiaidh agus thugadh muid linn an corach. 875P;

-Ba cheart go mbeadh aithne á'rsa ort, a deir sé, ... ; MAR NUAIR A casadh ormsa thú cheana ba tú an fear ba gnaúla a casadh ariamh liom. 866ESemr100;

tá an bearrach i lár baithis an phota INS AN MBEALACH IS NUAIR A leigfear síos an pota ins an bhfáirre GO mbeidh a thóin faoi go deas socair ins an stupóig. Clad116.

Similarly, comparative and conditional *chomh maith is dhá^N*, etc., (8.156). Final and conditional combine, where the conditional clause can be taken to be subordinate and parenthetical, in *ar nós — dhá ... — go* (8.136), *le — dhá ... — go* (8.140), *le haghaidh — dhá ... — go* (cf. 8.147).

The indefinite pronoun and adjective *péibrí* can qualify interrogatives in universal conditional-concessive clauses, e.g. manner *péibrí cén chaoi*, locative *péibrí cá / cé*; cf. 8.246. Similarly, the indefinite adjective *aon* qualifies nouns which can introduce subordinate clauses, e.g. *aon am a*, *aon uair a*.

Others

Clauses of comparison and proportion are introduced by *a^L* (historically possessive pronoun), more often *dhá^L* (historically from preposition *dhe* + *a^L*), followed by the abstract comparative and forming correlative subordination with *dhá^N*, less often *a^L*, i.e. *dhá luaithe (is) dhá mbeitheá, a luaithe a bheitheá, dhá luaithe a bheitheá*, etc., (3.69 ff.).

The phrase *ós rud é go* is used in causal subordination; *dhá mba rud é (is) go* (8.26) and *cuir(im) i gcás dhá / go* have conditional force. Comment subordination is expressed by, for example, *rud a* (e.g. *rud ab fhíor dhó*), *ní nach* (e.g. *ní nach iontas*); implications and conclusions are expressed, for example, by *fágann sin go*, *rud a d'fhága go* (8.159), also *fágam nach 01P*.

8.126 Nonfinite clauses

Many prepositions and coordinating conjunctions can govern verbal-noun dependent clauses. For example, *as*, *as ucht*, *eidir*, *gan*:

tá mé an-sásta ... agus an-bhuíoch, a deir sé, AS MÉ BHEITH istich ón mbáisteach go maidin. 11C;

dúirt sé leis go dtabharfadh sé dúthaigh in Éirinn dó ... AS UCHT A THEACHT go hÉirinn anall agus drochrath a chur ar inion Gholl 866ESc193.23;

EIDIR MUIDE A GHÓIL síos is a theacht aníos bhí se 'míthe M;

ní dhearna sé seo ach breith ar fhata agus é chaitheamh leis, ... nó nar fhág sé fata ariamh ar an gciseoig GAN gñ CAITHEAMH leis. 11C.

Others noted are:

ach, ach (an) oiread le, ach gan, agus / is, agus / is gan, (ar / in) aimsir, ar ... do, ar s(h)on, faoi, gan, i leaba, in áit, i ndiaidh, in éineacht le, le, le linn, maidir le, marach, thar éis; cp. verbal noun ag (e.g. chuadar ag baint mhóna).

There is a minor obsolescent mutational distinction between *le* in prepositional function and *le* elsewhere (often in manner or final conjunctive function). As a conjunction aspiration can follow *le* before *iad*, i.e. *le hiad a + VN* (9.152). In resultative use, the function of *le* can straddle both prepositional and conjunctive functions: *cén t-údar atá le hiad a bheith ... 869P4*. When the 3 plural pronoun *iad* is directly governed by *le* in prepositional function, the 3 plural prepositional pronoun *leothub* is of course regular. A similar but robust distinction is found in the proposed *n* which follows *le* before vowel-initial verbal nouns (when expressing purpose, intention, possibility, etc., and often connecting an

adjectival attribute with a verb; FGB *le*¹ 24, GCF §548, GGBC §539(e) (§18.38), GCD §591), e.g. *tá sé éasca le n-ól*.

One can contrast the prepositional function and meaning of *as ucht é a fháil* ‘on account of getting it’ with the concessive meaning in obsolescent conjunctive use in nonfinite *as ucht é a bheith* ‘although it is’ and finite *as ucht go bhfuair tú é* ‘although you got it’ and *as ucht fuair tú é* ‘although you got it’. I have no example in my notes of *as ucht go* with unequivocal finite causal function.¹ This may be an oversight on my part or it may be that concessive meaning was generalised in finite use. A nonfinite example, *bhí mé an-haipí as ucht é fháil*, was paraphrased by Seán, in query, with finite *faoi go*, i.e. *bhí mé an-haipí faoi go bhfuair mé é* Sq. Seán found the finite causal examples in GCF §382, *ag magadh anois as ucht go bhfuil ...* and *an-ríméadach as ucht má fuair ...*, to be doubtful for his dialect (12SØ?perm).

With the tendency to use *thar éis a bheith* + VN (8.133), one can compare *i ndáil le bheith*, *i ngar le bheith*, *i ngar dho bheith* which function adverbially with the sense ‘almost’. Cp. anomalous comparative use of *bheith* in 8.160.

I NDÁIL LE

ə nɑ:l̪ ʲe v̪e ... Mperm *I NDÁIL LE BHEITH ...*,

Gach's a bhfuil i mo bholg tá sé I NDÁIL LE BHEITH insithe dhuit FFG *bolg* 6. Cp. p. 1517 n. 1.

I NGAR LE ə ŋar ʲe(:)

ə ŋar ʲe v̪e re: M *I NGAR LE BHEITH réidh*.

More commonly *i ngar dho* (etc.) *bheith réidh* (7.28).

8.127 Temporal finite: *ach a — an fhad is a*

ACHA^N *ax ə* (cp. conditional use, 8.147)

go raibh sé féin agus an iníon le pósadh ACHA dtige sí. 866E_{Sc}128.39.

-Cuirfidh mise an crú díbh suas, a deir sé, ar ball, ACHA mbeidh an dá fhata seo ite agam. 866E_{Sc}188.17.

ax ə wɑ: m̪e ... (brother of 897S) *ACHA bhfaighe mé ...*

ax ə d̪ʊkə / d̪ʊæ:gə / d̪ʊgə ... Mq *ACHA dtiochaidh / dteaga / dtioga ...*

ax ə wɑ: m̪e gr̪i:m̪ ort Mq *ACHA bhfaighe mé greim ort*.

Cp. with similar function *ach go dtiochaidh ax gə d̪ʊkə* Mperm (but I am unsure if *ach go* is a genuine dialect form in temporal use; for exceptive and contrastive *ach go*, clearly containing two conjunctions, see 8.153; cp. Ó Buachalla 1972: 148–50, 158–9, 161).

A CHÚNS IS A^L, *CHÚNS A*^L, *CHUNS A*^L, *CHÚ*^L

ə xu:ns əs ə xu:ns əs v̪i: Mperm *A CHÚNS IS a bhí*.

Cp. *A CHOMHUAIN IS a bhíos na líonta curtha bíonn an crann mór leagtha anuas, ...* Clad9 (*chomhuain ... = xu:n- ...*).

xu:ns ə xu:ns ə v̪i:m̪ b̪o: r̪i:jt̪ n̪i: n̪i: x̪u:rhə m̪e en lɑ:v̪ ɣo M

¹ The function of *as ucht go* seems causal, or perhaps conditional concessive, in:

-As ucht, a deir sé, gur ól mé mo chuid airgid, a deir sé, gur phánáil mé mo chuid éadaí, a deir sé, ná bíodh iontas agat ragannaí a bheith orm. 866E_{Sc}183

‘Since I drank ...’ or, in a looser subordination, ‘Even though I drank ...’.

Cp. 8.149 which includes concessive examples of *as ucht go* from this speaker, 866E.

xə xū:ns	<i>CHÚNSA bhím beo aríst ní, ní thiúrthaidh mé aon láimh dhó.</i> <i>go mbeidh an scéal mar sin CHÚNS mhairthidh siad. xə xū:ns</i> <i>'wæ:r'hə fjad 04Btñ (with xə perhaps through hesitation).</i>
xū:ns	generally, e.g. <i>'chuir isteach sa tine go mbeadh sé dearg, agus beidh tú i riocht, u- CHÚNS tá sé sin dearg ansin, tá tú i riocht, fiche poll, chomh, fiche poll ... a bheith curthaí a'd. 894Cs.</i>
xuns	xuns ta tu gol' gə d' i: e M CHUNS atá tú ag goil go dtí é;
xəns	ax xəns v' e fje n'fo M ach CHUNS a bheidh sé anseo.
xu:	xu: v' i: n' fuk orhəb 01J CHÚ bhí an sioc orthub.

AN T-ACHAR IS A^L ə taxərs (8.123 (iii))

Bhuel bhí mé ag obair san ospidéal píosa ann, AN T-ACHAR'S bhí mé ann. 66Lt.

AN T-AM A^N, SAN AM A^N, AN T-AM A^L ə tɑ:m ə, sən ɑ:m ə

Ach u-, go n-abraídís, AN T-AM A mbeadh an, an pósadh díonta i dteach an phobail, ... go mba, ... an chéad duine a ghothadh amach, a cailfí i dtosach. 869Pt.

Ach choinic mé héin annis, cuide dhen adhmaid a bhí ortha sin, 'T-AM A raibh mé 'mo leaidín bheag, 'gus baidhe deaid bhí ... 892M4780.

Agus séard a bhí sé ag rá linne cúladh isteach SAN AM, AR thug sé, AR shéid sé an fheadóg. ARN7218.

Bhí an bréidín an fad céanna a bhí sé, AN T-AM AR cuireadh sa stuc é. ... -... Tá sé chomh fada ... annis leis AN AM AR chuir sib sa stuc é. 892M1187-9.

Cp. Níl fhios ag aon-nduine CÉN T-ÁM A d'fhága sí é, an chéad oíche. 01Pt.

AN FHAD IS A^L, FAD'S A^L, AN FHAD A^L ən æd (əs)

Bhí gnaoi na bhfear ort AN FHAD'S næ:ds mhairtheadh sí a'd ... !(NUath)11C.

Bheadh an jib ardaíthe, ar an seol mó-, ar an gcrann mór, AN FHAD'S ən æ:d s bheadh an eangach gá cur. 18J7008.

Go raibh sé le an-scéal a inseacht lá ar na bhárach FAD IS bheadh an gabha ag cur chaoi ar na claidhmhtí. 875TLL44.

ən æ:d əs v' i:n' fjad ... 22M AN FHAD IS bhíonn siad

fads wæ:r'əs m' e Mperm FAD 'S mhairtheas mé.

'Déanfaidh mise diabhal díot ... faoi phéire adharc ... AN FHAD a bheas an saol ar suíochán' [recte] 866ESc213.2.

Use without *is* is permissible for Máire: **ən æ:d wæ:r'əs m' e Mperm AN FHAD mhairtheas mé**, but Máire added that:

ən æ:d (ə)s wæ:r'əs m' e is ən rud k'æ:rt Mq

'AN FHAD IS mhairtheas mé,' 'is' an rud ceart.

GO^N gə (γə, ə, Ø, η(ə))

See 8.6. The verb *feic*, preceded by *go^N*, can function similar to a preposition, e.g. *agus sin é an rud nach mbeidh caite GO BHFÉICFIDH TÚ TRÁTHNÓNA AMÁIREACH. 866ESc252.34;*

go mb'fhéidir go mbuachtadh sí [boat] geáll an lá sin is dheamhan, ní dhíonthadh sí aon bhlas aríst GO BHFÉICTHEAD SÍ [boat] BLIAIN ÓN LÁ SIN. 21Jc;

Bhí sé ann GO BHFACA SÉ COICÍS ÓN LÁ SIN, 866ESc265.4; also Sc286.29;

cp. *b'fhada liomsa ná a bhfaca mé ariamh ... GO* **ᵛᵃ** *BHFEICINN OÍCHE SHAMHNA TAGTHÁITHE le go* **ᵛᵃ** *bhfeicinn an obair seo* **894C**.

GO DTÍ GO^N gᵃ d'í: gᵃ

Déarfaidh tusa nach ndéanfaidh tú an Gearráinín Pleibistín Órdha GO DTÍ GO MBEIDH píosa maith dhen oíche ann, ... GO DTÍ GO MBEIDH scathamh san oíche, LL78.

NÓ GO^N, NÓ... GO^N nu: gᵃ

NÓ GO DTEAGA sé héin.

Thosaigh sé ag cartadh NÓ GO NDEARNA sé fuaigh **11C**.

Ach bhí mé ag damsa istich ar an urlár, a deir sí, is, níor airigh mé ariamh, a deir sí, [long pause] NÓ GUR CROCHADH 'r siúl mé, a deir sí, is níor airigh mé tada go dtíge anis. **11C**.

Bhí mé ag bualadh ar an gcuid eile leis sin ... NÓ ar ball NAR RAIBH agam ... ach an dá lorga **892M2097**.

Slightly ambiguous, given the obsolescent compound preposition *nó go ceann*, in: *thosaigh mé ag dó ... , NÚ go ceann cheithre huaire fichead, GO MBEADH an ... an tornóg dóite.* **889P**.

Speaker **889P** has *go ceann cheithre huaire fichead*, without *nó*, later in the recording.

Also in coordination; with a paratactic example of *nó* (8.171):

D'ionsaigh sé héin agus a' fathach a chéile, gur ... , nach ... agus NÓ ar maidin an trú lá, CHUÍMHRE Mac Rí in Éirinn air héin, agus ... **866E-Semr142**.

NÓ GO DTÍ GO^N nu: gᵃ d'í: gᵃ

Bhí sé ' siúl leis aníos NÚ GO DTÍ GO DTÁINIC sé aníos go dtána cliabhrach **866E-RBÉ160**.

8.128 nuair

NUAIR A^L nuər', no:ər', no:r', nu'r', nur', nor', no, nə', nə, na

The general form is **nuər'**, but there are various reduced forms.

nuər' *nuər' ə l'igf'ər* **11Ct** *NUAIR A ligfear.*

no:r' | *gũs no:r' ə tɑ: je? | nōr' ə tɑ' je fɪn' 'd'ɪnt æd | b'ɛ:rhə tu: ɛr' 'v'ur 'iərən' | ...* **894Cs** *agus NUAIR atá sé — NUAIR atá sé sin déanta a'd béarthaidh tú ar bhior iarainn*

nu'r' *nu'r' iərho:s* **11Ct** *NUAIR a fhiathrós.*

nur' *x æpəŋ gə ro fɪ' fã:n nur' ə 'kæ:l'u: i'* **11Ct** *Cheapthainn go raibh sí sean NUAIR A cailleadh í; nur' ə d'air' i je* **11Ct** *NUAIR A d'éirigh sé;*

nu:r' *nær æ:r' ə* **11Ct** *NUAIR NAR airigh;*

nu:r' *ə hugəns mid' ə* **43M** *NUAIR A thiuganns (< teara) muide.*

no:r' *no:r' i:səs* **11Ct** *NUAIR A íosas;*

no:r' *ə kas-f'i: dɪn' ə k'ɪn' orəm* **11C** *NUAIR A casfí duine eicín orm.*

no *NUAIR A bheadh sé tóigthíthe aríst no 'e' ffe to:k' i'hə r' i:ft' acub* **11C**.

ner' *NUAIR A d'fhuaigair | ner' ə duəgər' an dreatháir ...* **894C**.

nə' *NUAIR A bhíodh mé nə'r' i:x m'e ag goil un na scoile* **15W**;

nə' *ə he:nfə ... M* *NUAIR A théinnse*

- nə** *an t-am sin NUAIR A théidís jin' nə haid' i:f ag an scoil M;*
... , a deir sé, NUAIR A bheas tú ag tíocht nə v'es tu' t'i:əxt, a deir sé 11C.
- næ** *næ: tɑ: gə l' o:r ... 36P NUAIR atá go leor*

A few speakers often denasalise the initial *n* (1.150, cp. Scottish Gaelic variants *dar, da*), e.g.

- do:ər'** *əgəs do:ər' ə rin' ə 892M1537 agus NUAIR A rinne.*
- dor'** *dor' i: m'e ... 21Pt NUAIR A bhí mé*

Reduced vowels are particularly common in recordings from adolescents, e.g.

- nər'** *nər' ro mid' 78E NUAIR A raibh muid ... ;*
- nur'** *nur' ə v'i:ns-f' əɹ əg' iəɹ o:ɹm 78E NUAIR A bhíonnfear ag iarraidh orm;*
- nə** *| nə hen du | nə hukəs ... 76Mt NUAIR A théann tú, NUAIR A thiocthas*

8.129 **ó — roimh(e) a**

ó^l o:, a; cp. preposition ó

Ach ó a BUAILEADH suas an t-iascach, badh é an rud ab fhearr é a tháinig go Conamara amach ariamh. 896P.

Tá scaitheamh anis ó BHÍ o' v'i: mé ann 11C;

Níl sé mórán achair ó BHÍ daoíní ann a choinic go maith é mar déarthá is é ina sheanfhear 11C;

Ach insa tseanaimsir, ó CHUIRTHEADH fear, an bád gá díonamh ag an saor, agus ó CHUIRTHEADH SÉ a chois insa mbád sin go dtíge an lá a bhfuighead sé bás nua go ngothad sé ó mhaith ... bhí an-chuímse sclábhaíocht ina bhealach. 11C.

Ó BHEAD SÍ dóite aríst a'd bhead sí a' nús ceilp nua, bhí sí ina ceilp nua. 889Pt.

Aon lá, ó THÁINIC ánn dom 35E.

Faigheann an ballach caoch ó CAITEAR an fómhar 19P.

ROIMH(E) A^{N/L} riv' ə; cp. preposition roimh(e)

ri m'ei fe n i:hə gohə tu: ser' əg' iəɹə ba:n' ə M

ROIMHE MBEIDH sé ina oíche gabhthaidh tú soir ag iarraidh bainne.

Common in some younger speakers, e.g.

riv' ə d' im' ə ... [x2] 79A ROIMH(E) A D'IMIGH

8.130 **shula**

The spelling *shula* is used, where appropriate, as a cover term for all variants of this conjunction, including, for example, *shul, sul má*. The initial consonant alternates between **s-**, **h-** and **x-**; vocalic-initial forms are rare. The vowel of the initial element alternates between **ɑ(:)**, **a**, **o**, **u** and **ə**. The medial consonant alternates between **l(ʰ)** and **r(ʰ)**; rarely **d'** and **n**. The second syllable, when present, alternates between **ɑ(:)**, **ə** and less common elements. The multiple effect of the variation found in each phoneme position of *shula* yields circa 48 attested variants which are listed in Table 8.10. Cp. 'Higher Register' (10.99). It can be difficult to distinguish between **o**, **u** and **ə** in the first syllable and between **ɑ(:)** and **ə** in the second. As well as variation in form there is also variation in the verbal tenses and the initial mutations conditioned by *shula*. In Table 8.10 indented forms in the left-hand column are taken to be phonetic or spelling variants of the forms directly above them.

Table 8.10 Forms of *shula* and number of speakers noted

<i>shula</i>	Speakers	Number of speakers
<u>a:lə</u>	01C, 12S	2
<u>o:rə</u>	01P	1
<u>sɑ:r(ə(r))</u>	21J, 43J	2
<u>sorə</u>	30Ms	1
<u>sarə</u>	07P, 32J	2
(<u>surə</u>	(song) 21Pt	1)
<u>səl</u>	852Sb2 (<i>sul</i>), 11P	2
<u>səl</u>	64M	1
<u>sulə</u>	852Sb2 (<i>sula</i>), 04B10, 01J, 16Mq, 24N, 66N, 73P, 78B	8
<u>sələ</u>	11P, 19P	2
<u>sul d(h)á</u>	852S1	1
<u>səl gɑ</u>	892Mg	1
<u>sul dá</u>	852S4	1
<u>sulɑ:</u>	852S2, 875T1, 893P, 05M, 06Mc, 15W	6
<u>sʃɑ:</u>	07M	1
<u>solɑ:</u>		
<u>sola</u>	SID.46	1
<u>sɑ:l</u>	73P	1
<u>sɑ:lə</u>	04Btn, 16S, 19P, 24M, 24N, 32Js, 35E1, 43M, 45C6, 49M, 52J, 52P, 66N, 70S1, 72A	15
<u>sələ</u>	35E1	1
<u>sɑ:lɑ:</u>	04Btn, 11C, 12S, 24M, 32Js	5
<u>sus gɑ:</u>	20C	1
<u>sul mɑ:</u>	872P, 17Mp, 21Jc	3
<u>sə(l) mɑ:</u>	13Jd	1
<u>ʃ mɑ:</u>	27Md, 48M	2
<u>mɑ:</u>	27Md	1
<u>sə'lɑ:r nɑ:r</u>	(past) 15Pr1	1
<u>horə</u>	30Ms	1
<u>harə</u>	04Br, 06C, 11J, 15P, 16M	5
<u>hɑ:rə</u>	71B	1
<u>har'ə</u>	16M	1
<u>her'ə</u>	16M	1
<u>shul</u>	852S4	1
<u>hulə</u>	852S2, 79MI	2
<u>holə</u>	SID.46	1
<u>hols</u>	899D	1
(<u>hols mɑ:</u>	(run)889P	1)
<u>hos</u>	899D	1
<u>hul gɑ:</u>	852Sb	1
<u>hulɑ:</u>	18J, 20M, 20MI, 20My, 21C, 36P	6
<u>shulá</u>	894C2-3	1
<u>həl mɑ:</u>	16M ?	1 ?
<u>hɑ:lə</u>	SID.46, 01C, 16M, 16P, 27C, 27Js, 31D, 49M, 51P1, 66L, 71Dt.1, 72C, 72N	13
<u>hɑ:lə</u>	16M	1
<u>hɑ:lɑ:</u>	SID.46, 14M, 12S, 20My, 27C	5
<u>hɑ:l nax</u>	21Pt	1
<u>hɑ:ls gə</u>	00CDO	1
<u>xulə</u>	00B, 27J, 51P, 23M, 29C	5
<u>xulɑ:</u>	889P, 894B1, 897S, 899N1, 00B, 14J, 18J, 20M, 23M, 26Ps, 36P	11
<u>xul gɑ:</u>	08B, 20Pá, 41T	3

<i>shula</i>	Speakers	Number of speakers
xul'ə	13P	1
xul'ɑ:	13P	1
χɑ:lɑ:	866Et	1
χɑ:lə	18Bm, 20My, 66L, 72N	4
χɑ:d'ə gə	10B	1
xuns	34M	1

The commonest variants are **sa:lə**, **ha:lə**; **hula:**, **sula:**, **xula:**; **sa:lɑ:**, **ha:lɑ:**. For **u** in the initial syllable one also hears **o** and **ə**, less commonly also **i** (in **sil'ɑ:** heard from an elderly woman from Glinsce). Other common variants are **sulə**, **xulə**. Other variants are rarer and some are confined to individual speakers or families in my survey, e.g. **sul ma: 872P** and his sons **17Mp**, **21Jc** (Maínis), **sus ga: 20C** (Maínis), **xuns 34M** (Coill Sáile). Variants without initial consonant can be taken to be weakened versions of **h**-initial forms. Speaker **01P** is the only person in my survey with consistent vocalic initial, i.e. **ora:**. Given the variation in both consonants of the typical *sul*- base, there are possible or 'expected' variants which I have not heard in Iorras Aithneach: ***s-l'**, ***h-l'**, ***x-r**.¹ Forms in **-r'** are confined to **har'ə**, **her'ə 16M** implying these instances are influenced by the preposition *tha(i)r*.

The variable is composed of a monosyllable to which generally **ə a^N** or **ɑ: á^N** is added; less frequently other conjunctions are added: **gɑ: dhá^N**, **dá^N**, **nax nach^N** (**ɑ: nax á nach^N**), **s gə 's go^N**, **ma: má^{N/L}**, (**a**)^L. In the chronological list of speakers presented below, the particle **ə a^N** is dominant in those born since the mid-1920s and **ɑ: á^N** is not found in those born after 1950. The youngest speaker heard with particle **gɑ: dhá^N** was born in 1941 (**41T**). The variant **χɑ:d'ə gə cháide go^N** was

¹ For **s-l'** compare **sel'**, **sel' ma:** GCF p. 179, notes 1 and 2 (containing in all seventeen variants). The distribution of the variable with palatal **-l'** is geographically restricted. As well as in GCF, an **-l'** variant is also found, as **xól' ma:**, in the adjacent areas of points 37, 39 SIDi Mp 121. ***x-r** is absent from Iorras Aithneach, GCF and SIDi Mp 121; **x-** is typical for the southern half of Connacht and **-r** is typical for West Munster. In fact, like **x-** in the initial element, *d(h)á* (as a second element) is confined to the southern half of Connacht in SIDi Mp 121. This would suggest that initial **x-** arose as a result of velar assimilation with, or compensation for, **y-** in the following *dhá*, e.g. **hul' yɑ:** > **xul' ɑ:**. Cp. **holsyɑ:** (**holsxɑ:**) pt 33. It is also possible that the final consonant in the less common variant *sul nach* (e.g. **ha:l nax 21Pt**) may have contributed to the development of initial **x-**. Similarly, given that in SIDi Mp 121 the territory where **-l'** is found is contained by the territory of **x-**, and that **-l'** is found in my survey of Iorras Aithneach in the variant **xul'** only, it would appear that palatal **-l'** is retained from the old form *suil* (or has arisen anew) in the position where it is maximally contrastive: following initial velar **x(u)-** (i.e. +back **x(u)** vs. +front **l'**). Analogy with the phonologically similar functor, the indefinite adjective **xul'ə chuile**, may also have played a part in the distribution. The typical lexeme in Connacht for 'every' is *gach uile*, realised, disregarding irrelevant phonetic detail, as **əxul'ə** and with apheresis **xul'ə**. The disyllabic form **xul'ə chuile** is more common in South Connacht than in North Connacht (SIDi Mp 202). The area of dominant **xul'ə chuile** thus contains the territory where the conjunction **xul'**- *shul(a)* is found. One can compare the similarities of other variants of *shula* with other functors, e.g. **ha:lə** with adverb *thall* and conjunction *thál go*, **har'ə** with preposition *tha(i)r*. (Compare adverb **ənu:n anonn** with final conjunction *anúns go*, 8.136.) As well as being the source of initial **x-**, the second element *d(h)á* may be the source for **ɑ:** in the first element, e.g. **hula:** (> **ha:lɑ:**) > **ha:lə** (> **ha:lɑ:**). In summary: **hul-** > **xul-** (< *dhá*) > **xul'** (**-l'** in dissimilation with **x-** and / or influenced by *chuile*) thus resembling *suil* (GCF) **sel'**. Note **xula:** ~ **hula:** ~ **xulə** ~ **hulə** ~ **xul'ɑ:** Micil Chanraí (born 1919, An Máimín, Oileán Gharamna), thus ***hul'ə/ɑ:** is rare or not found in Micil Chanraí's use, cf. Ó Giollagáin (1999: 323 (iv)). Given its high variability, *shula^N* can be termed a hypervariable; cp. Wigger (2003: 275) who describes *sula* as 'ungewöhnlich vielfältig' (i.e. 'exceptionally diverse').

heard from **10B** (Maínis) only. It is conspicuous in that it has a disyllabic base and that this element is combined with *go*. (Cp. *sul dhá sol ga* (perhaps *sol gə* or *səl gə*, i.e. *sul go*) **892Mg**.) It is related to *cáide*, a temporal interrogative (8.49). Similarly, *xuns chuns* was heard from **34M** (Coill Sáile) only. It is identical with one of the by-forms of *chúns (a)^L* ‘as long as’ (8.127). The most frequent variants are underrepresented in Table 8.10, since the less common variants were noted more often in compiling the data. With regard to transcription, note that the two syllables are joined together in the above table unless the second element begins in a consonant. In examples from individual speakers separation of the elements in the phonetic transcription indicates audible juncture. For example, *sol a:* and *sola:* are distinguished although there is doubtless a high degree of inconsistency in my transcriptions of what is often a subtle distinction. A by-form of *a:*, i.e. *ɛ:*, has been noted from speaker **18J** (8.131). Variants in *-rə*, such as *harə*, can be realised as monosyllables before verbs in *r-* in normal sandhi elision of schwa and consonant coalescence, e.g. *ha ro shula raibh* (similar to **04Br** and **21J** below, but **43J** may have consistent *sar*).¹

Eclipsis is general following *ə* and *a:*. Variants in final consonants without *ə* or *a:* can mostly be taken to have elided underlying *ə*. Lenition is regular following by-forms containing *má^L* but speaker **872P** and his sons (**17Mp** and **21Jc**) have eclipsis with nonpast *sul má^N*, no doubt influenced by *shul dhá^N*. Given nonpast *shul dhá^N* > past *shul dhár^L*, one might expect *sul má^N* > past **sul már^L* (as in Dinn s.v. *sara*); the only relevant token noted, however, has past *sul má^L* **872P** (but with nonleniting impersonal *sul má dearnadh*). Irregular verbs which do not take past *-r* in the past have past *shula^N* / *shul dhá^N* and, for speaker **872P**, *sul má^N*, e.g. *shula* / *shul dhá ndearna*, *sul má ndearna*. For obsolescent lenition (with relative) and no indication of a following particle in *ə a^L*, see speakers **852SbLC** and **899DRM** as well as *xuns 34MCS* below (also *s(h)ul^L* in GCF §381 p. 179 n. 1 and SIDI 121 points 42, 43).

The complexity of *shula* is, however, not confined to its phonology and the mutations it triggers. The choice of verbal form following the conjunction depends for the most part on the form of the subordinating element: *shula^N* and *shul dhá^N* are similar to temporal *go^N*, whereas *shul^L* is similar to temporal direct relative *a^L* (e.g. *nuair a^L*), and *shul má^L* is similar to conditional *má^L* or to temporal direct relative *a^L*. The (for Iorras Aithneach) exceptional mixed usage of *sul má^N* (**872P** and his sons) has already been described. Usually in traditional dialect, in primary tense contexts with future time reference, there may be a four-way contrast. This contrast is between *shula^N* / *shul dhá^N* / *sul má^N* with present subjunctive (progressively with future nonrelative), and *shul^L* with future relative, and *shul má^L* with present nonrelative or future relative. In historical tense con-

¹ Forms similar to the typical Munster form *s(h)ara* are: *ora:*, *sar(ə(r))*, *sorə*, *sarə*, *horə*, *harə*, cp. *harə*, *har’ə*, *her’ə*. These are minor variants in Iorras Aithneach, which are absent in GCF (p. 179 notes 1 and 2), but they indicate that the statement that ‘*sara* is confined to Munster’ (R. A. Breatnach 1955: 100) is not fully accurate. In fact one finds related forms in Leinster and, rarely, even further north than Iorras Aithneach in SIDI Mp 121: *sar* ... pt 6 (cp. Kilkenny *seara* cited in R. A. Breatnach 1955: 104 n. 1), *harə* (*harlə*) pt 59, *səra* pt 66. Cp. Árainn (An tOileán Mór (An Ceann Thoir)) *sór^L* (Munch-Pedersen 1994: liii). The by-form containing *má^L*, i.e. leniting *sul má^L*, which is the only mutation found in Connacht (Co. Galway) in SIDI Mp 121 with *sul má*, should also be added to R. A. Breatnach (1955: 104 n. 4) as should leniting *shul dá^L* (with relative) found as the main variant in East Galway. In contrast, R. A. Breatnach (1955: 104 n. 4) alludes to forms with *má* and *d(h)á* eclipsing only, e.g. *sul má^N* rare in Iorras Aithneach but common in Donegal.

texts, particularly in hypothetical function, there is a two-way contrast between *shula^N / shul dhá^N / sul má^N* with past subjunctive (progressively with conditional), and *shul^L* with conditional, as well as *shul má^L* with conditional. For example, with the verb *fhág*:

	primary, future		historical, hypothetical	
<i>shula^N</i>	<i>bhfága</i> >	<i>bhfághaidh</i>	<i>bhfágadh</i> >	<i>bhfághadh</i>
<i>shul^L</i>		<i>fhághas</i>		<i>d'fhághadh</i>
<i>shul má^L</i>			<i>fhágann</i>	<i>d'fhághadh</i>
<i>shul má^L</i>		<i>fhághas</i>		<i>d'fhághadh</i>

Exclusive use of [1] is the norm:

shula^N / shul dhá^N / sul má^N bhfága (bhfághaidh) / bhfágadh (bhfághadh).

Use of [4] was noted from **13Jd** (Loch Con Aortha, East Iorras Aithneach) only. Speaker **34M** from neighbouring Coill Sáile has similar [2] with *chuns*. Thus Roisín na Mainchíoch (**899D**) is the westernmost townland where relative verb use was found in primary sources, and two of the three speakers with relative use in primary sources are from neighbouring Coill Sáile and Loch Con Aortha in East Iorras Aithneach (cp. **852SDU**, **852SbLC**). Three speakers, **ho(l)s 899D**, **sə(l ?) ma: 13Jd**, **xuns 34M**, represent the furthest western extension of relative use ([2], [4]) in Iorras Aithneach, a use which is far more common to the east of our area (e.g. GCF p. 179, SID₁ Mp 121). Use of more than one system by the same speaker is rare. Indeed evidence for such mixed use is not entirely reliable: types [1], [2] and [3] are attested for **852Sb** (albeit in secondary sources, not all of which are reliable); *sul dhá^N* [1] and *sul má^L* [3] are attested for **875T** (but his *sul má^L* is found in the same secondary source as **852Sb**); cp. **889P**, **16M** below.

Anomalous *-r* occurs in two separate examples:

sul a:r ga:lʲ i: ... 893P *SULAR gcaillfí ...* ;

xul a:r n'æ:xə m'ɛ ... 08B *SHULAR ndeachaigh mé ...* .

(Cp. examples below: before pausa **18J**, and **sə:lɑ:r nɑ:r 15Pr1**; also *an mhaidin ar dhíol ... ar dtug*, 8.68.) These instances of eclipsing *-r^N*, which are highly anomalous within the system of functors and initial mutations, are unusual and may possibly be slips of the tongue. They may perhaps be explained as results of interference between leniting *sul má^L* and eclipsing *sul dhá^N*, hence the mixture of (normally leniting) suffixed *-r* (8.95) with eclipsis.

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Individual speakers' examples are given here.

852S	<i>shula, sulá, suld(h)á, shul</i>	<i>shul a dtáinic 2, sul á bhfaca 2, sul dhá ndeacha 1, sul dá dtáinic 4, Shul d'fhácthainn a' tír 4.</i>
852Sb	<i>hul ga: sula, sul^L, shál^L, sul má^L</i>	<i>hul ga: n'æ:xə ʃ^o stɑ:blə 852Sb shul dhá ndeachaigh sé sa stábla (sic recte for shul 'á TS128, cp. shul dhár iarr TS131), sul a bpósfadh 2, sul leigfeadh 2, sul shroich 2, agus shál bhíodar gar go thala' na hÉireann chuala sé ... 6.76, sul má bhí sé i bhfad san oíche. DT14.</i>
866E SID.46	<i>xa:la: sola, halə, holə, halǎ</i>	<i>xa:l a:r a:gə m'ɛ m 'ba:l'ə shulár fhága mé an baile. sola 'dagəx (s.v. tagaim) sula dtagadh, halə d'ei m'è 377 = Mp 121 shula dté mé, also 230; holə yat'i 280 shula bhfaighti; halǎ 'va:sə ŋ klū:x ... 823 shula bhfása an clúmhach ...</i>
ZCP	<i>hla:</i>	<i>v'ed ʃe: ri:n' t' ig'e hlɑ:r wuər' ʃe: bas !</i>

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		<i>bheadh sé roimte aige shulár bhfuair sé bás.</i>
869P ²⁻⁴	<i>shulá</i>	<i>shul á</i> in the vast majority of cases and very rarely <i>shul a</i> .
872P	<i>sul m̄a:</i>	<i>bhí na glúine ortha sul má sul m̄a: ndearna muid an cleas eile léithi, sul má dté ... , sul má súl m̄a: dearnadh an 'rail-way', sul má bhfaighidís.</i>
875T	<i>sulá, shul má</i>	<i>sul á dtáinic, etc., 1, shul má bhíonn blas lae ann.</i> DT54.
889P	<i>xol a:</i> (higher register)	<i>hols ma:</i>
893P	<i>sulá:</i>	<i>sul a:r ga:lʰi: ... sulár gcaillfí</i>
892Mg	<i>sol ga</i>	<i>ó! creidim go raibh sé an dó dhéag lárna mháireach sul dhá sol ga</i> (perhaps <i>sol gə</i> or <i>səl gə</i>) <i>ndeachadar ag tarraint aon eangach.</i>
894Bl	<i>xulá:</i>	<i>xul a: n'ím'i: jib' shula n-imí sib.</i>
897S	<i>xulá:</i>	<i>xulá:</i>
899D	<i>hols^L</i> (less often <i>hos^L</i>)	<i>ho(l)s^L</i> with relative is 899D 's only recorded usage, e.g. <i>Shul is tháinic aon cheann ariamh acub ann.</i> ARN6171, <i>féint a dtiúirthadh sé an dubhán aisti shul is chuirtheadh sí an bád thrína chéile. hols xir'həð jɪ: m̄ 'bɑ:d 'hri:nə 'X'e:l'ə</i> ARN6404, <i>hos v'es 'ka:nʰ ə b'ih er' ə 'ma:s ek'ə</i> ARN6434 <i>shul is a bheas caint ar bith ar an mbás aici.</i> 899D is the only speaker noted with this form which, however, resembles <i>ha:ls gə</i> 00CDO , <i>ɬ ma:</i> 27Md and <i>sus ga:</i> 20C , <i>xuns</i> 34M .
899N1	<i>xulá:</i>	<i>xulá: n'æxə ... shula ndeachaigh</i>
00B	<i>xulə, xulá:</i>	<i>xul ə n'æxə m'ɛ shula ndeachaigh mé,</i> <i>xul a:r n'æxə m'ɛ ... shular ndeachaigh mé</i>
00CDO	<i>ha:ls gə</i>	<i>ha:ls gə muəl'ən' ... fu:m shul is go mbuailinn ... fúm.</i>
01C	<i>ha:lə >> a:lə</i>	<i>ha:lə</i> regularly in ARN, also one token of phrase-initial <i>a:lə da:n'ək' ...</i> ARN6655 <i>shula dtáinig</i>
01J	<i>sulə</i>	<i>sul ə da:n'ək' sula dtáinig, sulə ro sula raibh.</i>
01P	<i>ora:, əra:</i>	<i>or a: l'ixk'əd'i:f</i> [sic <i>xk'</i>] <i>shula lighthidís;</i> <i>ə dɪsəx ər a' gir'a: i dtosach, shula gcuir(th)eá;</i> <i>ə r a: d'aix fe shula dtéadh sé.</i>
04Btn	<i>sə:lə, sələ, sulə</i>	<i>sə:lə wə ʃiəd sula bhfaighe siad; sələ m'ɛ tu sula mbeidh tú, sul ə wə:kə</i> 10 <i>sula bhfaca.</i>
04Br	<i>harə</i>	<i>harə</i> regularly, e.g. <i>harə fə:s fe shular phós sé,</i> <i>ha' rə mid' ə l'æ' b'a:lə shula raibh muide leath bealaigh.</i>
05M	<i>sulá:</i>	<i>sul a: wuər fe ... sul a n'æxə</i> <i>sula bhfuair sé ... sula ndeachaigh.</i>
06Mc	<i>sulár</i>	<i>sul a:r fə: ʃi: sular phós sí, sul ar</i> (perhaps <i>sulər</i>).
07M	<i>sɬa:</i>	<i>sɬ a:r a:gə m'ɛ sular fhága mé.</i>
07P	<i>sarə</i>	<i>sarə</i> .
08B	<i>xul ga:, xəl ga:r</i>	<i>xul ga:r fə:ʃ fe shul dhár phós sé, xul ga: n'æxə ... shul dhá ndeachaigh, xəl ga:r ... ,</i> (perhaps <i>ha:l ga:r</i>).
10B	<i>xad'ə gə</i>	<i>χa:d'ə gə da:n'ək' ... xad'ə gə da:n'ək'</i> <i>cháide go dtáinic, 'before ... came'.</i>
11C	<i>sə:lə:, ha:lə:</i>	<i>sə:lə gir'ə tu' n olə sula gcuire tú an ola,</i> <i>ha:lə wuər' m'ɛ ba:s sula bhfuair mé bás.</i>
11P	<i>sol(ə)</i>	<i>sol(ə) m'eið'i:f sula mbeidís.</i>
12S	<i>sə:lə:, ha:lə:, a:lə</i>	<i>a'l ə m'ɛ:rhə ʃi: n li: shula mbéarthaidh sí an lao,</i> <i>sə:lə: ... , ha:l a: wə:gə tu shula bhfága tú,</i> <i>ha:l a:r fə:s m'ɛ shular phós mé.</i>
13Jd	<i>sə(l ?) ma:</i>	<i>sə(l ?) ma: hukə fe sul má thiocthaidh sé,</i>

		sə(l ?) mɑ: hoso:s <i>sul má thosós</i> .
13P	xul'ə, xul'ɑ:	xul'ə wuər fɛ ... <i>shula bhfuair sé ...</i> ; xul'ɑ: .
14J	xulɑ:	xul'ɑ: gur'ɑ: ... <i>shula gcuireá ...</i> .
14M	hɑ:lɑ:	hɑ:l'ɑ:r hɑ:n'ək' kī:vr'ə ɣum <i>shular tháinig cuimhne dhom</i> .
15P	harə	harə dɑ:n'ək' <i>shula dtáinic</i> .
15Pr1	sə:lɑ:r nɑ:r	sə:lɑ:r nɑ:r ftr'ik fɛ <i>sular stríoc sé</i> . The form of the particle noted with the past tense here implies a nonpast realisation *sə:lɑ: nɑx <i>sula nach</i> (cp. hɑ:l' nɑx 21Pt). <i>sulár nár</i> would appear to be the only verbal particle with double suffixation of past -r. Note, however, that in a translation query 15Pr used <i>sula(r)</i> without <i>nach / nar</i> .
15W	sulɑ:	sulɑ: rim'ə mid' <i>sular imigh muid</i> .
16M	hɑ:lə, hɑ:lə, sulə, həl mɑ:, harə, har'ə, her'ə	hɑ:l' ə, hɑ:l' ə; sul' ɛr' fɔ:s Mq, sul' ər' fɔ:s Mq <i>s(h)ular phós</i> , both given as ' <i>an rud ceart</i> ' in contrast with the form xul'ɑ:r which Máire was queried about. There is one doubtful example of həl mɑ: : <i>Caitheadh me mo ghúna athrú shul má həl mɑ: theagann sí isteach anocht</i> M85 (perhaps the speaker changed in mid-sentence, without any disfluency or intonational indication, from <i>shula</i> 'before' to conditional <i>má</i> 'if'). Examples of harə, har'ə, her'ə are: hɑ:r' ə n'æ:xə fíəd gə m'ɛr'əkɑ: <i>shula ndeachaigh siad go Meireacá, ən ihə hær ər im'ə fíəd an oíche shular imigh siad, hær' ə ro n fɔ:n ... shula raibh an fón ... , hær' ə ɲohə m'e ma:x shula ngabhthaidh mé amach, hær' ər ɑ:gə shular fhága, her' ə v'ek'ə fɛ e:n ɑ:fərk ɔrhə fín' shula bhfeicthidh sé aon amharc ortha sin, her' her' hɑ:rə dɑ:n'ək' fɛ æ:n'ə shula, shula, shula dtáinig sé a'inne; hær'ə >> her'ə. Cp. thara (8.146).</i>
16S	sɑ:lə	sɑ:lə v'ɛ:dəd fɛ <i>sula bhféadadh sé, sɑ:l' ə m'ɛhɑ: sula mbeitheá, sɑ:l' ɔ' d'e: sula dté</i> .
17Mp	su mɑ:	su mɑ: n'u:mpí: ... su mɑ: doso: tu ... <i>sul má n-iompaí ... sul má dtosóidh tú ...</i> .
18Bm	xɑ:lə	xɑ:l' ə d'ukə <i>shula dtíochtáidh</i> .
18J	hulɑ:, xələ, xələ:	hulɑ: dɑ:n'ək' <i>shula dtáinig</i> . <i>Ach shular labhair xəl ɑ:r 'laur' ...</i> 8151 <i>... shular cailleadh xəl ɛr kɑ:l'u: ...</i> 8155 <i>... shular, (a) ndearna ... xəl ɛ:r n'ɑ:rnə</i> ARN8173.
19P	sɑ:lə (solə)	sɑ:l' ə ro fɛ ... 19Pt <i>sula raibh sé, sol' ər ɑ:gə ...</i> P94 <i>sular fhága ...</i> .
20C	sus gɑ:	sus gɑ: in conversation, and in query: sus gɑ: gɑ:l'ər hu 20Csbjg <i>sul is dhá gcailltear thú;</i> sus gɑ: wɑ: tu 20Csbjg <i>sul is dhá bhfaighe tú</i> .
20M	xulɑ:, hulɑ:	xul'ɑ:(r) >> hul'ɑ: .
20Ml	hulɑ:	hulɑ:r fɔ:s <i>shular phós</i> .
20My	hulɑ:, xələ, hɑ:lɑ:	hul'ɑ:r ... , tɑ fɛ gə dunə n'if' ɔ xəl [xəl ?] ə n'æ:xə mid'ə gə m'ɛr'əkɑ: <i>shular ... , tá sé go dona anois ó shula ndeachaigh muidhe go Meireacá; hɑ:l' ɑ:r</i> .
20Pá	xəl gɑ:	xəl gɑ: wuər' <i>shul dhá bhfuair</i> .
21C	hulɑ:	hul'ɑ:r kɑ:l'u: e <i>shular cailleadh é</i> .
21J	sɑ:r(ər)	sɑ: ro fɛ <i>sula raibh sé</i> .
21Pt	hɑ:l' nɑx	hɑ:l' nɑx wí:hɑ: iəd <i>shul nach bhfuightheá iad</i> . Speaker 21Ptq recognises that hɑ:l' nɑx can also stand for

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		<i>thál nach</i> 'since not' (8.145), e.g. <i>thál nach mbeadh aon bhean sa teach</i> 21Ptq .
23M	xulɑː, xulə	xul aː dɑːn'ək' tu shula dtáinig tú, xul ə l'ɑ:hə fe shula leáithidh sé.
24M	sɑ:lɑː, sɑ:lə	sɑ:lɑːr, sɑ:lə.
24N	sɑ:lə, sulə	sɑ:lər, sɑ:lə, sulə.
27J	xulə	xul ə d'æ:ɡtɑ shula dteagta.
27Js	hɑ:lə	hɑ:lə n'æ:xə ... shula ndeachaigh
27Md	(ʃ) mɑː	ʃ mɑː fɔ:s fɪː mɑː hɑːn'ək' fɪː gə mi:n'əf sul má phós sí, shul má tháinic sí go Maínis.
	s mɑː	s mɑː fɔ:s m'e sul má phós mé. Also in translation query: <i>s má d'ól, s má ólaim, s má d'óladh, s má rinne,</i> <i>s má dhíonthainn, s má theighim</i> 27Mdq ; also (standard) <i>sula ndéanthainn</i> 27Mdq . (Speaker 27Md 's father was a native of Aran where <i>s(h)ul má</i> is common.)
30Ms	sɔrə, hɔrə	sɔrə hɔrə stop m'e sula, shula stop mé.
31D	hɑ:lə	hɑ:lə, hɑ:lər.
32J	sɑ:rə	ən i:hə sɑ:rər bɑ:huː an oíche sular báitheadh.
32Js	sɑ:lə, salaː	sɑ:lə, sɑ:lər, sɑ:lɑːr.
34M	xuns	... xuns ɑ:kəs tuː eː fɔ ... chuns fhágthas tú é seo.
35E1	sɑ:lə, salə	sɑ:lə, sɑ:lə, sɑ:lə, salə.
36P	xulɑː, hulɑː	xul aː, hul aːr.
41T	xul gɑː	xul gɑːr hug fe ... shul dhár thug sé.
43J	sɑ:r(ər)	sɑːr, ... sɑːr hɔsə ... sɑːr hɔsə ... (i.e. sɑːr (x3)).
43M	sɑ:lə	sɑ:lə often.
45C6	sɑ:lə	d' iːntə sɑ:l ə wil' ə muːr ɑ:n déanta sula bhfuil an múr ann.
48M	ʃ mɑː	ʃ mɑː fɔ:s feː 48Mq sul má phós sé. This speaker is a daughter of 27Md (q.v.).
49M	hɑ:lə	hɑ:lə n' iːnə fɪː tæ:də shula ndéana sí tada.
51P	xulə, hɑ:lə	l'e skɔ:r bl'iəntə xul ə kɑ:l'uː e le scór blianta shula cailleadh é, hɑ:l ə d'ukə 51P1 shula dtiochaidh.
52J	sɑ:lə	sɑ:l ə d'ukət fɪː 52J sula dtiochadh sí, sɑ:lə 52Jq .
52P	sɑ:lə	sɑ:lə.
64M	səl(ə)	səl ɲo tu sula ngothaidh tú.
66N	sɑ:lə, sulə	sɑ:l ə, sɑ:lə, >> sulə.
66L	xɑ:lə, hɑ:lə	xɑ:l ə, hɑ:l ə.
70S1	sɑ:lə, (sulə)	sɑ:l ə n'æ:xə sula ndeachaigh, also sulə in query.
71B	hɑ:rə	hɑːr ə ɡɪr' iːn' fɛd ... shula gcuiríonn siad
71Dt.1	hɑ:lə	hɑ:lə fɔ:s ... , hɑ:lər
72A	sɑ:lə	sɑ:l ə n' iːm' oː ... sula n-imeoidh.
72C	hɑ:lə	hɑ:lə
72N	xɑ:lə, hɑ:lə	xɑ:l ə, hɑ:l ə.
73P	sɑ:l(ə), sulə	sɑ:l ɡur'hə sula gcuirthidh, sɑl [səl ?] ɲohədər sula ngothadar, sulə fɔ:s sula phós.
78B	sulə	sulər hɔsə sular thosaigh.
79MI	hulə	hul ə m'ei shula mbeidh.

8.132 Nonfinite: ag — le linn

AG ə(g(')), AG ... DO ə(g(')) ... gə (see also 8.104)

Á! beidh fhios a'inn é, a deir na ríte. AG ORDÚ anall fir. Chuaigh Diarmaid á dtroid, 'gus go héadrom ann. **892Mtn**.

choinic mé isteach uaim iad AG GOIL aniar DHOM.

AIMSIR, AR AIMSIR, IN AIMSIR (er' / ən) æ'mfər'

is beag nar maraíobh agus nar báitheadh in éineacht iad, AIMSIR A GHOIL síos, mar ní raibheadar réití ceart réis iad steairteáil amach 892Mt.

Bhuel, ansin, AIMSIR A BHEI' AG GEARRADH, an sábh mó-, u-, leis an sábh mór seo, gá mbeadh an ghaoth ' t'aghaidh, bhí an-bhantáiste a'd. 892M1317.

Caithfí é a chrochadh suas go maith an bhfuil fhios a'd rus nach mbeadh sé ag cuir meáchan AIMSIR GÁ CUIR un seoil 01C6109.

chaitheá é a scaoileadh ansin ... AIMSIR u-, TÍOCHT isteach aríst 01C6313.

bhí sé go maith AIMSIR, HÍBHEÁIL suas froisin 01C6325.

mara dtugtaí aire mhaith dhi AIMSIR FRÁMÁLA 872Pt (in boat building).

le cur ina gcuid neadracha AIMSIR SÍOLRUIGHTHE, Clad1239.

Bhuel AIMSIR IAD SIN A CHUIR amach chaitheadh an fear a bheadh ag baoiteáil a bheith an-scufánta 899D6389.

nuair a bhí carr thuas sa spota sin, AIMSIR NA BPÓLANNAÍ SIN A CHROCHADH. 18J8008.

AR AIMSIR:

Ó! is, is AR AIMSIR CUIR amach na heangaí a bhí[dís ?] ag díonamh an cheangal? 21Pg6307.

IN AIMSIR:

... go mbíot sé a' fágáil deatach i ndia a shála IN AIMSIR É ' CROCHA a chosa i gcónaí a' rith 869P3.

IN AIMSIR A BHEITH AG IASCACH le líonta, ... 869P4.

fásta thrí fhataí IN AIMSIR IAD A GHLANA, 869P5 (iad refers to fataí).

There is an example of finite use in the slightly hesitant:

Níl fhios a'm péin cén sagart a bhí i gCarna LE AIMSIR, (AN) AIMSIR SIN AR CUIREADH an, an chruit ar fhear na hAirde Thoir? 18J8956.

AR er' ; AR... DHO er' ... gə

ach tagann spreacadh agus cruth iontu AR bhlas an tsáile A FHÁIL aríst ar ais. Clad247.

Chas muid ceann an bháid suas sa ngaoth agus, AR CHASADH, sciorr an ríseach do leataobh i riocht agus gur chuir sí [i.e. bád] a taobh faoi fharraige Clad234.

Agus AR A DHUL amach DON ATHAIR ní dhearna Seán Ó Conaill ach ... 866E-Sc282.18.

ARA DHUL thart DÓ arís d'iompaigh sé an taobh eile ... Sc210.25.

agus AR SHNÁMH DHI í a sháthadh le cleith go ceann cúrsa; Clad1225; AR SHIÚL amach DUIT Clad231.

Agus AR A THEACHT anuas DÓ feitseáil a mháthair é. (Suda)894Cs.

Agus AR A GHOIL síos DÓIB, nuair a bhíodar ionann's thíos ag an gcalthadh, thugadar faoi deara, go raibh ... 04Bt.

AR DTÚS DHO

Bhí anseo insa tseanaimsir AR DTÚS DO NA SASANACHAÍ A THEACHT isteach go hÉirinn ... , bhí fear ... a dtugaidís Seán Ó Conaill air 866ESc274.1.

AR NA BÁRDARS, ARA BHÁRDARS ‘(about) to, time for’, **bairdars** (< borders)
ta fe er’ nã bairdars ã hæ:xt S tá sé AR NA BÁRDARS A THEACHT.
ta fe er’ nã bairdars ã hæ:xt ãma:r’æx Mq tá sé AR NA BÁRDARS A THEACHT
amáireach.
ta fe er’ ã wairdars æ:d im’æxt S tá sé ARA BHÁRDARS a’d IMEACHT.

I NDIAIDH ã N’iã
an lá i ndiaidh iad imeacht M.

LE LINN ‘during, about to’, **Le L’i:N’, Le l’i:N’** (9.114)
 ... *an cineál aimsire bheach ánn LE LÍNN É ’ DIANA sioc deire na hoiche go mbeat
 sí buan. 869P3.*
an bealach ar ei(y)ri sé suas LE LÍNN Í THÍOCHT ánn. 869P3.

ROIMH, ROIMHE ‘before’
 ... *a thabhairt dhóibh ROIMH an talamh A FHÓDÚ. Clad1208.*
an oíche ROIMHE í CHUR amach 894C9.

8.133 **thar éis (dho)**

THAR ÉIS (DHO) **hr’e:ʃ, he:ʃ**, etc., (cf. 7.120)
*beidh tú chomh maith agus bhí tú ariamh THRÉIS A BHEITH RÉIDH leis an uisce
 866ESemr64.*
*agus THAR ÉIS AN MÉID SIN AGUS DO BHEALACH A DHÉANAMH thríothub, is mór an
 obair mise a chosaint ná thú féin a shábháil orthubsan. Semr90.*
Agus TAR ÉIS É SIN A THROID, caithfidh tú Ollphéist ... a throid ... Semr90.
*Ach i gcionn tamall math THAR ÉIS NA NAONÚR SEO IMEACHT, tháinig an aint í féin
 isteach. Semr48.*
*Bhí sé scaitheamh ansin, agus THAR ÉIS hr’e:ʃ É IMEACHT as, nuair a bhíodh
 máthair Janaí Sheáin ag goil soir ar an gCoillín, THAR ÉIS hr’e:ʃ É BHEITH
 IMÍ as bhí sé ag fíodóireacht scaitheamh ansin. 18J8998.*
mar ní raibheadar réití ceart RÉIS IAD STEAIRTEÁIL AMACH 892Mt.
Am eicint THRÉIS Í THÍOCHT, tháinic sé ag breathú ortha. 892M4744.
*Ní raibh ann, ar inn ar éigean, THAR ÉIS DHUL AMACH DO CHAILLEACH NA GCÉARC
 IS DÁ CLANN, nuair a chonaic sé an seanfheairín ag teacht agus tháinig sé
 isteach. Semr132.*
Ní raibh, raibh tada le rá aige THAR ÉIS ʃe:ʃ A THÍOCHT abhaile DHÓ, 869P.
THAR ÉIS he:ʃ IAD A CHUIR amach DÚINN 21Pt.
 In all there are five examples of nonfinite *thar éis* in the long tale *Eochair Mac Rí
 in Éirinn* (Semr), all of which are cited directly above.

The verbal noun phrase *bás a fháil* is elided following *é* by speaker 29N (clearly
 in evasion of sad connotations, cf. 13.16, line 71):

... *go raibh tú anseo THAR ÉIS É. ær e:ʃ e | ... THAR ÉIS É. ær e:ʃ e | 29N.*

In compound tenses: {*bí + thar éis + verbal noun*}, e.g. (with by-form *in éis*)¹
*ach tá mé ag oibiriú anis, na talthúna, mar ATÁ MÉ IN ÉIS N’eis INSEACHT, á
 thóigéal singil, 01P.*

¹ This example of *in éis* (common in North Connacht) fills a small gap in the dialectology of variants
 of ‘after’ perfects in Ó Sé’s collection (2004: 192, 228).

{(bí +) *thar éis* + *a bheith* + verbal adjective}, e.g.

THAR ÉIS ʸe:f an bhó A BHEITH DÍOLTA ... 899N;

bhí Micil Mhac Suibhne mo dhuine bocht, bhí sé héin bhí sé ar seachrán, an t-am sin, THAR ÉIS, | ʸe:f | A BHEITH DÍBRÍTHE. 11C;

THAR ÉIS hr'e:f É BHEITH IMÍ as 18J8998 (cited above).

Commonly used with a place-name or a noun denoting a place (of activity) in the meaning 'after being in', e.g.

-Bhuel TÁ, MISE THAR ÉIS AN | m'ifə hl'e:f ə DOMHAN THAR anis, a dúirt seisean, agus tá na trí bhuidéal agam. 11Ctn.

8.134 Manner: *an chaoi a — le*

Finite

AN CHAOI A^N əŋ xi:

AN CHAOI A NGLÉASANN tú thú héin le do chaipín.

nach aisteach AN CHAOI A BHFUIL an Gaeilge sin! M.

Sin é AN CHAOI A LIGEANN siad amach a dtuirse S.

For *le ar an gcaoi a^N*, see 8.125.

Younger speaker *a^L*: *sin é AN CHAOI A FHEICEANNS mise é 72A.*

AN CHUMA A^N / A^L əŋ xumə

Mise Éamann a Búrc as an Aird Mhóir atá ag dul ag inseacht an scéil seo agus

AN CHUMA A D'ÉIRIGH an gábhadh. 866ESc25.1.

For subordinators which combine manner and comparison, see 8.154 ff.; for others which combine manner and purpose, see 8.135. Cp. *sa mbealach is ... go*, 8.125.

Nonfinite

LE ʸe(:)

Deir siad go mbíonn siad níos teocha LE HIAD ʸe hiəd A FHÁGÁIL taobh amuich. 03S.

LE IAD A VÁTARÁIL [< water] héin ní thiocthaidís ar ais S.

8.135 Final finite: *ar fhaitíos go — le faitíos go*

AR FHAITÍOS GO^N, AR FHAITÍOS A^N, FAITÍOS GO^N, FAITÍOS A^N

This subordinator also conveys a sense of apprehension (cp. English 'for fear').

er' æt' iəs ə Agus u-, beidh 'password' acub AR FHAITÍOS A | er' 'æf' iəs ə |

er' æf' eəs ə dtiocthadh u- 'enemy' orthub i nganfhiós. ... AR FHAITÍOS A | er' 'æf' eəs | ə dtarlódh tada dho aon-nduine acub. 72N.

er' æt' e: s ə AR FHAITÍOS, A mbéarthadh bean ... 17M.

er' æf' əs gə AR FHAITÍOS GO mbeadh ... , ar fhaitíos! | er' 'æf' i:s | 45N

er' æf' əs ə agus iarann tao' muigh dhe AR FHAITÍOS A n-imeodh an, ... [two words following an, are unclear] 896P.

fat' əs gə Bhreathaigh an bacach thairis siar ansin FAITÍOS GO fat' əs gə raibh an bhean ag tíocht ' goil á bhualadh 892M4024.

fat' əs gə Bím gá rá go beag, FAITÍOS GO fat' əs gə dtosódh Bríd ag troid liom! [ha, ha!] 05M, also fat' e: s gə 05M (cp. her noun fat' e: s).

- fat' eis gə** ag díonamh níos mú moille, FAITÍOS GO fat' eis gə n-aireoch sí ...
01P (cp. his Íe 'æ't' iəs / 'æ't' eis gə and his noun fat' iəs); also
05M.
- fat' eis ə** Gabh i leith an bhfuil meaitseannaí eile a'd ach iad seo, FAITÍOS A
 mbeinn gá gcaitheamh ort? **21Pt**.
- fa:ʃs nax** fa:ʃs nax v'ek'ə'n' ... M FAITÍOS NACH bhfeicthinn

ar fhaitíos a^N is coordinated with (*ar fhaitíos*) *go^N* in:

er' æt' eis | ə m' er:həx b'a'n ə b' i na g^ə m' ex e'm fa:ʃt' ek' ə 17M

AR FHAITÍOS A mbéarthadh bean ar bith NÁ GO mbeadh aon pháiste aici,

although the initial ə an following pausa in this instance could be for *go* (8.6).

LE FAITÍOS GO^N, LE FHAIÍOS GO^N Íe(:) (f)æ(:)t' is gə

Níor mhaith le Conchubhair iad a bheith ag troid LE FAITÍOS GO maródh aon
 fhear acu an fear eile **866ESc40.3**.

Is maith linn i gcúnaí na fataí a fháil spraeáilte LE FAITÍOS GO Íe fat' eis gə
 dtiocthadh an dubh orthub **21Pi**.

Íe: æt' is gə d' it' ə'n' ... **04B10** LE FHAIÍOS GO dtitinn

Íe 'æ't' iəs gə m' e ... Íe 'æ't' eis gə ... **01P** LE FHAIÍOS GO mbe[adh] ... LE
 FHAIÍOS GO dtiúrach sé abhaile ar bhealach a' bith í.

8.136 anúns go — ar nós go

ANÚNS GO^N ə'nu:ns gə; also NUS NACH nəs nax

im' o' m' e n' i' f' ə'nu:ns gə m' e m' e nax 52Jq

imeoidh mé anois ANÚNS GO mbeidh mé in am;

im' o' m' e n' i' f' nu:ns gə ... 52Jq imeoidh mé anois ANÚNS GO

nəs nax v' etəx ... 19P NUS NACH bhféadhadh

AR NÓS GO^N, NÓS GO^N, SA NÓS A^N (AR NÓS A^N), also rus: gə

Cp. *i riocht agus / is go* (8.139). This conjunction, containing *nós* 'manner', clearly combines manner and purpose. Probably also *ar nós a^N* (**894Cs**). See 8.156 for the main comparative function of *ar nós*.

er nu:s Agus rinne sé poll insa gcrann AR NÓS GO er nu:s gə raibh sé sách
gə fairsinn aici héin agus ag an bpáiste. **869PZCP151**.

er' nū:s -Bhuel, a deir Goll, a deir sé, níl mise ag iarraidh aon ímpí, a deir sé,
nax ach iall a chuir in mo shúiste; agus, a deir sé, iall, a deir sé, nach
 gclisthidh, i gcruth is, | **gruhəs** a deir sé, go mbeidh seacht mbuille
 a'm, a deir sé, ar an Deabhal, a deir sé, in aghaidh buille, dhá
 mbeidh aige orm. Agus an dara hímpí, a deir sé, atá mé a iarraidh:
 scraith ghlas, a deir sé, chuir faoi mo chosa, nach lighthidh an tine
 go dtí mé, a deir sé, AR NÓS, | **er' nū:s** a deir sé, NACH mbeidh aon
 phabhar acub orm. **894Cstn**. (Since brothers **894Cs** and **881J** are
 the only speakers noted with regular final (*in*) *sa nós a^N* (directly
 below) and comparative (*ar*) *nós a^N* respectively, it is likely that
894Cs also has final *ar nós a^N*.)

nu:s gə nu:s gə m' et fe hæ'ndə:l' ə **23J** NÓS GO mbeadh sé haindeáilte.
 Also nu:s gə **12Sperm**.

rus: rus: id' ə'r fe gə m' ei a:nlən' d' æ:s ... æ'n' **17M**

gə - ... AR NÓS, a deir sé, GO mbeidh anlann deas ... a'inn;

ru: s ʏa:	<i>cheangail sé seantéad ar an gcloch mhuráite, AR NÓS DHÁ ru: s ʏa:</i>
... gə	<i>dtéadh sí i bhfastú, GO mbristheadh an seantéad 892M3749.</i>
	<i>Cp. i gcruth is grus, i dtreo is (d)rois, i riocht is ros / rus.</i>
sə nūs ə	<i> kor ə 'ho:g'ail er' sə 'nū:əs ə 'm'ex 'gr'i:m' eg' ə 'v'i:do:r' ...</i>
ənsə	<i>894Cs cor a thóigeál air SA NÓS A mbeadh greim ag an bhfíodóir,</i>
nūs ə	<i>Díontha' siad bonn cloiche, i leataobh an bhóthair, istigh sa ngarraí,</i>
	<i>INSA NÓS, A dtíochaidh ənsə nūs ə? ə d'ukə an traictar go dtí é,</i>
	<i>agus níl aon bhlas orthub, ach a thabhairt leothub, ar a ngabháil,</i>
	<i>as an ngarraí, 'gus, cruach a dhíonamh dho leataobh an bhóthair.</i>
	894Cs.
sə nūs	<i>... agus chupla cloch, fháil ansin, agus a chuir tao' muigh dhe, SA NÓS</i>
naχ	<i>NACH mbead- nach mbead sé i riocht an stól a chuir amach. 894Cs.</i>

8.137 féachaint a

FÉACHAINT A^N, AG FÉACHAINT A^N, GO BHFÉACHAINT A/GO^N, NÓ GO BHFÉACHAINT A^N, FÉACH A^N

This conjunction is used to express endeavour as in English 'to see if, to try to'. The main lexical item is the verbal noun of *féach*. There is considerable formal variation. The initial element has three forms: Ø >> ə (from verbal noun particle *ag*), as well as obsolete *go*^N. The element *féachaint* is most often followed by eclipsing ə, a particle generally analysable as interrogative *an*^N but an example with a following subjunctive verb indicates the particle *a*^N (i.e. *féach a*^N).

<i>féachaint</i>	<i>FÉACHAINT A' ndúiseothá 875T1; this speaker also has go bhféachaint.</i>
	<i>Also nonfinite use with le: f' e:χənt' t' l' e (8.142).</i>
f' iəχənt'	<i>FÉACHAINT A' bhfuíot [bhfuigheadh] sé ... 869P4 (note in MS: pronounced fiachaint);</i>
	<i>FÉACHAINT f' iəχənt' A bhfeicthead sé 869Pt.</i>
f' iəhūnt'	<i>chruinnigh naonúr nú deichniúr eile daoine isteach ann, FÉACHAINT</i>
	<i>A lagthadh an bháisteach, le leisce an bóthar a thabhairt dóib héin chomh maith linne 869Pt.</i>
Also	<i>ə f' e:hənt' ə 892M; f' e'χənt' ə 16M; f' e:nt' ə ... 43J.</i>
f' e'hənt'	<i>f' e'hənt' ə mog-f' i: n' d'aul S FÉACHAINT A mbogfí an deabhal.</i>
	<i>Also 16M, 35E7261.</i>
f' e:nt'	<i>ax ə f' e:nt' ə mokət fe η xa:səxt orəm 05M</i>
	<i>ach AG FÉACHAINT A mbogthadh sé an chasacht orm;</i>
	<i>xuə fe fjər a:n f' e:nt' ə d' u:rhəx maik' əl' əst' a'x kər mu:nə</i>
	<i>yo' 19P3 chuaigh sé siar ann FÉACHAINT A dtiúrthadh Maidhcil</i>
	<i>isteach carr móna dhó;</i>
	<i>-Cuir séideog, a deir sé, faoin sáspan FÉACHAINT f' e:nt' A ndíon-</i>
	<i>thadh sé deifir. 11C. Also 16M, 23B.</i>
f' e:nt'	<i>f' e:nt' ə wi:x mid' 05M FÉACHAINT A bhfuigheadh muid.</i>
f' aint'	<i>v' i fjəd ə kur tuər' əfk' orəm' p' e:n' ə f' aint' ə rə e:m fa:kə</i>
	<i>robər' ... 19Pt bhí siad ag cuir tuairisc orm héin FÉACHAINT A</i>
	<i>raibh aon phaca robair</i>
f' ain'	<i>FÉACHAINT A gcoinneoinn f' ain' ə gin' o:n' súil orthub M.</i>
<i>théint</i>	<i>Cuireadh taobh an phuill faoi'n mbairrille THÉINT A dtiocfaidís as</i>
	<i>géibheann. Cladi99, also THÉINT A raibh Cladi98.</i>

Visual contexts such as verbs of seeing *breathnaigh*, *fair*, *féach* often precede *féachaint*, and the verb *feic* often follows it:

- f'iaxant'** *bhí an fhoghail gá dionamh, chomh mór, air, agus, go ndeachaigh sé, san oíche, ag faire, FÉACHAINT f'iaxant'* A bhfeicthead sé cosúlacht le rud a bích, ag dionamh, na foghla. **869P**.
- f'eħant'** **f'e:x nə fa:ti: ə vrain f'eħant' wil' e' wil' orħəb M**
féach na fataí, a Bhraidhean, FÉACHAINTA bhfuil aon bhaol orthub. Bhí fear an bháid mhóir, bhí a shúil píleáilte i gcúnaí aige ag breathú, FÉACHAINT CÉN áit a bhfeicthead sé cruach mhúna. 889P.
- f'ehant'** **v'i: m'e f'iaxta:l' f'ehant' ə n'inhənt' e S**
bhí mé ag féachtáil FÉACHAINT AN ndéanháinn é.
- f'əħant'** *agus é ina shuí thuas ann chuile lá ag breathú uaidh ó dheas FÉACHAINT AN bhfeicthead sé an bád ag tíocht. 35E7634.*
- f'e:n'** **f'e:m' ə v'ek'ənt' ... M FÉACHAINTA bhfeicthinn ...**

Obsolete and anomalous use of preceding *go*^N is found:

- go bhféachaint a* GO BHFÉACHAINT A mbéarthaidís eir **852S4**;
GO BHFÉACHAINT A' n-aireot sé rud a' bith **875T1**;
- go bhféachaint a* GO BHFÉACHAINT (sic) A' bhfuíghinn **869P5**;
- go bhféachaint go* ... lóistín a thóirt dom ... GO BHFÉACHAINT GO bhfuínn [bhfuíghinn] aon tsoitheach ... **869P2**;
- nó go bhféachaint a* bhuaíl sé siar ... NÓ GO BHFÉACHAINT A bhfeicit sé an breac **852S4**.

féach, a form equivalent to the 2sg imperative, was heard from **27C1**:

- f'e:x ə** **f'e:x ə d'ugəd'i:f b'æ:k' ənə m'æ:ləx he:n' ə'r'i:ft' 27C1**
FÉACHA DTIUGAIDÍS beaic ina mbealach héin aríst.

cé-interrogatives frequently follow *ag féachaint*. The syntax of *ag féachaint cé*-, 'to see wh-', is usual for such a verbal noun, but the phonology often deviates from the etymological verbal noun, indicating conjunction status, as does *go bhféachaint cé*-:

- f'e:ən'** *thug sí cupla súiteán anonn 's anall FÉACHAINT f'e:ən' CÉARD a bhí sí i ndan a dhíonamh 894C (writhing of ollphéist).*
- f'e:nt'** **ta je xə 'mā ỹəm 'im'əxt' ʔum ... f'e:nt' ... k'e' 'wi:n' 'mā:ft'ər' ... 11C tá sé chomh maith dhom imeacht liom, a deir sé, FÉACHAINT, a deir sé, CÉ bhfuíghinn máistir ...**
- hi:nt'ə** *FAEINT CÉARD déarthadh muid leatsa FFG s.v. faeint.*
- f'e:v'ənt(t)** *Bhí seaileanĵ maide curtha acub ar a chéile, AG FÉACHAINT TÉ | ə f'e:v'ənt' ʔe' acub is fhéarr a bheadh ag troid ar an maide 892M4003.*
- go bhféachaint a' fanacht go dteagaidís GO BHFÉACHAINT CÉN scéal a bhíoch acú 852S4.*

Most of the phonetic variation can be explained as straightforward reduction of historical *féachain(t)*. For example:

- initial weakening **f'** - (> **f'**) > **h-**;
- monophthongisation **-ia-** > **i:**;
- medial reduction and coalescence **-e(:)/aht-** (> **-e:ɪ-**) > **-ai-**.

The variant *féach a* can be seen as entailing both phonetic and morphological

reduction from *féachain(t)* with the possibility of haplogy contributing to reduction in phrases containing repetition such as (conjectured) *féach amach féachain(t) an ...*¹ The form *ə f'e:v'ən(t')* may be a blend of *ə f'e:xənt'* and *go bhféachaint*. The variant *f'iaħānt'* 869Pt might be some type of re-expanded form from reduced variants.

8.138 *go — i gcruth (ag)us go*

GO

See 8.6.

I DTREO IS GO^N (d)rois gə (recorded from 06C only)

drois *nach mbeadh an marú ceart ar na brain, ... agus dhoimhmidís síos, na lámha, tímpeall's, naoi nú deich dh'orlaí, sa bhfarráige, I DTREO IS GO | drois gə mbeidís gá thabhairt leothub ar an mbealach sin, mar bheidís gá ngoid. 06C.*

rois *Mar is dóichí liom go gcaitheadh fear ceirde, go gcaitheadh sé suas le seachtain gá breacadh, I DTREO IS NACH rois nax mbeadh deis a bith ag an rópa imíthe dhi, gá gcastaí, gála, ná lá oibriú mhóir leothub amuich ansin. 06C* (context: *cloich eangaí*).

I GCRUTH AGUS / IS GO^N, gruhəs gə, gru gus gə, grus gə, cf. *i riocht is go*

iall, a deir sé, nach gclithidh, I GCRUTH IS, | gruhəs a deir sé, GO mbeidh seacht mbuille a'm, a deir sé, ar an Deabhal, ... 894Cstn.

grus nax ... 12S, 50N *I GCRUTH IS NACH ...*

Also with resultative force (8.157).

8.139 *i riocht (ag)us go*

I RIOCHT GO^N, I RIOCHT AGUS / IS GO^N, cf. *i gcruth is go*, **rus gə** *ar nós go*; *INSA RIOCHT NACH^N* (perhaps *INSA RIOCHT A^N*)

It is often difficult to distinguish between **ros**, **rus**, **rəs** in this conjunction.

ə r'oxt *ə r'oxt gə ... 08B89 I RIOCHT GO ...*

r'oxt ogəs *'r'oxt ogəs gə m'ox je 'ā:n 875T I RIOCHT AGUS GO mbeadh sé ann.*

r'oxt ... gus *wol'je:rd ə v'i:fi:əd | je:rd ə v'i:n'i:n' je | r'oxt ə d'ig'an tu | gus gə m'ehəts æd k'e xi m'ed'ji: g obər' 896P*

Bhuel séard a bhí siad, séard a mhínoinn sé, I RIOCHT an dtuigeann tú AGUS GO mbeadh fhios a'd cén chaoi a mbeadh sí ag obair.

r'oxt s *'kaur'əx 'her'əm ə xir' orhə | r'oxt s gə rix'əd'ji 'k'ært 896P*
coirleach thirim a chuir uirthi I RIOCHT IS GO ritheadh sí ceart.

rost *rin'ədər e jin' rost | l'efk'ə m prais a:rdū: 12S*

¹ Both *féach f'/hiax* and *féachaint f'/hiaxn't'* are found as subordinators in GCD §793; in GCF the verbal noun only: *f'iaħānt' féachaint* §383 and similar *faoi dhéint* (?) *f'e:nt' faint' fi:nt'* §383; more variants in FFG *faeint' fe:nt' faint' fi:nt' hi:nt'ə, féint' f'e:nt' f'aint'*; LFRM *féint*. De Bhaldraithe suggests the possibility of development from *faoi dhéint* in his spelling *faoi dhéint* (?) in GCF §383, and in FFG s.v. *faeint' < féachaint + faoi dhéint?*. O'Rahilly (1921–3b: 96 n. 1) suggests that Connacht *héinte* is 'probably for *féaghaint, from the obsolete by-form *féaghaim*' and he compares a Munster form *faghaint* (also Conamara as evidenced by *faint'* GCF §383). In fact our variant *f'aint'* is even closer to a possible base **feaghaint* < **féaghaint*, although, as stated above, reduction from *féachaint* is not problematic.

- rinneadar é sin* I RIOCHT IS, *leisce an praghas a ardú.*
- ros** *Caithfí é a chrochadh suas go maith an bhfuil fhios a'd* I RIOCHT IS NACH **ros nax** *mbeadh sé ag cuir meáchan aimsir gá cuir un seoil* **01C6109**;
also **ros gə 866Et** (Sc185.22), **01C6327**; **ros gə / nax 12S**.
- rus, ris** *i riocht is go* **rus gə** *bhféadthá do phionsúr a thabhairt leat* **892M1507**; **rus gə m'əx ... 00B** I RIOCHT IS GO *mbeadh ...* ;
rus nax 12S, 21Pt1, 50N;
rus gə wanhə ... 43J I RIOCHT IS GO *bhfanthaidh ...* ; **ris nax 12S**.
- rəs** **rəs gə m'əɟ fe fadə 12S** I RIOCHT IS GO *mbeadh sé fada*, **rəs nax m'ox ə f'it'əm' rəwə:r 12S** I RIOCHT IS NACH *mbeadh an titim romhór*; **rəs gə n'inhəd'i:f 16M** I RIOCHT IS GO *ndéanthaidís.*
- insə r'oxt** *Dhá dtigeadh an bille seo amach, INSA RIOCHT, | insə r'oxt | AR u-, d'abraí-, a, nach d-, NACH mbeadh cead cainte a'msa, ná ag an, ag an bhfear eile. Bille, an bille sin a thócht amach, nach mbeadh cead cainte, ach, mar a leagthadh an strainséara amach é. É a leagan amach. Tóigí ansin é. 881J (of division of land; *tóigí 2pl impv*).
Speaker **881J** may have *sa riocht a^N* (implied by hesitant *insa riocht, ar*) given his brother's *sa nós a^N* in final function (above) and his own (*ar*) *nós a^N* in comparative function (8.156).*

There is generational contrast (the older speaker having the longer, older form) and perhaps serial effect, or even speaker accommodation, in the initial non-palatal **r-** of **896P** the older speaker, in the following exchange:

- I RIOCHT IS GO **rəs gə mbeitheá i ndan í ghlanadh leis an mballa? 11C**
-I RIOCHT IS (u-) **roxts ə, sea. I RIOCHT IS GO r'oxt s gə mbeitheá i ndan ... 896P.**

8.140 *is go — sa go*

IS GO^N əs gə; cf. final *sa go* and *insa go*, and coordinator *agus / is* (8.167)

- əs** **Í e 'æf'ias gə m'e əs gə gin'ə: tu: 'f'er'əm' iəd | 01P**
le fhaitíos go mbe[adh], IS GO gcoinneoidh tú tirim iad.
- us** *go gcuirthidís ar an gcosán í, le í chuir un an bhóthair, IS GO | us gə*
bhfeictheadh an tír í. 01P (horse);
IS GO | us gə bhféadthá an drú is an snúda a chuir inti 21Pt.
- is** **is gə m'ox ə pə:d'ər'in' rəf'ə M** *IS GO mbeadh an paidrín ráite.*
Cp. (consecutive, resultative) *Tháinig an bheirt aca agus thosaíodar ag gearradh na rópaí IS GUR bhaineadar amach as an gcráiceann iad. 852SbLL25.*
- ş** **ş nax n'im'ə: fjad 13J** *IS NACH n-imeoidh siad.*
- s** **xir' m'e æ:r'əɟ'əd eg' ʃa:n s gə m'əɟ fe na:n ə hæxt ə'wa:l'ə M**
chuir mé airgead ag Seán IS GO mbeadh sé i ndan a theacht abhaile.

LE GO^N, LE IS GO^N, LE... GO, Í e(:) gə, Í es gə

For obsolescent complementisers *le^N* and *le go^N*, see 8.14. Examples of *le (is)* go as conjunction are:

Í e: gə m'ox S LE GO mbeadh;

Í e: ʏə ɡ'æ:pəx ə f'ar fo | ʏə b'e: xid' gubə:ft'ə hɛm' ... 894C

LE GO gceapthadh an fear seo go b'é a chuid gobáiste héin ... ;

Í es gə d'ukəʃ fe max k'æ:rt 12S LE IS GO dtiocthadh sé amach ceart;

Í es gə d'ukəx mið Í e x'e:l'ə 12S LE IS GO dtiocthadh muid le chéile.

This conjunction often combines purpose and manner meanings (8.134):

Céard a choinnigh é sin thuas ar an stafall LE GUR Í e: gər gearradh ar a dhomhain é? 11C1362.

Condition and purpose are combined in *le dhá ... go* (negative *nach*), e.g.

d'fhága sé ordú ina dhiaidh gach a raibh ina ríocht ar fad a bheith cruinnighthe ar an talamh LE DÁ dtagadh sé choíchín agus triúr mac Rí na hOrbhuaidhe aige, NACH ligfeadh sé beo as an gladach iad. LL127.

Presumably the conditional clause is parenthetical: *le — dá dtagadh ... aige — nach ...* . Cp. 8.125.

LE HAGHAIDH GO Í ehi: gə

Í ehi: nax skol'əx ... 20Pá LE HAGHAIDH NACH scoilttheadh ... ;

Í ehi: nax m'et fe ... Í ehi: nax ... 73P LE HAGHAIDH NACH mbeadh sé ... LE HAGHAIDH NACH

SA GO^N, INSA GO^N, (ən)sə gə; cf. *is go, anúns go, nus nach* and preposition *i*; cp. FGB *ionas go*

The only conjunctive tokens of *ənsə* and *sə* which I have noted outside of query occur in a tale run from speaker 04B:

ənsə nax m'et fe her' ə daun na hiər ə daun | na er'ə ʏri:m' ə daun' | e:ŋ ʏa:sk' iəx ə v'əx əŋ'xurhə Í eʃ (Smbb)04B

INSA NACH mbeadh sé thoir an domhan ná thiar an domhan, ná ar dhroim an domhain, aon ghaiscíoch a bheadh inchurtha leis;

| sə na: rɛ fe her' ə daun na: hiər ə daun | e:ŋ ʏa:fk' iəx ... (Smbb)04B

SA NÁR raibh sé thoir an domhan ná thiar an domhan aon ghaiscíoch

When I mentioned final conjunction *ros go* to speaker 52J he pointed out to me that some speakers, probably including himself, have final *sa go / nach* 52Jq. Cp. *anúns go* (8.136) which he proffered during the same discussion.

8.141 *sa gcaoi go — shula*

(IN)SA GCAOI GO^N, SA GCAOI IS GO^N, AR CHAOI GO^N, sə gi: (s) gə, er xi: gə *bhí cead ag chuile fhear acub gunna, a choinneál ina theach, SA GCAOI NACH bhféadthadh, u- na, fir bhochta a bhí caite as a seilbh a thíocht ar ais, ag tóigeál orthub ná tada dhen tsórt sin.* ARN9198.

ənsə gi: nax ... 11Ctn INSA GCAOI NACH

Agus SA GCAOI, NACH dtiocthad se ar chrann an mhac is óige, imeacht leis an deachma, sé an phleain a chuir an rí un cinn, dúirt sé leis an dá mhac déag ... 11C.

ní raibh sé dhe mheabhair iontub an maide héin a dhíonamh éadrom AR CHAOI GO mbeadh sé er xi: g m'ed fe éadrom ina ngloic. 892M4243.

Cp. | xi: gə m'ɛ:rəx ə dɑ: ... 19B (Doire an Locháin) AN CHAOI GO mbéarthadh an dá thaobh ar a chéile.

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I GCUMA GO^N gumə gə

... | **gumə gə sokri:đ** fji' ənuəs eɣ' | **20C** ... *I GCUMA GO socraíodh sí anuas air.*

SA MBEALACH IS ... GO, cf. 8.125.

AR SHÚIL GO^N, AR SÚIL GO^N, AR SÚIL IS GO^N, AR SHÚIL IS GO^N, LE SÚIL AGUS / IS GO^N, LE SHÚIL (GO^N), SHÚIL IS GO^N, SÚIL IS GO^N

This conjunction also conveys the meaning of aspiration, i.e. *súil* 'hope', *ag súil* 'hoping'.

er' hu:l' **er' hu:l' gə d'ig'əx ... 892Mt** *AR SHÚIL GO dtigeadh ...*

er' hu:l' əs **er' hu:l' əs gə m' a:lhən' 04B^{tn}** *AR SHÚIL IS GO meallthainn ...*

er' su:l' **Cp. v' i: fji: er' su:l' gər b' in' iəd ə xə:r' o:x i ... 04B**

bhí sí AR SÚIL GURB in iad a chóireadh í ...

er' su:l's *choinnigh muid a haghaidh ar Leic Sheáin 'ic Pádraig, sin í an leic is foide isteach i gCarraig a Míle, AR SÚIL 'S GO mbuailtheadh muid na potaí ar Maidhm Mór. 892Mt.*

le súil ... is *LE SÚIL ... IS GO ... 869P2.44.*

le súil agus *LE SÚIL 7 GO ... 869P3.520.*

le shúil **866ESc311-3.10.**

shúil is *SHÚIL IS GO bhfeicinn !894C9.*

su:l's *- ... 'Gus féachaigí, a deir sé, a námhaid a stopadh, a deir sé, SÚIL IS GO dtiocthadh cúnamh a bith oraibh ón genoc. 892M^{tn}.*

SHULA^N, see 8.130 for its main temporal usage

sa:lə ɲorto: m' ɛ 52P *SULA ngortóidh mé é.*

M'anam go bhfuil muid ag goil dóib níos críonna ná bhí an dreám fadó, SHULÁ | ər a: n-aicteálaidís aríst orainn. 01P.

8.142 Nonfinite: **ag** — **leisce**

AG ə(g(')) (8.104)

əŋ' 'x'ed dín' 'air' o:s ed' əɣ'fj' f' iərhi: 'k'erd ta ɔrt ... 11C

an chéad duine a éireos, a deir sí, AG fiathraí céard tá ort, abair leis braon bainne a théabh dhuit.

tá sé chomh maith dhuit ... a ghoil AG iarraidh an tsagart dom. 11C.

-Bhuel sé an áit a dtáinic mé, arsa mac Rí in Éirinn, tháinic mé AG iarraidh na hiníne ortsa. 11C.

AR CHUNTAR er' xū:(i)ntər, combining condition and purpose

Spáinnigh, bhí ag tócht AR CHUNTAR a er' xū:ntər ə ghoil ag troid a chúnamh dh'Éirinn in aghaidh an tSasanach. 892M4812.

Duine a bith chuir ann é, AR CHUNTAR, | er' 'xū:ntər | é héin dhá thóigeál nó duine eicint, is b'fhéidir a fuair bás, nú cuireadh an ruaig air, bhí a bhealach sin ceart. 892M4435.

FÉACHAINT LE f' e:xən' t' ɣ'e

-Agus tá sé chomh maith dhuit, a deir sé, an chrú a chuir ina thosach, FÉACHAINT LE f' e:xən' t' ɣ'e duine a fháil dhuit héin chomh toibeann in Éirinn 's fhéadhas tú. 875P.

GAN gən (8.106)

bhí sé ag iarraidh GAN é a dhíonamh.

LE ʎ e(:)

*má thug mise lóistín duitse, ní LE bhei' ag mí'únadh go maidin é 892M2426.
ag fairiú air ... LENA mharú P.*

*agus ní raibh sé ag goil ag ínseacht aon fhocal amháin ach bréag, nó go mbeadh
an scéal réidh, ag iarraidh, ' súil le fear, i gcúnaí a déarthadh, 'Tá tú ag
díonamh na mbréag,' LEIS AN t-athair a shábháil. 892M2067.*

With the article note traditional *leis an t-athair a shábháil* cited above but innovative ʎ e ʌN i:r'ʌN'ə rə: 69A *le an fhírinne a rá*, a phrase which seems to be of extraneous origin (in this university-educated young female speaker), and ... *le an ʎ e ʌN áit a fhorbairt 70Mt.*

LE FONN, DH'FHONN gu:n

ʎ e fu:m' [perhaps -n] e v' e sɑ:wɑ:l'ə | 899N ... LE FONN é a bheith sábháilte.

Cp. *dh'fhonn* in local composition:

Is dhá bhfaighteá scéala ar fheabhas mo thréartha,

Nach siúiltheá Éire DH'FHONN mé a fháil! gū:n m' e' 'ɑ:ʎ | (Aln)11C.

LE HAGHAIDH ʎ ehi:

*eangach Is amhlaidh is, is fearr an seans a bheadh aici, LE HAGHAIDH,
ronnaigh a ghoil inti. 892M1096.*

*d'imigh na buachaillí óga bhí sa teach roimhe LE HAGHAIDH ʎ ehi: píosa filíocht a
bhaint as 11C.*

' Bhfuil fhios a'd LE HAGHAIDH é a dhéanamh, ' bhfuil fhios? 32J.

*Bhead sé géarrtha amach aige LE HAGHAIDH an tsiúinéara ag díonamh na conra.
11C1384.*

LEISCE ʎ eʃk'ə, LE LEISCE

*Ach go ndíonhá oibreagáid nuair a d'iarrfí ort é. LEISCE a bheith mí-oibleag-
áideach. 889P.*

LEISCE an deabhal a rá a déarthas tú 'daighean' S.

ʎ eʃk'ə br' e:g i:nʃəxt M LEISCE bréag a ínseacht.

There is self-revision from a finite to nonfinite construction in:

ri:n'ədər e ʃin' rɔst | ʎ eʃk'ə m prais ɑ:rdʉ: S

rinneadar é sin i riocht 's, LEISCE an praghas a ardú.

le leisce in:

*A chomhuain is a bhíos na líonta curtha bíonn an crann mór leagtha anuas,
LE LEISCE [sic] é a bheith ag gabháil gaoithe ná ag corraí anonn agus
anall sa mbád, ... Clad9;*

*go ndeachaigh muid isteach i dteach beag ... chruinnigh naonúr nú
deichniúr eile daoine isteach ann, féachaint a lagthadh an bháisteach,
LE LEISCE an bóthar a thabhairt dóib héin chomh maith linne 869Pt.*

8.143 Causal finite: *an áit a* — *i ngeall air go*

AN ÁIT A^N an aít ə

-Grabaire beag mise as Éirinn atá ag iarraidh deoch dhom féin AN ÁIT A BHFUIL TART ORM. LL151.

Nuair a bhí sé ag déanamh lae d'airigh Céadtach duine aca ag corraí AN ÁIT A RAIBH SIAD AG ÉALÓDH. LL162.

Bhí sé thíos, i dteach dhe Chloinne Con Raoi, ... col ceathar dhó, AN ÁIT A RAIBH, BEAN A CHOL CEATHAR ag fáil bháis. ARN2400.

Mar thugaidís Maolra Óg air, AN ÁIT nā:t A RAIBH DHÁ MHAOLRA, insan oileán, an t-am sin. ARN4186.

D'fhan mé héin sa mbaile, AN ÁIT A RAIBH MÉ TÍNN M.

Cp. -Mar is é AN ÁIT A DTÁINIG TÚ, tá inní orm, a deir an seanfhear, le do bhás! 866ESemr112.

For a possible example of causal *as ucht go*, see p. 1562 n. 1.

(DHE) BHARR GO^N gə wɑ:r gə

DHE BHARR GURB É mo dhreatháir é M.

DHE BHRÍN ... AGUS / IS GO^N, gə vr'i:n'; DHÁ BHRÍN IS GO^N

GO BHRÍN, a deir sé, AGUS GUR MISE an fear is fearr, is mé a fuair an cupán óir ón mbanríon. 866ESc40.31.

GO BHRÍTHIN 7 GO RU, bhídís ... 894C2, GO BHRÍN'S GO MBEIDH ... 894C2.

Prepositional possessive use is also common, e.g. dhá bhrí(n) sin beidh

Speaker 866E has a transcribed example of conjunctive use:

-Agus DÁ BHRÍN IS NACH BHFUIL, a deir sé, níl mé ag tabhairt aon mhilleán duit Sc159.12,

preceded by prepositional use dá bhrí sin, a deir sé, ní fheicfidh ... Sc159.2 and followed by *de bhrín is nach ngabhfaí* Sc159.22 (cp. also Sc169.14).

FAOI GO^N fi: gə

Is bhí an oiread ómáis aige dhi, FAOI GO NDEARNA sí an píosa filíocht dho na báid agus chuireadh sé an oiread seo dhe chuile shórt dhá fheabhas isteach ar an Oileán Gorm aici 11C.

ar deireadh sé chaoi a raibh brath aici tosaí ag troid leis FAOI GO RAIBH a leithide dhe thrioblóid ortha choir a bich 11C.

ghortaigh sé mé FAOI GUR tusa a bhí i gceist.

fi: gə rə ʃiəd he:n' ... 62J FAOI GO RAIBH siad héin

gur bhuaíl a athair clabhta air, agus gur beag nár mharbhaigh sé é leis a' gclabhta FAOI NACH RABH an t-uisce istigh in am aige. 866EB17.

Thosaínn ag caoineadh nuair a d'fheicinn thrí dhoras — thríd an bhfuinneog í, FAOI NACH MBÍNN sa bpúcáinín. 03Ct.

I NGEALL AIR GO^N, see *mar gheall (air) go* (8.144)

8.144 *mar* — *mar ó dhia go*

MAR, MAR GO^N

-Ó! eist, a deir an fear óg, a deir sé, ní ghothaidh muid abhaile, a deir sé, fós, a

deir sé, MAR, TÁ MUID ag marú neart éisc, a deir sé. 11C2169.

bhíodar sin an dtigeann tú ina bhfilí mór le rá MAR CHUMADAR SIN filíocht álainn. Bhuel ansin bhí fear eile i nDumhaigh Iathair, Mícheál a Búrc a bhí air, bhí sé sin ina thogha file froisin. MAR BHÍ SPEAL aige teoran agus níorbh fhéidir í a ghéarú agus bhí sé curtha anonn is anall thrína chéile aici ach chaith sé uaidh an lá seo í ... agus thosaigh sé ag cumadh filíocht. 11C.
agus scaoil mise amach thríd an doras dúinte shula bhfeice siad mé; MAR siúráilte BEIDH AMHRAS acub orm go mbeidh mé ag inseacht níthe dhuitse. 866ESemr132.

MAR SIN É an sórt duine é m'athair Semr52.

Sin é an t-ainm a bhí ar an bhfathach, Ceann an Ascaill, MAR IS É AN T-ÚDAR A BHÍ LEIS ní dheachaigh sé a chodladh ariamh ach ina shuí sa suíochán agus a chloigeann a chur siar faoina ascaill, Semr98.

... ní bhfaighead, MAR NÍ THIOCFADH AON DUINE as mo ríocht ... Semr68.

-Ba cheart go mbeadh aithne á' msa ort, a deir sé, ... ; MAR NUAIR A CASADH ormsa thú cheana BA TÚ an fear ba gnaúla a casadh ariamh liom. Semr100.

mar go / nach occurs but less often. It is regular in dependent clauses and indirect speech. E.g.

gan mórán caidís a bith chuir air ach a bheith sách maith leis MAR GUR FILE a bhí ann 11C.

Agus tá siad á thabhairt chun suime ... go gcaithfeadh sé gur duine acub thusa ... ; MAR NACH RAIBH AON FHEAR ... eile ... ach é. 866ESemr124.

MAR NAR RAIBH CHEAD acub 05M.

MAR GHEALL GO^N, MAR GHEALL AIR GO^N, INGEALL AIR ... GO^N

mar gheall go is commoner than *mar gheall air go*, the latter being recessive. **mar ja:l (er') gə** is the commonest realisation (cp. **mari 'a:l èr** 46.794); also **mar ja:lt** (Neain Team Teaimín a Búrca, RnM) and in East Iorras Aithneach (Loch Con Aortha) **mar ja:lt 27J** and his daughter Bairbre. Also **ma a:l**, e.g. **72N, 79J, 79St; ma:l 79J; mə ja:l 76Mt**.

MAR GHEALL GHO B'IAD HÉIN a bhí ag díonamh na cúntrála, 's air héin a leag sé an billéad an dtigeann tú gho mbadh é héin an gadaí 894C.

agus INGEALL AIR ə ŋ'a:l er' b'fhéidir GO RAIBH SÉ bacach is cirthéimeach bhíodh a bhean ag rá go mbíod sé an-fhada amuich i gcúnaí 11C.

Agus INGEALL AIR GO BHFUIL SÍ cam, a deir sé, bhead sé an-diucair cloigeann a — ceann a chuir ortha 11C.

Mar bhead sé an-diucair ... ceann a chuir ar an teach INGEALL AIR NACH BHFUIL SÉ cearnógach, scvaeráilte amach díreach. 11C.

Parataxis, i.e. absence of *go*, is common, e.g.

Obair, chrua, go maith é, MAR GHEÁLL AIR, CAITHE TÚ brógaí, maith a bhei' a'd, 'wellingtons', 20A;

Bhuel ní féidir feamainn a bhaint thart anseo, ar mhallúir, MAR GHEÁLL AIR, NÍ THÉANN an — bíonn taoille, íseal ann, ... 20A;

mə ja:l ta: mid' ən æ:d suas 76Mt *MAR GHEALL TÁ muid an fhad suas.*

Note the alternation of *mar gheall go* and paratactic *mar gheall* in **79J**:

ma:l ta ... [x2] mar gheall tá ... , ma a:l gə wil' mar gheall go bhfuil, ma a:l ta ... mar gheall tá

MAR Ó DHIA GO^N ‘under pretence that’ combines condition and cause
 Tháinig sé isteach MAR Ó DHIA GO RAIBH sé tuirseach.
 Bhí sé ag caoineadh, MAR Ó DHIA GO RAIBH a chroí briste.

8.145 ó — ó tharla go

ó^L, o:, a:, ó GO^N; containing preposition ó (7.67)

-Mar, a deir sé, tá mo ríocht ariamh, a deir sé, robáilte ag an bhfathach, a deir sé, ach tá sé marbh a’ dsa, a deir sé. Agus Ó TÁ o: ta:, a deir sé, tá mise saor.

11Ctn.

n’ij ə xal’hi:n nə v’æ:rt a ri:n ə tu də wu:n d’i:n də xa:k S

-Anois a Cháilín na bhfeart Ó RINNE tú do mhúin déan do chac!

agus ní dheachaigh tusa amach agus, Ó ā: NACH NDEACHAIS, tharrainn mise mo charr héin amach aríst. 21Pt.

Is Ó NAR RAIBH aon fheaimilí ann, əs ā na r ē:n n’æ:m’əl’i: ā:n | d’athraigh Jéims, thug sé an áit dho Mheaic, 32Jt.

Ó B’ANNAMH leis an gcút srathair a bheith air S.

Bhí muide oíche fadó ag tíocht ann, ÓS AG CAINT orthub é, mise agus Meairc Pháidín. 18J7301.

Speaker 66N has o: gə rə ... Ó GO RAIBH ... (perhaps in temporal function).

ÓN UAIR NACH^N, NUAIR NACH^N, (o:) nuər’ nax

o nuər nax wil’ enin’ ə go:l’ f’æ:x nax max eg’ ə t’ain’ je xolə luə M ÓN UAIR NACH BHFUIL aon-nduine ag goil isteach ná amach aige téann sé a chodladh luath.

Tá sé an-dona NUAIR NACH BHFUIL siad a’ fáil aon áird M.

Tá sé feid-up NUAIR NACH BHFUIL an mhóin a’ triomú M.

THARA GO^N harə gə

b’ei f’iəd ə’həsəx hærə gə wuəx tu M beidh siad áthasach THARA GO BHUACH tú.

Ó THARLA GO^N, THARLA GO^N, THÁL GO^N, Ó THÁL IS GO^N, etc., cf. nonfinite tharla (8.146)

o: harlə Agus gá bhrí sin héin, nar cheart go mbeadh fonn agus grá agus meas againn ar an teanga sin a bheith againn, agus í a choinneál, Ó THARLA GO RAIBH MUID gá fáil aríst amach ón seanhata 869Pt;

-Ach Ó THARLA, a deir sé, GO BHFUIL MÉ buailte a’d, a deir sé, tabhair isteach annis mé, a deir sé, agus bearr an gearradh, ... ARN4026.

harlə tá an t-‘iodine’ taidain’ ag imeacht aisti ... THARLA GO BHFUIL SIB ag ligean poill ar an tornóig. 896P;

d’i:n e harlə gə wil’ ... M déan é THARLA GO BHFUIL

harl go max harl gə wil’ tu: n’f’in’ M gabh amach THARLA GO BHFUIL TÚ ansin.

həl həl gə rə je l’ e v’ eh ənə ri: S THARLA GO RAIBH SÉ le bheith ina rí; həl nax wil’ 79J THARLA NACH BHFUIL.

hə: hə: na m’ eh en kl’ æ:xt ... [sic] 69S1 THARLA NACH MBEADH aon cleachtadh

o: harl s o: harl s gə wil’ tu: ka:d’ e:fəx 20C Ó THARLA IS GO BHFUIL TÚ caidéiseach.

8.146 Nonfinite: *ar son* — *tharla*

AR SON er sun, AR SHON er' hun

AR SON MISE A BHEITH ann.

- ... ag troid ... AR SHON ... CEART FHÁIL dhár dtír ARN2505.

Bhí sí ag réiteach ar Ghaeilgeoirí AR SHON JAICÍ A GHOIL soir M.

DHE BHARR (gə) wɑr

DHE BHARR MÉ BHEITH lag S.

bhí se, stróicthíthe, gearrtha, millte, tart agus ocras (is) chuile shórt air DHE

BHARR A BHEI' ' treobhadh thrí dhriseachaí agus thrí chuile chionál ... 11C.

DHE BHRÍN, DHÁ BHRÍN, DHÁ BHRÍTHIN

Cp. dá bhríthin í fheiceál !852S3.

FAOI fí:

Tá siad ag cuir an-, olc orm, FAOI IAD BHEI' ag tíocht ann. 894Ct.

I DTAOBH ə di:w

Tá, ' DTAOBH É BHEITH ramhar S.

LE Y e(:)

-A! ní hea, a deir Fiacna, ní raibh na Fianna góil an dhá-, dán seo ariamh, ach

LE BHEI' i dtrioblóid. 892Mt.

Ach, le, leis an, le, LEIS AN GCEALLACH A BHEITH buailte, baidhe deaid buaileadh an chuid eile dhe na, dhe na hÉireannaí an lá sin 35E9215.

MAR GHEALL AR, I NGEALL AR

Bhain mé anuas éadach, 'gus MAR GHEALL AR AN ÉADACH A BHAIN ANUAS ... 10B.

THAR(A) hærə, hær'ə

Attested in verbless clauses:

hærə gə ɲohət ʃe ser' h^ar' ə lɑ: fl'ox M

go ngabhthadh sé soir THAR(A) AN LÁ fliuch, '... since the day is wet'.

(**hær'ə** heard but not noted at time of utterance from Máire. In query she does

not permit **hær' ə lɑ: fl'ox** MØ?perm *thair an lá fliuch.)

THARLA, THÁL, THAL, Ó THARLA, hær:lə, hæl, hal

Common in verbless clauses.

-Is me an fear is fearr i gCríoch Lochlann fós, adeir sé, Ó THÁRLA É SIN IMÍTHE. 852SbTS153–4.

hær:lə Ní fhaca mé ariamh iad agus THARLA MO CHOS ar an mbealach anois seolfaidh mé abhaile go bhfeicfidh mé cén sórt dream iad. 866ESc46.39.

hær:lə g'ihə m' v æ:r-í:i: e M THARLA AG ITHE an bhearlí é;

b'ei ʃe ʃin' 'ɑ:lraɪt hær:l eg'ə m' b'æ:r-í:i: M

beidh sé sin álráidht THARLA AIGE AN BEARLÍ.

hæl kir' k'ɛʃt' el' er' ə d'aul hæl ə N'umər e M

cuir ceist eile ar an deabhal THARLA IN GHIÚMAR É;

ha:l ə la: fl'ox M THARLA AN LÁ FLIUCH;
o ta tu: he:n' fl'ox ə'n'if ə fa:d'in' ... ha:l u: fl'ox 19Pt
ó tá tú héin fliuch anois a Pháidín ... THARLA THÚ FLIUCH.

hal **hal ə la: fl'ox M THARLA AN LÁ FLIUCH.**

8.147 Conditional finite: *ach a — marach go*

For the main conditional subordinators *dhá^N*, *má^L*, *mará^N*, see 8.25 ff. Conditional and temporal meaning are sometimes combined in (*nó*) *go^N* (8.12, 8.171).

ACHA^N ax ə (cp. main temporal use, 8.127)

“‘gus díontha’ muid rí dhíotsa, ar a leithide seo dh’áit, *ACH A ligtaí ax l’ig’ti: anall muid.*” **892Mtn.**

LE HAGHAIDH DHÁ^N ... GO^N l’ehi: ga: ... gə combines condition and purpose

Cp. *in éindí leis an solas a bhí acub ar an gcrann beag LE HAGHAIDH DHÁ l’ehi: | ga: mbeadh aon bhád eile ag tíocht thart bhí solas eile acub ar láinnéar an chroinn mhóir a dtugaidís an ‘riding-lamp’ air LE HAGHAIDH solas a thabhairt dho na fir a bhí ag baint — 18J7014.*

Cf. *le dhá ... go*, etc., (8.125).

MARACH GO^N marəx gə, mar ex gə

-Anis, a deir sé, MARACH GUR marəx gər uscail tú an bosca, a deir sé, céard a tharlódh? ARN2259.

I have transcribed **mar ex gə** in one instance (cp. preposition, 7.89), although the quality of the second vowel is not very clear:

mar ex gə 'N'ərnə m'e e 'jin' | 'ju:n re:lt ə v'ex l'e f'ik'ə:l 892M2086

MARACH GO ndearna mé é sin dheamhan réalt a bheadh le feiceál.

Cp. *marach amháin* in:

MARACH AMHÁIN, ní ghabhfadh sé isteach ann FFG s.v. amháin.

8.148 Nonfinite: *ach — faoi*

ACH, cp. *ach le* (8.14)

Bhuel bheadh céad coirlí ag tíocht a’d ACH thú bheith, cliste, le é oibriú.... ... Gá mbeadh trá mhór ánn, d’fhéadthá í ghearradh le do chorrán ná le do scian, ná le do lámha; ACH trá mhór a bhei’ ánn, | ax 'tra: 'wo:r ə v'e 'ā:n | an-trá. 889P.

Dearnadh d’ərnú: teach gá muintir ansin [‘then’] ACH imeacht as. 32J.

D’fhaigheadh na hiascairí ó choróin go hocht scilleacha an chloch mheáchain orthu ACH iad a bheith glanta. Clad127.

Cuma dhuit ACH na leaids a bheith glan ort ’s thú héin a bheith glan 52J (see 14 glan).

MARACH

’gus bhí sé a’m anis, a deir sé, MARACH thusa thíocht. 892Mtn.

FAOI

Cp. the use of *faoi* in the example cited in GCF §393 *críochnóidh muid é sin an*

tseachtain seo chugainn faoina bheith slán dúinn. This use is not found in my notes but may well occur in Iorras Aithneach.

8.149 Concessive, finite; *amháin is go — dhá ... dhá*

Seán was queried about some concessive conjunctions found in GCF §387: *ainneoin go* 12SØperm, *gí go* 12SØperm; *amháin go* 12Sperm (but perhaps more commonly found in, or restricted to, exceptive function, 8.153). Seán also permitted *é amháin go* when queried, but in citing examples of its use he produced *ní amháin go* which, however, regularly has additive function. This *ní amháin go* is the unreduced variant which can alternate with *ní hé amháin go* (from which derives *é amháin go* GCF §387). Cp. exceptive *ach amháin (go)* (8.153), modality adverbial (*ní h)é amháin* (8.213).

AMHÁIN IS (...) GO^N wā:ns gə

-Óra muipe, a deir sé, bhí mise i Meireacá agus chuile áit, a deir sé, AMHÁIN IS, a deir sé, GUR suarach an duine mé gá rá inniú, a deir sé. 897St (one example).

AS UCHT (...) GO^N as oxt gə, AS UCHT as oxt, cp. *sost (is) go* (8.151)

-Agus AS UCHT, 'æ:s 'oxt a deir sé, GO bhfuil mise agus é héin ag goil ag troid héin, más rí maith atá ann tíurtha sé teach agus bia dhúinn go maidin. 869P.

Níl siad fairsinn ar an gcósta seo. AS UCHT GO gcuala mé fear ag rá bhí ag iascach amach ó oileán ... go bhfaca sé, suas le, scór nó chúig cinn fhichead dhe scoirneachaí, gá leanúint lá. 06C.

-AS UCHT, a deir sé, GO ... S.

-Tá aiféala mhór orm, ... , faoin ní a rinne mé — lámh a leagan ... ar an 'lady' sin aréir le i'ordú agus AS UCHT GO ndearna mé é tá aiféala mhór orm. 866E-Sc232.36; also Sc260.32.

-Ó! chuaigh mé abhaile go maith, a deir sé. AS UCHT, a deir sé, casadh bánraion óg as an nGréig dom, a deir sé, agus rinne mé píosa mór comhrá léithi. 11C5346–7.

CÉ GO^N, TÉ GO^N, k'e: gə, t'e: gə

k'e: gər ... 04B5 CÉ GUR ... t'e: gər ... 04B5, 10 TÉ GUR

Ní lia duine a bhfuil sé aige ná a leagan féin aige air, CÉ NACH fada ó chéile aon dá leagan. SÓC1.84.

t'e: nax wəkə m'e xor ə b'ih i: S TÉ NACH bhfaca mé ar chor ar bith í.

CÉS MÚITE GO^N, CÉS MOITE GO^N, TÉS MOITE GO^N, 'S MOITE GO^N

k'es mu:t'ə k'es mu:t'ə gə m'i:n ... 16B CÉS MÚITE GO mbíonn

k'es mu:t'ə 893P, 12S.

k'es mit'ə k'es mit'ə gə 27Cl, ax k'es mit'ə gə ... 18T ach

Parataxis in:

níl mórán dhe na foclaí agamsa dhár chum sí, CÉS MOITE k'es

mit'ə — Bhí fear anseo thuas ar an gCaiseal ... 11C

(where 11C goes on to relate the songs (*foclaí*) he does know).

t'e:s mit'ə t'e:s mit'ə, ax n'íl' əs a:m S TÉS MOITE — *ach níl fhios a'm; (as*

preposition *t' eis mit' ə g e:n rud ə'wɑ:n'* *S tés moite dh'aon rud amháin*); *t' eis mit' ə M*; *t' eis mit' ə gə ... 79J* (perhaps as preposition here from **79J**).

t' es mit' ə *t' es mit' ə nax mo:ra:n e: 43M TÉS MOITE NACH mórán é.*
smit' ə *... jin' | smit' ə gə ... 00CDO ... sin, (cé)S MOITE GO*

DHÁ^L ... (DHÁ^N), DHÁ^L ... IS DHÁ^N

For this universal conditional-concessive use, e.g. *dhá bhreáichte is dhá mbeadh sé*, see 3.69 ff. and 8.73.

8.150 *cuir i gcás go — i ndiaidh is go*

CUIR I GCÁS GO^N, I GCÁS GO^N, kir' ə gɑ:s gə, (ə) gɑ:s gə

Agus sé an chaoi raibh sé a'm nar raibh mé ag iarraidh é imeacht uaim chor a bith CUIR I GCÁS GO raibh codladh orm a mh'anam agus go raibh mé roinnt toirseach 894Ct.

(ə) gɑ:s gə wil' jε ... Mq I GCÁS GO bhfuil sé blasta ní maith liom é.

Ní bhíonn siad chomh mór leis na ruacain, I GCÁS GO mbíonn cuid acu mór go maith, ach go hiondúil timpeall le trí horlaí trasna ó inse go clab a bhíos siad. Clad68.

Le linn an ama sin baintear go leor de, I GCÁS NACH bhfuil sé chomh milis le n-ithe leis an bhfíorshleabhcán. Clad267.¹

Also common in tale run, e.g.

thug sé feisteas lae is bliana uirthé I GCÁS NACH mbeadh sí leathuair ann. LL149;

thug sé feiste, lae, agus bliana ortha, CUIR I GCÁS, NACH mbeadh sí ann, ach, dhá uair an chloig dhen lá, (Sgbf)869Pt.

Cf. **895M** (5.6). There is an instance of *i gcás dá ... go* in:

Baintear go leor acu le sluaistí sna hoícheanta gealaí, I GCÁS DÁ mbeadh an oíche roinnt dorcha féin gur féidir iad a fheiceáil de bharr an loinnir a chuireas na mearbhaill iontu. Clad102.

The following example of *cuir i gcás go* may be concessive, meaning 'even though':

go ra' mé i ndán slám maith dhíob ól freisin, CUIR I GCÁS GO ra 'n pórtar antsaíor a' guil 894C9,

although it may be functioning as a comment clause or have causal meaning 'taking into consideration that, given that, seeing that'. Yet another example, of *i gcás go*, seems to mean 'surely (it must be that)' (cp. main clause 'I presume that' directly below):

'Agus tá a fhios ag gach uile dhuine, duine ar bith atá ag siúl ó mhaidin inniu I GCÁS GO dteastaíonn bia anois uaidh.' 866ESc269.6.

The current most common use of the phrase is in the main clause: *cuir i gcás go / dhá* 'suppose that, for instance if' or in parenthesis, e.g. *cuire muid i gcás 11C*.

There is a main-clause example meaning 'I presume that' (cp. *fág*, 8.159):

-CUIRIM I GCÁS, a deir an Naois, GUR cogadh mór agus murdar a bheas againn féin agus ag an rí amárach mar gheall ar Dhéirdre. 866E-Sc34.15.

¹ For further examples from Clad as well as usage of An Cheathrú Rua, see Ní Dhomhnaill (1982–3: 150–1).

INDIAIDH IS GO^N ə́ n' iə́ s gə́

Níl baol orainn, go mbeidh muid go dall leis an seandream fadó gan deabhait. I NDIAIDH IS GO raibh an-phleaineannaí | ə́ n' iə́ s gə́ ro 'a'n'fl'æ'n'əni: ar bhealach acub ní gearradh anuas atá mé orub go dimhin. 01P (only finite example).

8.151 **ionann is nach — té go**IONANN IS NACH^N anəns nax

'IONANN'S NACH fiú breán mise má tá chuile dhuine sásta go dtí me.' Ba mhór an focal aige 'IONANN'S' S.

While recounting anecdotes about a long-deceased native of Maínis, Seán cited that speaker's characteristically frequent use of *ionann's* in concessive function. Seán also cited, on another occasion, examples of possibly obsolete *sost (is) go* and, in response to query, of obsolescent *as ucht go*. Speaker 19P, independent of Seán, also cited the same deceased speaker's use of *ionann's*. His example can be interpreted as paratactic concessive 'although' or, more likely from the context as I recall it, in the function of a sentence adverb meaning 'well':

-IONANN'S, a deir Veail, ba cheart duit fear maith eicíneach a thraítáil le thú chur as aimhreas. 'IONANN'S' sin focal a bhí aige P.

LE COIS GO^N ɽe:(:) kəf gə́ 'in spite, although'

LE COIS GO dtug mé pabhdar dhó cailleadh é.

SOST (IS) GO^N sos, sost, sros, hros, srust, trust, toxt, 'although'

Cp. *as ucht*. All examples were volunteered by Seán as obsolescent usage:

sros **sros nax ma:kə́n' ɽe:f S SROS NACH mbachtainn leis;**
 sros nax wil' əs a:m S SROS NACH bhfuil fhios a'm.
trust **trust nax wil' əs am S TRUST NACH bhfuil fhios a'm.**
sost **sost nax ... S SOST NACH ...**
toxt **toxt ... S TOCHT IS GO bhfuil sé go deas.**

THAR ÉIS GO^N he:f gə́, etc., see 7.120

THAR ÉIS hr'e:f go raibh greim aicise uirthi, 894Cs.

agus bhriseadar amach le chéile THAR ÉIS GO raibheadar he:f gə́ rodər an-mhór le chéile. 11C.

ɽe:f gər ... 25M2 THAR ÉIS GUR ...

TÉ GO^N; TÉS MOITE GO^N

For *té* and *tés moite* see under *cé* and *cés moite* above (8.149).

8.152 **Nonfinite**

AS UCHT as oxt

-Anis, a deir, Seán a deir sé, a bhean bhocht, a deir sé, AS UCHT əs 'oxt é bhei' ina dhreatháir héin agam, a deir sé, tá truaí agam dhuit, thú bheith fágthaíthe leat héin. 875P.

THAR ÉIS

Concessive *thar éis* occurs but no example with a verbal noun was found in my

notes. There is a verbless clause in:

buailleadh Bleá Cliath an lá cheana THÉIS chomh fabhláilte leothub 12J.

8.153 Exceptive

ACH GO^N ax gə, cf. coordinator *ach* (8.177)

-An dtiúirthá dhom é, adeir an bhean, le bheith a' breathnú go maidin air?

-ACH GO DTIÚRFAIDH tú chugam arís é chomh luath agus fheiceas tú an lá, adeir sé. 875PDT15.

Ach tá muid chomh dona níl fhios a'inn aon bhlas dhen amhrán ACH GUR ax | gər THOSAIGH sé mar seo agus gur dhúirt sé: -A Thomáis Hasaghaird, a deir sé, ... 11C.

Bhí, orthub íoc ar na leabhara, ACH NACH mórán é. 05M.

Contrastive use:

D'amhdaigh sí nár mhac rí Úr, agus nár mhac rí Artúr, ACH GO mba mhac dlísteanach le rí agus le bainríoghain Lán-dhearg, 852SbLL117; ruidíní beaga bídeach níl ann ACH GO bhfeicthidh tú iad M; ní raibh ann ACH GO raibh sé ceanglaithe agam, nuair a bhuaíl an fharraige an bád agus muid triúr ar an téad. 866ESc26.7; don diabhal ann ACH GO raibh Tadhg bocht ar an leaba nuair thit ... Sc263.22.

ACH AMHÁIN GO^N, ACH AMHÁIN ax ə'wɑ:n' (gə)

This conjunction combines exceptive and concessive meaning (cp. (é) *amháin go* GCF §387, adverbial (*ní h)é amháin*, 8.213).

Bhuel níl fhios agamsa tada dhen amhrán ACH AMHÁIN GO GCUALA — chuala mé go minic ag sean-ndaoine é 11C.

-Féadthaidh tú fanacht anseo go ceann míosa, a deir sé, má thograíonn tú héin é, ACH AMHÁIN, a deir sé, Tá an méid seo ag baint leis an scéal, a deir sé, níl anseo, a deir sé, ach mise liom péin. 11C.

MARACH NACH^N

Ach ní mór nach aon déanamh amháin atá ortha ar fad, MARACH NACH mar a chéile a ndath. Clad138.

Is beag nach cosamhail le chéile é seo agus an portán faoileann MARACH NACH MBÍONN sé chomh mór; Clad183.

Comparative, resultative, comprehensive, proportional

The functions of comparative, resultative, comprehensive and proportional subordination are related, to various degrees, and are grouped together here. Superlative comparisons take regular direct and indirect relatives, e.g.

Sin é an ceann is niúiteáilte chuala me 'riamh S.

For further examples of comparative *agus / is*, see 8.168.

8.154 Finite: *a fhad is nach — chomh ... is go*

A FHAD IS NACH, CHOMH FADA IS A^L / NACH^N (GCF §389) comprehensive

These conjunctions, given in GCF §389, are not found in my notes but are no doubt common in Iorras Aithneach.

CHOMH ... AGUS / IS A^L XƏ ... ((og)əs, comparative
 | ogəs f'ɪ:l'ər kræk'ən nə kɪ:rəx 'suəs er' | 'u:r | 'u:r | ə' | nū gə | gə 'm'ei
 | fe xə 'rit' æd | xə rit'ə gəs 'f'ed'ər' 'f'æt 'e:ʰ | 894Cs
 agus fillfear craiceann na caorach suas air, úr, úr, nó go, go mbeidh sé CHOMH
 RITE A'D, CHOMH RITE AGUS IS FÉIDIR LEAT É.
 Féach an clái sin thiar, CHOMH BIORÁ IS TÁ SE S.
 bhí sé CHOMH HOSCLAÍTHE IS D'FHÉADTHAD SÉ bheith 21Pt.
 Chuir sé séideog faoin sáspan is CHOMH LUA IN ÉIRINN IS S XƏ LUƏ 'N'ÉR'ƏN' əs
 CHUIR SÉ séideog faoin sáspan d'ionsaigh sé ag bramannaí. 11C.
 ní bheidh an saol CHOMH MAITH A'M IS BHÍ N 'SIL XƏ 'MĀ HĀM ƏS 'V'İ:ʰ | 11C.
 Dúirt Neddy Mór go raibh sé ag dul ag socrú teorainn ... agus CHOMH FADA AGUS
 A THABHARFADH SÉ an bullán le lámh láidir go mbeadh an teorainn socraíthe
 go brách ann. 866ESc283.15.

As the object of ní ... ach:

NÍ RAIBH aon uafás sa domhan ACH CHOMH DUBH IS A BHÍ an oíche Sc207.35.
 The first *is* seems to be a slip of the tongue, although there is no hesitation or self-
 correction, in:
 Ní ro kur 'j'is ə 'b'í 'f'ej nā 'f'í:l'i:hə nə j'ə j'in x̄ə mā s nō 'gænt'or'i: s
 v'ı:ðor | 11C Ní raibh cur síos ar bith leis na filíthe ina dhiaidh sin
 CHOMH MAITH IS INA GCAINTEOIRÍ IS BHÍODAR.

CHOMH ... GO^N, CHOMH ... AGUS / IS GO^N XƏ ... ((og)əs) gə, resultative
 tá sé CHOMH HÉADROM ar a chois GO NDAIMHSEOD SÉ ar thóin pláta M.
 ladhar an chorráin, u-, níl sé sin ag goil ag cuir an, aon pholl, isteach, insa
 gcriathar, CHOMH MÓR, AGUS, AGUS GO NGOTHADH | əgəs | əgəš gə ɲəhək
 gráinne coirce thríd. 894Cs.
 Níl an cur CHOMH MÓR dhá dhíonamh, AGUS GO MBEADH | ũgəs gə m'ex a
 ndóthain coirce le díol acub. 894Cs.
 Bhí an cáca sin CHOMH BLAOSCÁNTA IS GUR ITH ME an oiread di M.
 | tukjə 'suəs | kə 'f'a:də s nār | 'f'er 'dūms iəd | 894Cs
 tugthaíthe suas CHOMH FADA IS NAR LÉAR DOMSA iad.
 bhí sé ina stoirm CHOMH MÓR AGUS na stócaigh a bhí ag caint liom NÁ RAIBH MÉ
 IN ANN iad a chloisteáil, GO GCAITHIDÍS a theacht go dtí mé ... 866ESc26.16.

8.155 oiread — an t-achar is

(AN) OIREAD er'əd (...) (AGUS / IS) A^L comparative, expressing sufficiency
 Tá AN OIREAD a'm A CHUIRTHEAS mé.
 Á bhuel, thastódh u-, thastódh níos mú siúil, leihí an ronnach. AN OIREAD AGUS,
 mórán A BHEADH an bád i ndan a tharraint dhe ghaoth, thastód se leihí
 ronnach. 889Pt.
 Ach fua' muid un seoil, agus bhí se chomh ciúin, agus chomh lag ach go raibh AN
 OIREAD gaoithe ann ar éigean AGUS BHÍ ag corraí an bháid. 20At.
 Bhí A SHEACHT N-OIREAD measa acu uirthi ansin AGUS A BHÍ roimhe sin acu uirthi
 866ESc56.30.
 ní haon tuarastal a gheofas tu, adeir sé, ach A SHEACH' GCÉAD OIREAD AGUS
 GHEALL mé dhuit! adeir sé. 852SbTS152.
 'Nach bhfaca mé riamh A LEATHOIREAD bainne aici AGUS ATÁ anocht.' Sc94.15.

AN OIREAD ... GO^N, (AN) OIREAD ... AGUS / IS GO^N resultative

This conjunction combines sufficiency or excess with result.

Bhí AN OIREAD DHEN CHABAÍL orm péin GUR INSIGH MÉ dho Mháire ... 18Bm.

Cp. *níor fhága sé AN OIREAD GO LEAGTHÁ breán air P* 'he left nothing' (of food eaten).

Agus bhí AN OIREAD SIÚIL ar an mbád mór a bhí acubsan ... AGUS GO RAIBH Sí ag tabhairt an nabaí faoi fharraige, gur chaitheadar a ghoil ar a nglúine ar dic an bháid, agus greim a choinneál ar an ráille. 18J8148.

Bhí AN OIREAD DÚCHAS air ag an troid, 'GUS GO RAIBH Diarmaid istigh leis an gcéad bhuille. 892Mtn.

Tá AN OIREAD TORANN anseo IS GUR MÓR E M.

Tá AN OIREAD DHE SCRÚ air IS NACH DTIÚRTHADH SE leithphínn dó M.

Nuair a bheadh an fheamainn du', ansin amuich, coidhcís a'd AN OIREAD'S GO BHFUIGHEAD Sí báisteach, ní ghothá ghá cur, mar déarthá, as a [perhaps an] scaradh, chaitheá, traíáil a thabhairt di go bhfaighead sí báisteach a bhaineadh an salann sáile di. 894Cs.

Cp. *an oiread ... faoi go ... (agus ...):*

Is bhí AN OIREAD ÓMÁIS aige dhi, FAOI GO NDEARNA Sí an píosa filíocht dho na báid AGUS CHUIREADH SÉ an oiread seo dhe chuile shórt dhá fheabhas isteach ar an Oileán Gorm aici 11C.

ACH AN OIREAD IS A^L negative comparative

This conjunction is common in rhetorical use.

Ní ghabhthainn amach ann ACH AN OIREAD 'S CHUIRINN mo láimh sa tine ('s a dhó suas go dtí an ghualainn) M.

Ní íosadh Seán Choilm aon pharaj ACH AN OIREAD IS CÁILLFÍ E M.

AN T-ACHAR IS A^L comparative

xroxa: suəs e n taxər s v' i: n' fo:l ə, ə gof 01C6113

chrochthá suas é AN T-ACHAR IS bhí an seol ag goil.

(Also in 01C6066 but incomplete). Cp. common *an t-achar a bhí ...*, where *achar* is categorised as a noun rather than conjunctive.

8.156 *ar nós mar — chomh maith is dhá*

AR NÓS MAR A^L, AR NÓS A^N, NÓS A^L, AR NÓS comparative

ə nūs ə; nūs; er' nūs; (er' / ə) nūs mar ə

ar nós mar a^L is the general form, e.g.

Tá sé AR NÓS MAR BHEITHEÁ ag goil amach go Carna.

ar nós a^N

Chuaigh sé i leataobh AR NÓS A NDEÁRNA SÉ an dá lá eile 875TLL.

In speaker 881J, as ə nūs ə:

D'fhága sé sin an ampla go deo, insa gcreideamh Caitiligeach, 'nós a, AR NÓS A ə nūs ə RAIBH NA NAOIMH iad héin, ag goil i mbreithiúnas ar a chéile. ... ar nós an chaoi ə nūs ə xi' a raibh na naoimh héin, a mba mhaith leothub ... fearas barr, fháil dóib héin. 881J;

ə nūs ə wil' | f'ær | ənsə t'iiir' | eg' ə ... 881J

AR NÓS A BHFUIL FEAR insa tír, ag an ... (the discourse is rather unclear).

Cp. speaker 19B (Doire an Locháin, East Cois Fharraige):

nús a mbeadh gráinneachaí beaga **19B**;
nús a mbeadh cíb é [x2] **19B** ‘it is like sedge’.

nós *a*^L in speaker **71D**, as **nu:s**:

nu:s *v'eha: fu:l ri: xar:nə* **71Dt.1** *NÓS BHEITHEÁ ag siúl thrí Charna,*

nu:s *ji:nha: a:t' v'og* **71Dt.1** *NÓS DHÉANTHÁ áit bheag,*

nu:s *v'ex* **71Dt.1** *NÓS BHEADH.*

ar nós in parataxis in speaker **79J**, as **er' nu:s**:

er' nu:s ta: ... **79J** *AR NÓS TÁ ...*

Note the use of *ar nós mar a* similar to an indefinite adverb:

ta je r nu:s mar v'effe ... sik'st'i' nain **20C**

tá sé ar nós mar a bheadh sé ... suicstí naidhean,

‘he is about ... sixty nine (years old)’.

CHOMH MAITH IS DHÁ^N combines comparison and condition

Is mara bhfuil, (beidh) an breaicín 'na loighe marbh thíos ar íochtar an tobair,

CHOMH MAITH IS GÁ MBEAD SÉ cailte uiliug anis. Ní chorróidh sé ar chor ar

bih. 35E7686 ‘... just as if he were completely dead ...’.

8.157 *dho léar mar — le go*

DHO LÉAR MAR A^L, DHO LÉIR MAR A^L, DHO LÉIR IS MAR A^L, DHO RÉIR MAR A^L
 comparative, proportional (cf. 7.109)

gə ʎ'er **gə ʎ'er mar hæ'n'hi:x ʎ'æt** *S DHO LÉAR MAR THAITNÍODH leat.*

ʎə ʎ'er **ugəs kr'ed'əm' | ʎə ʎ'er ma'r | ta' ...** **894C** *agus creidim, DHO LÉAR MAR TÁ an seanchas, gur sa gceánn thiar dhen teach a bhí an tine.*

gʎ'er **gʎ'er mar v'i: n ta:m ə gol' hæ:rt S**

DHO LÉAR MAR BHÍ an t-am ag goil thart.

gə ʎ'er **gə ʎ'er mar ə d'er ʃiəd ... gə ʎ'er mar ə v'eha: ...** **31P**

DHO LÉAR MAR A DEIR siad ... DHO LÉAR MAR A BHEITHEÁ ... ;

gə ʎ'er mar ... **43J.**

ʎ'er **| a'x | ʎ'er mar v'i:dər ə fəs 'suəs | v'i:dər ə fa:l't' mo:r ʎ'e**

'x'e:l'ə ax | 11C ach DHO LÉAR MAR BHÍODAR ag fás suas bhíodar ag fáilt mór le chéile ach ... ;

mar ní raibh aon súgáin ann ... ná aon rópaí ... ach DHO LÉAR MAR |

a'x ʎ'er mar *LIGIDÍS héin. 11C;*

ʎ'er mar xlin'əm' nə hiəskər'i: ... ə ra: 21Pt1

DHO LÉAR MAR CHLUINIM na hiascairí ... ag rá;

DHO LÉAR MÁ CHLUINIM ʎ'er ma' xlin'əm' ag rá iad 21Pt1.

ʎ'er **ʃi'n' ʎ'er mar v'ex ...** **25T** *sin DHO LÉAR MAR A BHEADH ... ;*

'ʎ'er mar ə v'eha: | ga: 'iərə 01C6135

DHO LÉAR MAR A BHEITHEÁ dhá iarraidh;

gəs ʎ'er mar ə v'ex ə | ʎohəd ʃi' suəs sə ɲlín'ə ʃæ johə: | ʃæ

wi:hə: prais orhə | 896P *agus DHO LÉAR MAR A BHEADH an —*

ghothadh sí suas sa ngloine is ea a gheothá, is ea a bhfuightheá

praghas uirthi.

də ʎ'er' **də ʎ'er' mar ...** **13J** *DO LÉIR MAR ...*

gə ʎ'er' s **gə ʎ'er' s mar v'i ʃe g' air'i: suəs sə rangəni: ən'ʃin' v'i'**

ar̄du' er' luəx xid' l'aurhə 17M *DHO LÉIR IS MAR BHÍ sé ag éirí suas sna rangannaí ansin bhí ardú ar luach a chuid leabhartha.*
gə r' er' gə r' er' mar xuələ m' e 'hə:n' e | 35E
DHO RÉIR MAR chuala mé hén é.

I GCRUTH AGUS / IS GO^N ə gru gəs gə, ə gruh əs gə, grus gə / ɣə resultative, cf. *i riocht is go* (8.139)

Bhí dhá bhád aige, bád seoil, agus corach, I GCRUTH AGUS NUAIR A THIOCTHADH | ə gru gəs nuər' ə hjukəx an aimsir ciúin agus nach mbeadh an ghaoth ann, d'fhágadh muid an bád seoil 'na ndiaidh agus thugadh muid linn an corach. ... agus thosaíodar ag teannadh leis an mbád, I GCRUTH AGUS GO RAIBHEADAR | ə gru gəs gə rodər chomh gar dhon bhád as a dheireadh, agus u-, an t-uisce a bhíodar a chuir uathub nuair a d'éiridís, go raibheadar dhá shleaipeáil isteach insa mbád. 875P (context: *scoirneachaí*).

Bheadh u-, an pleainc ansin, déarthaidh mé, bhead sé ag teacht ón, cheann an rud ansin anuas, I GCRUTH IS GO NGOTHADH, | ə gruh əs gə ŋōhəx | déarthaidh mé go ngothadh triúr nú ceathar, go ngothadh cúigear fear, ag bualadh, air. 894Cs.

ax æf d' er' ə nə ku:ʃə | hən'ək' ə ti:l'ə | grus ɣə ro ən ta'lh it' eg'ə | ugəs ɣə ro nə 'krā:wəni: l'ik'i:hə 'l'ej | 894C *ach as deireadh na cúise tháinig an taoille I GCRUTH IS GO RAIBH an talamh ite aige agus go raibh na cnámhannaí lighithe leis.*

Also with final force (8.138).

LE GO^N resultative

For resultative *le go*, see 8.14.

8.158 **mar**

MAR A^L **mar**, comparative

Agus ní thugann sé leis an t-uisce MAR IS ceart nuair nar bleaisteáladh coirnéal na haille. 892Mg.

Chuaigh sé a chodladh aríst. Agus ' mú MAR A BHÍ an torann, an darna huair ná bhí ón chéad uair. 04Bt.

-Fan MAR TÁ tú anis, a deir Páidín. Pt1.

Ní bheidh tada eile aige ach MAR THIÚRTHAS muide dhó S.

dhúisigh sé agus d'airigh sé MAR D' AIREODH sé siúl duine. 866ESemr138.

mar d' erhə: *mar* (*a*) *déarthá* is very common as a discourse filler or cheville, at times phonetically reduced, e.g.

Á! chaitheadh sé MAR A DÉARTHÁ mar d' erhə go mbeadh sé, déarthaidh mé anis b'fhéidir naoi déag ceathair déag nó cúig déag 11C;

Bhuel MAR A DÉARTHÁ mar ə d' erhə bhí Seán a Guairim, Mícheál Mharcais ... bhíodar sin an dtigeann tú ina bhfilí mór le rá 11C;

a n' i:l' ən' ʃə ax | sort 'jærən b'og mār^{era} | 19P

A! níl anseo ach sórt 'yarn' beag, MAR A DÉARTHÁ;

marə d' er'ə | 21Pt, mar d' eha 35E, ma d' erhə ... mar d' erhə 76Mt

MAR A DÉARTHÁ.

Speaker **21Pt** has **mar** ~ **ma mar**, noted in **Ƴer mar / Ƴer ma** (see *dho léar mar a* above, 8.157, and **ma(rə) mara**, 8.27).

For *mar (a bh)eadh* as a quasi-preposition, see examples in *bí* (5.248) and discussion in *mar* (7.66). The phrase **mar (ə) d'ek'a ... (a:n) mar (a) d'fheictheá ... (ann)** 'like, as it were' has a similar prepositional function, e.g.

tharrainn sé cása aníos as a phóca, MAR D'FHEICTHEÁ cása rásúir ANN.

866ESemr62;

... dearnadh i dtosach í MAR D'FHEICTHEÁ sórt stáid bheag ÁNN;

MAR D'FHEICTHEÁ sórt tórhainn bheag ÁNN;

MAR D'FHEICTHEÁ seál anis ÁNN;

*an fód ... — MAR D'FHEICTHEÁ druil — a thabhairt leat ... (sowing lazy-beds; four last examples from **894Cs**).*

With the conditional mood *mar* can be used to give an example of what might be or might have been the case, e.g.

*Tar éis na scadáin a bheith curtha isteach chuaigh m'athair mór abhaile chun a thí héin MAR A GHABHFADH SÉ ag ithe a bhéile nó ag iarraidh a chuid éadaigh. **869PABg337.***

In comparative adjectival use, *ná (a)^L* is the usual subordinating conjunction (8.176). More complex comparisons can be made with *ná mar (a)^L* 'than as', e.g.

*NÍOS FUIDE sa mbliain NÁ MAR TÁ faoi láthair. **11C2181.***

Quite a few prepositions can govern *mar*.

AR GHUALAINN mar a^L:

Níl aon 'time' ann AR GHUALAINN MAR A BHÍ an uair sin FFG (s.v. gualainn 4.).

DHO LÉAR mar (a)^L, cf. 8.157.

ə gumo:rtəs Ƴ e mar ... Sq I GCOMÓRTAS LE mar a

LE HAIS mar (a)^L, rarer *le hais mar is (a)^L*; comparative; including *le hais dhá 12Sq* (as in GCF §386); e.g.

*LE HAIS MAR BHÍ ... **872P,***

*ní raibh tada astub san am sin LE HAIS MAR IS A BHEADH Ƴ'ē hǣf mǣrs ə v'ox anois **872P.***

SEACHAS mar (a)^L, e.g.

*Fuair eangachaí ansin an-daor SEACHAS MAR BHÍODAR an chéad ligan amach is ... **892Mg.***

THAR mar (a)^L 'compared with how, more than', e.g.

*Agus tá trí thrían bua ag an gcéad iníon ... THAR MAR TÁ ag aon duine eile don chlann, **866ESemr42,***

*Baidhe deaíd, caithe muid, a rá, go raibh aimsir, breá an uair sin THAR MAR TÁ annis. **892M.***

THA(I)R(E)AS mar (a)^L or *THA(I)R IS mar (a)^L*, e.g.

ta laif' eg' di:n'ə n'ij hæ'r'əs mar v'i: n ta:m jin' P

tá laidhf ag daoine anois THAIR IS / THAIREAS MAR BHÍ an t-am sin.

8.159 ná — sa gcaoi; fág

NÁ A^L comparative, NÁ GO^N result comparative

See ná (coordinator), 8.176; cp. ná mar (8.158).

SA GCAOIA^N comparative

SA GCAOIA DTUG siad comharthaíocht an fhir uathub **892Mg**.

agus cheap Mac Rí in Éirinn go mba fear é a raibh anó air, ' léir (' réir) mar cheap sé agus bhreathnaigh sé dhó, a mhacasamhail de sheanfhear a bhí INS A' GCAOIA RU sé. **866ESemr60**.

See also degree adverbs *beag nach* (8.215), *ionann is go* (8.218). The verb *fág* can have resultative or implicational function (cf. 14 *fág* 3; *fágam* 5.11), e.g.

D'FHÁGA SÉ SIN an ampla go deo, insa greideamh Caitiligeach, **881J**;

deir mo mháthair go bhfaca sí féin í, ach gurb é a seanchuimhne é, RUD D'FHÁGA PEIGE SHEÁIN A CHAILLEADH tuairim is chúig bhliana is leith-chéad ó shoin. SÓC2.279.

Cp. (*cuir*) *i gcás* (8.150). A conclusion can be expressed by *i gcruthúnas go*:

I séasúr na scothaí tagann go leor cluichí éisc isteach aniar ón bhfarraige dhomhain ... I GCRUTHÚNAS GO BHFUIL dúil mhór ag na héisc sa scothach. Clad209.

8.160 Exceptional bheith

Exceptional use of *bheith* in comparative clauses before *chomh* was noted in two examples from speaker **896P**:

ta fjad fuɣ kid' 'wã' v' e xə mo:r l' eɟ ə 'weil' | **896P**

TÁ SIAD sin cuid mhaith BHEITH CHOMH MÓR LEIS an 'whale',

where *bheith* is perhaps redundant and *cuid mhaith bheith* functions similar to *ionann's* (a *bheith*). Also:

duine ... íosas, cupla duiséinne acub, TÁ A SHLAINTE BHEITH CHOMH MAITH AGUS bhí sí aon lá ariamh. ta x̩l̩ænt' ə v' e xə 'mã' gəs v' i' j'i' 'ũn' 'la: r' i'əw | **896P**,

where *le bheith* would be expected or, although less likely so, *tá a shlainte chomh maith agus a bhí ...*

8.161 Comparatives, etc., with conditional dhá

Several comparative and concessive subordinators, as well as some prepositions, can govern conditional clauses in *dhá* (concessive use and prepositions can also take *má*). This structure occurs in *chomh maith is dhá* (8.156). Other examples are presented here.

an oiread agus l is dhá:

ní bhfuightheá chead do láimh a leagan ar (an) rópa, ná ar ní a bich gá raibh tao' 'stigh, dhe cheantar ná dhe chaolachaí an bháid, AN OIREAD AGUS GÁ mbead sé, gá mba nímh é. **06C**;

Ní raibh aon bhlas máitheasa sa snáthaid an t-am sin AN OIREAD IS dhá, DHÁ MB'uisce a bheadh inti. **66L**.

ach an oiread agus dhá:

dá mbeifeá ag iascach choíche, ní aireofá a shúil ACH AN OIREAD AGUS DÁ MBA i bportach móna a bheadh do dhorú agat Clad14.

chomh ... agus / is dhá:

D'éirigh an beithíoch CHOMH CROÍTHÍÚIL, AGUS GÁ B'é chaoi mbeid se léis porgóid a thabhairt dó. 06C;

Tá me CHOMH TRÚMCHROÍOCH IS GÁ MBEADH fataí ite a'm S;

Tá an oíche CHOMH DUBH IS GÁ síntheá amach do lámh uait ní fheictheá í S.

The *dhá*-clause is paratactic, i.e. *agus / is* is absent before *dhá*, although present before the apodosis, in:

tá an duine sin CHOMH HÉADROM ar a chois DHÁ SIÚILEADH sé ar na huibheachaí is ní bhristheadh sé iad M.

Similarly:

ach amháin dhá / má, fiú dhá / má, le hais dhá / má, seachas dhá / má.

Cp. the comment compound preposition *maidir le* with *dhá* (*maidir le dhá mbeidís annseo [...] ní ghabhfaidís [...]*) GCF §385; also final *le haghaidh dhá*, etc., (8.125).

8.162 Nonfinite

chomh 'as':

Bhí sé CHOMH MAITH dhuit A BHEITH ag caint leis an mballa;

Bhí se CHOMH FADA ormsa mo bhéal A CHOINNEÁL dúinte.

chomh ... le 'as ... as':

Níl aon nímh CHOMH DONA LE FANACHT sa leaba M.

chomh ... sin le 'so ... to':

níl siad CHOMH DAMANTA SIN LE N-ITHE 60M.

i dtosach ar 'sooner than', in:

scaoil a athair, amach i raift ar an bhfarraige é I DTOSACH AR a chosa níoch-, THRIOMÚ. 894Ct.

ach an oiread le:

*'níl aon mhaith duit é a bheith ina athair agamsa ach AN OIREAD LE GAN A BHEITH' 866E*Sc113.36.

an oiread 'such':

Fuair muid AN OIREAD jab é A BHEARRADH M.

seachas; tharas, thaireas; thar:

*-... agus is mór a' 'chance' dhuit é, a deir sé, THAR A BHEITH dhá shiúl. 866E*B16.112;

... tá sé an-scuifánta é bhaint le speal, THAR É BHAINTE le corrán. 20A.

Excess is expressed using the prefix *ro-*, e.g.

Bhí siad RO-ONÓRACH LE GHOIL ar aimsir S.

8.163 Comment

The nouns *rud* and *ní* can head a relative clause in comments, e.g.

... RUD ab fhúor dhó; ... Ní nach íontas.

Compare imperative (*cuir*) *i gcás* (8.150), and verb *fág* (8.159).

FUITS GO^N (< which)

The borrowing 'which' has become a frequent comment subordinator.

s gə m'ɛʃ ʃɛ N'is la:d'ər'ə | ɹuff gə ro 21Pt is go mbeadh sé níos láidire,

FUITS GO raibh.

Bheitheása ag caint le duine ' bith, FUIITS GO bhfuil tú ag caint le daoine. 21Pt.

ˠɪʃ nax wíl 30Ms *FUIITS NACH bhfuil (= rud nach bhfuil).*

| ˠɪʃ gə m'iar əm ɛ M *FUIITS GO mb'fhíor dhom é.*

fiʃ gə m'iar dɔː | M *FUIITS GO mb'fhíor dó.*

fiʃ gə m'iar dɔː e | M *FUIITS GO mb'fhíor dó é.*

Coordinators

The central coordinators are *agus / is; nó, ná; and ach.*

8.164 agus

agus is the central cumulative coordinator 'and'. It has a wide range of phonetic realisations; they can be classified as (1a) disyllabic *agus* (although *agus* can be phonetically monosyllabic), (1b) monosyllabic 'gus, and (2) monosyllabic *is*. Speech rate and style are two major factors concerning the use of these variants. In this description *agus* stands for both variants (1) and (2), unless otherwise stated.

ogəs **gəʃ nor' ə 'lækə ʃe n 'sɑːspən' 'ʃiːs er' ə 't' in' ... | 'ogəs ən' 'ʃin' ə d' erʃi t̪ɑː ŋ 'xriːv ə d' erʃi gol' ə d' iːnə gr̪u̯h̪ə 'h̪eːŋ' |**

agus nuair a leagthas sé an sáspan síos ar an tine ... AGUS ansin, a deir sí, tá an chraobh ag goil ag díonamh a gnotha héin. 11C.

agəs **a:gəs v' i: ʃe ʃu:l' l' ɛʃ ... P** *AGUS bhí sé ag siúl leis*

ɑ:gəs In stressed initial position | **ɑ:gəs ... 10B.**

əgəs *an bhfuil a hathair AGUS əgəs a máthair sin beo? 11C.*

əʋəs *théidís amach faoi dhá dhá ceann [sic] i dtalamh, in ainm an deamhain agus əgəs an deabhail, AGUS əʋəs ansin, d'fheicidís ... 892M.*

əgs **ə dalhə r̪ə'w̪ɑː | əgʃ, rə'heːsuːrəʃ | 892M1453**

i dtalamh ro-mhaith, AGUS ro-shéasúrach.

chuireadh sé an oiread seo dhe chuile shórt dhá fheabhas isteach ar an Oileán Gorm aici Oíche Nollag i gcónaí AGUS əgs buidéal fuisce 11C.

gəs *comhairse liom í, cailín óg, a deir sé, AGUS gəs bean mhaith, a deir sé, AGUS gəs tá sí iarrtha trí huaire i ndiaidh a chéile a'm, ... 11C.*

gə *AGUS tá | gə ta sé i gceist ariamh, 892M.*

s **t̪il' ɛ sə tr̪ɑːu^w xahən ʃeː n lɑː nə jərhaː snə lɑːn maːrə 46.1054–5**

ag tuile IS ag trábh a chaitheann sé an lá, ina dhúthrá IS ina lán mara.

N'ir xodəl' m'e n'e:l ə're:r' ax ə kir' ə v'oː s ə waːruː hriːnə x'e:l' ə M níor chodail mé néal aréir ach ag cuir an bheo IS an mharbh thrína chéile.

h̪ɑːn' ʃiː 'ʃiːs kos nə 't' in' ə s hosə ʃe 'heːn' s i ,heːn' ə 'koːrə | 11C

theann sí síos cos na tine IS thosaigh sé héin IS í héin ag comhrá.

chuaigh sí 'S chuir sí séideog faoin sáspan 11C.

go ceann lá 'S bliain ARN7621.

Speaker **894Cs** often nasalises the vowels of *agus* thus **əgəs̃ ũgəs̃ ɔgəs̃** (1.309); he even sometimes nasalises the medial velar, e.g.

ũŋəs̃ ... | ũŋəs̃ maːrər | maːrəm puːkɑːn ə v' iː æːd 894Cs

... *AGUS marar, maran púcán a bhí a'd.*

Speaker **892M** has been noted with (optional) **h** prefixed to vowels following *agus*. It is hard to tell whether this is a phonetic sandhi feature or a realisation of the initial **h**-mutation (9.158). Examples are:

ugus ed'ər' | ən m̩:s | k'ɑ:n 'm̩:š̩ | **ugus** hɪl'ɑ:n' v'ik' 'dæ:rə | ARN1571
eidir An Más, Ceann Mása, AGUS OILEÁN Mhic Dara;

gus **gus** harnū: | ARN1589 *AGUS AR NDÓIGH.*

(Other speakers, e.g. **11C**, have **harnu:** *ar ndóigh* in phrase-initial position.)

8.165 Dependency

In admonitions *agus* commonly links imperative clauses with preceding clauses and phrases, e.g.

agus 'Ó AS UCHT DÉ ort!' a deir an seanfhear, '7 NÁ BAIN mo theach ná mo ríocht ná m'áitiú go deó dhíom' **866E**ÓC223; Sc292.

gəs -GO GCUIRE DIA an t-ádh ort, a deir sé, *AGUS gəs* CUIR, a deir sé, *braon bainne sa sáspan ... 11C;*

-Athair, a deir sé, GO DTUGA DIA na flaithis duit, a deir sé, *AGUS gəs* CUIR séideog faoin sáspan! **11C.**

is æ'səxt gɑ:x ər' im'ə wɛt' ɛr' nə mɑ:r'əv' | is e:ft' l'um S
AS UCHT GACH AR IMIGH uait ar na mairbh IS ÉIST liom!

In conditional constructions the apodosis can be connected by *agus* to the preceding protasis.

ogəs MÁ THEAGANN sé sa díonamh go deo, a chomrádaí, go gcaithidh an dreám óg anís an obair a bhíodar sin a dhíonamh, *AGUS | ogəs* CAILLFEAR, *caillfear leis an ocras, ... [sic] 23Ms.*

gəs -Tá dhá bhliain ó shin, a deir sé, nuair a bhí mo dhóthain dhen phíopa caite a'm, a deir sé, leag mé isteach in almóir bheag mar sin, a deir sé, sa mbaile é. Is nuair a d'éirigh mé ar maidin, a deir sé, GÁ NDÓINN an teach, a deir sé, ná an tOileán Máisean, a deir sé, *AGUS gəs* NÍ BHFUIGHINN aon bhlás, a deir sé, dhen phíopa. **11C.**

s GÁ GCUIRTHEÁ thoir i Loch Coirib é IS s TÁ mé siúráilte nach bhfágthad sé aon bhreac go dtéitheá go, ... **892Mg.**
MÁ BHÍONN mórán teas chor a bích ann 'S CAILLFÍ istigh sa mbád iad. 35E.

The apodosis is connected by *is* to a following protasis (which is expressed by the modal use of the imperative):

is Bheadh Máirtín Mór 88 nó mar sin, *anois IS MAIREADH sé.* SÓC2.283.

agus / is go links the following subordinate phrase with a concessive *má* or *dhá* phrase (8.11).

8.166 Linking

agus / is can have a linking or relative function with emphatic, comparative or concessive sense. The initial constituent, before *agus / is*, can stand in a variety of relations to the following clause.

agus MÁISTIR maith scoile *AGUS* CHOMH FEOGHLAMTA *agus* 'tá istigh ARN-3404.

1602 Functors

- is** *TÁ GÁG ormsa IS CHUIRTHEÁ glaise fataí ANN M.*
əs *TÁ MÁIRE sin IS NÍ THÓIGTHEADH sí an splanc dhe do chois S (14 splanc).*
s *L'á: nə v'ín s n'í wæn hæx je m'e | 11Ctn*
LEÁ NA BHFIANN IS NÍ BHAINTHEADH dhe mé.

Compare:

- ... *an bhfuil mé le ghoil abhaile?*
-TÁIR, a deir sí, 'GUS TÚ le ghoil abhaile, a deir sí, gan mórán achair. ARN-4542.

Linking a preceding clause to adverbs:

- 'is tú an fear IS FEARR AGUS GO FADA ...' ... go mbadh é Cú Chulainn AB FHEARR AGUS GO FADA. 866ESc43.28;*
Doir m'anam creidim GO GCAITHIM CEATHRÚ UAIRE! AGUS GO MAITH! 05M.
 (Similarly, *ná in*, e.g. *Ní phósad, ... ná go deo na díle*, 8.173.) The verb phrase can be repeated with the added adverb, e.g.
thosaigh sé AG GOL AGUS AG GOL GO TROM. 866ESc210.24.

agus, most often *s is*, can precede verbal particles and subordinators (cf. nominal *is go*, 8.11, and resultative *is go*, 8.13, comparative *agus go*, 8.154 ff.). Examples of its use with adverbial phrases or marginal subordinators are:

- gus** *Ní dhearna sí aon bhlas AR AN BPOINTE AGUS A dtáinig sí er' ə bi:n't ə*
gus ə da:n'əg' f'í *isteach ach pota a chuir síos ar an tine 894C.*
ugəs *ach tháinig daoíní eile ina ndiaidh ag cartadh an loirg AG SÚIL LE DIA*
AGUS GO ugəs ʏə bhfuighidís héin rud eicint 894C.
marab fhuil I NDÁN AGUS GUR ugəs gər comharthaíocht rud a bich a
bheadh ann. 11C3158.
s *má tá I NDÁN 'S GO*

So also *agus / is*, more or less optionally, in indefinite adverbial phrases following nominal elements: *timpeall's*, *tuairim's le*, etc., with which one can compare the comparative function illustrated further below (8.168).

8.167 Attributive, temporal, causal, concessive, final

agus acts as a subordinating conjunction in the following functions: attributive, temporal, causal, concessive, comparative, final (cf. FGB *agus* 4(a)–(g)).

Attributive (cause)

- gəs** *Ach 's dóichí AGUS NA HÁLLTRACHAÍ TÁ CURTHA ANN, go raibh láimh ag*
Mac Dara é héin ann. 35E7595.
əs *rin' ə f'i: 'a:n'f'ik' əs fa:nəx l'e f'in' 23M*
Rinne sí an-stic IS FANACHT leis sin.
s *-Níl sé inrásta a'm ghoil in áit a bi', a deir sé sin, IS AN CHAOI ATÁ ORM.*
s ə ,xi: 'tə ,orəm | 11C.
fuaire mé neart hacsáil 'S A GHOIL ANN S.

Temporal

- ugəs** *d'ím' ə fe ugəs ka:ləpi: er' M d'imigh sé AGUS CALAPÁÍ AIR.*
əgəs *Bhuel níor chualas. Ach tá fhios a'm péin, AGUS MÉ I MO LEAID BHEAG,*
bhí mé thuas ar aonach an Chaisil. 892M.
ach bhí sé ag cuir na ceiste thrína chéile ar an gcaoi sin AGUS É AG
SIÚL LEIS AN CHOSÁIN 11C.
chuadar isteach i dteach ag ligint thartub an mhúir. Agus bhí sean-

fhear insa teach agus bhí sé ar a ghlúine AGUS É AG RÁ AN PHÁIDIRÍN
11C.

- s** *Tá fhios a'm fadó, 's MÉ ÓG, bhí mé, ' cuir mhóna ar bóthar, 'gus ní raibh bróg a bith orm. 892M.*

Causal

agus *-Má tá t'athairse beo, a deir sé, is íontach a' rud é AGUS CHOMH SEAN IS TÁ TÚ FHÉIN a' breathú. 866EB17.*

is *Ní raibh an breac sin faoi shásamh a'd IS CHOMH GOIRT IS A BHÍ SE M.*

This use involves initial causal *agus* / *is* followed by comparative *agus* / *is*.

Concessive

ugəs *Ach insa tseanaimsir, ó chuirtheadh fear, an bád gá díonamh ag an saor, ... go dtige an lá a bhfuighead sé bás ... bhí an-chuimse sclábhaíocht ina bhealach. Agus tá AGUS I GCÓNAÍ. | ugəs ʔa: gəs ə 'gū:nī | 11C*

Final

There is also a final function before the verbal noun.

əgəs *agus ag smaoiniú cé acub a dhíonhad sé — GHOIL AGUS PÓSADH ní imeacht nú céard ab fhearr 'ó dhíonamh choir a bith. 11C.*
caithe tú GHOIL ... AGUS A CORP SEO THABHAIRT leat 11C.

The following example may contain final *agus go* / *nach*:

ogəs *Fuair sí saor nó siúinéara le poll a dhéanamh i mbun crann mór. Bheadh sí istigh insa gcrann ina cónaí AGUS NACH BHFÉADTHADH ogəs na:x v'jetəx aon-nduine í a fháil amach í héin ná an páiste. Fuair sí an saor ... 869PZCP150.*

Compare final *is go* (8.140). One can, however, not be certain that this example has final function, since disfluencies, frequent in this speaker, are not indicated in the transcription in ZCP: *nach bhféadthadh* might represent a speaker repair following *agus* which may have been intended as a coordinator.

8.168 Comparative

Comparative subordination with *agus* / *is* is exemplified above (8.154, cp. 8.122). The following examples further illustrate the various constructions found with comparative *agus* / *is*.

agus *bhí sí CHOMH greamaíthe AGUS GO bhféadthá í bhriseadh. 896P.*

bhí an oíthe GO DU' ʔ NÁR léir 'uit ... 894C3.

Ní thiúrat sé GO SHÁSA' go'n scológ AGUS GO ngoiteat sé an pota uaidh agus go n-imeót sé i ngunfhios, 866EB16.111 '... (so much) satisfaction that ...'.

Cp. *Is FADA ÓNA CHÉILE AN BEALACH agus AN CHUMA A mbíonn na daoine sa gceantar seo ag iascaireacht anois AGUS A bhíodh siad fadó. Clad6.*

əgəs *ní raibh beithí bhainne CHOMH fairsinn insa tír AGUS Atá anois. ənsə t'ir' əgəs ə ta: 'n'if | 11C.*

-Bhuel tá sé CHOMH te, a deir sé, AGUS GÁ mbruicheá, a deir sé, i bpota é. 11C.

- s k'ɛ:rd ə hukəx fe' ʔnuəs ax til' ənə n'æ:rt s gə nɔ:rt'[ɑ?] æ:s
 bik'ɛ:d ɛ 09Pt céard a thiocthadh sé anuas ach tuile ina neart IS GO
 ndóirteá as buicéad é 'what happened but it flooded rain as strong
 as if you poured it out of a bucket'.
 Bhuel bheadh an tornóig CHOMH hárd an dtigeann tú IS GO tu: s gə
 mbead sí go dtí sin. 896P.

Similarly with indefinite pronouns: *tuilleadh agus / is* meaning 'more than',
oiread agus / is 'as much as', e.g.

t'íl'ə gəs m'í: TUILLEADH AGUS MÍ.

The adjective *ionann* is common in an equivalence comparative function
 followed by *agus / is*, e.g.

is IONANN sanəñ iad IS na cinn seo;

-Scéal a bhéas amhlaidh, dá mb'IONANN leatsa é AGUS do bhás, adeir sí.

852SbLL94.

Indefinite adverbial *ionann agus / is*, generally realised as *anəns*, is also common.
 A minority of speakers (16S, 21Pt, 25M) have *ionann's ... is* in the comparative
 construction; heard in:

N'í ha'nəns ɛ s ə'n'íj 16St ní HIONANN'S é IS anois;

is beag nach HIONANN'S ha'nəns é héin ... 25M;

is IONANN'S sã'nəns é sin IS u-, 'short-answers'. 21Pt

"that is the same as [i.e. means] 'short-answers'".

8.169 Other

agus / is also functions as a sentence adverb, e.g.

is IS ar ndóigh tá!

s: -Is feicthear dhom s: ʳek'ər um, a deir mac Rí in Éirinn, go bhfuil tú
 ag imeacht ar leathchois. 11Ctn.

Certain phrases have coordination without *agus*, e.g.

Íosa ' Mhaighdean! A Mhuire ' Chríost! 43M, Íosa, Muire (anocht)!

kɑ:l't'ə kurhə 23B CAILLIE, CURTHA 'dead and buried';

bíonn siad dhá dtarraingt SOIR SIAR ag na taoillí. Clad141.

Similarly, in emphatic repetition, e.g.

Nach bhíodh m'athair AG FUAGAIRT FUAGAIRT orm. Bhuel bhíodh 21Pt.

Emphatic and continuative repetition often involves *agus*, e.g.

Ó! d'airigh se an caoineachán AGUS an caoineachán AGUS an caoineachán
 P.

agus mar sin 'and so on, and the like' is used to abbreviate coordination, e.g.

bhreathaídís amach agus nuair a d'fheicidís réaltaí áirthid ar an aer, a' nús

Bualadh na mBodach AGUS MAR SIN, d'abraidís go raibh sé suas leis an
 dó dhéag 11C.

agus uile ogəs eí'ə, *agus chuile shórt*, 'and everything', e.g.

seoltóireacht agus uile a bhí ann 21Pg.

8.170 nó

nū:, nu: (less often unraised nō:, no:) *nó* is the usual alternative coordinator 'or',
 e.g.

Fantha tú le port NÓ dhó, 866ESemr128;
b'fhéidir go raibh sé tinn ar maidín NÓ nŭ rud eicint ach tháinic an stócach
ar maidín NÓ nŭ luath sa lá agus píosa bréidín aige. 11C;
agus measaim, a deir mac an fhathaigh, 'nach rabh tú sa mbealach seo
ariamh, NÓ má bhí, ní fhaca muide aon afarc ort.' 866ESemr118;
-Bhuel anis, a Thaidhg, a deir sé, caithidh tú ghoil, a deir sé, agus an corp
seo a thabhairt leat agus a chuir. Agus caithidh sé bheith curtha a'd, a
deir sé, roimh éirí na gréine amáireach, a deir sé, NÓ nŭ tá an ceann le
cailleadh a'd. 11C.

It sometimes undergoes initial-consonant denasalisation to **du**: **20C** *nó*. A diminished alternative function is seen in the adverbial intensive meaning '(and) anyway' in interrogatives:

-Ó-u! a deir an fathach, a deir sé, má chuir, a deir sé, maró' sé an ríocht!
NÓ an bhfuil fhios ó Dhia na nGrást, a deir sé, cérb as é? Semr120-2;
ní: wan' tisə v'e ha:n nu ka m'eha: goI' 01J
ní amháin tusa a bheith ann NÓ cá mbeitheá ag goil?

nó, and related *ná*, can be absent in non-assertive set phrases containing opposites, e.g.

níl fhios a'd ar beo marbh é 'b'or; maru: e 01C6805;
má's fada gearr a cuireadh orthub GT §503;
'más fear bean a ghabh an bealach' 866ESc55.21;
mās'olk 'mā: l'ehə 11C5768 *Más olc maith léithi.*

It can be strengthened between clauses by adding *sin*, i.e. *sin nó* or *nó sin*. In this case *sin* is usually stressed and carries non-falling intonation. This intonation signals the following alternative, e.g.

Bhí fear an Mhása ag cléimeáil nar raibh sé i ndan a ghoil isteach sna
tanaíthe, gurb é an chaoi a raibh sé le casadh isteach le Oileán Iarthach
Ára(i)nn NÓ SIN le Carraig a Míle isteach na Súndaí. ARN8150;
gá mbeadh áit tí a'dsa i, i ngleann, an t-am sin, go gcaitheá, ghoil ann. NÚ
SIN é fhágál ansin. Chaitheá. 05M.

An example of *sin* without *nó* occurs in:

-Cá mbíodh cónaí orthub, i dteach an fhir nó i dteach na mrá? 69A
-Ha? I dteach an fhir. SIN, gá mbeadh áit ag an mbean, ' bhfuil fhios a'd?
agus gan aon áit a bheir' ag an bhfear. 05M,

which is equivalent to *Nó sin gá mbeadh áit ag an mbean [d'fhanthaidís i dteach na mrá] ...*

For *nó*'s, see negative alternative clauses (8.29).

nó can indicate equivalence in proverbs, sometimes optionally, e.g.

klox ə baul mu:nə (nu:) trə'nu:nə fu:wər ə t'it'əm S
cloch i bpoll móna (NÓ) tráthnóna fómhair ag titim;
cp. d'er ə 'fæn_jira:m ba:n nu 'fæm,wɑ:st'ər skol'ə 21J
deireadh seanghiorrán bán NÓ seanmháistir scoile (cp. T. S. Ó Máille 1948
§1680 where there is conjunctive and disjunctive use but not equivalence).

8.171 *nó (...)* *go*

nó (...) *go* (8.127) is a common conjunction. It is most often temporal, and is

synonymous with *go*. Examples of final function are:

*Bhlaoigh sé ar a chuid airm fré chéile, an rí, NÓ GO MARÁIDÍS triúr mac Uisne. 866E*Sc34.24;

ach théadh Aill agus Ardán gach lá chun an bhaile mhóir NÓ GO DTUGAIDÍS bia agus beatha ag Déirdre agus ag an Naois gach uile oíche. 866E-Sc35.4.

Negative consecutive examples of *nó nach*, which can alternate with *nach* (as positive *nó go* alternates with *go*), are:

*Thosaigh sé ag dul thríotha mar ghabhfadh seabhac trí éanacha, nó préachán gearr trí chearca NÓ NÁR FHÁGA SÉ aon fhear beo aca i dtrí ceathrúna uaire. 852S*bLL19;

D'ionsaigh siad a chéile ... ina dhá n-iolrach NÁ RAIBH aon éan dár cruthaíodh san aer ariamh nach ndearna siad díobh féin, ... , NÁ RAIBH fhios cé acu fear ab fhearr ... , GO NDEACHADAR insa bhfarraige, NACH RAIBH sórt breac dár cruthaíodh ... , GO DTÁINIGEADAR ... , GO MBA ceanach leo ... NÓ NÁ RAIBH lorg cleite ... ag ceachtar acu ... AGUS GUR SHÁIGH gach aon fhear acu a chlainhe i gcroí an chinn eile. Sc53.4–16.

As in the last example cited (*agus gur sháigh*), in coordination with *agus / is*, the particle *nó* is normally absent:

NÓ GUR THÁINIC sé ar a hais AGUS GO BHFUAIR sé a chulaith aríst 897P.

In examples from speaker **11C** it may be that *nó go* is used as a more 'explicit' form than *go*, following greater caesura with the previous clause, and indicating a more significant or final event of a series, e.g.

agus na mrá ag scuabadh na bpeaca amach 'na dhiaidh an doras. NÓ GO DTÁINIG sé ar ais go dtí an bád. 11C;

ach, dho léar mar bhíodar ag fás suas bhíodar ag fáilt mór le chéile ach, bhí sé teagthaíthe amach san aimsir dheireadh, go raibh chuile dhuine ag rá go bpósthaidís. NÓ GO DTÁINIC an t-am, d'éirigh achrann eicínt, eidir an dá theach comharsan ... 11C;

ach bhí mé ag damsa istich ar an urlár, a deir sí, is, níor airigh mé ariamh, a deir sí, [long pause] NÓ GUR CROCHADH 'r siúl mé, a deir sí, is níor airigh mé tada go dtige anis. 11C.

nó can occur without *go* as a cumulative coordinator in parataxis before an adverbial phrase:

*D'ionsaigh sé héin agus a' fathach a chéile, gur ... , nach ... ; go ... agus ... go ... , agus NÓ ar maidin an tríú lá, CHUÍMHRE Mac Rí in Éirinn air héin, agus ... 866E*Semr142.

nó go is found in obsolete by-forms of the prepositions *nó go dtí* (historical; 7.113, cp. *nó go dtí go* 8.127) and *nó go ceann* (unhistorical; 7.112). Speaker **31M** has comparative *nó* for usual *ná* (8.176).

8.172 *ná*

ná 'or, nor', *nā*; *na*; generally; also *næ*; *næ'*; *na*, e.g.

gan aon stróiceadh a dhíonamh, sea NÁ a bhít fæ' næ: v'it (brother of **897S**);

ar fhaitíos a mbéarthadh bean ar bith NÁ na go mbeadh aon pháiste aici 17M;

(comparative *ná*, 8.176) *bhí sí, i ndan a ghoil suas i ngloine núb fhearr, NÁ ceilp na coirlí. | næ k'elp' nə 'kaurl' i | 896P.*

(This speaker, **896P**, also has **ɑ(:)**, **a**, for **ó**, and **ma má**, and **ɛ(ˈ)n**, **æn aon**.)

ná introduces an alternative in non-assertive contexts, e.g. in negative clauses and generally in interrogative clauses. For example (numbers refer to **866ESemr**):

Negative:

- ní* **N'í yu:n'hə b'eil na: ə kla:b** M *ní dhúinthidh a béal NÁ a clab; ní rabh teach NÁ áras le feiceáil aige, beag NÁ mór, NÁ duine NÁ beithíoch ní ba mhú 66;*
“Creidim nach bhfuil mórán bád ... chomh sean léi,” arsa an saor. “Níl NÁ ina ghaobhar,” a deir Páidín. Clad190;
- ná* *ná bíodh fuacht NÁ fáitíos ort! 84;*
- deabhal* *Agus deabhal scéal NÁ scuain a fuair mé ó Eochair, NÁ ó All, NÁ ó Rí Thír na Sorcha, NÁ ón tseanfhear ... 172;*
- dheamhan* *dheamhan cúnaí NÁ stad a rinne sé go ... 46.*

Interrogative: *An bhfaca tú Seán NÁ Máire? céibí céard tá air olc NÁ mhaith, [sic] 05Mt, cp. universal, below;*
-Cés feárr leat, ag gabháil de sceana glasa i mboilgeasnachaí a chéile NÁ ag caraíocht ar leacrachaí dearga? 70.

Condition:

- realis* *má bhím héin NÁ thú héin beo 84;*
Is é sin má mhairim NÁ má bhím beo. 72;
-Muise, m'anam, a deir an tseanbhean, go dtiúrha' mise dhuít sin agus míle fáilte, agus go ceann míosa, má thograíonn tú héin é, má thaithníonn leat, NÁ marar dona leat an áit. 110;
- irrealis* *dhá mbeadh airgead á' msa NÁ agaí-se ... ghothadh muid 58–60;*
-Dá mbeadh cead cainte á' msa ... NÁ cead á' m an scéal ínseacht duit, ní bheitheá san ngábh (ngáú) sin ó shin. 152.

Concessive: *Sa chuile theach, feaimilí ann NÁ as. 32Jst.*

Universal:

- péibrí* *féibrí gaiscíoch fír NÁ mrá mbeidís aige. 11Ctn;*
an fhad is *an fhad is bheas uisce ag rith NÁ féar ag fás! 166;*
superlative *ar an mbean ba bhreátha ar scal gaoth NÁ grian ariamh uirthi 170;*
-Is tú an gaiscíoch fír NÁ mrá, deir sé, is fearr a loigh le aer ariamh. 11Ctn;

Non-assertive

- lexeme:* *duine a dhli' a bheagán NÁ a mhórán díob 869P2;*
-Tá muise, a bhean chóir, a deir sé, an leaba sin sách maith a' msa, a deir sé, NÁ ag aon nduine dhá uaisle dhá bhfuil in Éirinn inniubh 11C.

Negative lexical

- meaning:* *chínn sé ar an rí NÁ ar a chuid airm é a fháil amach. ARN2007.*

8.173 Use of *ná* ~ *nó*

With the conditional verb, typically in the apodosis of unreal conditions, *nó* is regular:

bheadh scéal úr NÚ seanscéal á'm, NÚ bheinn gan scéal ar bith.
886ESemr40.

In the non-assertive context the negative sometimes follows *ná*, e.g. (*ná ... ní*)
déarthaídh muid Tobar Cáilín NÁ toibreachaí go leor eile a ngothaidh tú go dtí iad, ní aon áit ann ach aon áit amháin ARN7664.

There are examples with *nó* for expected *ná* where the coordinated phrase may be less integrated into the clause:

níl aon spiacán ariamh acub nach bhfuil mac rí NÓ príonsa — a chloigeann — crochta orthub. **866ESemr82.**

In the example cited, the elements may be bracketed as [*mac rí*] *nó* [*príonsa*], rather than [[*mac rí*] *ná* [*príonsa*]].

Similarly:

Má bhí bia NÁ beatha NÓ caint air insa teach mór ... **866ESc233.18,**

which may be bracketed as [[*bia*] *ná* [*beatha*]] *nó* [*caint air*]; the comment phrase being introduced by *nó*.

A clear example of *nó* and *ná* alternating in the same function is:

-Cé leis a gcuirthidís marc anois ar an tsail NÓ pleainc NÁ, maide rabhnáilte NÁ rud a bích a bheidís a ghearradh? **11C.**

Perhaps the initial coordination here, with *nó*, was 'unplanned' by the speaker and so the default *nó* was used; the following, more integrated, planned performance has *ná* (where the speaker was clearly using alternatives in the non-assertive context).

When the alternative is a clause which can or does undergo ellipsis *nó* can be used. For instance, in the interrogative *ná* is used in an information question; *nó* in a *cé*-question. It seems to me that the following contrast is possible:

An bhfaca tú Seán ná Máire? [1]
An bhfaca tú Seán? nó Máire? [2]

One can paraphrase [2] as *Cé acub a choinic tú? An bhfaca tú Seán? Nó an bhfaca tú Máire?* The intonation is also different: [1] has the usual falling accent on *Máire*; in [2] there is a contrastive rise on *Seán* and more marked fall on *Máire*. Similar elliptical use with *nó* is found in:

tuige nach dtiocá go dtí muide NÓ go teach eicínt ar fúna' ins a' mbaile mór ... ? **866ESemr126.**

In emphatic negative Echo contexts, however, *ná* occurs:

-An gcaitheá héin í? a deir Mac Rí in Éirinn.
-Ní chaithinn, muise, NÁ i ngar dhi, a deir mac an fhathaigh. **866ESemr136;**
-A Mhic Rí in Éirinn, a deir sí, an bpósa tú mise?
-Ní phósad, muis, a deir sé, NÁ go deo na díle. Semr94.

Cp. *agus* (8.166).

ná is used at the head of finite subordinate clauses which have negative import (i.e. in a non-assertive context):

Níor thugadar aon 'dreatháir' ar Lán-dhearg ó d'fhágadar an baile fós, NÁ go raibh duine aca le dhul sa gliabh. LL98 ('... not until ...', i.e. only when one of them was going in the creel did they address him as brother);

Is dóichidí, go raibh cionál rillic nó rud eicint ansin, roimh aimsir an Athair Peadar sála dtáinic sé ann NÁ chuir sé teach an phobail gá dhíonamh ann. 11C3088.

When an interrogative clause is coordinated with a following negative, or non-assertive, clause, however, *nó* is used, i.e. *nó nach*, etc. See negative alternative clauses above (8.29); these alternative clauses (*nó nach*, etc.) also follow imperative and conditional clauses. There is also common assertive use in coordinating unreal negative conditions, i.e. *mara ... nó*:

‘Níl fhios a’ m chéard a dhéanhas mé leis mara gcuire mé de shéideoig san aer é, NÓ faoi mo chosa sa lathach, NÓ i mbarríolacha mo sheanbhróga.’ 866ESemr68;

-Is é sin, a deir sí, mara dtéighe muid timpeall isteach ins a’ sliabh NÓ sna páirceannaí agus a dhul thairsti. Semr78.

There is an example of *mara ... níl ... ná dhá ... níl ...* in:

Agus mara ndéarthaidh mise iad sin nuair a ghothas mé a chodladh, níl mé ag goil ag codladh aon néal. NÁ dhá bhfágainn ceann acub amuigh, níl aon mhaith dhom ag caint. 05M.

8.174 Copula conditional, interrogatives, *héin*, emphasis

With copula questions, where the second clause is elliptical, both *nó* and *ná* are possible, e.g.

*nó níl fhios a’ d ar ann NÓ as í;
ní rabh fhios cé acub fear ab fhearr NÓ ba dona. 866ESemr70;
agus gan fhios acub an beo NÓ marbh atá mé Semr166;
níl fhios a’ m ar ceart NÓ cóir é ... Níl fhios a’ m ar fíor NÓ bréag é.
ARN3780–1;*

*ná nach rabh fhios cé acub fear ab fhearr NÁ ba dona, Semr142, 144;
an míste dhúinn fiathraí cé thú féin NÁ cérb as thú? Semr68;
“Níl fhios agam an rabharta mór NÁ meadh-rabharta é seo.” Clad1155.*

There are examples of *nó* and, perhaps less often, *ná* in copula conditional clauses, with *má*:

*nó más beo NÓ marú a bheas tú an lá sin 866ESemr108;
má ba fear a bheadh á dhíonamh NÚ bean 894Cs;
d’fheiceadh siad rud eicint, ... , más fíor NÓ bréag é 01C6873;
Más, maith NÚ olc a bhíodar. 889Pt;
Más olc NÚ mhaith bheadh le rá 05Mt;
an duine sin a chuir as cionn cláir, más bean NÚ fear a bheadh ann. 11C;
má theagann mise NÓ thusa isteach 20S.*

ná Más bád í, bhí, tú chuir amach le haghaidh geallta NÓ, bád oibre, an bhfuil fhios a’ d, más bád í a bhí tú ag cheapadh a bheadh ag rith geallta NÁ rud, bheitheá ag iarraidh jib mór. 01C6136.

The example illustrating *ná*, however, also contains a non-assertive lexeme: *rud* as indefinite pronoun.

Similarly, in coordinated interrogatives either *nó* or *ná* is used. The choice depends upon ellipsis and negative import. For example:

*nó -Ó, a Thiarna, a deir sí, ar rugadh NÓ an mbéarfá go deo aon fhear chomh breá leis sin? 866ESc33.39;
cé thú féin NÓ cé as thú? 866ESemr54;*

ná -Go cén chaoi, a deir Mac Rí in Éirinn, a bhfuil mise a' gul go Tír na Sorchaí, *NÁ* cén bealach atá agam le dhul ánn? Semr42; cp. copula cé ... *ná* cé- ... Semr68 above;
cp. go mbreathaíot sé roimhe go bhfeiceat sé cén sórt áit a bheadh ánn *NÁ* bealach a bheadh leis an áit, Semr110.

This usage should be distinguished where possible from comparative *ná*. For instance, in GCF §394 the example *Cé's fearr é ná an gual?* is best taken as comparative correlative *is fearr ... ná ...*. Similar examples are more ambiguous, e.g. (presumably coordinative) *Céb fhearr leat te ná fuar iad?* GCF §394 (also FFG20 *ná*).

With the modality adverb *héin* in focusing function, use of both *nó* and *ná* is found, e.g.

déartha' mé Carna NÁ Maínis héin ...

In the superlative both *nó* and *ná* occur, and speakers may have different tendencies of usage. Contrast *an gaiscíoch fir ná mrá ... is fearr a ... 11C*, cited above (8.172), with:

gurbh é an gaiscíoch fir NÓ mná ab fhearr a chonnaic sí 875TLL181.

Examples of *ná* in emphatic negative repetition are:

d'aul æ:n hə nɑ: æ:n hə S deabhal aithne NÁ aithne
'absolutely no acquaintance';

N'í xlu:fə mid' n'us nɑ n'us M ní chloisthidh muid 'news' NÁ 'news';

d'aul kɑ:r nɑ: kɑ:r nɑ: kɑ:r ə t'ixt M
deabhal carr NÁ carr NÁ carr ag tíocht;
níl scéal NÁ scéal agam M87.

8.175 Other examples of *ná*

Just as *nó* can be used in non-assertive contexts, so can *ná* be used extensively for *nó*, e.g.

b'fhéidir go raibh mé ó! cheathair NÁ cúig dhe bhlianta. 06C,
tímpeall's go mbead sé, eidir ceathair NÁ cúig dhe throithe. 06C;
faoi cheann cheithre seachtainí NÁ chúig seachtainí ina dhiaidh, ... ná gá
mbeadh láí ann, ... coirce, nú eorna, nú seagal, ... 20A.

Only a small minority of speakers in central Iorras Aithneach have *ná* for *nó* (e.g. **893P** Aill na Brón) but *ná* for *nó* is common in speakers from Doire Iorrais (North-East Iorras Aithneach, e.g. **01P** and **20A**; perhaps forming a continuum with North Conamara where *ná* for *nó* is also prevalent).

An anomalous example of *ná*, for expected *agus*, occurs in:

-Tá tú ag baint an arbhair, a Thaidhg.
-Tá, agus tá sé in am NÁ in uair agam. 866ESc259.21.

As a discourse marker *ná* is absent from the speech of most older speakers, who on occasion use *ach* in this function of discourse marker. *ná* is most likely a higher-register feature, apparently of extraneous origin, in **11C**'s speech; for example:

agus SÉ AN cleasa lúth agus gaisce, a bhíodh ag an rí NÁ amuich ag fiach
achuile lá. 11Ctn;
Déartha mé píosa beag bídeach leat faoi sin. Agus SÉARD é seo, NÁ go raibh,
Seán Breathnach an Ros Rua ... bhí sé oíche ... 11C (in radio interview).

There are written examples from Iorras Aithneach speakers, e.g.

agus sí 'N caladh geimhridh a mbíodh sí aige NÁ i gCrompán Choill Sáile
B19.52;

SÉN t-ainm a tugadh uirthi NÁ Hairy Bes[s]y. B19.60.

This ‘suspensive’ use of *ná* (Ó Siadhail 1989: 336–7) is typical of Munster Irish and is common in the media. It is gaining frequency and is found, for example, in the speech of **52J** and **64M**, and note further:

wel' b'ɛ:rd ə v'i: a:n nɑ | wel' | f'æ:r ... 25T

bhuel B'ÉARD a bhí ann NÁ, bhuel, fear ... ;

ferd ta g'ɛst' ə'fjɪn' nɑ | ... 69S1 SÉARD atá i gceist ansin NÁ ... ;

SÉARD a bhí díonta a'm NÁ an simléar lasta. 73P;

AN CHÉAD RUD a mbíos [sic] ar maidin a'inn NÁ, meats [< maths] 84P.

8.176 Comparative *ná*

ná has important conjunctive functions beyond coordination. In the (nonequivalent) comparative correlative construction *is / ba / níos / ní ba ... ná*, the element *ná* (historically *ioná*) functions syntactically as a preposition, e.g.

tɑ: l' ɔv'nəxt ,n'is 'm' i:l'fɛ, nɑ: bɑn' ɛ g' ɛ:r 46.68

tá leamnacht níos milse NÁ bainne géar;

wil' əs ædsə gər hɛskə f' ɛ:r ə r' umur' nɑ mu:n' 54M

an bhfuil fhios a'dsa gur héasca féar a thriomú NÁ móin?

Comparative *ná* (*a*¹) is placed before finite clauses, functioning as a subordinating conjunction, e.g.

bhí go leor dhe mhuintir a [1pl] dtíre héin níos measa NÁ BHÍ an Sasanach.
ARN3517;

'tá an-drochiarraidh déanta agat ... cuid níos mó NÁ BA mhaith liom tú a dhéanamh,' 866ESc112.39;

bhí sé an-mhór ina n-aghaidh agus níor mhó NÁ BHÍ an pobal ina aghaidh féin. 866ESc210.3;

s mu: v' i:l' ədər nɑ l' aisədər fu:n' 15Pn

is mó a mhilleadar NÁ LEIGHEASADAR fúinn.

Alternatively, it can be combined with *mar* (8.158) in a manner comparative, e.g.

níos fuide sa mbliain NÁ MAR TÁ faoi láthair. 11C2181.

There is an example of absence of *ná* in this position in a probable (haplographic or copying) slip of the tongue:

bhí an bheatha níos fearr TÁ an bheatha atá inniu ann.

ná can also precede *go* to form a result comparative:

tá níos mó caitheamh ina ndiaidh á'm NÁ GO MBEINN ag éisteacht le ceol anois agus iad héin básaíthe. 866ESemr130.

A comparative clause can be compared using *ná dhá*^N, e.g.

Ach is foide liom lá, a deir sé, faoi inleach(t) do lámh,

NÁ GÁ GCAITHINN trí ráithe i bpríosún. [x2] !11C5424–7.

There is a paratactic instance comparing an imperative in conditional function:

Is leithne an bun atá faoi NÁ CUIRTEAR an dá chathaoir sin, as cionn a chéile. 894Cs (5.2).

The comparative phrase *níos túisce* can combine negative final function with its basic temporal meaning, e.g.

ach cuirfidh sé slí bháis ortsa NÍOS TÚISCE NÁ bheadh an dúthaigh agat agus an t-airgead. 866ESc194.17;

NÍOS TÚISCE NÁ thiúrthas tú aghaidh do bhéil bhrocaigh orm 892Mtn.
Cp. nonfinite *i dtosach ar* (8.162).

Speaker **31M** is the only speaker in my sample whom I have heard using comparative **nu:** *nó* (for usual *ná*):

miərəsə n'is la:d'ər'ə nu' t'iarəsə 31Mq
(*tá*) *m'iarraidhsa níos láidire nó t'iarraidhsa;*
níos fuide síos NÚ Dumhach Chaoin 31M.

It may be significant that speaker **31M**'s late father, who was from Glencoaghan in North-central Conamara, spoke Irish imperfectly, as a second language, and that in North Conamara the coordinator *ná* is common for *nó*. (Her late mother was from central Iorras Aithneach.) It is conceivable that speaker **31M**'s use of comparative *nó* might be a hyperdialectism or 'overreaction' to extensive use of *ná* by her father. Alternatively her father may have had *nó* for *ná*.

8.177 *ach, nach*

ax *ach* (rare **nax** *nach*) is the general contrastive coordinator 'but'. Examples are:
o: xum fi: gə L'or or:an' ax | n'il' mo:ran akəb | n'il' mo:ran gə nə
fokli: a:gəmsə gər xum fi' | 11C *ó! chum sí go leor amhráin ACH níl*
mórán acub níl mórán dhe na foclaí agamsa dhár chum sí;
b'fhéidir go raibh sé tinn ar maidin nó rud eicínt ACH tháinig an stócach ar
maidin nó luath sa lá agus píosa bréidín aige. 11C.

The by-form **nax** *nach* is rare, e.g.

cér chás e NACH is bréaga uiliug iad ... (an fear eile) NACH, (ní ...) 20C.

In fact **nax** *nach* seems most common in a minor by-form of the adverb *nach an oiread*, perhaps in assimilation with the *n* of *an oiread* (8.210).

ach is regular following pseudo-*cé*-questions, e.g. style questions beginning in *céard*, *cén*. Examples in embedded clauses are:

-Bhfuil fhios a'd, a deir sí, CÉARD a b'fhéarr dhuinn a dhíonamh, a deir sí,
ACH imeacht. 11C;

agus nuair a tháinigeadar, CÉN NÓS a mbeadh bean a dhreatháir, Donn-
mhac, ACH tugtha leis ag mac Rí an Domhain Thoir 875TLL.

This use is common in *céard a bheadh / bhí ach ...*, e.g.

nuair a d'éirigh Banríon Thobar Thintí CÉARD a bheadh ACH páiste óg agus
é ar a cliabhach agus é ag diúl uirthi. 866ESc102.14.

Similarly, with subject pronoun in:

is ní raibh fhios a'inn faoin domhan céard a bhí sé dhíonamh. Agus CÉARD a
bheit se ACH ag díonamh an bháid seo agus ... 872Pt.

ach sometimes functions as a discourse marker following *séard* (pseudo-cleft; given the term 'suspensive *ná*' (8.175), this *ach* can be termed 'suspensive *ach*'), e.g.

f:erd ə m'eg'ən ax nə b'ehi: ski:l'ə n'is M
SÉARD a mb'éigean ACH na beithí a scaoileadh aníos.¹

ach can precede other conjunctions, e.g.

ACH, dhá bpósthá duine bheadh roinnt gar dhuit go gcaitheá col fháil. 05M.
ach go is used in clauses of exception (8.153).

¹ Further examples in 14 *ach* 2.

8.178 ní ... ach

Correlative *ní* (*deabhal*, etc.) ... *ach* expresses ‘only’, e.g.

NÍL anseo, a deir sé, ACH mise liom péin. 11C.

Similarly, in a discourse focusing function, e.g.

NÍ DHEARNA mé ACH RITH;

NÍ DHEARNA sé ACH SÍNEADH siar ar an stól i leataobh na tine agus thosaigh air: ‘Faoin am seo aréir ...’ 11C.

These nonfinite clauses are regular following *ach* meaning ‘only’. The use of finite clauses following *ní dhearna ... ach* is noteworthy, e.g.

NÍ DHEARNA sé ACH D’ÓL sé é. 11C (for more usual ... *ach é a ól.*);

NÍ DHEARNA sé ACH DÚIRT sé -Cuirigí bratachaí Mheireacá ar an mbád, a deir sé ... 11C5655 ‘what he did was, he said ...’.

A similar finite example occurs without *ach* in:

Agus NÍ DHEARNA Dochtúr Ó Laidhe — is dóch liom go ru dúil i ngail tobac aige — CHUIR sé lámh ina phóca 7 tharrain sé ’ phíopa as a phóca. 866EÓC223; also Sc291,

a usage no doubt felt by speakers to be truncated.¹

So also *níl* (etc.) *ann ach go* ‘hardly, just’ (cp. *ar éigin*, 8.210), e.g.

-Bhuel, a deir Sean-Phádraic, a deir sé — is NÍ RAIBH ANN ACH GO RAIBH sé i ndan labhairt bhí sé sean — 892M5880;

NÍ RAIBH ANN ACH GO RAIBH siad faighte a’inn agus bhí poill orthub 01C6535;

agus NÍ RAIBH ANN ACH GO RAIBH an seol cinn crochta nuair a tugadh amach as na haighrí an seol 866ESc26.13.

With *blas*, e.g.

NÍ RAIBH AON BHLAS ANN ACH GO RAIBH an scéal insithe aici di nuair a tháinig an rí isteach. 866ESc33.12.

Similarly *blas ar bith ach go* FFG20 (s.v. *blas* 3.), 16Mperm.

Adverbs**8.179 General**

Many lexical adverbs have a characteristic unstressed initial schwa, e.g.

əˈmu amuigh, əˈmu: amú, əˈnːe: inné.

Repetition of adverbs occurs for emphasis (as in adjectives and nouns), especially temporal adverbs:

nax ro nɑ:n maˈruː gə dˈo: dˈoː gə ... 870T

nach raibh ndán marú GO DEO DEO dho ... ;

Badh é an talmhaí, déarthainn, ab fhearr léithi 1 GCÓNAÍ GCÓNAÍ ‘gū:níː gū:níː ach, ... 11C;

mˈi:nː ʃe: a:n ʃæstə ʃæstə 23C (x2) an mbíonn sé ann SEASTA SEASTA?

Cf. *mór mór* (8.213). Numerals may function adverbially with the copula, e.g.

gur MHÍLE mheasa bheidheas tú bliain ó anocht! S.

Adverbial phrases

There are many adverbial phrases, e.g. *ar aghaidh*, *un cinn*, *un deireadh*, *un tosaigh*. Phrases which cannot stand alone are not listed as adverbial phrases. For

¹ Cp. McCloskey (1991: 282).

instance, the reflexive use of the possessive pronoun is normal in *i ndiaidh mo chúil*, e.g. (01C6832–3)

Sheas sé suas ansin ag breathú air. Ní dheachaigh sé I NDIAIDH A CHÚIL.

Thus *i ndiaidh ... cúil* is not listed as an adverbial phrase. Some forms are difficult to categorise as either simple (i.e. clearly lexicalised or nonphrasal) or complex. Many adverbs are taken as simple here although they clearly have complex morphology.

The preposition *i* can be optional with temporal phrases. For example, (*in*) *aon mhí amháin*:

bhí an oiread cúnamh thart agus go raibh sé thuas AON MHÍ AMHÁIN.
899D6625.

There is hesitation and non-eclipsis in:

chuala mé daoine ag rá go ndíontaí teach l, l [creaky voice] PÍOSA DHE SHEAHTAIN 21Pg6650.

8.180 Adverbial particle *go*

The particle *gə* *go*, rarely realised as *ə* (also *ʏə*), commonly marks adverbs. For example:

gə *gə* o:l *gə* bla:stə M dhá ól *GO* blasta.

ə xon'ək'əs ə d'iv'ən' (Lam)04B1 *choiniceas GO* deimhin;

ən'ʃo | ə d'iv'ən' hē:n' | hɑ:ʔ (man, AI) ... *anseo, GO* deimhin héin. Tá.;

fɑn ə fə:l' M fan *GO* fóill (cf. fan fóilleach, 8.207).

It is sometimes elided, i.e.

Ø d'iv'ən' M, 36S (*GO*) deimhin (preverbally);

kid'ə gən a:rʉr kɔrk'ə mɔr mɔr t'ægən da duw er' S

cuide dhen arbhar — coirce mór mór — teagann dath dubh air.

Speaker 894C has *ʏə*, phrase-initially also *ə* (as well as *gə*, i.e. with uvular stop):

ʏə | k'ært ʏə l'ɔ:r | 894C ceart *GO* leor;

| kr'ed'am' ʏə 'mā: ʏə 'ro 'f'i:r'ən' 'ɑ:n mar hun'ək' m'ē 'hē:n' | ʏə

'l'ɔ:r 'e:r'ən' | mɑ:s m'ē: | 's ɔ:g'ə | ʏə nə 'ru:di: ,ʃo | 894C

Creidim GO maith go raibh fírinne ann mar choinic mé héin GO leor

Éirinn — más mé is óige — dhe na rudaí seo (response to question an greideann?);

nax dæn'hi:ɖ je l'e f'ar' ə ʏubɑ:ft'ə ʏə mɔ:r | 894C

nach dtaitníodh sé le fear an ghobáiste GO mór;

ən tɑ:m fín' | ʏə k'i:n't'ə | 894C an t-am sin *GO* cinnte.

ə "gs v'is eg'ə | ə 'ri:wā: | ʏəmə ka'nt'ɔ:r' mā: | ... 894C

agus bhí fhios aige GO rímhaith go mba cainteoir maith

gə | gə hɑ:r'həd' ə tɑ:m fín' | 894C *GO* háirthid an t-am sin.

Speaker 899D has general *gə* *go*. It is weakened phonetically in rather casual articulation in:

tɑ: drox'wɑ:gərt' "hē:ŋ' ʏə dūnə | 899D6975

tá drochbhagairt héin GO DONA.

8.181 Use of adverbial go; 1–3

The particle *go* is often placed before an adjective to form an adverb (mainly of manner). Further examples, in addition to those cited above, are:

bhí sé ag imeacht GO MAITH; fear a bhí GO MAITH as sa saol; díon GO RÉIDH!; d'oibrigh siad GO CRUA; bhí sé GO HARD as cionn na cheithre scóir; chuir sé GO CEANÚIL síos ina phóca é. ARN7259; ní bhíodh aon tsnámh acub GO MINIC isteach ann. ARN7280; Á! deabhal ar GO DONA dhe. ARN7398; an ceann bainneann ... agus fáinne déanta GO GRÓIGTHE di féin timpeall ar na heochraí Clad116.

1. Adverbial *go* is absent when the adverb occurs:

(a) preceded by another (additive) adverb; *go* occurs with the first element only, e.g.

go beo tapaidh (Sc151.28), go fada fairsinn, go díreach glan, go han-dona tinn.

Also in emphatic repetition and similar forms:

go deo deo, go mion minic, go mór mór, cp. i gcónaí gcónaí.

(b) either as an adverbial modifier or modified by such an adverbial, e.g.

(i) attributive adjective is modified: *dream SÁCH / ROINNT / FÉARÁILTE aisteach.*

(ii) adverb is modified: *sách MINIC, bhí sé ag imeacht sách MAITH, also DONA go leor;*

(c) preceded by the equative particle *chomh*, comparative *níos* (etc.), superlative *is* (etc.), e.g.

chomh MINIC céanna; níos MINICÍ ná thú héin; sa samhradh is IONDÚLA a d'fheictheá iad.

2. Adverbial *go* is generally absent when the adverb occurs:

(a) modifying predicative adjectives, e.g.

bhí sé RÉASÚNTA ard; tá sé BREÁ te anois.

(b) preceded by the copula and followed by a nonfinite or direct relative clause, e.g.

is MAITH uaidh amhrán a rá;

nach DONA a lig sé síos muid?

is MAITH GLAN a ghearradar an tsail;

is ANNAMH thugann sé cuairt ar a dteach 46.1002;

but ní GO MINIC a chloistheá ... 22Mt; is GO TANÁI é [GCF §403] 12Sperm.

(c) prefixed by *ro-*, e.g. *tá siad ag imeacht RO-SCIOBTHÁI.*

Contrast common *go* *rí-*, e.g.

Théadh sé san áit a mbíodh na fíodóirí GO RÍSHIÚRÁILTE 866ESc224.15;

Chaitheadar an oíche sin GO RÍSPÓIRTIÚIL is GO RÍCHUIDEACHTÚIL 121,

Chaitheadar an oíche sin ... GO RÍSPÓIRTIÚIL is GO RÍGHREANNÚR 123,

Chait sé ... an oíche sin GO RÍCUMPÓIRTIÚIL [sic] 125, chait sé héin ...

an oíche sin GO RÍCHUMPÓIRTEACH 129, chua sé ... GO RÍCHUMPÓIRTEACH

*abhaile 146 (all 852SbTS); also common without *go*:*

D'fhiafraigh sí dhi cé a' chaoi a raibh sí. -Tá mé RÍ-CHEART, adeir an iníon.

864MDT60.

3. Adverbial *go* is more frequently absent than present when the adverb occurs prefixed by *an-*, e.g.

bhí bád aige agus AN-ÚNDÚIL bhíodh sé ag iascach léi 866ESc239.28;
rinne siad AN-MHAITH.

Examples of rarer *go han-* are:

GO HAN-ÚNDÚIL 866E (e.g. Sc142.32); *bhí fhios a'd GO HAN-MHAITH;*
tá sí GO HAN-DONA tinn ARN2542; gléasta suas acu GO HAN-BHREÁ Sc151.8;
Bhuel, GO HAN-TÁIMLEISCIÚIL ar chuma ar bich, rug mé héin ... ARN5890.

8.182 4–5

4. Adjectives are used adverbially without *go* even outside the conditions described in sections 1–3.

Adverbial *go* is generally absent with:

cam, ceart (*caithidh tú é rá CEART*, also meaning ‘well’, e.g. ARN2548–9),
cp. *socair* (*fan SOCAIR* but *fan GO SOCAIR* ARN2426), *tinn* (*ag breathú TINN*).

Adverbial *go* is frequently absent with:

díreach (*ag siúl DÍREACH, breathnú DÍREACH air, trí mhíle DÍREACH*);
cp. *óg* (*phós siad ÓG*).

go is fairly common with:

ard: *ag caint ARD, ag blaoch GO HARD* 46.812;
crua: *ag obair (GO) CRUA;*
siúráilte: *Bhí dhá adharc mhóra air GO SIÚRÁILTE* Sc283.11;
toibeann: *cailleadh TOIBEANN é, téire GO TOIBEANN!* 46.874.

Other examples without *go* are:

‘beidh fhios agad DEARFA ansin gur mé atá ann.’ 866ESc169.20;
fear ar bich a bheadh ag imeacht FÁNACH ARN7250.

With *go*:

gá níochán GO GLAN. 11C1155.

5. (a) Some lexicalised adverbs have *go*, e.g.

go deimhin, go deo, go fóill;
go mór; go beag (e.g. *Bím gá rá GO BEAG, ... ag labhairt go réidh 05M*);
go leor (adverb, indefinite pronoun and adjective).

- (b) The particle *go* also regularly precedes the adjectives *deas, maith* and *dona*, frequently *álainn*, less frequently *lách*, when used predicatively, e.g.

tá sí go deas / go maith / go dona; tá sí (go h)álainn; tá sí (go) lách.

Also:

agus u-, an-eolas a’inn orthub agus acub orainn. Agus iad GO DEAS agus GO
LÁCH, agus GO SÍBHÉALTA agus GO GRAÍÚIL. 889P;
bhí Beairtle GO GREANNÚR. 05M.

8.183 Place

Words denoting spatial concepts can be used as spatial adverbials, e.g.

definite: *ag goil AN BÓTHAR;*
agus é ag imeacht mar a bheadh Dia dá rá leis AN BÓTHAR Sc-
150.26;
Chroch sé héin leis, agus bhain sé as A’ BÓTHAR 866EB16.111;
bhí sí ag déanamh amach AN CNOC 866ESc141.27;

siúd amach é AN BAILE MÓR **866E**Sc184.8;
ag éalú ag iarraidh a theacht TAOBH NA SÚLACH CAOICHE orthu.
 Clad80;

postposed adverb: *chaitheadar AN TSRÁID amach iad* Sc50.32;

preposed prepositional phrase:

agus iad ag tabhairt fola ina ndiaidh AN BÓTHAR Sc55.12;

indefinite: *cothaíonn siad BÉAL AIBHNEACHA agus téann siad ...* Clad131;

plural: *ÁITEACHAÍ*;

qualified: *CHUILE ÁIT, CORRÁIT*.

There is some alternation, following *ag déanamh*, *ag goil* and *ag siúl*, between adverbial use and direct object, e.g.

is bhí sí A' DÍONA A' BHÓTHAIR, is bhí sí a' coinneáil afrac orthub. **852Sb**TS-140;

thosa' sí AG DÍONAMH aniar NA N-AICEARRAÍ **18J**8845;

shílínse ' GUIL NA SRÁIDE dhuít go mba háille thú ná 'n ghrian !(Abcl) **894C**
 CABI §35(b) v. 4;

agus é AG SIÚL leis AN CHOSÁIN **11C**.

There are also of course many prepositional phrases used in adverbial function, e.g. *ar achaon taobh*, *in áiteachaí*, *sa chuile áit*. Certain third masculine prepositional pronouns have special locative adverbial functions, e.g. in maritime context *air* 'aground', *lai heg'ə loighe chuige* 'heaved to' (14 *loighe* 2, *chuig*), *faoi* 'submerged' and *leis* 'exposed'; and some have important 'metaphorical' extensions, e.g. *ann* (*níl a leithide dhe rud ann*), *as* (*tá an tine as, cuir (rud) as dho, go maith as*), *faoi* ('favourable' of weather, e.g. Clad103, *rachaidh mise faoi dhuít go ...*). The third feminine also occurs in maritime contexts: *fúithi* 'afloat' (boats take feminine reference).

8.184 Correlational and noncorrelational adverbs of place

The closed lexical class of adverbs of place can be divided into correlational and noncorrelational sets; the former having clear family resemblances (or common historical morphology). There are five correlational sets of position and direction. Three of these share markers of goal *s-/f-*, source *ə'n-*, and position *h-*. A fourth and simpler set has its own system of goal *-ax*, and position *-u/i(x')*. These four sets can also function as adjectives, e.g. *an áit istigh*, *An bhfuair tú a chuid seanchas seo abhus? M, an áit thoir, balla ó thuaidh an bhábhúin* [leg *bábhúin*] SÓC1.81, *cén áit siar ar as sib?, go ndeachaigh muid sa gceann siar dhe na potaí* **892M**, *an fear aniar*, as degree adverbs in *amach is amach, isteach is amach le* (8.214, 8.223), and their directional subset as quasi-verbs, e.g. *amachaí lib!* (5.327 ff.). They can also be nominalised, e.g. *leis an amach seo, ní raibh istigh ná amuigh ann, ní mórán siar ná aniar atá ann*, as, of course, can other adverbs function adjectivally or nominally, e.g. *an bóthar abhaile, Ní hé fearacht ariamh é* **852Sb**TS129. The noun *taobh* can be preposed to most of these adverbs, which, one may analyse, are functioning as adjectives or are premodified by *taobh*. A fifth set, *anseo*, etc., contains demonstratives. This set can combine with the other four. The most complicated of the correlational sets is that comprising points of the compass. Certain adverbs, categorised as simple noncorrelational adverbs here, are of course interrelated to other forms, e.g. *abhaile* and *sa mbaile* (cp. *as*

baile); *a chodladh* and *i do* (etc.) *chodladh*. For specific meanings and figurative usage of both correlational and noncorrelational adverbs, see 14.

8.185 1. *isteach is amach*

ə'max amach →
 ə'fʰi(x') istigh ə'mi(x') amuigh
 ← ə'fʰax isteach

istigh and *amuigh* denote position; *isteach* and *amach* denote goal 'to'. For use with *taobh*, see 8.196.

8.186 2. *anonn is anall*

ə'nʉ:n anonn →
 (səl sall)
 † ə'wʉs həl
 abhus thall
 ← ə'nəl anall

Also innovative *həl:əs thallas* for traditional *abhus*.

anonn denotes direction and goal from the speaker, *anall* denotes direction towards the speaker, *thall* denotes position from the speaker. Speaker position is denoted by *abhus* (or *anseo* (8.195) not strictly part of this subsystem). *sall* was heard from only one speaker, 44Pc, in:

... səl s ə'nəl gə ... 44Pc ... *SALL is anall go ...*

(corresponding to common *anonn is anall*). Recall that all four adverbs *anonn*, *anall*, *thall* and *abhus* can be clarified by *anseo* and *ansin*: *anonn ansin*, *anall anseo*, *thall ansin* and *abhus anseo*. (One can also imagine, if only just, *abhus ansin* denoting position nearer to the speaker than *thall* but further away than *abhus anseo*.) The adverb *i leith* resembles *anall* but *i leith* conveys (added) proximity to the speaker without reference to source.

ABHUS

- ə'wʉs, ə'wis ə'wʉs M (16M) most commonly, 66N; ə'wis 01J, 12S.
 ə'wʉs 31M perhaps phonologically /u/.
 ə'wʉs wʉ:s ən'ʃo 894N ABHUS *anseo*; ti: wʉ:s ə'r'i:ʃt' 20M *taobh*
 ABHUS *aríst*. This is a less frequent variant for Máire, e.g. v'í: ʃi:
 wʉ:s er' ma:d'ən' M *Bhí sí ABHUS ar maidín*, perhaps uncon-
 sciously, as she does not accept it, i.e. wʉ:s MØperm.
 ə'wʉəs 79S consistently. Also noted early in my work as *abhuas*, per-
 haps from 12S87.
 'ʉ''wʉs In m'ei ʃi: 'ʉ''wʉs P *an mbeidh sí ABHUS?* Cp. *ú-us*.
 ú-us In *a' fear Ú-US* [glossed *i bhfus*; x2] 894C6, this transcription
 might stand for *u:əs or perhaps *u:wəs.

THALLAS

hələs ən'ʃo THALLAS *anseo* was heard from the young family of speakers **55S** and **65T**, it seems to be derived from a fusion of *thall* and *abhus*.

ANALL

t'axt ə'nəl 25T *ag teacht ANALL*; **t'a:n nəl e ʃin' ʃum S teann ANALL é sin liom**.

ANONN

gol' ə'nu:n 25T *ag goil ANONN*.

Bhí búistéara ina chónaí ar aghaidh teach an tsagairt ANONN. 875PDT10.

ANONN AGUS / IS ANALL

'to and fro' *in áit a raibh ... gleo agus réabadh agus troid ... agus é gá thúncáil ANONN AGUS ANALL. 11C.*

'about, confounded' *bhí sé curtha ANONN IS ANALL, thrína chéile aici 11C.*

'more or less' *bhuel ANONN AGUS ANALL tá, ə'nu:n əgəs ə'nəl tɑ: | ar*
(degree adverb) *chorrdhuine thart anseo ən'ʃow 25T;*

bhuel ANONN IS ANALL ə'nu:n əs ə'nəl bíonn 25T;

déarthainn gurb in é an bealach a raibh an scéal ANONN IS

ANALL ro n' ʃd'e:l ə'nu:n əs ə'nəl mar déarthá 25T.

'occasional, some'

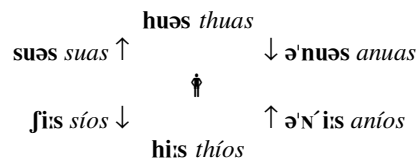
(indefinite adjective) *níl fhios a'm b'fhéidir ach véarsa ANONN 'S ANALL 11C.*

THALL

Fan THALL ansin!

Ní dhearna 'Paddy' ach éirí de léim agus breith THALL uirthi. 866ESc203.29.

Obsolete nonlenited variant in *abhus 7 TÁLL 869P3*.

8.187 3. *suas is anuas*

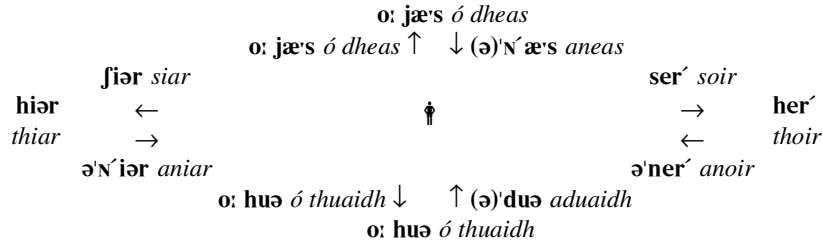
Nonlenited **tuəs tuas** occurs following *s* in an obsolete usage:

v'i: p'isi: kluəsə wus, ti:s əs tuəs orhəb 01C6040

bhí píosaí cluasa abhus — t(h)íos IS TUAS orthub.

It is impossible to tell whether **ti:s** is a slip of the tongue or genuine for the dialect in this obsolete nonlenited phrase. General now is **hi:s əs huəs thíos is thuas**.¹ For geographic use of these adverbs, see 8.189.

¹ Historically, and in some cases synchronically, the position following *s* is a nonleniting context for *th-*. In the case of *-s tuas* and *-s tall*, nonlenition following *s* represents a retention of the originally unlenited adverbs. Cf. *-s dáirire*, p. 1657 n. 1.

8.188 4. *siar is aniar*

For rare **fer' soir** and **əN'er' anoir**, see further below; **x' iær thiar** (x1) in:
er' der' ə 'x' iær 'hæl 892M3179 ar deireadh THIAR thall.

The unstressed *ó* in positional and goal *ó thuaidh* and *ó dheas* is formally identical with the preposition *ó*. This includes the by-forms **ɑ:** and **a**, e.g.

er' ə l'ek' ə ta a huə gəN' 't' a'x | ... | a huə gəN' 't' a'x | 896P
ar an leic atá ó THUAIDH dhen teach.

The same speaker, **896P**, has regular **ɑ:(i)** for the preposition *ó*, e.g.

ɑ' hun' 896P ó shoin, a wa'd' ən' 896P ó mhaidin.

The forms **her' ə** and **hiær ə** preceding *domhan* occur in a traditional run in:

ənsə nax m'et fe her' ə daun na hiær ə daun | na er' ə yr'im' ə daun' |
e:ŋ ɣa'sk' iəx ə v'əx əŋ xurhə l'ej' (Smbb)04B

insa nach mbeadh sé THOIR AN DOMHAN ná THIAR AN DOMHAN, ná ar dhroim an domhain, aon ghaiscíoch a bheadh inchurtha leis;

| sə nɑ: rɛ fe her' ə daun nɑ: hiær ə daun | eŋ ɣa'f'k' iəx ... (Smbb)04B

sa nár raibh sé THOIR AN DOMHAN ná THIAR AN DOMHAN aon ghaiscíoch ... ;

also *A leithéid de rúpáil ... , ní raibh ó THOIR AN DOMHAIN go dtí THIAR AN DOMHAIN. Clad176.*

Cp. *ó thuar an domhain go thiar an domhain* 'from one end of the world to the other' Dinn s.v. *tuar*.

There is an example of **əN'er'** (perhaps a slip of the tongue in assimilation (with preceding and following **əN'**)) in:

əN' ju:d ə xriN' əN' in əN'er' ogəs əN' iær 04B1

ansiúd a chruinnigh AN FHIONN ANOIR AGUS ANIAR.

Two young speakers were noted with the variant **fer' 72N** (Maínis), **80M** (Leitir hArd) *soir* (through analogy with *siar*) and speakers **66L** and her brother **72N** have **əN'er' anoir** (through analogy with **əN' iær aniar** and probably **fer'**).

The toponyms which are common in tales, *An Domhan Thoir* and *An Domhan Thiar*, occur as such in both position (as locations) and goal contexts (as destinations). They are sometimes referred to as *An Domhan Soir* and *An Domhan Siar* in goal contexts but also in position contexts, e.g.

a dhul ... GON DOMHAN SOIR. 866ESc102.31;

do mhac rí in Éirinn ag dul DON DOMHAN SOIR nó go ndeachaigh sé i dtír SA DOMHAN SOIR. Sc45.13;

a dhul GO DTÍ TEACH RÍ AN DOMHAN SIAR [x2] ... nó go dtáinig sé i dtír DON DOMHAN SIAR ... nuair a tháinig sé i dtír SA DOMHAN THIAR Sc50.2-19;

7 í 'DIANÚ ARA' DOMHAN THIAR (run)894C2;

-Tá beirt dreatháir agam SA DOMHAN SOIR, ... nach ngabhfaidh sé chomh fada LEIS A' DOMHAN SOIR ... GO DTÍ AN DOMHAN SOIR. **864MDT71**;
cp. go na ríochta soir ... go na ríochta siar **866ESc102.27–33**.

8.189 *síos ó thuaidh; suas ó dheas*

In the diagram illustrating this system, *siar is aniar* (8.188), the conventional positions of north and south have been reversed. This was done in order to illustrate the relation between compass adverbs and the *suas is anuas* set. The *suas* subset can denote the south compass subset; the *síos* subset can denote the north subset. In fact the *suas is anuas* set is more usually used, instead of north–south (*ó dheas, ó thuaidh*, etc.) or in conjunction with it, apart from phrases which qualify *gaoith(e)* indicating wind position and direction. For example:

thugadar síos go Dún na nGall is na háiteachaí sin iad. **892Mg**;
Ó Bhaile Con Fhaoltha ... go ndeachaigh sé an fhad síos le áit eicínt thmpeall is gar dhon Chaoláire Rua **11C3355**,
THÍOS ansin i Maigh Cuilinn ARN7786.

Apart from complex compass adverbs, I have instances of source *aduaidh* and *aneas* following *gaoith(e)* only. Some uses of these *suas is anuas* adverbs are difficult to classify because precise reference is not always clear. For instance, Máire and Seán consistently use:

síos / THÍOS ag an seanteach [north of dwelling house in Cartúr, Maínis],
SUAS / THUAS ag an Trá Mhóir [south of dwelling house] SM.

The *seanteach* in question is actually in a slightly higher position than the dwelling place and *An Trá Mhóir* is in a lower position (at sea level). This would lead one to believe that the adverbs convey compass direction. Cartúr in Maínis, however, has a clear general slope from the higher south to the low-lying north so that the adverbs may convey direction in relation to the overall lie of the land rather than individual points on it. This generalised topographical interpretation is supported by the common collocation in:

síos dhon / THÍOS sa Meall Rua [south of dwelling house] SM.

Much of *An Meall Rua* in Maínis is actually higher than Seán and Máire's house but *An Meall Rua* slopes distinctly downwards in a north to south direction from higher central Maínis.

8.190 Other directions

The *suas is anuas* set can, however, also indicate other directions (see 14). For example, the use of *thuas* in reference to the areas of *Glinsce* and *An Caiseal* may convey the meaning 'landward (in a bay)', e.g.

THUAS i nGlinsce **11C**, north from Maínis, position of speaker, and
THUAS ar an gCaiseal,

refers to *An Caiseal* north of Iorras Aithneach, and, in the same area:

THUAS i gCeannúir **11C**.

In these three examples the apparent topographical or maritime reference and the compass reference would in fact be in contrast. Other examples of geographical use of *thuas* (*anuas*) outside of the strict meanings of both up–down and north–south are:

i Muirisc i gCondae Mhaigh Eo ... rith sé ANUAS, a, chaith sé thíocht ANUAS u-, bealach Chonamara, ANUAS trasna ansin ARN7425–6;
gur ANUAS as Cúige Laighean a tháinig sé ARN7536 (to Iorras Aithneach).

Similarly, there is opposite reference to the compass position of *thíos* ‘north’ in:

THÍOS sa sain i gCorcaigh. 11C (*Corcaigh* (Cork) is south of Iorras Aithneach).

Adverbs in the *siar* and *soir* subsets are used far more commonly than *ó thuaidh* and *ó dheas* so that, for example, an actual compass reference such as north-north-east will often be described as *soir / thoir* (even though *ó thuaidh* would be logically more accurate). Similarly, *An Coillín* is referred to by speaker **73P**, situated in West Maínis, with *siar / thiar* although *An Coillín* is situated directly north of Maínis. The *siar / thiar* reference by speaker **73P** seems explicable from the direction of the road from Maínis which turns west through *Carna* to *An Coillín*.

8.191 Use other than compass

Use of *siar* and related forms is by no means confined to compass direction, e.g.

dhírigh cailleach ANIAR as an bhfuaigh chaige 11C;

shiúil sí SIAR 's ANIAR an t-urlár 11C;

d'imigh Mac Dé amach roimhe, agus bhí sé [i.e. Naomh Peadar] ANIAR ina dhiaidh S.

taobh thiar often lacks compass reference, simply meaning ‘behind’. In more restricted use *aniar* can also lack compass reference and mean ‘from behind’, e.g. *aniar thar a dhroim*. An example of *taobh thiar* in conjunction with *taobh thoir* where compass reference is weakened or irrelevant and where one could translate loosely ‘on one side ... on the other (side)’ occurs in:

dornán eile a leagan tao' THIAIR de agus dornán eile a leagan taobh THOIR de ti:w hor' d'e 894Cst.

The use of *siar* in reference to rooms in a house (traditionally bedrooms from a central kitchen), i.e. *siar sa seomra (mór / beag)* (14 *siar* 7; cf. *aníos, suas* 2), may conflict with actual compass reference as instanced in:

-Leagthaidh tú an clog atá i siumra Pheigí SIAR ánn. 66N

-Sa siúmra THOIR?

-Sea. Leag SIAR sa siumra THOIR e! 66N.

Note the use of *siar*, where *aniar* seems more logical, in the idiomatic *bain siar as* ‘take revenge’, e.g.

tá súil a'm go mbaineann sí SIAR asad é 47P.

There is an idiomatic use of *thiar* exemplified in:

An té a bhíos lag bíonn THIAIR air go mion minic Clad248.

The common idiom *cuir soir* is noteworthy meaning ‘drive mad, insane’, e.g. *tá mé curtha soir a'd*, in reference to the mental institution St. Brigid’s Hospital, Béal Átha na Sluaighe (Ballinasloe) in East Co. Galway.

8.192 Complex compass adverbs

When two compass adverbs are conjoined the qualifier follows the *siar–soir* subset. There are two methods of postposition:

(1) Generally the head *siar–soir* element is the only indicator of source, goal or position to which the short variant of the source forms **duə** ‘*duaidh*’ and **ŋæ:s**

'neas are suffixed (irrespective of source, goal, or position).¹ The long by-form occurs optionally in at least *soir aneas*, possibly in *siar aneas*; the stress can be retained on (*a*)neas (at least). The *soir* subset has optional diphthongisation before 'neas, i.e. -er(ˈ)N'æ:s ~ -airN'æ:s; and the unstressed vowels of 'duaidh and 'neas can be reduced: **gi:hə** 'N'ĩrduə **892M**, 'N'ĩər^əduə **21Pt** *gaoithe aniar'duaidh*; **sairN'is** **31P** *soir'neas*, arguably /sairN'əs/. It may be significant that the commonest long variant in my notes is *soir aneas*. This may be innovative to provide morphological transparency avoiding diphthongisation in the initial syllable or reduction in the final syllable of *soir'neas*.

(2) A less common method was heard twice from speaker **12J**, and once from **21Pt**. In these examples the long qualifier indicates the spatial relation and the goal form of the head is used. One therefore has *siar ó dheas* (**12J**, **21Pt**) and *soir ó thuaidh* (**12J**) for more usual *thiar'neas* and *thoir'duaidh*. It is possible, however, that this usage is semantically distinctive from (1) and that head in usage (2) elements *siar* and *soir* retain goal function with speaker perspective.

	Complex form	Example
(1)	<i>aniar'duaidh</i>	<i>ina ghála gaoithe aniar'duaidh ə'N'ĩərduə</i> 18J , 21Pt .
	<i>aniar'neas</i>	<i>ina stoirm gaoithe aniar'neas ə'N'ĩrN'æ:s</i> 892M .
	<i>anoir'duaidh</i>	<i>gaoithe anoir'duaidh ə'ner'duə a bhí ann</i> 35E8307 .
	<i>anoir'neas</i>	ə'nairN'æ:s .
	<i>siar'duaidh</i>	<i>go dtéighe tú siar dtuaidh dhen ríocht agus go bhfiafraí tú dhen ...</i> 852SbLL107 .
	<i>siar aneas</i>	<i>uair a raibh sí amuich, siar aneas, fĩər^əN'æ:s ón(,) Oileán Iarthach,</i> 35E8297 .
	<i>siar'neas</i>	<i>an mhaidín seo, e-, siar'neas ó fĩər'N'æ:s o: Oileán Iarthach Árainn</i> 35E8306 .
	<i>soir aneas</i>	ser' ə'N'æ:s ə hain' fĩəd S <i>soir aneas a théann siad; nuair a theann an ghaoth roinnt soir aneas</i> 18J7984 ; <i>carraig ... soir aneas ser' ə'N'æ:s uaithi sin, sa gcuisle</i> 35E .
	<i>soir'neas</i>	<i>soir'duaidh ansin an bealach sin agus amach ansin soir'neas sairN'æ:s </i> 892Mg ;
	<i>soir'duaidh</i>	<i>díonamh soir'neas sairN'is mar sin ar Leitir Caltha.</i> 31P . <i>ansin, soir'duaidh se^ərduə ansin an bealach sin</i> 892Mg ;
	<i>thiar'duaidh</i>	<i>a dhul soir dtuaidh dhen ríocht agus cuid d'aeibh na hoil-phéiste a bhí ann a thabhairt chuige</i> 852SbLL113 . <i>san aer thiar-dtua</i> 894C2 ;
	<i>thiar'neas</i>	tí:v fĩn' hĩərduə je 896P <i>an taobh sin thiar'duaidh dhe</i> .
	<i>thoir'duaidh</i>	her'duə, horduə .
	<i>thoir'neas</i>	hairN'æ:s S.

¹ This system is logical only when both elements indicate source, e.g. *aniar'duaidh* 'from the northwest', but with the generalisation of 'duaidh and 'neas 'contradictory' forms occur. For example, *soir'duaidh* logically means 'towards the east from the north' but actually means 'towards the northeast'; the head *soir* alone indicating the spatial relation. The generalisation of the source forms in the qualifiers suggests that forms which etymologically have two source elements, such as *aniar'duaidh* and *anoir'neas*, were diachronically more salient, perhaps more frequent. Wind direction, where combined forms are most common, is of course typically specified with source compass adverbs. Note further that the form meaning logically 'towards the northeast' occurs in the minority combination (2) *soir ó thuaidh* but actually means 'in the northeast'. Cf. 1.59.

	Complex form	Example
(2)	<i>siar ó dheas</i>	tá fɛ fʲiər ɔ: jæs a'n 12J tá sé siar ó dheas ann; fʲiər ɔ: jæs gə v'ur 21Pt siar ó dheas dhe Bhior.
	<i>soir ó thuaidh</i>	tá fɛ ser' ɔ: huə a'n 12J tá sé soir ó thuaidh ann.

The forms **hor d'ə** and **hair d'ə** are attested only in:

... **hiər duə** ... **hor d'ə** ... sə g' a'n **hair d'ə** | ... **hor duə** **03V**
... *THIAR'DUAIDH* ... [?] ... *sa gceann* [?] ... *THOIR'DUAIDH*,

where **hor d'ə** corresponds to later **hor duə** and could perhaps best be taken as a form of *thoir'duaidh*, or perhaps both **hor d'ə** *thoir de* and **hair d'ə** are to be taken as *thoir de*.

Double qualification can coordinate with *agus*, in the examples especially involving direction, e.g.

friota beag gaoithe ADUAIDH AGUS ANOIR ADUAIDH. Clad24 'from the north northeast';

le croí gaoithe ANIAR AGUS ANIAR ANEAS. Clad20;

an linn dochuimsithe SIAR AGUS SIAR ANEAS Clad24;

tháinig corrbhraon báistí as gaoth cineál ANIAR AGUS ANIAR ADUAIDH. **866E-Sc25.36** (cp. *dtuaidh* > *aduidh* Sc308-1.8).

Without *agus*, examples involve position and three instances, given finally, with adverbs which are formally goal adverbs:

an ghaoth THOIR THOIR ADUAIDH Clad20;

an taobh ó DHEAS THOIR ANEAS. Clad26;

ag iomramh an bháid SOIR SOIR ANEAS, Clad26;

phreab an ghaoth beagán ó DHEAS SIAR ANEAS Clad171,

le bun na spéire ó dheas, agus ó DHEAS SIAR ANEAS, Clad19.

8.193 Perspective and focus in correlational spatial adverbs

An example of the contrast between position and source from speaker **11C** is:

(*An bhfeic*)eann tú an seanteach tao' *THIAR ansin? Tháinig tú ANIAR thairis*.

The perspective taken for the spatial reference of these adverbs can vary. Generally the perspective is that of the verbal subject or of the speaker. In the following example, the perspective of the subject of the verb is indicated in *soir* and of the narrator in *aniar*:

v' i: fɛ gɔf' ser' hær' hæx ə fɔbəl' s xín'ək' fɛ mid' ə'n' iər S

bhí sé ag goil SOIR thair theach an phobail is choinic sé muid ANIAR.

Here the narrator's position was further to the east (of the church in Carna) than the position of the subject of the verb. The sentence can be paraphrased in English as 'He was passing the church (moving) eastwards and he saw us from (his position to) the west (of us)'.
When the speaker's perspective is retained goal forms can be used for expected position forms, or alternatively the movement is being specified. For example, *siar* where *thiar* might be expected:

maik' əl' i:n' gɔt' ə ser' ə'r' i:ft' n' i: rə fɛ wɑ:d fʲiər M
(Tá) Maidhcilín gaibhte SOIR aríst ní raibh sé i bhfad SIAR,
'... he didn't spend long west (from here)'.
The goal and source forms can be used without a verb of movement:

-wil' fʲib' ə'nɔr' 50N *An bhfuil sib ANOIR?* 'Have you returned from the east?'

-ta: 51M Tá.

The adverb of position can be used when goal is also intended but with focus on the (eventual) position; as in:

A! ní dhearna sé ach é bhualadh THALL faoin mballa 11C;

Nuair a chuir sé an phuth sin amach bhuaíl sé THUAS faoin maide mulla' é.

852SbTS123, *Níl aon uair a tharrainn tú t'unáil i gcatha na hoíche nár bhuaíl tú THUAS faoin maide mulla' mé, 852SbTS126;*

a bhain an cochall contráth dhi ... rug sé air agus chuir sé ISTIGH lena chraiceann é. 852Sb (sic recte for *isteach* TS127; cp. *cuir ISTIGH lé do chraiceann é* TS126);

An bhfágthá ISTIGH me? P 'Would you (please) give me a lift in (to the island)?'

'téirigh thusa ar a dhruim agus fágfaidh sí THALL thú.' LL115 '... will take you over';

a ghoil amach ag iarraidh a chliabh múna nú go dtugad sé THÍOS in íochtar an bhaile ansin é. 05M;

ha:n'ək' k'e:ɪ:n' hiər æn' 16B *tháinig Céitín THÍAR a'inn* 'Céitín came to visit (to home) in the west (from speaker's current position)';

Goal for position is common in reference to and expectation of children's growth: *agus cuide dhen fheaimilt fós nach bhfuil SUAS 01P* '... not (yet) grown-up'.

Sometimes the perspective of the addressee is adopted, e.g.

cuirthidh muid an buidéal ANÍOS chugad M (Máire, on the ground, was going to lift up a bottle, using a pitchfork, to me on hay-loft).

There are of course many situations where a choice exists between two or more of the four subsystems of correlational adverbs. For example, referring to *Fínis*, an island, as well as using general *istigh i bhFínis*, both *thall i bhFínis* and *thoir i bhFínis* can be appropriate. In a given context where a body of water is of major relevance to the distance or separation, *thall* is commonly appropriate. Where a position follows movement toward the speaker, *abhus* is often used.¹

8.194 Change

There is a rare slip of the tongue in the following example where *anoir* is used for *aniar*:

nax m'í:d fe ner' kærnə | s | ə'n' iər | ə'n' iər ə kærnə 19P

nach mbíodh sé ANOIR Carna, is, aniar, ANIAR go Carna (where the second phrase is a correction of the first).

In younger speakers there are some signs of loss of distinctions. *aniar* for *anoir* occurs in:

ta fe t'æxt ə'n' iər ə'n' i'f 66N *tá sé ag teacht ANIAR anois*

'he is coming from the east now'.

Astonishingly, speaker **43M** was heard twice using *anoir* for *aniar*, and also sometimes *siar* for *soir*. In general, as far as I have experienced, imperfect acquisition of the correlational adverbials, especially the compass adverbs, is a good diagnostic for semi-speaker status (of generations born before c. 1980). Semi-speaker **70S**, for example, uses, as far as I recall, *thall* and *trasna* instead of compass adverbs. His *trasna* is doubtless a calque on 'over', which is used in the

¹ Separation by water is associated with *thall*, and position following movement is associated with *abhus* in CGT p. 262 (footnotes).

English of the area to translate *soir* and *thoir* (e.g. ‘over in Ardmore’ for *thoir san Aird Mhóir*) in contrast with ‘back’ for *siar* and *thiar* (e.g. ‘back in Mynish’ for *thiar i Mainis*). Speaker **70S** does not maintain the compass distinction with *trasna*: he uses *trasna* for traditional *soir / thoir* and *siar / thiar*. An even younger ‘full’ speaker, **78E**, was noted using *siar*, as well as *ar ais*, for noncompass meaning ‘(return) back’ where traditional dialect would have *ar ais* only. This speaker’s nontraditional use of *siar* seems to be attributable to an extension of the compass meaning of local English ‘back’ meaning *siar*.

8.195 5. *anseo, ansin, ansiúd, ann*

ann, the 3m of the preposition *i*, combines with the demonstrative adjectives in both pronominal and adverbial functions: *anseo* ‘in him, in it, in this, here’, *ansin* ‘in that, there’, *ansiúd* ‘in this / that, here / there’, *ansiúd* ‘in that (yon), there (yonder)’. The combination with *siud*, i.e. *ansiúd*, has been heard mostly in pronominal function. For variants and examples see also ‘Demonstratives’ (6.66, 6.67, 6.72, 6.78 ff.) including examples of *seo* used adverbially. Mention should also be made of the use of the 2sg pronoun in phrases with adverbial proximate deixis such as:

rugadh idir THÚ agus Baile Átha Cliath air 866ESc282.32
‘he was caught (somewhere) between here and Dublin’;

fin’ il’ a:n ed’ ar’ hu he:n’ s raunf’ t’ o:n S

sin oileán eidir THÚ HÉIN is ‘Roundstone’;

cp. *agus sin é an rud nach mbeidh caite go bhfeicfidh TÚ tráthnóna amáireach. 866ESc252.34 (8.127); go dté tú go* in the sense ‘as far as’.

ANN

Existential *ann* is used in apposition to other adverbs or as the verbal complement. It is optional, for example, in: *choinic muid é tá bliain ó shin (ann)*.

Cp. *tas æd he:n’ k’e:n i:f ə ro m’e n tɑ:m fin’ a:n M*

tá fhios a’ d héin cén aois a raibh mé an t-am sin ANN.

ANSEO, ANSIN, ANSIÚD

In these adverbs there is a tendency either to affricate the release of the nasal consonant before the *f*, or to elide the nasal, or to do both. This is particularly noticeable in some younger speakers. Speaker **04B** often uses *fu:d* and *ən’fu:d* as narrative devices but note one token of *ə’fu:d* in:

ogəs ə’fu:d ə’f’æx l’e f’ær gən v’ænu’ | ... ən’fu:d ə fkr’æd gil’ən
o:g 04B agus ANSIÚD isteach le fear gan bheannú ... ANSIÚD a scread
Guilean Óg,

where the token of *ə’fu:d* may be interpretable as *is iúd* (see 6.74).

The second adverb has no *n* in apparent dissimilation in:

| dæ:n’ fe ən’j’in’ əj’in’ | M d’fhan sé ANSIN ANSIN ‘... there then’ (13.16);

jēnhəd’i: fɑ:rfə n’fo sə fu:’d | 11C dhéanthaidís seáirse ANSEO is ANSIÚD;

v’id’ t’fe k’oi: ənū:n əj’in’ 46C bhíodh sé ag ceol ANONN ANSIN.

There may also be dissimilation between the two *ns* of *ansin* involved in the not uncommon by-form *ə’jin’ ansin* in contrast with the absence of **ə’fo anseo* in my notes. Loss of *n* is found in the by-form *ə’fo anseo*, heard from young speakers, younger than the oldest speaker who has *ə’jin’ ansin* in Table 8.11. In *ə’fo*

anseo, therefore, loss of *n* seems attributable to cluster simplification preceding **ʃ**. In **əʃin'** *ansin*, as with **əʃin'**, dissimilation with final *n* may also be a factor. The expression **go ʃo** *gabh anseo* is used when driving cattle; the original sense of *anseo* here has been rather 'bleached' (cf. 14 *gabh* 1).

Table 8.11 presents tokens mostly from speakers born in the mid-1960s and later.

Table 8.11 *anseo* and *ansin*, mainly younger speakers

Speaker	ANSEO			ANSIN			ANSIÚD
	ən'ʃo	ən'ʃo	əʃo	ən'ʃin'	ən'ʃin'	əʃin'	əʃu:d
Cp. 04B	+			+			1
Cp. 11C	+			+			1
Cp. 16M	+			+		+	
64C						1	
69S1							+
72A				mostly	1	1 (?)	
72C		+	+			+	
73P							+
78B	+	+					
78Pb		+				+	
78Rb		+	+			+	
79S			+			+	

Examples:

tor' hu'gumsə n'ʃo e | 11C *tabhair chugamsa ANSEO é;*
gəs əʃin' 73P *agus ANSIN;*
hart əʃo 72C *thart ANSEO;* | **ʃin' 78Rb** *ANSIN.*

anseo, etc., can clarify other adverbs, e.g.

əmix' ən'ʃo *AMUIGH ANSEO; THART ANSEO;*
Bhí fear ANSEO THUAS ar an gCaiseal ... 11C;
ənsə g'i:l', uəgn'əx, æft'əx, wi:rəʃ ən'ʃu:d hiər 11C
insa gcill uaigneach aisteach Mhaorais ANSIÚD THAR.

In fact the same or related adverbs can occur on both sides of the *anseo* set, e.g.

huəs ən'ʃid huəs 14M *THUAS ANSIUD THUAS;*
SIAR ANSIN THAR; THAR ANSIN THAR.

Repeated adverbs can occur on both sides of adverbial phrases, e.g.

sə 'ti:v ʃo | ner' o:ŋ gor'əb' ə'ner' | 11C
sa taobh seo ANOIR ón gCoirib ANOIR.

Similarly *amach tao' amach dhe* and *isteach tao' istigh dhe* cited below (8.196).

The following is an example of an adverb of place which refers to the location of the narrative rather than to the place of utterance:

lá arna mháireach tháinig na saighdiúir ANSEO, 866ESc278.14
 '... came to the same place (where the main action had taken place)'.
 For similar narrative reference with time adverbs, see 8.201.

8.196 *taobh* with correlational adverbs of place

taobh (... *dhe*) combines with sets 1–4 of the correlational adverbs, where it is

realised as **ti:w**, as in the unmarked noun, but also as **ti:**, less often as **í:i**, **í:i:w**.¹
There is also one recorded token of **tuw**:

| gə d'í: n tuw 'her' gə l'et'ər' 'a:rd 06C
go dtí AN TAOBH THOIR dhe Leitir hArd.

Examples

	ti:w, í:i:w	ti:, í:i:
<i>amach</i>		ti: ma:x 11C
<i>amuigh</i>		ti: mu 32J, ti: mū 64M í:i: mu 899P, 18J7303, 7308, 25M
<i>anonn</i>	go ti:w ə'nu:n M gabh taobh anonn	
<i>anuas</i>	hə:n'ək' fe ti:w ə'nuəs M <i>tháinig sé taobh anuas</i>	
<i>abhus</i>	ti:w ə'wus gə'n' í:æ:x M <i>taobh abhus dhen teach</i>	ti: wus gə ɣa:ri: wā:t'u: M <i>taobh abhus dhe Gharraí Mhaitiú</i> ti: wus ə'r'í:ft' taobh abhus aríst ə gəl' ti: ft'æ:x gə v'e:l M <i>ag goil taobh isteach dhá bhéal</i> <i>ná ar ní a bich gá raibh tao' 'stigh, dhe</i> gə: ro í:i: ft'í gə cheantar ná dhe <i>chaolachaí an bháid, 06C</i>
<i>isteach</i>		
<i>istigh</i>		
<i>ó dheas</i>	ti:w o: jæ:s generally í:i:w o: jæ:s 25M	
<i>ó thuaidh</i>	ti:w o: huə generally í:i:w o: huə 25M	ən ti: o: huə 60M an taobh ó thuaidh
<i>soir</i>	<i>fear as taobh soir dhen chondae</i> <i>seo 06C</i>	
<i>thoir</i>		í:i: her' gə ... 79Jg and sister 82B
<i>thall</i>	ti:v həl gə xū:n 18J8063 b'as <i>taobh thall dhe chuan ansin</i> <i>thall é</i>	ti: həl gə xlai S, ti: həl gə xu:n SM <i>taobh thall dhe chlaí, taobh thall dhe</i> <i>chuan, seanfhear tui' thall de ar a'</i> <i>taobh eile 866EÓC220</i>
<i>thiar</i>		ti: hīər gəɣ xlai tao' thiar dhen chlaí <i>agus siúd suas, tao' suas dh'inín an</i> <i>ard-dhuine uasail é. 866Et, also</i> <i>Sc203.26</i>
<i>suas</i>		
<i>thuas</i>		go ti: huəs M gabh taobh thuas

Further examples:

gur dhíbríodar TAOBH AMACH ti: ma:x dhe gheataí na rillic aríst é. 11C;
bhí dhá theach comharsan fadó amach in aice — AMACH TAOBH AMACH ti: max dhen
Chaoláire Rua in áit eicín amach ansin. 11C;
caithe muid an teach a phéinteáil TAOBH AMUIGH;
-Má bhíonn aon áit agáí dhom. -Marab é ' chaoi go gcuirtheadh muid TAOBH AMUIGH
ar an teach thú (beidh fáilte romhat). S;
TAO' AMUICH ANSIN dhe Spaidhc 31P;
Níor ól se aon deoir le fada TAOBH ISTEACH gá bhéal M;
isteach TAO' ISTIGH gá thairseach ní ligthidh sé go deo thú.

Cp. the use of *taobh thall* as a noun:

æs ə ti:w həl AS AN TAOBH THALL and **æs ti: həl iəd** S AS TAOBH THALL *iad*,
both phrases meaning 'from Na hOileáin' across the bay to the east of Iorras Aithneach.

¹ With the demonstratives (corresponding to *anseo*, etc., set 5) nominal phrases occur, e.g. *ar an taobh seo, sa taobh sin*.

Similarly:

Beidh cuimhre á'm chúns mhairheas mé ar chailín AN TAOBH THÁLL !00M CABI §23(a) v. 1.

8.197 Noncorrelational simple adverbs of place; *abhaile* — *avae*

ABHAILE goal, SA MBAILE (less often AG BAILE) position, Ó BHAILE (AS BAILE) absence; ə'wal'ə, sə mal'ə (eg' bal'ə), o: wal'ə

Gabh ABHAILE! S. Tá tú i bhfad Ó BHAILE anis. S.

AMÚ ə'mu:

Tá mé ag goil AMÚ. S; Bhí sé curtha AMÚ aige seo orthub ARN2756.

AR AIS er' əf, er' əf, ər' əf, ər' əf, ɪ'əf (rare), 'back'; cf. *thar* (n-)ais (8.198)

Also with extended meanings 'back (into previous condition), instead; delay'.

er' əf tɑ: tu: er' əf S tá tú AR AIS.

er' əf má bhíonn sí millte ... nach bhféadthaidh tú ceann eile a dhíonamh AR AIS? er' əf | 11C;

eř' əf ~ eř' əf ~ er' əf 35E.

ar ais Chuaidh an sagart abhaile AR AIS. 864MDT12;

Rinne sé long AR AIS den charraig 866ESc130.34;

Dúirt sé go gcaithfeadh sé an pósadh a chur AR AIS. Sc239.18 'postpone'.

ər' əf b'ei m'e: ər' a:f ... 46.902 beidh mé AR AIS ... ;

k'e:nuər' ə 'h'iqkəs tu: ər' a:f 46.947 cén uair a thiocthas tú AR AIS?

ər' əf v' i:dər ər' əf 04B bhíodar AR AIS.

ɪ'əf ... m'e ɪ'əf ər' i:ft' 23J ... mé AR AIS aríst.

With possessive pronoun, now obsolescent, e.g.

1sg nu gə d'ig'ə m'ijə er'ə māj 866E nó go dtige mise AR M' AIS (other examples 866ESemr102, 108);

2sg Teiri' AR T' AIS 870B2, ... ghoil AR T' AIS. er' tæ:f 889P, D'fhill tú AR T' AIS S;

3f ... ARA H AIS, 869P2;

1pl nuair a chasfas muid ARA N- AIS [E. Ó Neachtain ÓC196];

3pl d'fhilladar ARA N- AIS 876Jt.

There is an example of *ar a hais* (formally 3f) for *ar a ais* (3m) in:

nó gur tháinic sé ARA H AIS agus go bhfuair sé a chulaith aríst 897P.

AR SIÚL

(ə) sru:l d' i:nə sru:l | ɪ' ε mřā: 17M déanamh AR SIÚL le mná.

(ə) sru:l ɪ' d' i:nə sru:l ɪ' εf ə | ... 30Ms déanamh AR SIÚL leis an,

(ə) fru:l ka fru:l e Caith AR SIÚL é!

(ə) ʃu:l kroxu: ʃu:l m' ē ... 11C crochadh AR SIÚL mé

ɪ' α: ʃi ʃu:l or' ə bi:n't' ə | 898P leáigh sí AR SIÚL ar an bpointe.

er ʃu:l ,n' i:r ɪ' ig' ʃè er ʃu:l m' è, 46.1010 níor lig sé AR SIÚL mé;

ax v'i: mid' er f'u:l | **18J**7235 *ach bhí muid* AR SIÚL.
or f'u:l **gol'** ə d'ĩ:n or 'f'u: ɾo:b | **18J** *ag goil ag déanamh* AR SIÚL *leothub*.
er fru:l ~ **er** sru:l **894Bl**.
(ə) fu:l ... xahə fu:l ... *a chaitheamh* AR SIÚL.

AS

tá an tine AS *orainn* M.

AVAE (< away)

æ'we: ,æ'we: ɾe du:nəl ... **17M** AVAE *le Dónall*
ə'we: ə'we: ɾef ən'fĩn' snə ga:fi: g'e:rə | bĩn'i: b'e:rə | kɪfĩm'eg'əxi:
tolkəntə **ta**:lkəntə **mar** v'ix ə:n sən ə:m **19P**
 AVAE *leis ansin sna gaisí géara, sna boinní béara, sna coismeigeachaí*
tolcanta talcanta mar bhíodh ann san am (in run).

8.198 *beaic* — *trasna*

BEAIC (< back, 11.171)

'Ní thioctaidh tú *BEAIC go deo aríst anseo*.' (Suda)**894Cs**.
b'æ:k' ə'r'i:ft' [x2] **21Pt1** *BEAIC aríst*.

BUNA(S) SCINE 'inside out'; cp. *mar is cionn* further below

ta də hr'ausər ti:w bunəs f'k'in'ə ort, ti:w bunə f'k'in' ort M
tá do threabhsar taobh BUNAS SCINE ort, taobh BUNA SCINE ort.
 Neither Seán (Máire's husband) nor **43M** (Máire's daughter) use this adverb.
 Cp. *bun as cionn* 'upside down' in possessive construction:
 (é a chuir) **bun as ə** x'i:n [x2] Mt.tí *bun as a chionn*;
kir' ə wun əs ə x'i:n **19P** *cuir a bhun as a chionn*.

FAOI GCUAIRT, FAOIN GCUAIRT, MÁGUAIRT

faoi gcuairt *casadh* FAOI GCUAIRT. **889P**.
chuir sé an ceapsail trí nó ceathair dhe chuarta FAOI GCUAIRT
tr'i: nū k'æ'r' ə 'xuərtə fi: 'guərt' 892Mg;
 (Bhí) *sí ag imeacht* FAOI GCUAIRT *ariamh nó gur chuir sí aithne*
air agus é ag obair thart ann. **11C**;
bhí mé ag goil FAOI GCUAIRT *go dtáinic meabhrán i mo chloig-*
eann Sq, FAOI GCUAIRT *ar an gcoca* Sq.
faoin gcuairt ... *gá chasa* FAOIN GCUAIRT **869P2**; FAOIN GCUAIRT *ortha* Sq.
 With higher register realisation of the preposition *faoi* in:
Is tíurthaidh mé an chuairt údán FAOIN GCUAIRT **f'e:n guərt'** *ar*
mo ghaolta !ZCP155.
ma:guərt' v'i:t' fe d'ifə ma:guərt' **24N** *bhíodh sé i dtíofa* MÁGUAIRT.

I LEITH ə L' e

hug fe | ə L' e | m bə:d | **25T** *thug sé* I LEITH *an bád*.
to:r' ə L' e **hugəm e** M *tabhair* I LEITH *chugam é*; **ɾ'ə:n** ə L' e S *teann* I LEITH.
ɾ'æ:rə L' e S *teara* I LEITH; **ɾ'æ:rə** L' eh ən'f'o SM *teara* I LEITH *anseo*.
 'tar aníos I LEITH i do leon nimhe san aer chomh fada liom' **866E**Sc52.33.
 Most often with *gabh*, e.g.

go l'eh ən'fo 11Ct *gabh I LEITH anseo.*

Now mostly lexicalised to **gol'ə**, 5.329. Common as discourse marker soliciting attention, 'well, listen', hence in this function perhaps more frequently with the stress on *leith*, e.g.

gol'ə ə n'æ:n' | wil' 'tisə ... M *gabh I LEITH, a Neain, an bhfuil tusa ... ?*

LÁITHREACH la:r'həx

Tháinic Cú Bhán a' tSléibhe héin LÁITHREACH. 852SbTS146.

Tháinic Scológ na Féasóige Léithe LÁITHREACH agus a bheirt inín in éineach' leis, ... Tháinic a' Scológ thart. 852SbTS131.

MAR IS CIONN 'inside out', cp. *buna(s) scine* above
an taobh MAR-IS-CIONN a chur amach 894C2.

THAR AIS, THAR N-AIS har (n)æ:f; cf. *ar ais* (8.197)

xuə fe: hərəf ɡən jre:ɡ 46.I.53–4 *chuaigh sé THAR AIS dhon Ghréig.*

Used jocosely by Seán, which indicates its obsolescent character in contrast with more usual *ar ais*, in:

wil' tu: har næ:f S *an bhfuil tú THAR N-AIS?*

THART hæ:rt

bhí mac Mhicil ag goil THART ann S.

nuair a bhí an trioblóid uiliug THART, tháinig sé amach aríst. ARN7503.

T(H)IMPEALL hi(ɔ)mp(ɔ)əl

Gabh THIMPEALL! S.

TRASNA træ:snə

agus báitheadh bád ann an lá sin, a bhí ag goil soir TRASNA go Roisín na Mainchíoch. ARN1664.

8.199 Complex adverbs of place

ar aghaidh; ar dheis; ar chlé / ar chlí; ar deireadh (e.g. *d'fhág sé sin muid i bhfad ar deireadh. ARN7232*); *ar gcúl; i láthair*, also *sa láthair* (e.g. *Sc238*); *in airde; un bealaigh* (e.g. **866ESc44.16**); *un bóthair* (e.g. ... *gur tugadh un bóthair í. ... Bhí sé creidhtí acub seo glan plánáilte gurb é ' chaoi ar crochadh un bóthair an bhó. 35E7361–3*); *un deireadh; un tosaigh; dho leataobh; in íochtar; in uachtar*. Also note *ar an mbealach, in aon áit, in áit eicint, thar lear*.

I BHFAD ə wə:d

d'fhág sé sin muid I BHFAD ar deireadh. ARN7232.

tá sé I BHFAD san oíche ARN2184.

Cp. *Ní raibh I BHFAD imí acub ... [x2] 35E.*

UN CINN əŋ(ɔ) k'i:n'

ka:s əŋ k'i:n' i M *cas UN CINN í.*

fe: ən fl'æ:n' ə xor' ə ri: əŋ' k'i:n' du:rʃ fe ... 11Ct

sé an phleain a chuir an rí UN CINN, dúirt sé

Combinations of place adverbs are common: *thart soir, thart siar, thart timpeall, siar amach*. Coordinated example: *abhus is thall*. Cp. the time adverb in:

bhí sé CHEANA an lá CHEANA ann M.

8.200 Time; Simple adverbs

There is a lexical class consisting of the basic items *inniu, anocht, i mbliana*, which has present reference (also future in the case of *anocht*). Most of these items have independent lexemes to refer to one degree removed from the base (e.g. base *inniu* vs. *inné*) which in turn can be qualified by *arú* to express two degrees removed from the base (e.g. *arú inné*). Three degrees are sometimes expressed by *arú arú* (in *arú arú inné*). The demonstrative *seo* (present) and phrases *seo caite* (past) and *seo chugainn*, (future, less often *seo chugad*) as well as *an chéad ... eile* (future) are used where there is no special lexeme. This class can be set out as follows:

	←	↑	→	
<i>arú inné</i>	<i>inné</i>	<i>inniu</i>	<i>amáireach</i>	<i>arú amáireach</i>
<i>arú aréir</i>	<i>aréir</i>	<i>anocht</i>	(<i>san oíche</i> <i>amáireach</i>)	(<i>san oíche arú</i> <i>amáireach</i>)
<i>arú anuraidh</i>	<i>anuraidh</i>	<i>i mbliana</i>	(<i>an chéad bhliain eile</i>)	
	<i>an tseachtain seo caite</i>	<i>an tseachtain seo</i>	<i>an tseachtain seo chugainn</i>	

For forms of *seo chugainn*, see ‘Prepositions’ (7.8 ff.). There is also the adverbial phrase *larnə wər ɔx lá arna mháireach*, made up of *lá* and a form related to *amáireach*, also *an chéad lá eile*, and *an lá dhár gcionn*. For the forms of *dhár gcionn* see ‘Possessive pronouns’ (6.36).

There is formal variation in: *INNÉ ɔ́N'É; ɔ́N'e;* *INNIU ɔ́N'uw, ɔ́N'u, ɔ́N'i*. Similar to other adverbs, these adverbs can occur as objects of prepositions:

Agus síleann tú nach bhfuil tú anseo ach ó INNÉ go dtí INNIU 852SbTS147;
similarly, *Níor chlis Sé anois ach an oiread le ARIAMH*, Clad1193.

Qualification of other time nouns is common, e.g.

ar maidin inniu / amáireach, tráthnóna amáireach, go dtí maidin lá arna mháireach, go raibh sé an dó dhéag lárna mháireach, roimh éirí na gréine amáireach, an lá inné / inniu / amáireach, an t-am seo amáireach.

8.201 Reference

Reference can be to a time or period other than that of the utterance. In narrative, for example, *inné* or *aréir* (optionally qualified by postposed *roimhe sin*) can often be translated as ‘the previous day or night (before the time of the narrative)’. Similarly, *amáireach* can mean ‘the following day (in the past)’, *inniu* ‘present day (of the narrative)’, and *seo* used in a temporal sense can have narrative reference. Examples of adverbs of time with narrative reference are:

an bád ... ní raibh inti ach aon duine amháin. Bhíodh beirt gach uile lá inti go dtí INNIU. 866ESc243.10 ‘... until the (narrative) day in question’;
agus pé ar bith anró ná aistreachas a ndeachaigh sí inné tríd chuaigh sí trína sheacht n-oiread INNIU Sc161.25;

dúirt sé le gach uile dhuine dá raibh timpeall a bheith ag an Aifreann AMÁIREACH agus go bhfeicfidís ... agus bhí mac óg ó ARÉIR roimhe sin aici. Sc212.11–5; also Sc162.7;
Agus nuair a d'imigh, bhuail aiféala an sagart óg ón Domhnach seo go dtí an chéad Domhnach eile. Agus dúirt sé le gach uile fhear agus gach uile bhean dá raibh ag an bpobal Dé Domhnaigh seo caite a bheith ann DÉ DOMHNAIGH SEO CHUGAT. Sc213.18;
Thugadar suas an cogadh an lá sin go dtí AMÁIREACH. Sc34.26, also LL24;
Bhí Cú Bhán a' tSléibhe i bhfad sa mbail' ANOCHT i dtosach ar aon oíche' eile 'á ro' sé ruimhe sin; ... ní ro' aon néal ar Chú Bhán a' tSléibhe ANOCHT. 852SbTS145;
an t-earrach a chuir anseo i MBLIANA. Nuair a bheadh sé tóigthithe aríst acub, an fómhar, ghothaidís in áit eicint eile 11C;
Bhí a athair agus a mháthair caillte ANOIS ǽn'ij agus bhí sé fágthaí sa teach leis héin. 11C.

Cp. *anseo* with narrative place reference (8.195); *faoi láthair* (8.208).

8.202 General

Temporal adjectives can be used adverbially, e.g. (*go*) *deireanach*, (*go*) *moch*, (*go*) *luath*. Adjectives and some adverbs can be used adverbially in the equative and comparative and with the excessive prefix *ro-*, e.g.

chomh luath céanna; níos minicí; ro-luath, ro-mhínic.

There is a special equative and comparative form *túisce*, e.g.

chomh túisce leat; bheith sa mbaile níos túisce 11C.

Nouns denoting periods of time can be used as adverbs, e.g.

athuair (e.g. 46.695), *geábh*, *lá*, *maidin*, *nóiméad*, *oíche*, *píosa*, *scaitheamh*, *scaithín*, *seáirse*, *seal*, *tamall*, *teorain* (< turn), *tráthnóna*, *truíp* (< trip), *uair*; including plurals: *amantaí*, *Aoinéachaí*, *laethantaí*, *maidineachaí* (e.g. *Is minic i lár an gheimhridh, maidineacha seaca, a d'fheicfeá ... Clad231*), *scaití*, *uaireantaí*.

Such nouns can be qualified by adjectives, including numerals, prefixes, adverbs; by other nouns, and by relative clauses, e.g.

an chéad mhí eile;

a liachtaí uair, aon uair, uair eicint, uair annamh, uair ar bith, an uair sin (e.g. *anois agus an uair sin*; cp. 1.306), *corruair, uair an chloig, uair an chloig ó shin, cupla uair den lá* (e.g. 866ESc35.25);

dhá lá, drochlá, an lá cheana, an lá céanna;

píosa deas den oíche ann (e.g. Sc38.30);

an pointe atá ann (e.g. Sc34.35).

The sandhi rule changing final *-ə* to *-əw* / *-u*: (before the initial vowel of certain lexemes) affects a small class of nonverbal nouns. This class typically occurs in adverbial use (2.52 ff.) including, for example, *deireadh* in temporal function, e.g. (note the main stress on the head noun)

Sé an t-ám a mbeitheá ag goil amach, deireadh oíche, | 'd' er' u: i: h̃ | 20A.

Adverbial phrases with the preposition *i* are common, e.g.

sa deireadh thiar thall; sa lá atá inniubh ann;

insan am sin dhen tsaol 11C; and (with *am* twice):

insan am sin, an chéad am dhe sin, ba rópa cráibe ... 01ARN6144.

8.203 Other prepositions

There are many other prepositional phrases and other nominal phrases commonly used adverbially, many with specialised meaning, e.g.

<i>ar</i>	<i>ar an aimsir seo, ar an bpointe (bois(e)), ar an nóiméad, ar maidin.</i> Also <i>ar an bhfad a caitheadh</i> 12Sperm (GCF §403).
<i>ar feadh</i>	<i>ar feadh an tsaoil.</i>
<i>as</i>	<i>as seo amach, as deireadh.</i>
<i>faoi</i>	<i>faoi dheireadh (thiar (thall)), faoi dheireadh is faoi dhó.</i>
<i>dhe</i>	<i>dhe ló is dh'oíche, (dhe) shiúl oíche, e.g. am ək'ín' hju:l 'i:hə</i> <i>P am eicín shiúl oíche.</i>
<i>go</i>	<i>go deireadh.</i>
<i>go dtige</i>	<i>go dtige sin</i> 866E .
<i>i rith</i>	<i>i rith an ama.</i>
<i>le</i>	<i>le deireanas, also le deireanacht</i> 23Jt , <i>le ré-achar, le seachtain;</i> <i>ar maidin leis an lá; le iompú boise</i> (866ESc71.32).
<i>ó</i>	<i>ó ló, ó thús, ó thús deireadh go tosaigh.</i> Also <i>o: wa'd'ən' gə fi:hən' S ó mhaidín go faoithin.</i>
<i>roimhe</i>	<i>roimhe seo, roimhe sin.</i>
<i>un</i>	<i>un tosaigh.</i>
<i>thar éis</i>	<i>thar éis scaitheamh, thar éis tamaill.</i>
time noun	<i>scaitheamh dhen tsaol, uair sa gcéad.</i>

8.204 Demonstratives, etc.

Time adverbs are common with the demonstratives *seo* and *sin*, e.g.

as sin (tháinig sé as SIN go dtí an deich a chlog ARN7311 'he came some time between then and ten o'clock'; *as SIN go ceann scaitheamh, tháinic ... P*),

faoi seo, go dtí seo, go dtí sin, ina dhiaidh sin; lexicalised in *ó shoin*.

Two numerals, *dó* and *céad*, modified by the preposition *faoi* denote frequency:

faoi dhó (very common), *faoi chéad* Sq.

Ordinals can indicate adverbial status, e.g.

badh í an Caolán a tháinic AN DARNA BÁD ... agus badh í an Calumbaí a tháinic AN TRÍOBHÚ BÁD. ARN7096–8.

Place adverbs are used figuratively (others are more routinised and are listed in the following section):

AMACH: amach san oíche; amach faoi Fhéil Michíl; amach sa 'July'; amach sa bhfómhar; amach sa mbliain; amach sna blianta.

AMACH ANSEO: amach anseo.

ANUAS: -... tá sí go han-dona tinn, a deir sí, le seachtain anuas ARN2542.

Examples of relevant adjectives are:

FADA: d'éirigh scéal eile ... agus déarthainn nach an-fhada blianta ó d'éirigh sé. ARN2265.

GEARR: gearr, (go) gearr gairid.

RIGLEÁILTE: ag obair rigleáilte (< regular).

TANAÍ: is go tanaí é [GCF §403] **12Sperm**.

Combination of time adverbials is common; see examples under *achoíchin*, *ariamh* and *cheana* below.

8.205 *achoíchin* — *as láimh*

ACHOÍCHIN, CHOÍCHIN (ə)xi:hənʰ

d'aul gr'i:m' i:səs tu xi:hənʰ wohəb jin' 11C

deabhal greim a íosas tú CHOÍCHIN uathub sin.

ACHOÍCHIN ná go brách; feasta CHOÍCHIN; CHOÍCHIN ná go deo.

A CHÉADUAIR, AN CHÉADUAIR

ə 'x' e:duər' o:l ə ʧ e: 'x' e:duər' 23B *ól an tae A CHÉADUAIR.*

... pɔ:rtər' ə 'x' e:duər' 23B ... *pórtair A CHÉADUAIR.*

n' 'x' e:duər' Ba rópaí cráibe choinic mise AN CHÉADUAIR m'ifə n' 'x' e:duər' dhá gcuir orthub ach bhí siad ag cuir an mineil sa deireadh orthub. 01C6045.

Only in elicitation has the nasal consonant (of the article) been heard from speakers 16M and 23B:

ith do dhinnéar AN CHÉADUAIR əŋ 'x' e:duər' Mq,

ŋ 'x' e:duər' 23Bq.

ANOIS ə'n'if, ə'n'if, rare ə'nif

ə'n'if 894Cs, 04B, 15P, 27M (also 'n'if 04B).

ə'n'if is by far the commonest variant, e.g. 04B, 12S, 16M, 19P, 25T.

ə'nif 03C, and some of the younger generation, e.g. 55J, 66N.

Níl maith a bith dhomsa ANOIS ə'n'if ann. 11C.

n'í he' f'ærəxt ə'n'if e 899N ní hé fearacht ANOIS é.

Also *anois* *agus an uair sin*, cp. *inniu agus an lá sin*. Cf. 8.227.

ANSIN ən'jin' (8.195)

Bhuel crochthaidh tú ANSIN é, ar thaobh an bhalla, go ceann dhá lá, 894Cs.

AR BALL er' bæ:l, AR BAILLÍN er' bæ:l'in'

Bhuel bhí na gáillí [for more usual gálaí 'instalments'] ag rith suas ansin. AR

BALL ansin thugadar leothub iad 892Mg.

Bhí sé ag tíoht amach an-mhí'úinte AR BALL. 892M4012.

AR BALL beag, AR BAILLÍN beag.

ARIAMH ə'r' iəw

ta slám a'm ə'r' iəw 20Mlt tá slam a'm ARIAMH.

ní fhaca muid ARIAMH ó shin é; ARIAMH sa saol.

níor chuala mise ag góil fhoinn ARIAMH í 11C.

chum sé amhrán álainn ansin ach níor chuala mise ARIAMH de ach cupla focal 11C.

ag treobhadh na farraige fiabhnach uaigneach nar treobhadh ARIAMH roimhe is nach dtreobhfear aríst go brách (run)11C.

| ... | b'æk' nō lhlaurə | ə'r' iəw ə'r' iəw | nū' gə | nū:n't' a: e' | 894Cs

dhá thóigeál leat beaic ina shlabhra ariamh ARIAMH nó go ndúinteá é.

ARÍST ə'r' ijt'

'Again', e.g. *ar ais ARÍST S.*

'Afterwards, subsequently, at some future time', e.g.

beidh mé gan gal ARÍS(T) go dté mé abhaile pé ar bith am anocht é.
866ESc293.35;
an t-earrach a chuir anseo i mbliana. Nuair a bheadh sé tóighúthe ARÍST
acub, an fómhar, ghothaidís in áit eicint eile 11C;
chúns a bhím beo ARÍST ní, ní thiúrthaidh mé aon láimh dhó M.

AS LÁIMH æs la:v

Caithe muid isteach AS LÁIMH e S; Díon AS LÁIMH e S.

8.206 *cheana* — *fós*

CHEANA ha'nə

v' i fe ha:nə la ha:n ə:n M bhí sé CHEANA an lá cheana ann.

ha:nə xa:hə: v' e gli:x er' gə m'ox də fi:bə:n ka:t'ə M

CHEANA chaitheá a bheith ag glaoch air go mbeadh do phíobán caite.

-An bhfaca tú, a deir sí, an scian sin CHEANA ariamh? ARN2220.

agus sheol sé leis. Agus má sheol ariamh agus gur sheol CHEANA chonaic sé ...
 Sc243.

FAD Ó, FADÓ

fa'd o: *v' i: ə:n fa'd o: | ogəs əs fa'd o: v' i: ... (Smbb)04B*

bhí ann FAD Ó, agus is FAD Ó bhí

fado: *v' i: fe ə:n fado: S bhí sé ann FADÓ.*

Also adjectivally, e.g.

insan aimsir FADÓ roimhe sin, bhíodar ag ligean súgáin agus ag
dtonamh rópaí ... 11C.

Fronted, followed by negative relative clause, *fadó (...)* nach, in:

FADÓ NACH bhfaca mé mo dhreitheár 869P2;

FADÓ an lá NACH bhfaca mise ... 869P2;

Ach, is FADÓ ariamh an lá NAR raibh duine a bith ann a bhí i ndan súgán
tráithnín a ligean. 11C.

These can be translated, for example, as 'it is a long time since I have seen' or 'I haven't seen ... for a long time' (corresponding to unfronted *ní fhaca mé (...)* le *fada*).

Fronted followed by positive dependent clause in secondary future, *fadó (...)* go:

-Á, muise, a deir an bhean, dhá mba mé, a deir sí, is FADÓ an lá GO
n-ínseoinn go raibh t'athair san uamhain thalthúna tá tao' thiar dhe do
theach. 892M2035 '... I would have told long before now that ...'.

FEASTA f' æ'stə

N' i v' ēi n si:l' jin' 'æ:d f' æ'stə 11C ní bheidh an saol sin a'd FEASTA.

FEASTA choíchin S.

FÓS fɔ:s

níor tháinic sí FÓS M; tá sí beo FÓS; tá cuide dhe FÓS ann;

tiochaidh sé sa saol FÓS; tá sé luath FÓS.

8.207 (go) coitianta — síoraí(GO) COITIANTA **kit' iəntə**Sq, Mq. *Tá sé sin AN-CHOITIANTA a'inn M.*GO BRÁCH **gə brɑ:x***an bhfeicthidh muid GO BRÁCH aríst thú? M.**an galra sin ... ní imeoidh dhíotsa ná dh'aon-nduine dhá bhfuil sa teach ... GO BRÁCH... mara bpósa sí mise. 11C.**'Ach ar a bhfaca tú aríú 7 ar a bhfeicfe tú GO BRÁCH ná hoscail é go mbeidh na seacht mbliana thuas.' 866EÓC221.**ní beidh sí i gCill Chiaráin níos fuide GO BRÁCH, 01P '... no longer ever (i.e. never again)'.**As GO BRÁCH le chuile cheann dá chuid caorach ARN2666.*GO DEIREADH,¹ GO DEIREANACH **gə d'ər'ə / d'ər'(ə)nəx / d'ernəx***Mar a bhí muid ag caint GO DEIREANACH, an oíche dheirean-, GO DEIREADH 01P.*

GO DEO, GO DEO DEO, GO DEO NA NDEOR, GO DEO NA DÍLE

*'ní thiocthaidh tú beaic GO DEO aríst anseo.' (Suda)894Cs.**nach raibh ndán marú GO DEO DEO nɑ:n mɑ:ru' gə d' o: d' o' dho ... 00T.**Beidh tú, ' cuir fuinneamh GO DEO, insa bhfíodh, 894Cs.**deir siad ... má tá tú ag goil ag imeacht leis an artha mharaíthe atá acú seo, go bhfuil tú, cailte GO DEO, 06C.**Tosóidh sí ag seargadh is ag traobh is ag traobh is ag traobh, GO DEO is go brách nú go mbeidh sí chomh righin, agus go mbéarthá ortha, agus ní fhaca tú aon fhuip ariamh leihí capall a bhualadh chomh maith léithi, ceann acub. 894Cs (context: slat mhara).**GO DEO NA NDEOR; GO DEO NA DÍLE; gə d' o: iən daun' 23Ms GO DEO an domhain.*

GO FÓILL, (GO) FÓILLEACH(T), GO FÓILLÍN

*Fan ort GO FÓILL! S; fan GO FÓILLEACH! S.**dúirt sé go ngabhfadh sé amach GO FÓILL beag. 864MDT4.**-Ná bí ag caoineadh, a deir sé, GO FÓILLEACH. 11C; GO FÓILLEACHT 894C2.**-Ná bac, a deir sé, le ghoil abhaile, a deir sé, [pause] GO FÓILLEACHT, 11C.**Bhuel anis, fan FÓILLEACH! 11C1167 (rare without go, cp. ə fo:l', 8.180).*GO MINIC **gə m' in' ək'**, GO MION (AGUS GO) MINIC*chuala mé GO MINIC ag sean-ndaoine é 11C.**bhínn thiar ann GO MINIC roimhe seo 11C.**tháinig sé ag báisteach, mar ba MHINIC le báisteach a bheith sa tír, agus ... 11C.**chuaigh an bhean GO MION AGUS GO MINIC gə m' ūn əgəs gə m' in' ək' go dtí é gá dhúiseacht agus gá chorraí 11C.**gə m' in' ʃ gə m' in' ək' M GO MI[O]N IS GO MINIC.*I GCÓNAÍ **ə go:/u:ni:***bhí máthair na mrá i gcúnaí bhíod sí ag díonamh gearán, ag gearán I GCÚNAÍ gur haisteach an rud nach mbeadh aon chúlódar acub. 11C.*¹ Also FFG20, 27, s.v. *deireadh* 2(b).

1638 Functors

Badh é an talmhaí, ... , ab fhearr léithi I GCÓNAÍ GCÓNAÍ 'gū:ni' gū:ni' ach, 11C.

SEASTA **fæ:stə**

Agus tá mé ag cheapadh, go raibheadar SEASTA dhá dhíonamh sin 892M.

Gá mbeitheá amuich, SEASTA, nú, rud dhen tsórt sin, deir siad gur fearr, an pota Francach seo ... 31P.

SÍORAÍ **fj̥i:ri:**

v̥i: fj̥i: fj̥i:ri: ə t̥red̥' (Sdás)04B bhí sí SÍORAÍ ag troid.

Nach bhfuil mé SÍORAÍ seasta dhá rá leat! SM.

8.208 Complex adverbs of time

AN UAIR SIN

| a fe | re:f̥ i:ə gl̥a:nt̥ æ:d̥ ən uər̥ f̥i:n̥ | 894Cs

Tá sé réitithe, glanta a'd AN UAIR SIN.

AR DEIREADH, cp. go deireadh, go deireanach (8.207); as deireadh, faoi dheireadh below

Ach AR DEIREADH nuair a bhíodar gar dhon teach: -Bhuel ceart go leor, a deir sé, thug sí brúntanas beag dom. ARN2255.

Ach dúirt Mac Uí Chon Raoi AR DEIREADH: -Bhuel, a deir sé ... ARN4023.

-Ach AR DEIREADH thiar, a deir sé, am eicint — is fada an oíche atá ann faoi Nollaig — amach deireadh na hoíche, a deir sé, d'fhága mé héin é, 11C-5859.

AR DTÚS

Cé labhair AR DTÚS leis?

AS DEIREADH, AS AN DEIREADH, AS A DHEIREADH

Gá dtéidís ag tarraint ag an haon ndéag ní bheadh sé teagthaí chomh dona orthub an oíche. Agus u-, AS DEIREADH chuadar suas. 892Mg.

AS A' DEIREADH b'éigean dóib scaoileadh léithi agus rith roimh a' stoirm. 876JDT96 (context: letting a boat run before a storm).

go raibheadar chomh gar dhon bhád AS A DHEIREADH, agus u-, an t-uisce a bhíodar a chuir uathub nuair a d'éiridís, go raibheadar dhá shleaipeáil isteach insa mbád. 875P (context: scoirneachaí).

DHE LÓ, Ó LÓ

Ceann DHE LÓ. Bligh na beithí Ó LÓ.

FAOI DHEIREADH (IS FAOI DHÓ) (faoi dhó < older faoi dheoidh, e.g. SNG294)

Ach FAOI DHEIREADH IS FAOI DHÓ dúirt sé liom, go gcaitheadh muid a ghoil ag obair 894C.

FAOI LÁTHAIR 'at present, at that time, momentarily, fleetingly'

Tastaíonn sin uaím anois FAOI LÁTHAIR 866ESemr112.

Ní fhaca aon-nduine é FAOI LÁTHAIR S.

Choinic mé cupla ceann acú FAOI LÁTHAIR ach sin é — ní fhaca mé, aon cheann acú dhá ndíonamh. **17Mp**.

Pian FAOI LÁTHAIR a bhí orm, ní raibh se orm ach FAOI LÁTHAIR M.

LE FADA

níor cheol mé LE FADA í **43M**; LE FADA an lá, cp. le fadó (ariamh) an lá.

NÍOS MÓ, NÍ BA MHÓ

D'fhanthad sé an-sleamhain go deo leothub NÍ BA MHÚ. **11C3370**.

Ó SHOIN o: hin' / xun' / hun', also a: hin', etc.

ní fhaca muid Ó SHOIN é.

go dtug Fathach Mór na gCúig gCeánn ... mo bhean [leis] tá lá agus chúig bhliana Ó SHOIN, **852SbTS151**.

Chuaidh fear as Mainis atá [i.e. tá] scaitheamh maith blianta Ó SHOIN, chuaidh sé go Cathair na Mart ... **875TD24**.

ROIMH RÉ, ROIMHE RÉ

roimh ré **35E8371**, roimhe ré **12S**; note roimhe réir **12S**Øperm.

SAN AM C(H)ÉANNA, cf. 8.230

díoltaí thoir i gCill Chiaráin í agus díoltaí ar an gCaiseal í agus sé an fear a bhí dhá ceannacht SAN AM CHÉANNA s̄ān ā:m h̄ē:nō | ... Héisil **894Cs**.

UN TOSAIGH 'first'

Agus sé an rud a dtugam siad socrú na talúna air anseo, ... : UN TOSAIGH, faigheann siad, laidhin [< line] nó líne, ... agus, faigheann siad lát agus marcáileann siad é, **20At**.

Ag díonamh na feamainne, UN TOSAIGH, istich i lár báire, ar na rópaí, **20At**.

Also AR AN GCÉAD IARRAIDH (e.g. Ach rud a' bith beo dhá,) d'fheicthead sí ar an gcéad iarraidh, d'ek'əð jī 'g'e:d 'iərə | sé a bhí scuabthaí. **12St**, note the phonetic reduction); GO GAIRID, LE GAIRID, GO GOIRID, LE GOIRID; I DTOSACH.

Note d'acht is d'áirid **12S**Øperm; dólúm **12S**Øperm, MØperm; gearró **12S**-Øperm. For is gearró cheana glanadh é GCF §403, speaker **12Sq** has is gearró cheana ó

8.209 Complex manner adverbs

BUN AR AON

Bhí siad ag éirí suas BUN-AR-AON nó go raibh siad seacht mbliana d'aois LL169.

DHEN BHUÍOCHAS or GAN BHUÍOCHAS gən wixəs

ag díonamh rud DHEN BHUÍOCHAS; rud DHEN BHUÍOCHAS an caitheachtáil.

I GCÓS ÍSLE 'quietly, surreptitiously'

dubhairt ... I GCÓS ÍSLE léna maimín ... **!894C9**.

1640 Functors

IN AONTURAS ə n'entorəs 'deliberately'

Agus sé an chaoi a dtáinig sé ann IN AONTURAS le greim a fháil orthub. ARN9388.

IN ÉINDÍ (7.116), *IN ÉINEACHT*, *IN ÉANACHT* (7.116)

bhí siad ag imeacht IN ÉINDÍ ariamh M.

v'ídər ə gol nə skol'ə 'n' ē:nəxt 11C bhíodar ag goil un na scoile IN ÉINEACHT.

INGANFHIOS, *GAN FHIOS*; *INGOBHFIOS* (8.102)

ə nʉnəs yit' he:n' S *INGANFHIOS* dhuit héin; ə nʉnəs do' | 79J *INGANFHIOS* dó.

Stress is sometimes on *fhios*, e.g. *i ngan fhios dhaoibh ə nʉn 'is yi:b' S.*

Also in collocation with *i ngobhfios*:

ə nʉnəs ogəs ə nʉv'əs S *i nganfhios agus INGOBFIOS.*

Without *i*, i.e. *gan fhios*:

bhuel fuairadar greim ar chuide — GAN FHIOS gun is — ar chuid acub ar chaoi eicint 892M1547.

There are many prepositional phrases used as adverbs of manner, e.g.

nu' ga: d'aid' fi: an' l'e m'is'te:k' 21Pt nó dhá dtéadh sí ann LE MISTÉIC.

The common reflexive use of prepositional pronouns is noteworthy, e.g. *le*, *ar*, and *roimh(e)*:

ag siúl LEIS an bóthar; bhí mé chomh haipí LIOM 05M;

coinnigh ORT!

Maraí muid an bhean siúil! ... mar tá sí sin ... ag fáil pínneachaí ... sa chuile teach ROÍMPI. 05M.

8.210 Modality; *ach (an) oiread — aríst*

ACH (AN) OIREAD, *NACH AN OIREAD*

Ach an oiread >> ach oiread; e.g.

Níl siad ag goil thair Mhaidhm Fuaigh (an) Phriacháin ACH OIREAD. 892M;

Ní raibh aon ghortú ann. Ní raibh, ná sa bhfalach beag ACH OIREAD.

18J9144.

Rare with *nach*, e.g.

Ní níds án [i.e. aon] deoir NACH AN OIREAD LEIS an mbuidéal nuair a bhídís

corcáilte ... deoir isteach ansin go, ACH AN OIREAD LEIS an mbuidéal

872Pt (Maínis; preposition);

NACH AN OIREAD 35C (Loch Con Aortha; or perhaps **42C**), **72C** (Maínis).

ÁIRTHID

Ach, níl fhios a'm ÁIRTHID annis cén áit dhen chondae é. 892M2890.

AR BITH

-Nach cuma duit AR BITH, a deir an bhean, a deir sí, céard tá sé a dhéanamh 866ESe95.7.

Ní fearr AR BITH é.

-Níor mhór duitse AR BITH é, a deir Naomh Páraic. 875PTIA471 (§4).

AR ÉIGIN, AR ÉIGEAN, 'hardly, barely'¹

AR ÉIGIN a tharraimn muid as í.

Bhuel tá fear amháin ach, ní-, AR ÉIGIN b'fhéidir a d'fheicthead sé é 11C.

Is AR ÉIGIN héin tháinig me thríd S; Scéipeáil mé an carr AR ÉIGIN S.

Thug mé an bealach liom AR ÉIGIN.

Mharaíodar e ar scátha ar fhágadar beo dhe ... bhí an anáil AR ÉIGIN ann P.

ach go raibh an oiread gaoithe ann AR ÉIGEAN agus bhí ag corraí an bháid. 20At.

In collocations:

er' eg'ən' d'e: ə ri'n ə m' e suəs e M AR ÉIGIN Dé a rinne mé suas é;

er' in' er' eg'ən' ar ín AR ÉIGIN; ar ín ÉIGIN, ar í AR ÉIGIN;

Ní raibh ann, ar inn AR ÉIGEAN, thar éis dhul amach do Chailleach na gCearc is dá clann, nuair a chonaic sé an seanfheairín ag teacht agus tháinig sé isteach. 866ESemr132;

... k'in't' er' ə ri: er' u:n nə er' eg'ən' a:l' əmax 03V ... cinnte ar an rí ar dheoin ná AR ÉIGIN a fháil amach '... completely failed ...'.

ARÍST

tá sé sin níos measa ARÍST.

caiptín soithigh a raibh bád dá chuid féin aige badh bhreagtha ARÍS ná an ceann a bhí ag a' gCeannaí Fionn. 875PDT15.

8.211 baileach — froisin

BAILEACH, BALACH

Ní i ba'ləx gə ro se re: 11C ní BALACH go raibh sé réidh.

gə: n' aibr' i:n' ə mi:n' əf' ba'lə xə kruə ogəs v' i: m' e g obər' ə səsənə | 25T dhá n-oibrínn i Maínis BALACH chomh crua agus a bhí mé ag obair i Sasana.

(GO) BARAINNEACH

Ní raibh fhios aige BARAINNEACH cé hé féin 866ESc80.16. Also ARN8019.

Bhuel níl fhios a'm péin BARAINNEACH anis cé na marcannaí tá ortha. 31P.

B'FHÉIDIR, MB'FHÉIDIR

B'FHÉIDIR b'e:d'ər' go n-íosá is B'FHÉIDIR nach n-íosá. S.

ceapthaidh tú gur dho chailín álainn B'FHÉIDIR a cumadh é 11C.

B'FHÉIDIR, b'ed'ər' nach gcasfí gá chéile muid aríst. 46.930.

ə xə ʃe gə 'm' e:d'ər' gə 'ro 11C Á! chaitheadh sé go MB'FHÉIDIR go raibh.

Bhuel dhá mbeadh fhios a'm é B'FHÉIDIR go gcuirthinn tuairisc air 11C.

b'e:d'ə gə b'in' i: n' i'f' ə v' i: g' e'ʃt' eg' ə 11C

B'FHÉIDIR gob in í anois a bhí i gceist aige.

b'e:d' nāx v' ek' i: mid' | 11C B'FHÉIDIR nach bhfeicfí muid.

b'e:ɾ' gə 'g' æ'nə'h e 11C B'FHÉIDIR go gceannóthá é.

ag cheapadh go MB'FHÉIDIR go gə ,m' ē:d' η mbuailtheadh muid 31P (13.21).

¹ Cp. Tá sé le feiceáil ar éigean, Tá sé beo ar éigean, etc., FGB s.v. éigean¹ 4, which are grammatical in Iorras Aithneach, as is clear from certain examples cited above. The claimed ungrammaticality of a similar construction (*Tá aithne agam air ar éigin) is not sufficiently discussed in Acquaviva (1996: 306). A speaker's reluctance to countenance *Tá aithne agam air ar éigin might be owing to prosodic considerations and a desire to avoid repetition of a(i)r; an informant who would reject *Tá aithne agam air ar éigin might well permit, for example, Tá aithne ar éigin agam air.

1642 Functors

MB'FHÉIDIR far less commonly: *béidh mé 'MBÉIDIR san aireachas* **852S4**.

CEART

Agus sé a dóthain seoil a bhí aici CEART an uair sin. **892M**.

sílím go mb'fhéidir — nuair théidís ag obair ar a bpáil lae CEART — gur cheire scilleacha sa ló **892M1298**.

CHOMH MAITH, CHOMH MAITH CÉANNA, CHOMH MAITH LE CHÉILE

d'ianán fjäd bu:əi gə xörk' xo 'mɔ 46.1123

díonann siad buaí dhe choirc CHOMH MAITH.

ach tá fhios a'd, bhí rud eile ag baint leis na filíthe, na fir bhochta, is na mrá CHOMH MAITH LE CHÉILE, xə 'mā' ʎe ʎe:l'ə | bhíodar insan am sin dhen tsaol, bhídís ag imeacht ó háit go háit. **11C**.

FIÚ AMHÁIN, cp. go (dtí) fiú (is) (8.212)

FIÚ AMHÁIN sa lá atá inniubh ann.

Thiogadh hugəx FIÚ AMHÁIN na gardaí ánn **31D**.

FÓS

níos fearr FÓS. Tá sé sin níos measa FÓS.

FROISIN

fro/ɛjən' 11C, ə'fruʃən' 37M (perhaps ə'froʃən'), fruʃin' 19P, 73P.

Sé a chum an t-amhrán FROISIN 'Loch na Ní'. 11C.

8.212 (go) díreach — íbhean

(GO) DÍREACH, (GO) DÍREACH GLAN

bhí mé DÍREACH dhá rá;

leathcheann na bhfataí bhí anorthaidh ann GO DÍREACH M.

agus bhí píosa dhe lá an t-am seo ann. Agus GO DÍREACH GLAN, bhí sé tao' muigh dhe gheata na rillic aríst, nuair a bhí an ghrian ag éirí. 11C.

-Agus bhí mé ag imeacht liom, a deir sé, agus GO DÍREACH, a deir sé, nuair a bhí mé ag goil síos ag Sruthán Síonach, bhí an bhean chugam anonn. [sic] 11C-5860.

GO DTÍ AMHÁIN

Cp. GCF §408 Mperm.

GO FIÚ (IS), GO DTÍ FIÚ (IS)

Cp. GCF §408 Mperm.

GO HÁIRTHID

'Especially, in particular' (most common):

Insa tseanaimsir, GO HÁIRTHID gə hær'həd' anseo in Iorras Aithneach, ní raibh úthás a bich, ach an méid anmhailís agus ámhailí a bhí i ndaoine.

11C;

Bhuel insan am sin GO HÁIRTHID, bhí na culáistí an-chrua. 11C.

‘Anyway’:

Ach níl mé i ndan dearafa anis cé acú ar chuir siad a lámh ann an [interrogative copula] sa gceann glan nó sa gceann salach é GO HÁIRTHID an t-am sin [sic] 894C;

Ach bhuaíl sé isteach sa teach seo GO HÁIRTHID agus d’iarr sé leithphionta poitín. 35E8707.

GO SPEISIALTA

Bhíd sé acú, GO SPEISIALTA oíche Shamhna. 06C.

HÉIN (6.63)

Má tá HÉIN.

déartha’ mé Carna ná Maínis HÉIN.

ach ní ru aon dochtúr dhá ru ins a’ tír aríú, i gCúndae na Gaillimhe ná i gConnachta ná i nÉirinn, bhí ina dhochtúr leath HÉIN cho math le Dochtúr Ó Laidhe. 866EÓC222; also Sc291.

ÍBHEAN, ÍBHIN (< even)

N’i he: wa:n’ n’íj gə mi:n’əf ahi i:v’ən xul’ a:t’ 25T

ní hé amháin anois go Maínis ach ÍBHEAN chuile áit.

Bhuel tá Carraig a Meacan ansin tá sin go maith ná ÍBHEAN Mullán Chionaoith tá sé go maith leihí gliomach nach bhfuil? 11C.

8.213 *mar dh’ea* — (go) *plánáilte*

MAR DH’EA, MAR DHÓIGH DHE

mar o: ‘jiə *mar o: ‘jiə 892M4148;*

badh in, glór ansin, MAR Ó DHIA, a bhí ar mhaithe leis. 892M4582.

‘mar o: ji(ə) *əgəs | ‘ma:r o: ji: æ:rħə ɾ’ehi: | gə ɾ’o:r rudi: 22M*

agus MAR DHÓIGH DHE artha le haghaidh go leor rudaí.

mar o: ‘ie *12S.*

mar o: je *Mar bheadh sé ag teacht aníos anseo, MAR DHÓIGH DHE. | mar o je | ... bhíodh sé ag goil aníos thair an reilig, 19P.*

... (dh)é *In RBÉ transcripts: MAR DHÓIGH DHÉ ~ MAR DHÓIGH É 866E-Semr.56, 62 (perhaps indicating *mar o: je: or *mar o:ʲ e:); MAR DHÓIGH DHE 894C2 (perhaps indicating *mar o: je).*

mar jæ: *D’imigh an Gruagach, MAR DH’EA. mar jæ: 04B (in story).*

mur jæ: *nar xur’ fe: | er’ xuna:n | mur jæ: 04B2l (in lay)*

nar chuir sé ar Chonán MAR DH’EA.

S. Ó Cathasaigh (1942) spells *mar budh eadh* SÓC1.84 in this meaning. The form *mar dh’ea*, apparently etymologically separate from *mar dhóigh dhe*, was heard from only two speakers and may well be of external origin: **04B** (in story; father from Maigh Cuilinn) and **mar ‘jæ: 43M** (in 2005).

(GO) MÓR MÓR, (MÓR MHÓR), GO MHÓR MÓR, GO MHÓR-MHÓR, cp. *an-mhór* (8.214), *go mór* (8.217)

kid’ə gən a:rur kork’ə mō:r mō:r ʔægən da duw er’ S

cuide dhen arbhar — coirce MÓR MÓR — teagann dath dubh air.

gə mō:r mō:r nuər’ is tusa v’i: g’əft’ S GO MÓR MÓR nuair is tusa a bhí i gceist.

ta'lti: gə 'mɔ:r 'mɔ:r ə v' ex | fl'ox | 01P *taltaí GO MÓR MÓR a bheadh fliuch. Bíonn sé sórt tirim, ... , GO MHÓR MÓR na dumhachanna. 32J.*
Sna hoícheantaí garbh GO MÓR MÓR [or perhaps MÓR MHÓR]. 899D6882.
GO MHÓR-MHÓR FFG s.v. mór-mhór.

NÍ HÉ AMHÁIN, É AMHÁIN, NÍ AMHÁIN

Insa tseanaimsir, go háirthid anseo in Iorras Aithneach, ní raibh úthás a bich, ach an méid amhailís agus ámhailí a bhí i ndaoine. NÍ HÉ AMHÁIN i ndaoine óga, ach daoine bhí sean go maith sa saol, bhíodh go leor ámhailí agus amhailís, ag plé leothub. 11C.

n'í he: wɑ:n' n'íj gə mi:n'əf' aɦ i:v'ən xul' a:t' 25T

NÍ HÉ AMHÁIN anois go Maínis ach íbhean chuile áit.

Ach mé in áit strainséara [-chaí?], a deir sé, gan aon-nduine beo, a deir sé, agus gan mé i ndan iad a thiscint, É AMHÁIN rud a bith eile. | e: 'wɑ:n rud ə b'ix' 'e'f'ə | 866Et (only example of é amháin).

NÍ AMHÁIN tusa a bheith ann nó cá mbeitheá ag goil? 01J.

Ó CHEART, cp. ceart (8.211), i gceart (8.218)

sé an naoi a chlog Ó CHEART é, in áit an deich. 45N.

(GO) PLÁNÁILTE

Bhí sé creidhtí acub seo glan PLÁNÁILTE gurb é ' chaoi ar crochadh un bóthair an bhó. 35E7363.

8.214 Degree; *amach is amach* — *bárdars*

AMACH AGUS / IS AMACH

Bhí sé a' cinnt AMACH IS AMACH ar an mraoi ainm an fhirín ná a thuairisc fháil in aon áit. SNG294.

Chinn sé AMACH AGUS AMACH ar an mbreitheamh a dhubh ná a dhath a dhéanamh den chúis Clad211–2.

AN-MHÓR, cp. (go) mór mór (8.213), go mór (8.217)

Tá beagán íontas a' msa mé héin ann agus ní sean atá mé fós, AN-MHÓR. 01P.

AR AON CHOR

Agus ní ceannacht maith a bhí ar iasc i nGaillimh san am AR AON CHOR. er' 'ē:n xor | 11C.

AR BITH

Ní raibh muid ag goil go teach an ósta A' BÍ' an t-ám sin. 03C.

Níor mhaith le aon-nduine a ghoil isteach ánn ní áirím A' BITH fanacht san oíche ánn. Pt1.

n'í æ:xəðər ə'f'æ:x ə b'ix' | 79Jg *ní dheachadar isteach AR BITH.*

AR CHOR AR BITH, AR CHOIR AR BITH

... ə hor ə b'ɪ | 881N ... AR CHOR AR BITH.

n'í: e'n' d'i:nə wɑ:n' xor ə b'eh e' 892M1518

ní aon déanamh amháin AR CHOR AR BITH é.

céard ab fhearr 'ó dhíonamh AR CHOIR A BITH. ə xor' ə b'ɪ | 11C.

AR FAD

Imeacht AR FAD.

AS ÉADAN

Bhíodar gá gacilleadh AS ÉADAN.BÁITE **bā:t̪ə** (1.307)*ar achuile dhuine* BÁITE, *drár agus báinín ... bhí a naprún lán* BÁITE **894C** (only).

BAOL AIR

Ní raibh an scothach BAOL AIR *chomh, chomh, héasca ar í lobhadh leis an gcoirleach.* **889P**.*Ní thastódh* BAOL AIR *an oiread dhen leasú 'bi:l er' ən er'əd gən 'L'æ:su: agus thastódh ón talthamh, trúm, fliuch.* **01P**.

BÁRDARS (< border)

bārdərs *ach an chloch a leagan, BÁRDARS troigh, eidir achaon fhear, 894Cs; BÁRDARS fiche slat, dhe bheifidí, 894Cs.***bārdərs b'ian' 12Jq** *BÁRDARS bliain.***bārdəs** *ta fe bārdəs b'ian' im' i: 23Bq tá sé BÁRDARS bliain imithe.***8.215 beag — bunáite**

BEAG 'seldom'

s b'og ə v'i: fe n'fo *is BEAG a bhí sé anseo.*BEAG NACH **b'og nax**, BEAGNACH **b'ognax, b'ognəx****b'og nax wíl dər t' er' əm' 19P** *BEAG NACH bhfuil dar tirim.**is BEAG NACH mbíodh muid ag sárthú ar a chéile gur i bhfastú i dtalthamh a bhí an dubhán* **01C6423**.*go mbeidh scaip beag [sic] ann, a BEAG NACH (a) sáitheá | ə b'og nax ə sa:hə: [sic] do láimh isteach ann,* **16At**.*Níor mhór — BEAG NAR mhór an eangach sin a bheistigh aríst shála n-éiríodh lá,* **01C6336**.*Is BEAG BÍDEACH NAR thit sé.**gur bhuaíl a athair clabhtha air, agus gur BEAG NAR mharbhaigh sé é leis a' gclabhtha* **866EB17**.*Nár fhága me an spota marar* BEAG NAR *maráú me M.**is BEAG NAR maráobh agus nar báitheadh in éineacht iad,* **892Mt**.BEAG NACH. **'b'og "na:x |.***is BEAGNACH a phlúchadh a rinneadar ...* **852SbLL145**.Also with negative function 'almost not', where the expected **beag nach nach* is reduced to *beag nach* by haplology:**b'og nar a:n mə hu:l' am 03V** *BEAG NAR fhan mo shúil a'm 'I almost lost my eye'.*Similarly: *Ní mór nach cosúil le hoistre an déanamh atá air, i gcás nach bhfuil sé chomh maith ná chomh blasta le n-ithe.* Clad77, also *Ní mór nach cosúil leis na ...* Clad33.

BEAG NÁ MÓR, A BHEAG NÁ A MHÓR

ní ligthead sí in aice leis an dl BEAG NÁ MÓR é. **11C**.

agus narbh iontach an rud é! An píosa seanchais a bhí ag baint leis BEAG NÁ MÓR agus chomh míshuímhreach agus bhí sé! **11C**.

Ní ro' aon chor A BHEAG NÁ A MHÓR 'á ro' sé héin ná í héin a' cur [perhaps leg. chur] dhíob nach ro' siad i ndan inSean dá chéile go maidin. **852SbTS145**.

Cp. Ní raibh baint beag ná bruíte, bán ná buí aige leis S.

BEAGÁN, BEAGÁINÍN, BEAGÁN EICÍNT

Ardaigh BEAGÁN é!

bhíodar BEAGÁINÍN aisteach.

Chuala mé go raibheadar rud eicínt níos mú, BEAGÁN EICÍNT níos mú; má tá héin tá siad seo ina mbáid mhaithe ach an oiread. **892Mg**.

BEO, BEIRTHE NÁ BEO, BEO NÁ BEIRTHE

ní raibh fhios a'm BEO cé é héin M.

f' e: b̥ər b' o: k' e: ... **14M** féibear BEO cé

Is cuma liom BEO; Ní chuimhnúm BEO ar ... ; Níor aithnigh mé BEO í. FFG s.v. beo 2(a).

níl fhios a'm ... BEIRTHE NÁ BEO 'b' orhə nər 'b' o: céard is fearr dhom a dhíonamh **11C**.

... BEIRTHE NÁ BEO NÁ BEO NÁ BEIRTHE S.

BÍDEACH

Noted in:

n' i: ro a:n b' i:d' əx [ax ?] gə ro je o:lt am nor' ə ... P

ní raibh ann BÍDEACH [ach ?] go raibh sé ólta a'm nuair a

BLAS; cf. 8.233

níor mhéadaigh sé BLAS a' bith.

BORDÁIL IS

Tá oileán cúngarach dhon talthamh anseo, timpeall is, BORDÁIL IS **baurda:l's** cupla míle, i bhfarraige ... chuala mé fear gá rá, tá BORDÁIL IS **baurda:l's** cheithre fichid bliain dh'aois, ... gur airigh sé ... **04B** (only).

More commonly ag bordáil ar. Cp. bordáil LFRM.

BUILLE

Chuille BHUILLE chomh maith leis. FFG s.v. buille 11. Cp. GCF §402 **12S**perm.

BUNÁITE, rare BUNÁITEAR

bhí sí BUNÁITE ag caitheamh ina ndiaidh chomh géar le ceachtar acu. Sc239.17.

Tá an geas i MBUNÁITE chuile theach anis **892Mg**.

thiar, insan áit a bhfuil Calthadh ' Bháid annis. BUNÁITE gar go leor sílim, an áit a bhfuil tigh Mhaidhcil Feorainz díonta annis, **892M5551**.

bhí maide mór tao' thíos dhen bhóthar ansin thíos acub, an bealach a, a — BUNÁITE tao' thoir dhen teach nua sin tá díonta thíos ansin, thiar, thiar ansin thiar — dhen teach, a bhfuil na Cúláin ann ... **892Mg**.

... buná:t' ər ə tɑ:m fən' | **15Pn** ... BUNÁITEAR an t-am sin (**15Pn** only).

8.216 chomh maith le — glan*CHOMH MAITH LE*

*Tháinig CHOMH MAITH LE fiche duine isteach insa mbád 866E*Sc28.4; also Sc36.17.

CHUILE ORLACH

bhí sé CHUILE ORLACH chomh maith liom.

CINEÁL

Tá sé CINEÁL craiceáilte. M.

CLÍORÁILTE (< clear)

ma:ri:w kl'i:ra:l't'ə m'e 12J Maraíodh CLÍORÁILTE mé.

d'i:nu: pit'əx kl'i:ra:l't'ə gəŋ xar: M déanadh puiteach CLÍORÁILTE dhen charr.

bl'æ:k' kl'i:ra:l't'ə 19P bleaic CLÍORÁILTE 'a really black Black (person of African origin)'.

je:rd ə v'i: a:n maisər kl'i:ra:l't'ə 19P séard a bhí ann maidheasar CLÍORÁILTE.

Cp. adverbial *a chuigint* (< *chuiqe*) in *Bíonn ar lucht cur-amach an leasaighthe iad a phiocadh as an gcuid eile den fheamainn, obair nach dtáithnigheann leó A CHUIGINT. Clad1232, ní théigheann sé 'un comhnuidhe A CHUIGINT. Clad189, ní féidir é a fheiceál 'CHUIGINT, Clad118, MØperm.*

CUMASACH

Cp. GCF §402 **12S**perm.

DAMANTA

DAMANTA mór.

DALBA

*Tá sé DALBA fuar. Tá sé DALBA múinte S; DALBA fada, DALBA mór 12S*perm from GCF §402.

DALLADH

Cp. GCF §402 *tá sé dalladh luath 12S*??perm. Seán claims some people from the vicinity use adverbial *dalladh* but I have no example from conversation in my notes.

DEABHALAÍ, DEABHALTAÍ, DEABHALTA

tá sé DEABHALAÍ fuar; DEABHALTAÍ aisteach.

(GO) DEAS

talthamh DEAS glas; duine DEAS réidh.

DHEN TSAOL, cp. shaolta (8.220)

... cuimse GON TSAOL gadhar 7 capall 7 coisí acub ... 869P3.

DÓLÁIMH, innovative DÓLÁS

Chinn sé DÓLÁIMH 'dō:lā:v' orm M. Chinn sé DÓLÁIMH 'dō:lā:v' orm M.

Tá sé cinnte DÓLÁS 'dō:lās air 66N.

1648 Functors

GARDHÓ

Chaithead sé sin a bheir a'd, 'suincedáil síos go túin an phoill, GARDHÓ, | 'gar o' | eidir dhá uisce, le ghoil ar muráite na mangach. 889P.

GEALL LEIS

Chua' an cú leath bealaigh agus mharaigh sí faoin mbinn í héin, GEALL LEIS. | 'g' a: 'l' e] | 889P^{tn}.

GLAN

bhí an col ceathar réidh GLAN le bás fháil — a' saothrú bás. 866EÓC221–2; also Sc291.

8.217 *go deo* — (*go*) *millteach*

GO DEO, GO DEO AGUS GO BRÁCH

Narbh íontach GO DEO an fear a bhí ann 11C.

Agus narbh úthásach GO DEO AGUS GO BRÁCH an píosa oibre a bhí díonta leis héin aige. 11C3234.

(GO) DAMÁISTEACH

Cp. GCF §402 12S^{perm}; here Seán prefers go dona, e.g. go dona fuar.

GO DONA

go dona fuar 12Sq.

GO FADA

'is tú an fear is fearr agus GO FADA ...' ... go mbadh é Cú Chulainn ab fhearr agus GO FADA. 866ESc43.28.

GO HIOMLÁN

(GCF §402) gə humlɑ:n 12S^{perm}.

ɑ:ri:m' u gəs gra:i:m' u o: mə xri: gə humlɑ:n !05M

adhraim thú agus gráim thú ó mo chroí GO HIOMLÁN.

(GO) HÍONTACH

tɑ: je i:ntəx fu:ər 46.851 Tá sé IONTACH fuar.

(GO) HUAFÁSACH

tá siad ÚTHÁSACH ard.

GO LEOR 'enough, fairly'

agus dúirt Seoirse leis go mbeadh sé luath GO LEOR. 866ESc232.9.

Ach anis, d'éirigh scéal eile, dhá shórt si-, gar GO LEOR á shórt sin, thiar sa mbaile a bhfuil mise ann. 892M2265.

D'imigh sé leis agus bhí sé ag síúl leis agus ag síorimeacht ar feath an lae agus deireanach GO LEOR tráthnóna, d'er'nəx gə L'or tɿhū:nə | sé an áit a dtáinig sé isteach isteach i dteach gréasaí. 11C.

-Tá siad sin, a deir sí, maith GO LEOR anis. 11C.

(GO) BREÁ

ag dó GO BREÁ; áitíonn sé Máirín froisin GO BREÁ M.

(GO) MAITH

n'í:l' ə vu:n' t' er' im' gq' ma' fə:s 46.572 níl an mhóin tirim GO MAITH fós.

Bhí sí gá ínseacht díreach GO MAITH siúráilte dho dhaoine. ARN2561.

Doir m'anam creidim go gcaithim ceathrú uaire! Agus GO MAITH! 05M.

ma:rəx e jin' v' eɟ' ji: kin' ə gə ma: M marach é sin bheadh sí ag caoineadh GO MAITH.

There is comparative use in:

thosaigh sé ag gol agus ag gol go trom. ... agus bhí sé ag gol ní B'FHEARR NÁ sin agus na deoracha móra troma leis 866ESc210.24.

GO MÓR, cf. an-mhór (8.214), (go) mór mór (8.213)

nach dtaithníodh sé le fear an ghobáiste GO MÓR γə mo:r | 894C.

'tá sé tugthaí anuas GO MÓR' S; Tá sé goite síos GO MÓR.

Tá se faighte amach acub anis go bhfuil se ag goil thart GO MÓR 23B.

GO MÓR FADA

agus bhí culaith éada' an Iníon Mhaol Charrach níos breácha ná bhí ar a máthair héin GO MÓR FADA. 852SbTS144.

b'ar' it' ə ɣol' ji:s ə br'əhu: er' nə b'ehi: gə mo:r fa:də nə: v' e ka'k sə t' æ:ləx M b'fhearr dhuit a ghoil síos ag breathnú ar na beithí GO MÓR FADA ná a bheith ag cac sa teallach.

əs mu: n suntəs ə l' æ:gən' fe gə mo:r fa:də | er' ə ɣol' əmafi er' ə wa:rəd' ə sə ma:d 25T is mó an suntas a leagann sé GO MÓR FADA ar a ghoil amach ar an bhfarraige sa mbád.

(GO) MILLTEACH

Cp. millteach fuar, etc., GCF §402 12Sperm (i.e. déartha' daoiné é 12Sq).

8.218 i bhfad — mar sin

I BHFAD, I BHFAD ÉIRINN, cf. in Éirinn

is fearr I BHFAD é ná thusa M. Tá sé I BHFAD ÉIRINN níos fearr.

Ó! is sásúla bád an innill I BHFAD ÉIRINN. 35E7922.

I GCEART, cp. ó cheart (8.213), le ceart

bhí 'Lloyd George' agus 'Carson', dhá fháil ón mbeirt I GCEART. 892M4634 'Lloyd George and Carson were being rightly castigated by the two of them'.

IN ÉIRINN, cf. i bhfad Éirinn

duine a fháil dhuit héin chomh toibeann IN ÉIRINN 's fhéadthas tú. 875P.

is chomh luath IN ÉIRINN is s xə luə 'n' ē:r' ən' ʔs chuir sé séideog faoin sáspan d'ionsaigh sé ag bramannaí. 11C.

Ach chomh luath IN ÉIRINN agus xə luə 'n' ē:r' ən' əgəs d'ól sé na trí shruth bainne, choinic sé a shaol uilig amach roimhe. 11C.

IONANN AGUS / IS

a'nəns bə:nu: iəd ə'l' ig' 899N IONANN'S bánadh iad uilig.

Chaitheá an crann mór sin a leagan siar ... IONANN'S go dic anəns gə 'd̪ik' 01C6324.

Nach bhfuil se ANANN'S é sin S 'isn't it nearly that (amount)' (for example, of a beast being a certain weight).

With copula *ionann agus / is go:*

... an bhean óg ag rá ... go mb'IONANN AGUS GO raibh sé marbh aici. 866E-Sc133.11;

Bhí an bádóir ag obair ar an gceathrú locht. Is IONANN'S GO ndéarthá an ceathrú pínn. ʰs a:nəns gə n̪'e:rha: əŋ k̪ æ:rhu: p̪'i:n̪ 899P.

The nonfinite clause *ionann is a bheith* is common and synonymous with *ionann is:*

t̪a: m̪i:d̪ a:nəns ə v̪ e k̪ r̪ iəxni:h̪ ɛ̃ 46.1020

tá muid IONANN'S A BHEITH críochnaíthe;

t̪a n̪ jkr̪ i:n̪ o:r̪ əxt a:nəns ə v̪ e blain̪ ɟa:l̪ ə orhu: 03C

tá an scríbhneoireacht IONANN'S A BHEITH blaidhndeáilte orthú;

d'fhan Páraic a Cualáin beo go raibh sé IONANN'S A BHEITH san Oileán Máisean, go raibh sé IONANN'S A BHEITH i dtír san Oileán Máisean. Agus nuair a bhíodar IONANN'S A BHEI' i dtír, sin é an t-am ... bhí Team Rua, IONANN'S A BHEITH gearrtha suas 'na phíosáí aige ... 892M4486–96.

Speaker **64M** translated 'he's nearly dead' as *tá sé ionann's a bheith cáillte 64Mq* and in conversation answered *An bhfuil an phéint ghlas caite?* with *Tá sí ionann's a bheith. 64M.*

LEATH, also other fractions

Níl sí LEATH chomh maith lena luach M.

Deabhal LEATH chomh maith rinneadar ansin. 892Mg.

Ach ní ru aon dochtúr dhá ru ins a' tír aríú ... bhí ina dhochtúr LEATH héin cho math le Dochtúr Ó Laidhe. 866EÓC222; also Sc291.

ná ru sé LEATH cho math agat-se san oíche amáireach! 866EÓC217.

Ní raibh aon fhear dá raibh sa gcúirt feadh na hoíche a bhí ina fhear ceathrú cuid déag LEATH chomh breá le Madra Rua an Ghleann Dorcha, Sc170.35.

MAR SIN (cf. FFG20 s.v. *mar* 1.)

-Agus cén dath a bhí orthub sin? BóC

-Um, sórt dubh MAR SIN. 21J 'kind of black'.

-Agus cén dath a bheadh ortha? P. Mac Dhonncha (of ceilp)

| du ə 'so:rt | 'gɔrəm mar 'ʃun̪ | 'gɔrəm | 'tru:m'ɣɔrəm mar 'ʃun̪ |

-Du-, sórt, gorm MAR SIN, gorm. Tromghorm MAR SIN. 889P.

8.219 *mórán* — *rud beag*

MÓRÁN

... | rud ə ro | ə v̪ i:əʔ m̪o:r̪a:n | er̪ j̪i:nə iəxtər k̪i:n̪ o:g̪ ə ... 894Cs

Sé an seort rud a bhí san ancard, rud a bhí MÓRÁN ar dhéanamh íochtar cuinneoige

Chomh fada is tá tú i ndan a fheiceál MÓRÁN suas, cuirthidh sé spabhait uisce suas san aer. 896Pt.

t̪a l̪ā:v̪ er̪ ə wahəʃ eg̪ ə m̪o:r̪a:n S tá a láimh ar a bhaithis aige MÓRÁN.

a:bri:n tu xul̪^ə l̪a: e m̪o:r̪a:n M abraíonn tú chuile lá é MÓRÁN.

m̪o:r̪a:n̪ xul̪ ə ɣa:ri: 19P MÓRÁN chuile gharraí.

Note *bə* 'sundul' *gə* m'e'd'ər' *gə* 'm'æ:laləd'i:f e hælə n mo:rən nɑ:rdə:d'i:f xər ə b'ix' e' **01C6057** *ba* (s)iondúil go mb'fhéidir go mbealálaidís é shála n- — *MÓRÁN* — *n-ardóidís chor a bith é.*

Similar to *tuirim is go* (and less often *timpeall is go*), a conjunctive function is found with (*ní*) *mórán nach*, e.g.

Bhuel e-, *MÓRÁN NACH* ndíolthadh muid, uair sa tseachtain **15Pt**;

-*Tá sé chomh maith dhuit an mála uiliug a thabhairt dom, agus tíuraidh mé dhuit an ghé, adeir an buachaill.*

-*Ní MÓRÁN NACH ionann iad, adeir an fear*, **864MDT65**.

(GO) *RÉASÚNTA*

bhí an lá seo RÉASÚNTA breá **11C**.

ROINNT, ROINNT MHÓR

Tá sé goite ó mheabhair ormsa ROINNT. ARN2760.

Bhí mé dho mo ghortú héin ROINNT mar sin an uair sin. **21Pt**.

ta fí: ri:n't' fl'ox gə ma: fə:s [x3] *M Tá sí ROINNT fliuch go maith fós.*

ach ní raibh sé ag taithneachtáil leis na sagairt ná leis an gcreideamh Cait-iligeach agus, bhíodar ROINNT MHÓR ina aghaidh. **11C**.

RUAINNE BEAG, RUAINNÍN, RUAINNÍN BEAG

RÚINNE BEAG taobh thoir d'Órán Mór; *RÚINNE BEAG* níos fuide; *RÚINNE BEAG* bodhar FFG s.v. *rúinne*.

Tá sé RUAINNÍN BEAG mí'úinte.

Bhí RUAINNÍN BEAG, BÍDEACHAÍN, BÍDEACHAÍN an iomarca spíd [speed] *aici* M.

RUD BEAG, RUIDÍN BEAG, RUD EICÍNT

Chuala mé go raibheadar RUD EICÍNT níos mú, beagán eicínt níos mú; má tá héin tá siad seo ina mbáid mhaithe ach an oiread. **892Mg**.

8.220 *sách* — *t(h)eaisceanta*

SÁCH, innovative *SÁCHT*

gan mórán caidís a bith chuir air ach a bheith SÁCH maith leis mar gur file a bhí ann **11C**.

Generally *sa:x* *sách*, but some young speakers have *sa:xt* *sácht*:

71Dt.1: *sa:xt* (x2);

72N: *sa:xt* *hæ:p' i' SÁCHT* *haipí*; *sa:xt* | *ðe:nð:ərəs SÁCHT* 'dangerous'.

79J: has six tokens of *sa:xt* and seven of *sa:x* in his recording, e.g. *sa:xt* *rufa:l't'ə SÁCHT* *rufáilte*, *sa:xt* *e:skə SÁCHT* *éasca*; *sa:xt* before hesitation or pause; and *sa:x* *ruf SÁCH(T)* *ruf*, *sa:x* *f'i:æn' SÁCH* *fáin*, *sa:x* *mə:r* | *sa:x* | *SÁCH* *mór*, *SÁCH*.

SHAOLTA, cp. *dhen tsaol* (8.216)

wel' ju:n hi:ltə ... M bhuel dheamhan SHAOLTA ... !

SÓRT

Bheadh do shúil SÓRT caoch M; ó uise SÓRT níos pince M.

faigheann siad SÓRT ar chaoi eicín níos réchúisí ar chaoi eicín, **01P**.

sor̥t̥ ʃt̥if̥ ək̥'i:n̥t̥ 18J *SÓRT* *stif eicint.*

Tá se SÓRT leasfhreagrach eicín M.

dær̥ ʔḁ sor̥t̥ skolt̥ə 20M *d'aireothá SÓRT scólta.*

sórt dath SÓRT donn air — dhearg mar d'fheictheá ... 32Jt.

-k̥'eŋ xi: goli:n̥ ʃi: *M Cén chaoi a gcodlaíonn sí?*

-ta m'e x̥æ:pə gər sor̥t̥ er̥ ə ti:w 14M *Tá mé ag cheapadh gur SÓRT ar a taobh.*

SRUTH (obsolete)

Is cosúil gur fhear SRUTH aerach a bhí in Máirtín 'ac Eoin. SÓC1.81.

Duine SRUTH aerach; SRUTH bréagach; these last two examples are found in CAR s.v. sruth, the latter cited by S. Ó Cathasaigh (author of SÓC1).

SUAS LE, SUAS AGUS / IS ANUAS LE

Chaitheadar in éineacht ansin nú go ro'dar SUAS LÉ bliain ann. 852SbTS130.

bhí SUAS LE aon chorach déag le bheith ann 06C. SUAS LE dhá scór 892M.

b'fhéidir go ngothadh SUAS LE cairt mína síos inti i dtosach 01P.

Nuair a bhí sé SUAS LEIS an dó dhéag d'éirigh seisean is chuaidh sé... 864MDT47.

go bhfuil creideamh inti, SUAS AGUS ANUAS, LÉ, cúig déag nú sé déag, dhe chéadta bliain. 06C.

Cp. nuair a bhí tú i do ghasúr beag. Ach SUAS AGUS ANUAS, b'fhéidir go bhfuil sé ag tarraint ar chéad bliain anis, ní raibh úthás a' bich insa domhan ... 11C1032.

TADA (see 14)

agus murab í ab fhearr, ní raibh sí níos measa TADA, Clad129.

Ná cuir siar TADA é! S.

... go mb'fhéidir go raibh sé TADA rotaí. 01P.

THARA

There is an example of *thara* (< *thar a bheith*) in:

ta ʃe ha:rə gə dunə 51P1 *tá sé THARA go dona.*

See *bí* (5.247, 5.249) for weakening and loss of initial *v*- in *bheith*.

THART AR

hart əɾ ɣa: v̥l̥iən̥ S *THART AR dhá bhliain.*

Younger speaker: **hart er̥ eg̥ ə hox̥t 72N** *THART AR ag a(n) hocht.*

T(H)EASCEANTA

d̥ ʔul̥ t̥ ʔæ:ʃk̥ ʔnt̥ə / hæ:ʃk̥ ʔnt̥ə bl̥a:s ... *Mq deabhal T(H)EASCEANTA blas*

8.221 *timpeall*

TIMPEALL, TIMPEALL IS, TIMPEALL AR, TIMPEALL LE, TIMPEALL IS LE, THIMPEALL, THIMPEALL IS, etc.; cf. 1.217

t̥'i:mpəl *TIMPEALL dhá bhliain ó shin.*

t̥'i:mp̥əl ogəs *nuair a bhí mé i mo stócach, tá TIMPEALL AGUS trí fichid bliain ó shin 869Pt.*

t̥'i:mpəl s *v̥'i: ʃe t̥'i:mpəl s ɣa: v̥l̥iən̥ gən hiəxt əʃt̥ ʔæ:x S*

bhí sé TIMPEALL 's dhá bhliain gan thíocht isteach.
ṫ'impəls ə fe: **20A** *TIMPEALL 's a(n) sé.*

hi:mp'əl ogəs *Bhí mé aon uair amháin, anseo, tá THIMPEALL AGUS, trí scóir bhlianta ó shin, bhí mé ... 889P.*

ṫ'impəls **43J.**

ṫ'imp'əls *nuair a bhead sé TIMPEALL 's, mí, nú trí seachtainí istigh i gcoca mór, ansin, béarfí air ... 894Cs.*

ṫ'impəl er' **ṫ'impəl əɾ ɣa: v'ian'** *S TIMPEALLAR dhá bhliain.*

ṫ'impəl ɾ'e **ṫ'impəl ɾ'e ...** *S TIMPEALL LE ...*

ṫ'impəl s ɾ'e **ṫ'impəl s ɾ'e ...** *S TIMPEALL 'S LE ...*

tumpəl *... tumpəl ... heard from male speaker from Dumhaigh Ithir, born circa 1960.*

tumpəls **23JF, 71DDA.**

23J: **tumpəls | tu:s ...** *TIMPEALL 's — tús ... (x1),*
ṫ'impəls x'er'ə trohə *TIMPEALL 's cheithre troithe;*
ṫ'impəls *(x3+).*

71Dt.1: **tumpəls** *(x2), perhaps also timpəls.*

In conjunctive construction *timpeall is go*:

ṫ'impəl s gər sən i:hə d'e ma:rt' ə ka:l'u: e M
TIMPEALL 'S GUR san oíche Dé Máirt a cailleadh é.

8.222 *tuairim — uilig*

TUAIRIM, TUAIRIM IS, TUAIRIM LE, TUAIRIM IS LE

tuairim *... nar raibh mé ach TUAIRIM dhá bhliain déag. 05M;*
tá TUAIRIM coidhcís ó shin ann 05M;
ag tíocht ó chuartaíocht, TUAIRIM ag an dó dhéag san oíche. 05M.
ach an oíche seo, TUAIRIM an dó dhéag san oíche, choinic sé ...
11C5526.
tuər'əm' bl'ian' əs f'ix' 25T *TUAIRIM bliain is fich'.*

tuairim is *... scór bliantaí ... TUAIRIM IS mar sin ar chuma ar bith 866ESc25.3.*
bhí an brat dóite, agus, TUAIRIM 'S orlach dhen talthamh dóite faoi
892M2282.
ax v'i: fe 'k'æ:pi'hə gər gə 'v'æ:n əs (l) tuər'əm's | trasnə n
xū:n' ə'n'if ə | ... 11C *Ach bhí sé ceapthaíthe gur dho bhean as*
TUAIRIM IS trasna an Chuain anois u-

tuairim le *TUAIRIM LE, leithmhíle 15Pn; tuər'əm' ɾ'e ... 25T.*

tuairim is le **v'i: fe tuər'əm's ɾ'e oxt ml'ianə 04Br**
bhí sé TUAIRIM 'S LE ocht mbliana.
tuər'əm' s ɾ'e 18J *TUAIRIM 'S LE ceathair nó cúig*
Brothers 15Pn and 18S:
TUAIRIM 'S LE 'nineteen forty three' 15Pn;
TUAIRIM IS LE ... seacht mbliana ... SeolG66 (composed by 18S).

Máire has consistent *tuairim is*. She claims she uses neither *tuairim 's le* nor *timpeall 's le*, neither of which have been noted from her in conversation. Both variants are obsolescent.

When used as a conjunction, the semantic function of *tuairim is go* remains that of qualifying the noun phrase rather than the clause:

ní:l' je mo:ra:n æ:xər' o hon' tuər'əm' s gə m'et je bl'ian' 01J
níl sé mórán achair ó shoin TUAIRIM 'S GO mbeadh sé bliain (semantically similar to *tuairim 's bliain*);
tuər'əm' s gə rə je baurda:l' er' rud ə'k'i:n't' gən je: 10B
TUAIRIM 'S GO raibh sé ag bordáil ar rud eicint dhon sé;
ka:l'i:n' d'æ:s tuər'əm' s gə rə fi: hox d'e:g nu: ni: d'e:g gə vl'iantə P
cailín deas TUAIRIM 'S GO raibh sí hocht déag nó naoi déag dhe bhlianta.

TUILLEADH

na: kir' t'il'ə'ft'æ:x m'e | S ná cuir TUILLEADH isteach mé!

UIL(L)IG, UIL(L)IUG (GO LÉIR(EACHT)); cf. 8.247

tá sé gránna UILIG.

8.223 Others

Other modality adverbs are *anonn agus / is anall* (8.186), *ar a laghad, go hard, isteach is amach le, thríd is thríd; D'innis sé dhi thríd síos agus thríd suas chuile rud a d'éirigh dhó. 864MDT52*. Also phrases: *dubh ná dath; dubh, bán ná riabhach; dubh ná dath, bán ná buí M; Ní bhfuair mé a dhu' ná a dhath ná aon tuairisc uaidh ó shoin 852SbTS147*; cp. 14 *daithín, dath*.

The following slightly hesitant example seems to indicate an adverb *cuid(e) mhaith le* or *cuid(e) mhaith suas le* (cp. *cuid mhaith* 8.234, 8.242, *cuid mhaith bheith* 8.160):

tá sé CUIDE MHAITH kid'ə wa: anis suas u-, le, déartha' mé cheithre scóir bhlianta, 23Ms.

Cp. *ná cuide dhe* 'in the least' (5.376).

in éineacht, rather than simply 'together, simultaneously', perhaps means 'all at once' or 'outright' (FGB) in:

mar bheadh sí ite stróicthe marbh IN ÉINEACHT ... marach an gadhar buí 866ESc140.27.

Dia and *Mac Dé* are used with adverbial force with *aoibhinn, éigean* and *minéar*, e.g.

nach aoibhinn DIA dhó; nach aoibhinn MAC DÉ dhó;
er' e:g'ə'n' d'e: ə rin'ə m'e suəs e M ar éigin DÉ a rinne mé suas é;
is minéar DÉ dhuit.

Numerals can qualify comparatives: *seacht mbreácha, seacht fearr, míle fearr, seacht gcéad déag míle fearr, míle measa, seacht measa*. Also with *uair*, e.g.

dhá uair níos measa.

Adverbial *lán* GCF §402 is not permitted in *tá sé lán chomh maith leis 12S-Øperm*.

8.224 Pro-adverbs; *amhlaidh* — *mar an gcéanna*

For place adverbs *ansin, ann*, etc., see 8.195 ff. and 8.184 ff.

AMHLAIDH

- ... *nach gcaitheadh u-, an súmpla, bheith mar bhí an chuid eile dhen, cheilp? P. Mac Dhonncha*

-*Bhuel, shúltheá sin ach ní BHÍOD SÉ AMHLAIDH. Ní AMHLAIDH BHÍODH. 889P.*

eangach ... bhí sí curtha ar aontéad, rus go ngothad sí mar seo agus mar siúd leis an sruth. IS AMHLAIDH IS, is FEARR AN SEANS A BHEADH AICI, le haghaidh, ronnaigh a ghoil inti. 892M1095–6.

-Gotha' tusa isteach i dtosach ... leantha muid héin a chéile agus beidh mise ar an duine deir'nach. RINNEADAR AMHLAIDH, agus nuair a choinic an rí an mac is óige ag tíocht ar an duine deir'nach, chuir sé sin an-bhrón air. 11C.

Proleptic example: Is AMHLAIDH is éasgaidh í a tharraingt, leis an gcroisín a choinneál amach beagán, sé sin gan í a sháthadh síos fút díreach. Cladi204.

AR AN GCAOI CHÉANNA

Bhí annis an Ceallach, agus Éamann a Búrc, bhíodar go leor dhen aimsir ag imeacht ar a bpáí, ag sáibhéarach. Agus BHÍ AN DÁ BHÚRCACH EILE AR AN GCAOI CHÉANNA 892M1290–1.

... LE CEO, AR AN GCAOI CHÉANNA. er' ə 'gi: x'e:nə 16St.

AR AN MBEALACH CÉANNA

... go ndéanfaidís ní ar bith sa domhan dó a d'fhéadfaidís a dhéanamh dó AGUS É LEO AR AN MBEALACH CÉANNA. 866ESc210.6.

MAR SEO / SIN / SIÚD, MAR SIN DE (cf. *mar sin* 8.218, 6.81 ff.)

ní aithneoidh siad thú nuair atá tú réití amach MAR SEO mā̃r 'fo | 11C.

In introducing songs:

ach dúirt sí MAR SEO ... 'Is ar an gCaiseal tá an bád pléisiúir' a deir sí ... 11C;

thosaigh sé MAR SEO 'Bail ó Dhia orm péin,' a deir sé ... 11C.

eangach ... bhí sí curtha ar aontéad, rus go ngothadh sí MAR SEO AGUS MAR SIÚD leis an sruth. 892M1095–6.

go raibh sí MAR SEO 'GUS MAR SIÚD. 43M; go raibh sí MAR SEO, MAR SIÚD. mar 'fo mar 'fud 43M.

Fág MAR SIN ansin é 866ESemr84.

-Tá muide MAR SIN, a deir na draíodóirí, Semr130.

-Muise, más MAR SIN é, ... , tabharfaidh mé leath an ríocht seo dhuitse Semr164.

gotha' mé san áit seo in éineacht leat, seachtain ó inniu nú amáireach nú MAR SIN. | 'ma:r 'f'in' | 05M.

ach bhídís ag caint, agus ag siúl. ' Cuir na mbáid un seoil, agus ag rúpáil MAR SIN DE. 'ma:r 'f'in' d'e | 889P.

Bhí neart áiteachaí: Liocán, cuid mhaith áiteachaí i Liocán, Lora [sic] Con Aortha, anseo thíos ag an Dóilín, Crompán Choill Sáile, agus MAR SIN DE go | əg's 'ma:r 'f'in' d'e gə dtéitheá siar go Cíll Chiaráin. 889P.

MAR AN GCÉANNA, MAR A CHÉILE

bhí an lá MAR A' GCÉANNA 894C2.

mar ə g'e:n er' ə ga:pəl (semi-run)P MAR AN GCÉANNA ar an gcapall.

mar an gcéanna is now obsolete in contrast with more usual mar a chéile. There is nominalisation in:

7 bu dh'é AN MAR A' GCÉANN' é 894C2.

8.225 *sin* and others

SIN

The demonstrative *sin* can be taken as having anaphoric reference or as functioning as a pro-adverb conveying modal meaning. In this use it occurs tagged on to verbal phrase as a pro-complement:

Chaith me amach an méid salachar a bhí ann, chaith me SIN S;

-Tá se sách garú S -Níl se garú, níl se SIN M;

Ní mar a chéile raibhiteáil is raimis ní hé SIN M;

B'fhearr 'uit braoinín bainne ná an bastard dh'uisce sin, b'fhearr 'uit SIN M.

sin can take the place of a Small Clause (5.97) following a verb:

Bhí tú ag obair sa chuile áit bhí SIN S.

Also in Echo verbal use such as *Bhíos sin!* Mq. It can follow subordinating adverbials replacing subordinate clauses:

o: iʃə fəreːr nax ə'l'ek'trik' kʊkər tɑ a:msə fəreːr ʃin' M

Ó uise faraor nach eileictruic-cúcar tá a' msa faraor SIN;

B'fhéidir gur lorg mo bhróga héin é far ál dait [for all that], b'fhéidir SIN M;

b'ér' l'e d'ia gə m'et ʃi: xə hæp'i: k'ənə b'ér' l'e d'ia ʃin' M

B'fhéidir le Dia go mbeadh sí chomh haipí céanna, b'fhéidir le Dia SIN.

It is sometimes used, in fact often by a minority of speakers, with no additional emphasis, e.g.

Tá an teas air, tá se SIN M.

(Cp. Hiberno-English '... , so it is'.)

Others

An example of adverbial use of *is rudaí* occurs in:

ach bhíod sé ag imeacht ag cuartaíocht IS RUDAÍ 11C.

The nouns *caoi* and *cuma* are common in pro-adverbial phrases (cf. *ar an gcaoi chéanna* above, 8.224), e.g.

ach bhí sé ag cuir na ceiste thrína chéile ARAN GCAOI SIN 11C,

cp. *ar chaoi ar bith* (8.230), *ar chaoi eicín*, *ar aon chaoi*.

Also *nós*, e.g.

Ach níl mórán acub ann annis AR AN NÓS CÉANNA. Níl mórán, gaibhne san áit. 894Cs '... as we were saying ...'.

8.226 Examples of verbal complements and other adverbs

A CHODLADH, I DO CHODLADH

əs nor' ə jehəs tu n' 't' in' ə 'kɪŋɡl' i:hə d' er ʃi' gəs 'xul' ə 'ʃün' ə nə 'xolə 11C
nuair a gheofas tú an tine coinglíte, a deir sí, agus chuile dhuine INA CHODLADH.

I NDAN (see 14 dan)

bhí muidé I NDAN a thíocht ən 'a:n ə hiəxt ar na stopógáí is ar na leathracháí seo uiliug 892M1572.

LEIS

hən'ək' ə ti:l' ə | grəs ʏə ro ən tə'lh it' eg' ə | ugəs ʏə ro nə 'krā:wāni: 'l' ik' i:hə 'l' əʃ | 894C tháinig an taoille i gcruth is go raibh an talamh ite aige agus go raibh na cnámhannaí lighítithe LEIS.

There are of course many other phrases which function as verbal complements, cp. GCF §409 *bain AS; bhí an ghrían ag goil FAOI; THART; CAITE; gléasta SUAS.*

8.227 Sentence adverbs; Simple: *anois – dháiríre*

ANOIS ə'n'ɪʃ, ə'n'ɪʃ, rare ə'nɪʃ; cf. 8.205

-*Agus ANNIS, a deir sí, marab fhuil tú i do mharcaí mhaith, a deir sí, u-, má thíteann tú sa bhfarraige ormsa ... 894Cstn.*

Cf. 14 *anis* 3.

ANSIN ən'ʃɪn' (8.195) 'and, so'

Beaits [< batch] *moirtéil abraíonnns muid froisin, fasóid a' Gaeilge tá ANSIN air S. Bhuel ANSIN bhí fear eile i nDumhaigh Iathair, Mícheál a Búrc a bhí air, bhí sé sin ina thogha file froisin 11C.*

AR NDÓIGH arnu: , *anu:* (*harnu:*);

rarer 'a:r' 'nɔ: 04Bt, 'ar' 'nū: 866E, 'æ' 'nū: 892M4146

arnu: n'ɪ:l' æ:rnu: 16B *níl AR NDÓIGH.*

ka 'wis dum *arnu:* 11C *cá bhfios dom AR NDÓIGH?*

arnu: v'ɪ: ... *AR NDÓIGH bhí ...*

anu: ænu: b'e:d'ər' gə ... 11Ct *AR NDÓIGH b'fhéidir go ...*

harnu: əgəs hæ:rnu: tɑ: M *agus AR NDÓIGH tá.*

əgs 'harnu: v'ɪ: ma:k ... 11Ct *agus AR NDÓIGH bhí mac ...*

har nu: n'ɪ' hɪn' b'æləx l'e' t'ɪ:r' ə rɪx' S

AR NDÓIGH ní hin bealach le tír a rith.

BHUEL wel'

wel' tɑ: gə 'mā: du:rt taig 11C *BHUEL tá go maith, a dúirt Tadhg.*

CHEANA ha'nə

Nár raibh CHEANA! S.

(GO) *CINNTE, CINNTE DEARFA k'ɪ:(i)nt'ə (d'ærfə)*

Agus GO CINNTE nuair a tharrainn sé an scian thosaigh fuil ag tíocht as a taobh. ARN2228.

*DHÁIRÍRE, DHÁIRÍRE PÍRE, I NDÁIRÍRE, 'seriously'*¹

γɑ:r'ɪ:r'ə 30Ms(AM), 36P(CS)1.

gɑ:r'ɪ:r'ə cp. (Máire in) *ed'ər' hau gəs gɑ:r'ɪ:r'ə* Mq *eidir shúgradh agus*

DHÁIRÍRE.

ɑ:r'ɪ:r'ə 07P(MR), 46C(CN), 48R(CN) (x6).

¹ Also adjectival 'earnest' (which can be used as an adverb of manner):

γɑ:r'ɪ:r'ə *Ach an bhfuil tú dháiríre? S.*

dɑ:r'ɪ:r'ə ... *go dtug a bhean an-aird air agus gur cheap sí go raibh sé dáiríre. 11C5344.*

As a noun in the sayings:

dɑ:r'ɪ:r'ə *ed'ər' haur'* [sic] əs *dɑ:r'ɪ:r'ə* Sq *idir shúgradh is dáiríre,*

ed'ər' wɑ:g əs dɑ:r'ɪ:r'ə Sq *idir mhagadh is dáiríre.*

In these phrases following -s nonlenition represents retention of the originally unlenited initial. Cp. -s *tuas* and -s *tall* (p. 1619 n. 1).

ya:r'ir'ə p'ir'ə DHÁIRÍRE PÍRE!

ə na:r'ir'ə 16S INDÁIRÍRE; more commonly ya:r'ir'ə dháiríre.

8.228 dearfa — siúráilte

(GO) DEARFA d'ærəfə

Ach níl mé i ndan DEARFA anis cé acú ar chuir siad a lámh ann an [interrogative copula] sa gceann glan nó sa gceann salach é go háirthid an t-am sin [sic] 894C.

Ach más é, a deirimse, liom péin, níl mé i ndan GO DEARFA ə d'ærəfə, m'aghaidh a thabhairt in aon áit eile. 889P.

Bhuel GO DEARFA wel' gə d'ærəfə ní raibh sé sin ... ag goil ... 25T.

Ach go deimhin, agus GO DEARFA, ina n-am péin ní raibheadar ar fúnamh. 892M2731.

GO DEIMHIN, GO DEIMHIN AGUS GO DEARFA, GO DEIMHIN ... DEARFA

'... rinne sé an-jab dhe Chúirt an tSruháin Bhuí.' Is GO DEIMHIN gə d'iv'ən' badh in í an fhúrinne, rinne. 11C.

Agus GO DEIMHIN bhí cruinniú mór daoíní ann. 11C1011.

Agus GO DEIMHIN AGUS GO DEARFA chuirtheadh muid laiste ar an doras eile ach ní raibh aon laiste air. ARN3464.

-GO DEIMHIN muise, DEARFA, a deir sí, is mé. 866ESc169.12.

DÓCH, DÓICHÍ, DÓICHIDÍ, DÓICHIDE

dox əs do:x gər b'e: | wa:rə mud' 892M1706

Is DÓCH gurb é a mharaigh muid.

Is DÓCH go raibh rud eicínt ag baint leis na hinnill 11C1104.

Is DÓCH liom go ru dúil i ngail tobac aige 866EÓC223; also Sc291, also Semr68.

Note əs do:x M?perm, indicating its obsolescent status.

cp. do:k s 'do:k |'um [sic] (Lam, prose)04B is dóch liom.

do:hi: The general form, e.g. is dóichí go bhfuil.

With liom use is probably more formal:

Choinic tú na potaí is DÓICHÍ liom? s do:hi: 'f'um | (male speaker (AI) in initial exchange in radio interview);

Bhuel is DÓICHÍ liom ansin go dtosóidís ' tarraint suas ... 18J7011.

Also 889P in narrative; 05M in interview replying to written questionnaire. Less formally a subject is typically indicated by ag c(h)eadadh, e.g. tá mé ag cheapadh (go).

do:i: Is DÓICHÍ liom sdo:i: f'um go mb'fhéidir gur rugadh i Maínis é ... Is DÓICHÍ liom sdo:i: f'um ansin nuair a theagidís go dtíge pobal eicínt eile ... go bhfaighidís áit ... 11C (in radio interview, with liom, perhaps slightly more formal than vernacular).

Is é ... is slightly formal, as is is dóichí liom (go) in:

je sdo:i: f'um gə wil' ... 03V Is é is DÓICHÍ liom go bhfuil

no:hi: This form has been noted in the tale run from 04B:

ogəf n'ir no:hi: fin na' m'e' ə v'ə gən e:n' f'k'e:l (Smbb)04B

agus NÍOR NDÓICHÍ sin ná mé a bheith gan aon scéal;

ogəs n'ir no:hi: fin' na: mid' ə v'ə gən e:n' f'k'e:l (Smré)04B

agus NÍOR NDÓICHÍ sin ná muid a bheith gan aon scéal.

Cp. *ar ndóigh* with similar *-r ndó-*.

The longer forms *dóichide* and *dóichidí* are far less common, the former being least frequent (heard from schoolteacher **21Pg**):

NACH DÓICHIDE **do:həd'ə** go raibh, *Cruaich na Caoile, agus na, t-oileán sin ... in aon pháosa amháin talthúna, fadó?* **21Pg**3016;

Muise NÍ DÓICHIDE a bích é. **21Pg**3787;

IS DÓICHIDÍ, **do:həd'i**: go raibh cionál rillic nú rud eicint ansin, **11C**3088.

Cp. *is NÍOR DHÓICHIDÍ yohəd'i*: sin ná muid a bheith gan scéal a' bith. (run)**11C**.

FARAOR farir, fare:r

Functions as interjection (*Faraor!*) or sentence adverb (*Ní bheidh, faraor!*) as well as a noun (in phrase *ar an bhfaraor géar*) but also followed by subordinate clause:

FARAOR má choinic mé ariamh thú! S; FARAOR nar fhan mé sa mbaile!

GO HÁIRTHID, see 8.210

I NDOMHNACH ə nu:nəx (becoming obsolescent)

- ... *Ach níor thug sé aon phínn airgid duitse. -I NDOMHNACH | nü:nəx thug, dúirt fear na hAirde Móire.*

I NDOMHNACH 's dóichí go bhfuil paidireachaí leothub froisin. **06C**.

'NDOMHNACH tá sé sin ráite. **11C**2288.

IONANN IS anəns

Possibly as sentence adverb similar to 'well' in:

-IONANN'S, *a deir Veail, ba cheart duit fear maith eicíneach a thraíáil le thú chur as aimhreas. 'IONANN'S' sin focal a bhí aige P. Cp. ionann is nach (8.151).*

MUISE, MUIS mis(ə)

-*Cerb as thú héin? a deir sé le Féilim. -Á MUISE, a deir sé, oileán beag, a deir sé, tá ansin istich, a deir sé, trasna an chuain, ansin ... 11C.*

-... *Agus tá peicdiúr an bháid agus an ancaire ar an gcrois ann. 896P -MUISE tá!? 11C -Tá. 896P.*

-*As, as Doire Iorrais? 31P -Tugadh. 35E -MUISE? 31P.*

| hun'ək' 'm'íjə gə 'bæ:n't' gə 'tæ:rənt' æ fəw i | gə to:rt' | f'i:s eg' ə 'gə:l'hə s gə kir' gə 'hæ:rən' | hun'ək'əs muj' | hun'ək'əs muj' | **892Mg** *Choinic mise dhá baint, dhá tarraint as seo í, dhá tabhairt síos ag an gcaladh is dhá cuir go hÁrainn, choiniceas MUIS, choiniceas MUIS.*

SEANS fæ:ns, fæ:n's (< chance), CAOLSHEANS, DROCSHEANS, GÉARSHEANS

Is dóichí liom go mb'fhéidir gur rugadh i Mainis é, SEANS gur rugadh, cheap-thainn é le mo bharaíl 11C.

fæ:ns eg' ə fə:xt gə m'eis e M SEANS *ag an seacht go mbeidh fhios é.*

SEANS *go mb'fhéidir go chuireadar ar saingbhaitseas é ná tada. M.*

SEANS *nach dtiocthaidh aon steár go deo dhó M.*

tá SEANS *go bhfuil ocras air, M.*

Tanaíodh í tá SEANS. **35E.**

'g'e:r'hæ:ns gə ŋohə ... Mq GÉARSHEANS *go ngabhthaidh ...*

SIÚRÁILTE (< sure), SIÚRÁILTÍ, SIÚRÁILTE CINNTE

Chum sé filíocht álainn SIÚRÁILTE 11C.

Níl fhios againn, SIÚRÁILTE [referring to fhios], níl mé héin ro-chínnte, an raibh sé ina chúnaí i Maínis aon achar gá shaol. 11C.

ʃu:ɾa:ɫ̪ə k'i:n̪t̪ə aibr' o ʃi M SIÚRÁILTE CINNTE *oibreoidh sí 'she will most certainly become enraged'.*

Maith an spúnálaí bhí ann SIÚRÁILTE CINNTE S.

8.229 Phrasal sentence adverbs

AR AN GCAOI CHÉANNA

bhí sí sin ag goil ag snoíochán an mhaide, ach AR AN GCAOI CHÉANNA, mara mbead sí géar, sé chaoi mbeithéa, go do mharú héin agus ag milleadh an mhaide léithi. 892M1358.

Bhuel AR AN GCAOI CHÉANNA annis, tá an carr annis agus tá an traictar ag obair, agus tá carr asail ann, rud nar raibh an uair sin ann. 892M1501.

ARÍST AR AIS

ARÍST AR AIS S 'all the same'.

GAN DEABHAIT (< doubt)

Ó! GAN DEABHAIT! S.

Agus, GAN DEABHAIT thóig sé domhain na talthúna 892M2862.

CEART GO LEOR

Ach CEART GO LEOR an oíche seo, bhí crabhaid mór istich ann, 892M2464.

Tá mé cinnte gur scríobhadh iad i nDumhaigh Iathair CEART GO LEOR. 11C.

agus thug sé ordú dhó go gcaithead sé fanacht as níos mú. Agus CEART GO LEOR rinne sé a chomhairle. 11C.

bhíodar i ndan Gaeilge a léabh go leor acub CEART GO LEOR. 11C.

tá loch CEART GO LEOR tá sin thiar i mBaile Con Fhaoltha 11C.

-CEART GO LEOR, a deir sé, ní chaithidh mé aon chloich leis, a deir sé, ní bhuaithidh mé dhe mhaide é 11C.

DHÁ BHRÍ SIN (HÉIN)

Agus GÁ BHRÍ SIN HÉIN, nar cheart go mbeadh fonn agus grá agus meas againn ar an teanga sin a bheith againn, ... 869Pt.

INA DHIAIDH SIN (HÉIN)

ceapthaidh tú gur dho chailín álainn b'fhéidir a cumadh é agus b'fhéidir, b'fhéidir gur dhon éan a bhí ar an gcrabhbh a bhí sé sin díonta INA DHIAIDH SIN. 11C.

ní raibh sí aige ar deireadh INA DHIAIDH SIN. 11C.

-Bhuel anis, a deir sé, tá píosaí go leor cúmta a'd, a deir sé. Ach INA DHIAIDH SIN HÉIN, a deir sé, is le Valas ... an bhratach uilig ar an bhfilíocht. 11C.

AR DEIREADH / AS DEIREADH / I NDEIREADH NA CÚISE

Ach, A' DEIREADH NA CÚISE fuair sé amach, nar raibh mada ná, ná eile ánn; péibre céard, a bhí ina chiontsiocair leis an torann 04Bt.

ax æf d'er ə nə ku:ʃə | ... 894C *ach AS DEIREADH NA CÚISE*

níl ann ach scéilín gearr ach tá sé rúinne beag greannúr I NDEIREADH NA CÚISE.
11C.

MAR SIN (HÉIN)

Suigh síos, MAR SIN, a deir Mac Rí in Éirinn, agus ith do dhóthain ...
866ESemr62.

Ach MAR SIN FÉIN, 'gohad,' a deir sé. 866ESemr100;

MAR SIN FÉIN fuair sé é féin faoi réir ar maidin agus bhí sé ... 866ESc51.40.

THAIRIS SIN

-Bhuel, a deir Tadhg, a deir sé, gabhfaidh mé abhaile, a deir sé, is THAIRIS SIN, a deir sé, is cuma liom 'which'. 866ESc262.37.

THAR ÉIS(E) SIN (HÉIN)

der' pr'ist rin'ə mud 'tɔ:g'ɑ:l 'jæ:s 'ɾ'e:fə 'jin' | 31P

Doir príosta rinne muid tóigeál dheas THAR ÉISE SIN (rapidly spoken; tóigeál refers to scallop dredging).

Sin é marab fhuil corr-fíormháthair ann, is THAR ÉIS SIN HÉIN 'he:f'jin' 'hē:n' b'fhéidir go bhfuil, — Is fhearr leothub an mac S.

8.230 Others

an chéad chás de 'first, for one thing':

(k')e:d xɑ:s d'ɛ | kir'ə tu: ki:mʃə a'ləʃ | 06M

AN CHÉAD CHÁS DE, cuirthidh tú cuimse allais.

ar an gcéad iarraidh 'first, for one thing':

-Cén fáth? -Bhí siad ag cheapadh go raibh go leor u-, bhuel AR AN GCÉAD IARRAIDH d'fhásthad se ro-árd. Is thithead se anuas ansin. Agus bhí bealach eile ansin ag baint leis; bhí talthamh ... talthamh coráis ... 32J.

ar bhealach, ar bhealach eicint, ar aon bhealach:

Tá, AR BHEALACH, ach ... ;

B'fhearr leat é fhágáil AR BHEALACH EICÍNT.;

níl aon scoil a'm AR AON BHEALACH ach, choinic mé foclaí ... 21Pt.

ar chaoi ar bith:

Sé chaoi ar thosaigh sí AR CHAOI AR BITH ər xi: r b'ix' air ... 11C;

go dtugad se go rillic Mhaorais í nó go Portach Mhaorais AR CHAOI AR BITH.

er xi: er' b'ix' 11C.

ar aon chuma, ar chuma eicint:

tá sé bainte anois AR AON CHUMA;

Ach breathaíodh ar an mbréidín AR CHUMA EICÍNT is toiseadh é. ARN1185.

ar chuma ar bith:

ach chuaigh sé ag faoistín na Cásc AR CHUMA AR BITH. er' xum ər 'b'ix' | ;

tugann siad Loch na Ní ortha. Thugaidís sa sean-am AR CHUMA AR BITH. ə

xum ər 'b'ix' | ;

sloinne strainséara a bhí air AR CHUMA AR BITH e(r) xum ər 'b'ix' thart anseo i gConamara (all 11C).

Also **er' 'e:ŋ xi:** *ar aon chaoi; san am c(h)éanna; faoi sin; féibrí é, féibrí caoi é, féibrí cén scéal é; in éindí leis sin, e.g. ARN7141; is cosúil; thar éis na haimsire, e.g. 869P (x2). Cp. interjections such as m'anam, a mh'anam, doir m'anam.*

8.231 Subordinating discourse markers and adverbials

There is a small class of subordinating clauses with important discourse marking and modal adverbial functions. *sé an chaoi a^N* and similar subordinators can often be translated by the English adverb ‘actually’; they usually contain *an chaoi* but the oldest speakers also had *an bealach*, *an chuma* and *an nós* here.

SÉ AN BEALACH A^N

‘agus ní raibh sé le fáil, agus dúradh GURB É AN BEALACH AR ith mé féin agus ar mharaigh mé é.’ **866E**Sc120.2;

*bhreachaigh sí thairti agus SÉN BEALACH A bhfaca sí an chathaoir abhus agus na raigeannaí. 866E*t (Sc183.1). (Perhaps *cén bealach ...*, cp. *go cé chuma ... 866E*Sc96.2 below.)

Speaker **866E** also has obsolescent *sé an chuma a^N* (below).

*SÉ AN BEALACH AR tharrainn na boltaí an dtigeann tú? 872P*t.

SÉ AN CHAOI A^N (~ *A^L*) generally;

je:n xi:, often reduced: **je xi(:)**, **je xu**, **jē hi:**, **je hi(:)**, **ja xi**, **ja xə**

gə je hi: d’aid’i:f gə | **’gax’ə** | **01C6349** *Agus SÉ AN CHAOI A dtéidís go Gaillimh.*

Agus cá bhfios NACH É AN CHAOI A nax ē⁵ xi: bhfeiceann siad muid, agus gur ag faire ar an mbád iúntú tá siad. 875P.

SÉ’ CHAOI raibh sé acú ansin, té nar raibh aon teideal aige dhon fheamainn, SÉ’ CHAOI ghothad sé, gheithhead sé uathub seo é. 06C.

NACH É AN CHAOI, A ngoifí agus A bhfuighfí pleainc? 11C1382.

Is SÉ AN CHAOI A chaith mé əs fā xə xā m’ē iarraidh orthub ... 66L; ja xi 64M.

Cf. *hóbaire gurb é an chaoi* (8.232). There is an example of *sé an chaoi a raibh* for *sé an chaoi arb é a raibh* (where *a^N* is cataphoric *a^N*) in:

Chaitheadh sí é a dhéanamh nó mara ndéanadh, bhí féibí céard a chuir sí ann le dó thíos ar chúl na tine Deabhal, SÉ AN CHAOI A raibh uaithi seo é! | d’aul je xi ro wohə fo w e 19P.

The elision can be seen as a form of haplology between *sé’ chaoi (a raibh)* and *sé a raibh* with loss of the second *sé*.

SÉ AN CHUMA A^N (~ *A^L*) obsolescent

*ach tá muid siúrúilte GUR B’É ’N CHUMA dtug an bhean léithi é 7 gur b’é an áit a bhfuil an Dochtúr Ó Laidhe in Árainn Bheag. 866E*ÓC222; also Sc291;

*SÉ CHUMA AR oibrigh orthub a’ gáirí 7 a’ fonnúid 866E*Semr148.

There is an example from this speaker of *cén chuma a bhfeicfeadh* for more common *sé an chuma a bhfaca*:

*Agus ghabh sí amach ... agus nuair a ghabh GO CÉ CHUMA A bhfeicfeadh sí é féin agus an fathach ... agus iad féin i mullach a chéile le dhá chlainhe. 866E*Sc96.2.

SÉ AN NÓS A^N obsolescent

*Cailleadh an mac. ... SÉ AN NÓS AR tugadh as é. Níor cailleadh é. 864M*DT47–9.

agus chonnaic sé fia agus lean sé dhon fhia go dtagadh sé suas léithe [i.e. léithi].

*SÉ AN NÓS A dtug a fia a haghaidh ar an bhfairrge agus nuair a tháinig sí ar bhruach na fairrge SÉ AN NÓS AR léim sí amach agus ghabh sí faoin uisce, 875T*LL40.

IS É AN NÓSAR cailleadh ar bhord an tsoithigh é, SÓC2.280.

É GO (less common)

nax e' gə m' i: d̪ f̪e gə: r' i: fu: msə 21Pt NACH É GO mbíodh sé ag gáirí fúmsa.

8.232 Others

IS FÁNACH AN CHAOI^N **əs fa:nəx ə xi:**

Mara ndíonadh sé sin IS FÁNACH AN CHAOI A ngothadh s fa:nə xi: ɲohəx dubhán in aimhréidh 899D6390.

Cf. *b'fhéidir go, is dóichí go, is beag nach, (ní h)é amháin go*, i.e. noun or adjective with specialised subordinating function. There is a modal use of *fainic nach* in:

... gur ann atá sé curtha. Agus FAINIC NACH BHFUIL roinnt eile daoine curtha froisin ansin. 11C3087 '... there may well be ...'.

HÓBAIR GO, HÓBAIR NACH, HÓBAIR, HOB AIR GO, HOB AIR NACH, ho(:)bər'

HÓBAIR GO maraíoch an 'Dia' atá agáí mé 852S4. Cp. 8.35.

Agus an tríobhú rud a d'éirigh dhuinn HÓBAIR é bhei' an-dona uiliug. ARN7229.

hobir' nar mari:äv e SID.46 s.v. HOB AIR NAR maraíodh é.

agus HOB AIR, GURB é chaoi ar mharaigh an chuid eile dhe chriú an bháid é, faoi, an rud a dúirt sé. 06C.

ach HÓBAIR GOB é chaoi mbeid sé ag an seanfhear bocht, go bhfanhad sé i bhFínis agus nach gcuirfí choir a bich é le anmhailís an bhuaichaill óg seo. 11C.

NÍ MÓIDE GO, NÍ MÓIDIR GO, N' i: mu:d'ə gə, N' i: mu:d'ər' gə

NÍ MÓIDE GO mū:d'ə gə raibh peartisean [partition] a bith tairníthe ann 894Cs.

ax n' i: mu:d'ər' gə d'ur:hə 11C1638 ach NÍ MÓIDIR GO dtiúrthaidh (mu:d'ər'

11C only).

Compare *ní / deabhal ann ach, ní ... ann ach*; and use with *blas*, e.g.

DEABHAL BLAS a rinne sé ACH é a ól. 11C 'what did he do but drink it!'

See *ach* (8.177), also *mara* (8.27); *deabhal blas* (8.116).

Indefinite pronouns, adjectives and adverbs

8.233 Indefinite pronouns: *a dhath* — *ceo*

For examples of 3m possessive *a^l* with indefinite pronouns, see 6.43.

A DHATH, A DHAITHÍN, ə yæh(i:nʹ); cp. 14 *daithín, dath 2 dheamhan A DHATH; tabhair dhom A DHAITHÍN BÍDEACH.*

A DHUBH NÁ A DHATH
chinn sé amach agus amach ar an mbreitheamh A DHUTH NÁ A DHATH a dhéanamh den chúis, Clad199.

A LÁN ə lɑ:n
... agus *A LÁN* nach *iad*.
Á! bhí A LÁN eile cúmta aige thairiú 11C.
bhídís ag imeacht ó háit go háit. Agus A LÁN thartub, ní hiad na filíthe amháin é ach ... 11C.

When nouns, which are not inflected for genitive, are construed with *a lán*, the syntax is ambiguous as to whether *a lán* is an indefinite pronoun or indefinite adjective, e.g.

Chum sé é sin ... agus ar ndóigh A LÁN cinn álainn eile leis dhá mbeitheat's a'inn iad 11C.

AN DOMHAN ən daun
Bhí sé ag cailleadh AN DOMHAN clocha luannaí. 892M.

AN FHAD, AN FHAD SEO, ən æd, ən ædʲ fo
-Tá an fear sin báite, a deir sé, leis AN FHAD SEO blianta. 11C.
'Bhíodar ag troid AN FHAD SEO aimsire leis an Ridire Beag' 866ESc71, also Sc270.

(A) OIREAD EILE, AN OIREAD, AN OIREAD SEO, A SHEACHT N-OIREAD
Bheadh chuile dhuine sa teach ag plé léithi, 'gus gá mbeadh (A) OIREAD EILE sa teach thastód siad. 896P.
Is bhí AN OIREAD ómáis aige dhi, faoi go ndearna sí an píosa filíocht dho na báid agus chuireadh sé AN OIREAD SEO n er'əd fo dhe chuile shórt dhá fheabhas isteach ar an Oileán Gorm aici 11C.
... nó gur dhíol mé an t-*arbhar* insa gcuid thoir dhen domhan agus fuair mé AN OIREAD SEO airgid air. 892M2129.
-Tá do thuarastal saothraí go math anois a'ad, adeir sé, agus ní haon tuarastal a gheofas tu, adeir sé, ach A SHEACH' GCÉAD OIREAD agus gheall mé dhuit! adeir sé. 852SbTS152.

AN TÉ, see TÉ (6.55)

AN T-ÚFÁS ən tu:hɑ:s, etc.,
Tá AN T-ÚTHÁS acub ann.
b' i:mʲə d' i:nə n tu:hɑ:s 43M bímse ag déanamh AN T-ÚFÁS.

AON e:n (in set phrases); cp. 8.237
séard tusa anois AON in aghaidh pobail S; cf. 14 aon 2.
críostaí an AON; mac an AON.

AON-NDUINE, see **DUINE** (8.237)

BEAG b'og

nax b'og ə x'æ:pəx gə gir'ət fɪ p'ædər b'ærət S
nach BEAG a cheapthadh go gcuirtheadh sí Peadar Bearait!
Is BEAG é.
cuireann sé na gliomaigh a bhíos aige de bharr na hoíche, más BEAG nó mór é, sa ríphota; Clad17.
 (Cp. **-dugán' je mór:an f'e:r do:b'** *An dtugann sé mórán féir dóibh?*
-ta m'e x'æ:pə gər b'og e: 19B *Tá mé ag cheapadh gur BEAG é.*)
Seacht mbliana ... agus [is ?] BEAG leis gəs b'og l'ej 899N.
 Cp. **nax b'o 'gæt'is ə v'i: ortsə ... 11C** *nach BEAG dh'fhaitíos a bhí ortsa ... ;*
... gur BEAG [de] fhonn a bhíonnas ar na ceannachóirí FFG s.v. beag 2;
Is BEAG dhá ghotha atá ort 14 s.v. gotha; cf. 14 s.v. sásamh 1(a).

BEAGÁN b'oga:n, BEAGÁINÍN, RÍBHEAGÁN

bhí BEAGÁN le cois an chirt ólta aige.
bhí BEAGÁINÍN le cois an chirt ann.
Ní raibh ann ach RÍBHEAGÁN.

BEAG NÁ MÓR b'og na: mór

Ní ro' BEAG NÁ MÓR dhá thuairisc aige nuair a bhí an bhliain istigh aige. 852Sb-TS148.

BIT b'it, A BHIT (< 'bit')

dheamhan A BHIT ariamh maitheasa ann.
 With adverbial force 'at all' with count nouns qualified by preposition *dhe*, e.g.
n'i:l' ə v'it' ə r'ia:v d'i l'e fa:l' *M níl A BHIT ariamh di le fáil*
 'it cannot be found at all.'

BLAS bla:s, A BHLAS; cf. *deabhal blas*, etc., (8.114, 8.116, 8.117)

Níor cheannaigh mé bit níor cheannaigh mé BLAS, 'not even' an stoca héin M.
ní fhaca mé BLAS ar bith dhe.
agus gan aon BHLAS le déanamh ag ceachtar acub ... ach ag fairiú ort. 897St.
Beidh tú thiar ag Aill na gCuil shul má bhíonn BLAS lae ann. 875TDT54.
aon BHLAS ceilpe i gCill Chiaráin ní ba mhó 896P.
d'iarradar cúnamh air seo. 'Gus ní dhearna sé aon BHLAS ach a chiotóg, a chuir inti, é, héin ísliú anuas as stóirib an chapail, agus chuir sé a chiotóg inti ... (Suda)894Cs.
 Cp. 8.232 and *Deabhal blas a rinne sé ach é a ól. 11C* 'what did he do but drink it!' (8.116).
 With adverbial force 'at all' with count nouns qualified by preposition *dhe*, e.g.
v'i k'ia:r d'æ:s am əs n'i:l' ə vla:s d'i fa:ki M
bhí cíor deas a'm is níl A BHLAS di fágthaí.

1666 Functors

BRÍ br' i:

Ní dhíonthaidh sé BRÍ.

BUILLE bil' ə

Agus bhí e-, BUILLE dícéillí sna daoiní fadó, níos mú mh'anam ná tá anis. 01Pt. (Cp. FFG27 s.v. buille 13.)

BUNÁITE buna:t' ə

Bhí a MBUNÁITE (muna:t' ə) ann 46.979.

Bhíodh BUNÁITE muintir an phobail uilig ann.

CÁCH ka:x

As comhair CÁCH. Cp. nach diocair dhuit trial ar CHÁCH !03V.

CEAHTAR k' æ:xtər 'either, neither, any, none'

N' i: wuər' ədər k' æ:xtər akəb ní bhfuairadar CEAHTAR acub.

scríobh sé scéal lena chiotóig, scríobh sé scéal lena láimh dheas agus d'ínsigh sé scéal lena bhéal, agus níorbh é an scéal céanna CEAHTAR acub. 11C.

bhí beirt mhac aige, ní raibh an tslainte ro-mhaith ag CEAHTAR acub 11C.

níl aon mhaith i GCEAHTAR acub sin dh'inín rí. 11C.

beidh trí chéad saighdiúr ... thart timpeall an tí ... agus gan aon bhlas le déanamh ag CEAHTAR acub ... ach ag fairiú ort. 897St.

There is an instance of possibly erroneously transcribed inflected genitive in:

gheobha sí amach go ro' mise ' mo dhúiseacht anocht in éineach' leatsa, agus sin é fad CEAHTAIR a'ainne 'o shaol! adeir sé. 852Sbts145.

One example with initial *x'* - has been noted:

I' e ti:v x' æ:xtər a:kəb 13P le taobh CHEAHTAR acub.

(This is perhaps the speaker's regular usage; compare the commonly lenited indefinite adjectives *chorr-*, *chupla* and numerals *cheithre*, *chúig*, as well as the common lenition of adverbs and prepositions.)

CEANN k' a:n

tabhair leat CEANN acub.

Bhreathaigh CEANN dhe na robálachaí suas ar chuma ar bith ... -Ó! ríche muid as seo, a deir CEANN acub. Pt1.

agus gur sháigh gach aon fhear acu a chlainne i gcroí an CHINN eile. 866E-Sc53.16.

CHEO k' o:

ní raibh aon CHEO de fanta.

ach ní raibheadar ag díonamh aon CHEO maitheasa. ARN8121.

níl aon CHEO loicht uirthi. Clad232.

an ndearna mé aon CHEO as bealach ARN2681.

8.234 **cuid(e)**

CUID acú beag is CUID acú mór; CUIDE dhe na daoine; GANNCHUID; cf. MÓRCHUID (8.238).

dúirt CUIDE dhen dream a bhí in éineacht leis seo ... dúradar ... 11C.

... níl fhios a'm an ndearna mé aon cheo as bealach ...

-Ó, muise go deimhin, a deir sí, rinne tú agus CUID mhaith. 11C2682.

Faraer bhí sé sin orm. Agus ar CHUID mhaith b'fhéidir liom. | ogəs er xid' 'wā
b'eid'ər 'r um | 889P.

Ach féibí scéal é, cuireadh an Ceallach seo amach, agus CUID mhaith leis. 35E-9194.

Coisneoidh an teach CUID mhór 46.1024.

Ní raibh aon CHUID eile acub amuigh lena n-aghaidh 01C6366 'there was no one else out (fishing) for them (mackerel)'.

Bhí saortha ag goil i gcomórtas le chéile, agus achaon CHUID acub ag iarraidh an bhuchtáil, fháil ar ... an bhfear eile 872Pt.

-Deabhal fear a gheitheas go deo uait é, a deir sé, ná CUIDE dh'fhear, a deir sé. 897St.

Normally followed by preposition or prepositional pronoun, e.g. *cuide dhó* or *cuid acub*. Indefinite adjective **kid' wa' cuid mhaith** generally but also **kid' ə wa: 23Ms** *cuide mhaith* (adverbially, 8.242). Regularly *cuide* before *dhe* and its prepositional pronouns. Also pronounced *cuide* in absolute use, meaning 'some' (rather than 'some of, part of'):

CUID acub ... sé seachtainí is CUIDE dhá mhí 894Cs;

| kid' ə | 15W2 CUIDE;

hug m' e kud' ə yut' fə ogəs kud' ə jif' ə Mq

thug mé CUIDE dhuitse agus CUIDE dhise;

kid' ə duw ogəs kid' ə bə:n Mq (tá) CUIDE dubh agus CUIDE bán;

kid' ə ku: ... s kid' ə nax wil' 23Bperm CUID acú ... is CUIDE nach bhfuil.

Similarly, speaker 21Jq produces *cuide* with predicative adjectives but alternates between *cuid* and *cuide* with attributive adjectives. Speaker 77C has an example of *cuid* with predicative adjective. The examples are:

an CHUID dubh dhe ... (tá) CUIDE dubh is cuide bán ... (tá) CUIDE mór is

CUIDE beag ... an CHUIDE bheag dhe ... an CHUID bheag dhe 21Jq;

CUID acú beo is CUID cáillte. 77C.

In the meaning 'part of' *cuide dhe* is regular, e.g.

kid' ə gən wu:nə i: n xu:l' əxt S CUIDE dhen mhúnadh í an chúthaileacht,

but speaker 66N has an example of *cuid dhe*:

kid' gə wik' i: ən dr' ibəl 66N CUID dhe mhuic í [sic] an drioball.

Singular article with singular reference is usual, e.g. *an chuid eile dhe*, but with plural reference the plural article also occurs, e.g.

Ansin, na CHUID eile go na lae(th)annaí 866ESemr140.

A younger speaker, 66L, seems to have extended *na* to singular reference in:

Ní raibh tú ag breathú ar na CHUID eile dhen fileam 66L,

for traditional *ar an gcuid eile dhe ...*

One can compare possible base *chuide* in (*ná cuide dhe* 'in the least', cp. 5.376):

ní raibh aon spóirt faoin domhan ach í, ná CUIDE [or CHUIDE] dhe spóirt.

nā' 'hud' ə gə spo:rt' | 01P (cf. 1.405).

cuid (**kid'**) usually follows possessive pronouns before mass nouns and abstract nouns, e.g.

do CHUID mónasa, a GCUID móna 46.574, do CHUID seafóid;

without *cuid*:

ná tarrainn mo ghruaig! 46.381, feoghlaim do theagais Críostaí! 46.780.

It also occurs optionally before plural nouns, especially optional before nouns denoting objects which are typically possessed by people, such as *lámha*, *bróga*, e.g.

,d'ín'fɪ m'é mō xīd' 'p'a:ki. ʏð, 46.788 *d'insigh mé mo CHUID peacaí dhó*;

ghoid na tincéaraí a [1pl] GCUID cearcaí uilig 46.746;

tháinig triúr nú ceathar cailíní óga agus a gcuid beaindeannaí dearg ar a GCUID caipíní 11C;

is beag nár bhriseadar a GCUID muiníl ag rith isteach ... 866ESc49.19.

Examples of plural nouns with possessive pronouns but without *cuid* are:

tá a bputógaí amuigh ag na fataí M;

*tá sí i ndan caint a chuir as a putógaí M.*¹

8.235 *cuimse* — *díol*

CUIMSE ki:mʃə

bhí CUIMSE ronnachaí ann.

v'í 'ki:mʃ akəb ə ,f'íl'iaxt | 11C *bhí CUIMSE acub ag filíocht.*

Also *an-chuimse*, *fíorchuimse*: *AN-CHUÍMSE scudán gá thóigeál ... 869P4, rinne sé AN-CHUIMSE gáirí 46 (s.v. gáire); ní raibh FÍORCHUÍMSE potaí ag aon bhád 43Jt.*

DALLADH da:lə

DALLADH mór daoine.

DÍOL d'ial

Tá DÍOL an lae amáireach ann M. Tá DÍOL na beirte agaí ann. S.

Bheadh DÍOL fear a' bi' ansin. S. Tá DÍOL seachtaine dhe mhúin thíos.

díol 'enough for' generally takes a dependent noun and typically complements *dóthain* 'enough of' which in contrast often has a pronominal object. Also, *díol* has an apparently nonpronominal meaning in, for example, *díol truaí*, *díol an deabhail*.

8.236 *dóthain* — *dubh ná dath*

DÓTHAIN do:hən'

Generally the referent is referred to by the corresponding possessive pronoun governing *do:hən'* *dóthain*:

tá mo dhóthain a'm; an bhfuil DO DHÓTHAIN a'd?; tá A DÓTHAIN aici;

ta no:hən' ən' S tá A NDÓTHAIN a'inn.

Cp. '*Agus is é A DHÓTHAIN gach uile dhuine, a deir sé, a bhealach agus a ghnotha féin a dhéanamh*' 866ESc259.31.

With no referent expressed, *a* (3m) *dhóthain* may be used:

Beidh A DHÓTHAIN féir ann S 'there will be enough ...';

Níl sí ag cuir A DHÓTHAIN air S 'she is not putting enough on';

ta ʏo:hən' a:kəb a:n 12J tá A DHÓTHAIN acub ann

'there are enough of them (briars)';

¹ Wigger (2003: 265) is incorrect in his claim that this use of *cuid* is categorical: 'Nomina im Plural sowie Kollektiva können nicht unmittelbar mit dem Possessivpronomen verbunden werden.'

wil' ə ɣo:hən' soləs er' M *An bhfuil A DHÓTHAIN solas air?*
 'is there (strong) enough light on?'
ńi: rə mahər' a:n ... ax gə d'iv'ən' v'i: ə ɣo:hən' v'i: ə ɣo:hən' a:n v'i:
mi:n't'ər' ə wai:f'ə ɾ'ig' a:n 19Pt
ní raibh m'athair ann ... ach go deimhin bhí A DHÓTHAIN — bhí A DHÓTHAIN
ann; bhí muintir an bhaile uilig ann;
v'i nə ɣō:hən gə ... 72N *bhí NA [possessive] DHÓTHAIN dhe 'dishwashers'*
ann.

With a referent expressed, the possessive sometimes (but by no means frequently) refers to the substance rather than the referent:

rə ɣo:hən' d'i æd M *an raibh A DHÓTHAIN de a'd?*
ńi:l' l'æ: ə ɣo:hən' æ:d M *níl leath A DHÓTHAIN a'd;*
ńi: ro er' ax x'er' ə lair v'i: fe x'æpə na ro fe tɔ:rt' ə no:hən' ɾ'ej 19P
ní raibh air ach cheithre ladhar bhí sé ag cheapadh nar raibh sé ag tabhairt
A NDÓTHAIN leis '... enough of them ...';
Gá mbeadh A DHÓTHAIN cumha ort ní bheitheá i ndan a bhít a dhíonamh
21Pt;
Bhíodh an Caolach ag fáil A DHÓTHAIN de. Bhí, agus muintir an Leath-
Mháis ag fáil A DHÓTHAIN de 18J7298–9.

Younger speakers, especially those born since the 1960s, often have a simplified system, mostly with *nóthain* < *ndóthain* being used for all persons. There are also examples of *góthain*, *dhóthain* and *dóthain* being generalised.

góthain:

ta gə'hən' ra:t' eg' ... 45N *tá GÓTHAIN ráite ag ...*

dóthain, with loss of possessive, often in speaker **66N**'s use (perhaps pronounced with final -N^h):

1sg *tá DÓTHAIN a'm 66N;*
 2sg **wil' do:hən' t'e: æd 66N** *an bhfuil DÓTHAIN tae a'd?*
 3m **ta do:hən' it' ə noxt eg' ə 66N** *tá DÓTHAIN ite anocht aige;*
 1pl **ta do:hən' æn' 66N** *tá DÓTHAIN a'inn.*

But also with possessive:

1pl *Tá ' NDÓTHAIN a'inn ann. 66N;*
 cp. *tá DO DHÓTHAIN a'inn ann 66N.*

dhóthain:

... mbeidh DHÓTHAIN airgid a'm ... 78U.

nóthain with loss of possessive generally:

very rarely in speakers of **43M**'s generation (including **43M**, perhaps influenced by two of her children (born since 1970) in this instance):

3 f. **ta no:hən' ek' ə 43M** *tá NÓTHAIN aici.*

Consistently in many younger speakers, e.g. **66M**, **69K**, **74S**:

1sg **ta no:hən' am 66M, 69K, 74S** *tá NÓTHAIN a'm;*

2sg **wil' no:hən' æd 74S** *an bhfuil NÓTHAIN a'd?*

3sg **ta no:hən' eg' ə 74S** *tá NÓTHAIN aige.*

It seems the linguistic reasons for the dominance of *nóthain*, without possessive, in innovative use may be attributable to a combination of (i) the ambiguity of the plural possessive *a^N* (1, 2, 3 pl), (ii) its elision postvocally, e.g.

typically following forms of *bí* (*tá, bhí, beidh*),¹ and (iii) the oblique nature of eclipsis. A phrase such as traditional **ta: no:hən' agi: tá a ndóthain agáí** is on the surface identical to nontraditional *tá nóthain agáí* and *nóthain* can occur with all three plural persons without any surface discrepancy with traditional use. The innovative *tá nóthain ...* thus simplifies the traditional construction by dropping the possessive and adopting an unmutable initial. In contrast, in traditional **ta: yo:hən' eg'ə tá a dhóthain aige**, for example, initial *y-* (more transparent than *n-*) indicates a base in *d-* or *g-* and the same initial is found following unelidable 1sg and 2sg possessives in traditional *mo / do dhóthain*.

nóthain with possessive (uncommon):

mə no:hən' a:m a'm 78E *mo NÓTHAIN am a'm.*

Speaker **66L** is a younger speaker who exemplifies traditional use, i.e. *dóthain* with possessive.

DUBH NÁ DATH du na: dæ', cf. a dhubh ná a dhath (8.233)

"*Is fearr an droch-rud fhéin ná a bheith GAN DUTH GAN DATH.*" Cladi243.²

8.237 **duine**

DUINE, DAOINE, AON DUINE, AON NDUINE, AON-NDUINE; cf. achaon-nduine (8.244)

Each variant will be exemplified separately here.

DUINE **din'ə**

Tá an teach chomh socair níl DUINE ann acht an bheirt againn. Mlt.

Ach nar mhaith leithi DUINE ar bith dhen chlán mhac pósadh S.

In impersonal use:

Leag ansin í [chair] is beidh DUINE i ndan í chuir isteach. S;

Ní cheart dho DHUINE é. P;

Ní maith le DUINE a bheí' ag caint ar na rudaí sin. S;

d'ínjáltáladh DUINE é héin 43M (female speaker);

Thug sé DUINE amach, spáin sé rudaí dhó 66L 'it got one out and about, one got to see things' (female speaker).

DAOINE **din'ə**

Bhí sí gá ínseacht díreach go maith siúráilte dho DHAOINE. ARN2561 'She used certainly tell some people quite directly.'

Also *duine ... duine, daoine ... daoine (eile)* (cf. GCF pp. 148–9), e.g.

(Tá) daoine a fheiceann na rudaí sin is DAOINE nach bhfeiceann S.

Impersonal use:

Mór an jab ghoil síos ag beithí inni(u). Be' siad sách luath nuair thiocthas DAOINE ón Aifreann M.

AON DUINE **e:n din'ə**

Ní raibh AON DUINE e:n din'ə ag caint.

| **N'í v'ox 'ē'n dīn'ə 'nā'n 'aibr' u: l'e 'ka'pəl | 01P**

ní bheadh AON DUINE i ndan oibriú le capall.

¹ Compare generalised *n* (< *ina*) in **ta: je ni: tá sé ina oíche ~ ta: je nə ni: tá sé ina (n)oíche** GCF §550. I have heard ... *sé ina n-oíche* from two of my children, Dara and Muireann, when aged 3 years.

² This reference and further related examples of *dath* are found in Ní Dhomhnaill (1982–3: 152–5).

AON NDUINE e: n̪ɪn'ə, 'e:n̪ɪn'ə

-Tá muise, a bhean chóir, a deir sé, an leaba sin sách maith a' msa, a deir sé, ná ag AON NDUINE e: n̪ɪn'ə dhá uaisle dhá bhfuil in Éirinn inniubh, a deir sé, do leaba sách maith acub. **11C**.

níor tháinig AON NDUINE mímhúinte e: n̪ɪn'ə 'm'i:u:nt'ə an bealach seo a chuir aon chaidís orm **11C**.

AON-NDUINE 'e:n̪ɪn'ə, rarer e:n'ŋ'ə, e:n-n'ə, e:n'ə, e:nə

d' e:rhə nax wíl 'e:n̪ɪn'ə 'hɑ:rt ə'n'ɪʃ ə wíl'əs eg'ə mɔ:rɑ:n ə 'b'i je **11C**

déarthainn nach bhfuil AON-NDUINE thart a bhfuil fhios aige mórán ar bith dhe.

níor chuireadar amach AON-NDUINE 'e:n̪ɪn'ə ariamh **11C**.

Ní a'kə m'e e:n-n' ə t̪iəxt əʃt'æx ə'n 17M ní fhaca mé AON-NDUINE ag tíoct isteach ann (this speaker also has common (ə)'x̪e:n-n'ə achaon-nduine).

| 'N̪i:r 'æ'n'h e:n'ŋ'ə sə 't'æx e | **11C** níor aithnigh AON-NDUINE sa teach é.

Ní il' e:n'ə ... gə mə w̪i:nt'ərsə n'ʃo ... Ní il' e:n'ə | ga'r ə ŋi:l' ɣum **35E9374** níl aon-nduine ... dhe mo mhuintirsa anseo ... níl AON-NDUINE gar i ngaol dhom. Speaker **35E**'s daughter has ē:n'ə ... ē:nə **70M**.

aon nduine, aon-nduine can take both singular and plural pronominals. A plural pronominal is co-referent with aon nduine, aon-nduine in:

-Agus ní fhaca muid, a deir sí, ariamh, a deir sí, AON-NDUINE 'ē:n̪ɪn'ə, a deir sí, dhá raibh tusa ag guí-, ag guibhe, ag iarraidh ORTHUB, a deir sí, ag tíoct i láthair chugad. **881J**.

-Cuma liom, a deir sé, CÉARD DÉARTHAS AON-NDUINE, a deir sé, NÁ NACH NDÉARTHADH SIAD, ... ach deirimse ... gurb é ... **892M4626**.

-Tá muise, a bhean chóir, a deir sé, an leaba sin sách maith a' msa, a deir sé, NÁ AG AON NDUINE e: n̪ɪn'ə dhá uaisle dhá bhfuil in Éirinn inniubh, a deir sé, do leaba sách maith ACUB. **11C**.

8.238 é — neart

É e:

Agus SÉ [i.e. is é] na faochain a bhí ann, trí mhála dhéag. **05M**.

EILE e'l'ə, in coordination; cf. uile (8.239)

“ ... cé mhéad adhmaid, iarainn agus EILE a bheas ag teastáil uaim.” Clad189.

An chois gharbh dhubh gan craobh gan EILE, ina seasamh chomh díreach ... Clad242.

... nach bhfaigheann cuireadh ná EILE ... Clad123.

Ach, a' deireadh na cúise fuair sé amach, nar raibh mada ná, ná EILE ánn; péibre céard, a bhí ina chiontsiocair leis an torann **04Bt**.

FAOCH fi:x

Ní dhearna sé FAOCH orm M; Ní dhearna sé FAOCH air M.

FEAR f'æ:r

tɑ' 'stuf ə'k'i:n'ʃ sə r̪i'b'ə r̪o:b'e:ʃ nax wíl'əs eg' 'e:n'æ:r | **896P**

Tá stuif eicint sa ribe róibéis nach bhfuil fhios ag aon FHEAR.

FÉARÁILTEACHT f'e:ra:l'əxt

A -Níl mórán fataí i mbliana a'd? B -Óra tá FÉARÁILTEACHT ann S.

A -An bhfuil mórán uisce sa mbairille sin? B -Ó! tá FÉARÁILTEACHT ann S.

FORMHÓR forəwə:r

,tə: 'forəwə:r nə 'ni:n' ě ə 'g' im' əxt o: 'va:l' ě, 46.979

tá FORMHÓR na ndaoine ag imeacht ó bhaile.

FORMHÓR na ndaoine an t-am sin.

FUÍLLEACH fi:l'əx

tá FUÍLLEACH ann. A -An bhfuil do dhóthain a'd? B -FUÍLLEACH.

GACH gax, occasionally weakened to *gah*

GACH a bhféadthaidh tú a bhaint as an bhfarraige bain as é. **03S**.

ag iarraidh bheí' ag baint díob GACH a bhféadadh muid. 'd'i:b ə 'gah ə 'v' e:dəx
,mid' | **899P**.

GACH's a bhfuil i mo bholg tá sé i ndáil le bheith insithe dhuit FFG s.v. bolg 6 (8.72).

With uile: *gax e'l'ə rə ə:n S GACH UILE a raibh ann*. See also indefinite adjectives (8.244).

(G)ACHUILE SHÓRT, (G)ACHUILE SHEORT, (ə)xul'ə ho:rt >>> ... x'ort

... a rabh fíos aige ar GHACH UILE SHÓRT ... ar ghach uile ní **866EB**16.108, 113.

tə:s eg'ə jin' ə'xil'ə ho:rt tá fhios aige sin ACHUILE SHÓRT.

agus bhí fáilte mhór agána aint roimhe agus CHUILE SHÓRT 'xil'ə ,ho:rt agus
bhíodar ag caint agus ag cómhra. **11Cst**.

xul'ə x'ort ~ xul'ə ho:rt **899N** (Ros Dugáin) CHUILE SH(E)ÓRT.

ag díona CHUILE SHÓRT mí-ádh, **03S** (8.244).

(G)ACHAON TSÓRT (ə)'xe:n ,to:rt

Mar thosaigh sí ag cuímhriú ortha héin, go mb'fhéidir go raibh cantal air agus
CHAON TSÓRT, 'xe:n ,to:rt | faoi go raibh an bhean óg ag goil ag pósadh.

11C.

GO LEOR gə l'or, sometimes *gə ɾ'or*, also *ɾ'or*, rare *g'ə l'or*

vun' j'è gə'l'or du.n' 46.736 mhúin sé GO LEOR dúinn.

Shiúilidís seo GO LEOR **11C** 'they used to travel a lot'.

Bhí fhios aige GO LEOR acub **11C**.

Bhíodar i ndan Gaeilge a léabh GO LEOR acub ceart go leor. **11C**.

Bhí GO LEOR dhe na Ciarraíos ann **05Mq**.

Bhí GO LEOR LEOR acub, bhí na, na siorriams sin uiliug ... **11C3518**.

As well as *gə l'or*, speaker **36N** frequently has lenited *l* and absent preposed *go*, e.g.

gə: m'ex ɾ'or a'ku: æ:d 36N dhá mbeadh GO LEOR acú a'd.

Similarly, *ag cur go leor leor as dhom gə ɾ'or ɾ'or æ:s əm* (male, born c. 1955, from Cill Chiaráin or environs). Nontraditional *g'ə l'or* in:

v'ərhi: e'r' g'ə l'or aku: 76Mt bhéarthá ar GO LEOR acú.

IOMADA uməðə

Í' v' ex ūməðə doxər' ān ... 11C 'ní bheadh IOMADA dochair ann ... ach ... sé an rud is measa ... le fear pósta é.'

IOMARCA, AN IOMARCA, AN IOMARCRA umərəkə >>> umərkrə

v' i umərəkə ... [x2] 898P1 bhí IOMARCA

The general form is now *an iomarca*, e.g.

tá AN IOMARCA ansin a'm.

Níl sí i riocht fanacht an dá lá, tá AN IOMARCRA sú inti. 894Cs.

Cp. in an iomarca (7.57), le an iomarca (7.63); seo léine ... agus feilfe sí thú gan iomarca gan easpa. 869PB16.116.

IOMLÁN u(:)mla:n

ar an IOMLÁN.

LÁN la:n

U- uise nach mór an LÁN ántró, a Pháraic, atá le fáil, ó thosós duine caint ar, ' nglíomadóireacht seo héin nú go mbí sé réidh 11C.

Mór an LÁN é sin, tuairim's cúig nó sé fichead dhe gheallta. ARN7207.

For further examples, see FFG *lán*² 1.

LEAR l' æ:r

bhí LEAR mór daoine ann.

LEITHIDE l' ehəd' ə, l' ehəd' ə

a LEITHIDE dhe chraic.

Bhí a LEITHIDE sin dh'obair ann. ARN9069.

Níl fhios a'm faoi na céibheannaí anis ... déarthaidh muid anis LEITHIDE l' ehəd' ə

Céibh na hAird Thiar ná an Mhása ná an cionál sin ach na caltaí beaga eile sin. 18J8979.

thosaigh leaidz ag ealaín, agus ag ámhailí, mar bhíonn a LEITHIDÍ l' ehəd' i:, a bich. 892M.

dúirt sé leis a thíocht ag a LEITHIDE seo dh'am.

MALRAID malhrəd' (etc.)

Ach ní raibh MALRAID dhe malhrəd' ə gə shlí ann an uair sin. 892M5975. The element *malraid* is perhaps an indefinite pronominal in this use, i.e. 'But there was no other means then'. Alternatively, it can be interpreted nonpronominally, as an abstract noun, i.e. 'But there was no alternative (means) then'.

MARA CHÉILE mar ə x' e:l' ə

Dhá mbeithinnse dhá roinnt, thiúrhainn MAR A CHÉILE dho chuile fhear. 894Cs (of land distribution).

MÉID m' e:d'

f' in' e 'm' e:d' ə ta: s' āmsə gən o:rə:n 11C

Sin é an MÉID atá fhios agamsa dhen amhrán.

cáithe mé, a deir sé, an MÉID sin a leagan anis 11C.

-Bhuel anis, a bhean chóir, a deir sé, cáithe mé an MÉID seo ínseacht duit.

Féadthaidh tú fanacht anseo go ceann míosa, a deir sé ... ach amháin, a deir sé, tá an MÉID seo ag baint leis an scéal, a deir sé, níl anseo, a deir sé, ach mise liom péin. 11C.

Níor fhága sé lao i mbó, ... ar fud an ríocht' gan chúig iompódh ... a bhaint asta le MÉID a chraith sé an ríocht leis an gcuaille cómhraic. (run)852SbLL104 (cf. 3.69).

With diminutive *-ín*, e.g.

-Bhuach mé dhá phunt orthub. BóC -Ab in é ' MÉIDÍN? 45N.

MÓR mór

... agus is MÓR é.

níl fhios a' msa a raibh seisean ag labhairt aon fhocal chor a bith. Ní MÓR é ach bhí sise ag caint i gcúnaí. ARN8266-7, also ní MÓR é Clad22.

cuireann sé na gliomaigh a bhíos aige de bharr na hoíche, más beag nó MÓR é, sa ríphota; Clad17.

MÓRÁN mórán¹

Ní fhaca MÓRÁN bean ariamh ba mhó ná í. 866ESc248.31.

An tunónta ansin nach bhfuil MÓRÁN mórán aige an dtigeann tú 894Cs.

An mbeidh MÓRÁN Gaeilgeoirí i mbliana a'd, a Nóra? M.

Gan MÓRÁN caidís a bith chuir air 11C.

Ní ir mórán í e ra; e 899N níor MHÓRÁN le rá é.

Can be phonetically reduced, e.g.

d'aul mórən a'xər ə v'ídər ə'm'ix ə ... 11C

deabhal MÓRÁN achair a bhíodar imíthe ... ;

... mórən akəb ... 66N ... MÓRÁN acub

Rare with singular count noun:

Ní: jæ:xə mórən í æð ə'ma:x í ehə r'íəw P

ní dheachaigh MÓRÁN leaid amach léithi ariamh.

It can be used similar to an adverb in *mórán le*, e.g.

Níor thóig sí MÓRÁN LE sé nó seacht d'uaireanta go raibh sí i nGaillimh.

869PABg337 (context: boat);

Ní raibh sí i ndan MÓRÁN LE trí thonna a thabhairt léithi. 897P (context: boat).

¹ The typical use of *go leor* in assertive contexts and of *mórán* in non-assertive contexts resembles the contrast which is usual in English between (colloquial) 'a lot of' and 'much', e.g.

<i>tá go leor airgid ann</i>	'there is <u>a lot of</u> money'	}	assertive
<i>níl <u>mórán</u> airgid ann</i>	'there is not <u>much</u> money'		
<i>an bhfuil <u>mórán</u> airgid ann?</i>	'is there <u>much</u> money?'	}	non-assertive
<i>má bhíonn <u>mórán</u> airgid ann</i>	'if there is <u>much</u> money'		
<i>d'eitigh sé <u>mórán</u> airgid a thabhairt</i>	'he refused to give <u>much</u> money'		

(Cp. Quirk et al. 1985: §§5.23, 2.53-4; SID.46.736-7.)

Cullen (1972) discusses this contrast, without using the assertive ~ non-assertive distinction. He also remarks upon the adverbial use of *mórán* 'almost, more or less' and its negative implications.

An assertive use of *mórán* is, however, found in a set phrase with *fonn*, e.g.

tháinic fear ag an teach agus — féachaint a ndíolthainn an capall leis. Chuaigh me agus dhíol mé an capall leis is MÓRÁN gá fhúnn orm. Agus, thug sé airgead maith dom ortha. Rinne mé as cíonn scór punta bantáiste di. 889Pt.

MÓRCHUID 'mɔr,xid', cp. *cuid* (8.234)

MÓRCHUID acub Sq.

MUINTIR mi(:)nt'ər

In obsolescent use as relative antecedent, cp. *soit* (8.239).

an MHUINTIR atá ar a' gcnoc **852S2** 'and those people who are on the hill'.

an teach pobail ba goire dhon MHUINTIR a bhí ina gcónaí sa mbaile sin **869Pt**.

(*Bhí*) *mise ag cuir síos ar an MUINTIR a bhí fadó ann.* **872M**.

an MHUINTIR a mbíodh sé ag guibheadóireacht dóib **881J**.

NEART n'ært

bhí NEART seanchas ag Cóilín.

Use with the (genitive) article is obsolescent, e.g.

phléascadar léithi go tréan 's bhíodar i ndan NEART na gcloch. **01Pt**;

bhíodh NEART an phoitín an t-ám sin ánn. **03C**.

Seán claims to use *neart éisc* Sq (without the article) in contrast with GCF §315 *neart an éisc*.

8.239 pé — uile

PÉ p'e:, cf. 8.246

,p'e: 'a:kob e, 46 (s.v. pé) *PÉ acub é; PÉ acub é* **869P3**; *PÉ acub bhí ...* **869P2**.

PÉIBRÍ p'e:br'i:, etc., cf. 8.246

Ach HÉABAÍ é, ax he:bi: e | sa mbealach a raibh na daoine an dtigeann tú, ní raibh tinneas ná rud a bith, ' baint leothub. **896P** 'whatever it (may be), anyhow'.

RIAR riər

RIAR maith airgid.

ROINNT ri:nt'

bhí ROINNT mhaith daoíní ann.

M'anam go gcaithead sé go bhfuair sí ROINNT saoil 'ri:n't 'si:il' | **11C**.

ba mhínic le caiple sléibhe Chonamara ROINNT dhen tseanfhióntach a choinneál **01P**.

RUAINNE ru:n'ə, **RUAINNÍN** ru:n'im'

ru:n'ə b'og fa:pa:lə **23C** *RUAINNE beag seapála.*

kir' ru:n'ə t'æs er' M cuir RUAINNE teas air.

RUD, RUD BEAG, RUD EICÍNT rud (b'og, ə'k'i:nt')

k'er' i tu rud *M Cér ith tú RUD?*

m'anam go raibh RUD BEAG eagla ag teacht orm. Clad109.

b'fhéidir go bhfuil sé RUD EICÍNT, b'fhéidir le cois céad bliain. **892M2705**.

Also as optional dummy object in some idioms:

ag cuir (RUD) as dúit, ag milleadh (RUD) faoi.

SLÁM slɑ:m

Mh'anam go raibh SLÁM maith éisc i ndan a ghoil ansin achaon iarraidh. ARN-8136.

SOIT seṭ (obsolescent relative antecedent, cp. *muintir*, 8.238)

Bhuel u-, an *SOIT seṭ* *a bhfuil sé*, an *SOIT u-*, *a mbíonn an coirce acub, tá siad á choinneál, leihí, leihí ea-, leihí u-, tabhairt dho chapall, agus dh'asal, agus u-, dhá bhruith, leihí bó, leihí beithíoch, bheadh, íonlao.* **894Cs.**
an *SOIT seṭ* ar leothub iad **06Mc.**

SÓRT so:rt (rare *SEORT fo:rt*)

jeː so:rt [x2] *b'æ:ləx ... 01C6293 sé an SÓRT bealach anois a bheidís ...*

bhí SÓRT éadach casta thimpeall air 11C.

nach iomú SÓRT scéalta beaga tá a'inne 11C.

Bhreachnaigh mé ort i gcónaí mar SÓRT leasdreatháir 52J.

Sé an SEORT rud a bhí san ancard ... 894Cs.

Lig sí síos SÓRT cineál rópa nó dréimire chuige, 866Et (Sc182.6).

nuair nar raibh rud ar bích ag teacht ar bóthar, roimhe seobh, SÓRT truc ná leoraí ná rud a bích ... 899P.

TADA tæ:də (see 14), rarely *DADA dæ:də*

Níl mé ag caitheamh TADA ina dhiaidh 881J.

Níl mé i ndan a rá anis a ainm ná TADA. 11C.

Ní bheidh TADA ar ball a'd S.

Níor TADA TADA ar ghualainn an leainding M.

Bhfuil mac J. R. ina THADA? FFG s.v. tada 3.

-An bhfuil TADA dhe bhráithlíní istigh agad? 852SbLL116.

An bhfuil TADA dhe choinnle tæ:də gə xi:nL'ə lasta anocht? S.

Tá se chomh trúm le — TADA an bhfuil? 79S.

DADA 894C3;

thóig mé i do ghaiscíoch mhaith thú is ní fiú DADA dæ:də thú 892M.

TÉ, AN TÉ, CÉ, AN CÉ (see 6.55)

TUILLEADH t'il'ə, t'il'ə

An bhfuil tú ag iarraidh TUILLEADH? Tabhair dhom TUILLEADH fataí.

t'il'əs bl'ian' !(Acb)04B TUILLEADH is bliain 'more than a year'. Cf. 3.59.

UILE e'l'ə; cf. *eile* (8.238)

e'l'ə following *sin*, *agus* / *is* and *gach*:

fin' e'l'ə d'e:təN' ə rə: S sin UILE a d'fhéadthainn a rá.

fin' e'l'ə rə l'e rə: am S sin UILE a raibh le rá a'm.

nuair a bhí píosa dhen oíche caite ag lígean na súgán aige, agus an béilí caite mar bhí acub, agus UILE, húradh leis go raibh sé in am aige éirí as. 11C;
also **11C2661.**

shíltheá go réiteá 'ú héin, Dé Domhnaigh is UILE! | d'e du:n əs e'l'ə | M.

| 'fo:ltə:r'əxt oɡəs 'e'l'ə v'i: ,a:n 21PgARN seoltóireacht agus UILE a bhí ann.

ugəs e'l'ə agus uile was glossed by **27Mdq** as *chuile shórt eile*. Historical *uile* has fallen together with *eile*.

gax e'l'ə rə a:n S gach UILE a raibh ann.

Cp. *gan eile gan easba* Clad121 changed in the second edition to *gan uile gan easpa* Clad20. Note *il'ə* in *agus ar eile ugəs ər il'ə 45C6* (1.382).

8.240 Indefinite adjectives; áirthid — amháin

The demonstrative adjective *seo* can have indefinite function with *an oiread* and *an fhad* (8.233). For indefinite adjective function of *anonn agus / is anall*, see 8.186; for *blas*, see 8.233.

ÁIRTHID a:r' həd'

Ach ní hé chuile dhuine gheiththeadh cead páidirín a rá ag tórrthamh. Bhí fear ÁIRTHID eicint ceapthaíthe i gcúnaí acub, a bheadh thair cíonn, ag rá an pháidirín, agus a bheadh i ndan liodán breá fada a chur 'na dhiaidh. 11C.
bhreachaídís amach agus nuair a d'fheicidís réaltaí ÁIRTHID ar an aer, a' nús Bualadh na mBodach agus mar sin, d'abraídís go raibh sé suas leis an dó dhéag 11C.

bhí daoíní ÁIRTHID a raibh sé dhe cheird acub, a nús achuile cheird, a bhei' i ndan súgán a ligean, agus a ligean go maith. 11C.

A LIACHTAÍ, A LIATHAÍ, A LÉITHÍ, ə ʎ'iaxti; cf. 3.67, 8.51

Muise ná tig agus ná síl ... mise a chaitheamh dhíot agus A LIACHTAÍ mac rí breá a chuir mé un báis (Aln)11C.

AMHÁIN ə'wɑ:n'; cf. *aon* (8.241)

(y) 'One': *choinic mé teach AMHÁIN ar casadh isteach ann mé, 11C1359.*

(z) 'Same':

Badh é an dream AMHÁIN iad sin. 21Pt;

nɑ:r bə he' ə'wɑ:n' dít' M nár ba hé AMHÁIN duit!

8.241 aon

e:n is the general form, also **e:**, **en**, **ən**, **ə**, **an**, **a**, **a:n**. Meanings: (x) 'any'; (y) 'one'; (z) 'same'. Cp. *aon-* (3.88).

ē:n - ... *Agus má fhaigheann tú lóistín na hoíche go maidin, ar a bhfaca tú ariamh, a dúirt sí, ná téire ar AON leaba! er' ə ,wɑ:kə tu' r'iaŋ ə du:rɪ ʃi nā ,t'air' er' ,ē:n' 'l'æ:bə | 11C.* (x)

e:n *wil' e:n' ʃi:nʃa:l' æd M an bhfuil AON sinseáil a'd?*

er' 'e:ŋ xi: ar AON chaoi (sentence adverb).

ēⁿ *n' i' xahə m' ē' ēⁿ 'xlo ʎ'ej 11C ní chaithidh mé AON chloich leis;*

n' i' r' ēⁿ 'xū:lə'dər akəb | 11C ní raibh AON chomhlúadar acub.

ē:w̄ *| rid nax w̄il' ē:w̄ 'wāh̄ ō'n 894Cs rud nach bhfuil AON mhaith ann.*

ē: *wil' 'ē: x'ā:n' n' i:s 'm'æ:s æd | 11C An bhfuil AON cheann níos measa a'd?*

Note *nā b'ix' ē[?] | 'i:m^br'i: ort | 11C ná bíodh AO(N) — inní ort!*

e: *n' i:l' e: d' u:l' ək' i:n' i: rə M níl AON diúilicíní uirthi.*

ēn *ní fhéadthaidh tú ... AON lámh ēn lā:w̄ a leagan ar an éadach 11C.*

Ní raibh AON ēn phleainc, cóiriúil sa tír, le ceannacht, agus ní raibh AON ēŋ chlár in AON ēⁿ tsiopa. 892M1389.

ən *wil' əŋ xɑ:n't' æd er' M an bhfuil AON chaint a'd air?*

ən *ʃæ:n' s nax d' uk ən' ʃt' a:r gə d' o: ʎo M*

seans nach dtiocthaidh AON steár go deo dhó.

an *| æm ʎlas 'k' elp' ə g' il' x' iəra:n' n' i: bə 'wū: | 896P*

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AON *bhlas ceilpe i gCill Chiaráin ní ba mhó;*

Ní:lf am' v'ætəri:s a:n 64M níl AON bheataráios ann.

Cp. na' ra:n si:l e'l a:n S nar raibh AON saol eile ann.

ã: *na ro ã: wa:nt' eg'ə ʏo: S nár raibh AON bhaint aige dhó;*

Ní:is am wil' ã: xri:nt' ə S níl fhios a'm an bhfuil AON chrainnte.

a' *... gən a' ʎruh a'd je S gan AON ghnotha a'd dhe.*

ə: *wil' ə: xa'ggəlt' æ' dum S an bhfuil AON changailt a'd dom?*

ə *Ní:lf ə nin'ə wil' bil'i:n' eg'ə na:x wi: f'k'i:n ə ʝa:rhəs ε S níl AON nduine a bhfuil builín aige nach bhfuighidh scian a ghearrthas é.*

ũ:n *gən ũ:n | gən ẽ: xotə 't æ:rə nã 'p'e:n't | 896P*

gan AON — gan AON chóta teara ná péint.

œ:n *| ũgəf 'g'ar gə 'dã:n'ək' œ:n 'ska:l' 'ʎ'ə'ẽ:n'ə | õgəs | (y)*

hã:n'ək' je 'nũəs er 'ʃo | 894Cs agus is gearr go dtáinig AON scail ghréine agus tháinig sé anuas air seo.

ẽ:n *Bhí na fir óga ag gol abhaile a bhí as AON bhaile 'ẽ:n 'wa'f'ə le (z)*

Seán. 866E;

AON ... LE

-Beidh tú ansin ar AON tseachtain LE seachtain na Nollag. ... [the allotted time passed] -Níl Oíche Nollag ach seachtain uait anois, adeir sé 864MDT4–5.

Cp. 14 aondoras.

AON ... AMHÁIN

(y) 'One, only'

aon *dódh sean-ndaoine na hÉireann uiliug, ach AON fhear AMHÁIN, fear a dtugaidís an seanfhear glic air. ARN2006;*

ar AON sleaic téide AMHÁIN 892M;

Nach mbeidh se in AON chupla teach AMHÁIN ansin S (14 s.v. cupla).

e:n *ə'n' t'e:n a:t' ə'wɑ:n' an t-AON áit AMHÁIN;*

an *tə 'æ:n rud ə'wɑ:n' tá AON rud AMHÁIN ag baint leis an mbád atá agam ... 11C1642;*

ã *| æ xlo wɑ:n' | 896P AON chloich AMHÁIN.*

(z) 'Same'

aon *bhíodar ag fanacht in AON lóistín AMHÁIN. ARN2643;*

e'n *Ní: e'n' d'i:nə wɑ:n' xor ə b'eh e' 892M1518*

ní AON déanamh AMHÁIN ar chor ar bith é;

en *en i:f' ə'wɑ:n' m'e he:n' əs ɔorməʃ 32C*

AON aois AMHÁIN mé héin is Diormait.

AON ... ARIAMH 'any' (cp. a bhít ariamh, blas ariamh)

Shol is tháinic AON cheann ARIAMH acub ann. ARN6171.

níl fhios a'd ar ann ná as í AON lá ARIAMH S.

AON ... BEO 'any'

ní raibh AON bhlas BEO dhá raibh a'm

Ní raibh AON splanc thine BEO sa mbád a'inn. 889P.

8.242 **ar bith — eile**

AR BITH er' b'i(x'), ar b'i(x'), ə b'i(x')

d'ei:rhə nax wil' 'e:nin'ə 'hɑ:rt ə'n'if ə wil'əs eg'ə mɔ:rɑ:n ə 'b'i je 11C
déarthainn nach bhfuil aon-nduine thart a bhfuil fhios aige mórán AR BITH dhe.
(níl) cáint AR BITH anois air.

deir siad nar raibh údar A BITH aige leis 11C.

Often with modal adverbial force 'at all', e.g.

ní íosann tú sásajas AR BITH? M.

Ní i: wuər' u: græn' t' ə b'i M ní bhfuairleadh gaint AR BITH.

Ní i: mə ku:plə b'ih ə v'i: i:ntəb P ní mba cúpla AR BITH a bhí iontub.

AR FAD er' fa'd

Can be more formal than synonymous *uilig*.

tá an dream sin AR FAD imíthe.

bhí taoiseach mór le rá in Árainn. Agus, ba leis Árainn AR FAD. 11C.

BEO b'o: qualifies indefinite quantifiers *aon*, *ar bith*, (*g*)*ach uile* (for others cp. FFG20, 24 s.v. *beo* 2(c))

Ní raibh aon-nduine BEO ann; Ní raibh duine ar bith BEO ann.

Bhí chuile dhuine BEO ann; Chuile bhean BEO.

CÉANNA, CEANNANN CÉANNA, CÉANNA CEANNANN k'e:nə k'æ:nən

An rud CÉANNA a tharla dhom héin.

An ceann CEANNANN CÉANNA. An ceann CÉANNA CEANNANN.

CORR-, CHORR-, kaur-, xaur-

CORRUair é. rí-CHORRDhuine. CHORRFhear. Further examples in 3.99, 9.115.

CRÍOCHNAÍTHE kr'ioxni:(hə) intensifying adjective

Bhí na seanchainteannaí CRÍOCHNAÍTHE kr'ioxni:h acub sin 21Pt.

CUID MHAITH kid' wa'

'iəs kī'd' 'vā, 46.1130 iasc CUID MHAITH.

CUPLA, CHUPLA, kuplə, xuplə

CUPLA ceann acub; CHUPLA iarraidh a thabhairt dó;

kuplə la: ~ kupə la: CUPLA lá.

Also meaning 'two', e.g.

*tuairim's CUPLA céad nó trí slat uait. Bhí CUPLA galún poitín ann is sé an áit
a raibh an dá ghalún poitín thíos sa gcórtha, curtha. ARN9010–1.*

Indefinite adjective **kuplə**, **xuplə** *c(h)upla* (9.115) contrasts with the noun **ku:plə**
cúpla 'twins, couple (married, roof-timbers)'.
cúpla 'twins, couple (married, roof-timbers)'.

DHEN TSÓRT (SIN) gən tɔ:rt, gən 'tɔ:rt'jin'; cp. 8.239, 9.162

... ná tada DHEN TSÓRT.

Níl aon mhaith ag cuímhriú ar rudaí DHEN TSÓRT SIN. gən 'tɔ:rt'jin' M.

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EILE eɫə, but also erə 01C (only)

Ceann EILE acub. Rinne sí amhrán EILE dho dhreatháir léithi 11C.

-Ní achar fada é sin, ... , nó dá mbeadh sé an fhad agus an fhad EILE. LL105.

8.243 *aicín((t)each(t))*

aicín, aicínt: ək'i:n', əx'i:n', ək'i:n't', əx'i:n't' ;

aicíneach(t): ək'i:n'əx, ək'i:n'əxt, əx'i:n'əxt;

aicínteach(t): ək'i:n't'əx, ək'i:n't'əxt, ək'i:n'həxt.

852S *rud aicínt, áit / bealach aicín 852S1, 2, 4.*

866E *ək'i:n'əx.*

869P *icín << aicínt 869P2–5; but in SID.46 -ək'i:n' (e.g. s.v. ainm) is more frequent than -ək'i:n't' Mp 94.*

Speaker **869P**'s daughters (**04Br, 15W**) also have regular *ək'i:n'*.

875T1 *aicín, icín, icíneach.*

01P *əx'i:n'.* This speaker has optional spirantisation of *k'* in general (1.405).

04B *ək'i:n't'.*

06C The variant *əx'i:n't'* was noted from this speaker and **13J** only. Speaker **06C** has *əx'i:n't'* consistently following *rud*. His tokens were not noted systematically:

ám ək'i:n't' ... áit' ək'i:n't' ... rud əx'i:n't' ... rud əx'i:n't' ... rud əx'i:n't' ...

dín'í x'i:n't' am / áit / rud / daoín' aicínt. Cp. əx'i:n'əxt 20A.

11C *áit aicínt eile (consistently); pobal aicínt eile; áit aicínt ansin; bean mhór le rá aicínt; nó rud aicínt b'fhéidir ... nó rud aicínt ach ... ; dho bhean aicínt acub ... rud aicínt cluistithe ... duine aicínt ag iarraidh ... nó rud aicínt;*

bhí sé am aicín ina ək'i:n nə chúnaí i Leitir Othard;

nuair a casfí duine aicín orm; cupla pínn aicín acub; dúirt duine aicín leis.

12S *ək'i:n't', ək'i:n't'əx, ək'i:n't'əxt.*

13J *ám əx'i:n't' am aicínt.*

16M *ək'i:n', ək'i:n'əx, dín'ə k'i:n'həxt ε M7.94 duine aicíneacht é.*

20At *dín'ə k'i:n'əx | ... dín'ə x'i:n'əxt eɫə ... ʔerəm' ək'i:n'əxt | gən ... duine aicíneach, ... duine aicíneacht eile ... teirim aicíneacht dhen Cp. 1.405.*

20C *ək'i:n'.*

23C *ək'i:n'.*

49J *ək'i:n'* is his most common form.

One might expect a further by-form: **ək'i:n'həx*, as well as other by-forms containing *x'*: **əx'i:n'əx*, **əx'i:n'həx(t)*, **əx'i:n't'əx(t)*.

8.244 *gach*

gux *téad amháin ar GACH gux pota, 892M.*

In collocation with *in aghaidh / éadan* 'for every' (obsolescent), e.g.

mara mbeitheá á cuir sin ortha in éadan GACH nóiméad gux nu:m'e:d ... 892M1427.

gɔx In SID.46. The full form of *gach* here is most probably higher register due to the questionnaire context. Note the strong stress:

ʔe:m' ʔaur 'gɔx 'lɑ: 46.1032 léim leabhar GACH lá.

gəx *əgəs ʋ'ix nɪ:nu:r gəx 'i:h̃ə | ,ɑ:n əg' im'ərt' 'xɑ:rti: | 892M*

agus bhíodh naonbhar GACH oíche ann ag imirt chártaí.

In higher register:

xlɪn'həd ʃè gəx 'e:n ɑ:kɔb 46.IV.1g chluintheadh sé GACH éan acub;

er' gəx ti:w d'i:m (run)11Ct ar GACH taobh díom.

Obsolescent in the vernacular, but common (for some older speakers) in the phrase:

ax ən er'əd l'e gəx 'rud 01J *ach an oiread le GACH rud.*

As can be seen from the example of **gux** above, speaker **892M** uses *gach* in phrases *in éadan gach* and *in aghaidh gach*. An example of the latter is:

oxt slat ən ai gə 'xasnə l'ehi: n wi'n'ə b'e:l' 892M1475
ocht slat in aghaidh GACH easna le haghaidh an bhuinne béil.

gax In the phrase *ar nós gach rud* (speaker **11C**):

ach ar nós GACH rud ə nu:s 'gax rud níl fhios a'm b'fhéidir ach véarsa anonn 's anall;

mijə kr'ed'am' ə nu:əs gax'rud ənsən ə:m ... ARN1521
muisse creidim ar nós GACH rud insan am

In query, both Seán and Máire claim that **gax** is current in general contexts in the dialect, e.g. **gax lá:** *gach lá*, but I have not heard this in spontaneous speech. In most contexts (*a*)*chuile* is now the norm. It seems that *gach* was more common in (speakers born in) the nineteenth century. For example, *gach*, *guch uile*, *gach aon*, *achuile*, *chuile* are all frequent in **852S2**, 4, etc.

GACHA LE 'gaxə 'l'e, gaxəl'e, gacha lé

The spelling *lé* (glossed *ré*) indicates **gaxə *l'e**; and is found in:

GACHA LÉ scatha 894C3, GACHA LÉ (RÉ) ileán 7 GACHA LÉ rud 894C3.

(a) 'Every second':

pioc GACHA LE ceann; GACHA LE lá;

ax 'gax ə 'l'e tɔ | 'iəɾə 01P *ach GACHA LE tioran* [borrowing 'turn' avoided in recording for] *iarraidh.*

(b) 'So many':

tə gaxə 'l'e m'i:l'ə fokəl ə:n *M tá GACHA LE míle focal ann.*

tə gaxəl'e k'ina:l dín' ə:n s gə wil' gə re:l't er' ən er **S87**
tá GACHA LE cineál duine ann is go bhfuil dhe réalta ar an aer.

GACHA AON, ACHAON, CHAON

gach aon *fear ó GHACH AON taobh ... 869P2* (not in traditional run).

ə'xə:n **er' ə'xə:n ti:v 11C, 15W, M** *ar ACHAON taobh;*

wə'n' ə'xə:n in' a'kəb *Mtrans bhain ACHAON nduine acub;*

tor' ə'xə:n x'ə:n a'kəb l'æt *Mq tabhair ACHAON cheann acub leat.*

agus bean a' tí siúrúilte go mbeat sé isteach 'ACH AON nóiméad ar feadh na hoíche. 866EB16.113.

xə:n **er' xə:n ti:v ... (Sdás)04B** *ar CHAON taobh ... ;*

xə:n in' a'kəb *Mq CHAON nduine acub;*

er' xə:n in' akəb *Mq ar CHAON nduine acub;*

f'uk xə:n in' akəb *Mq phioc CHAON nduine acub.*

xē: **| dín' ā'kəb | sə xē:³ xaur' e:l | gə'n' t' a:x | 869PSgbf**
duine acub sa CHAON choirnéal dhen teach.

Less common:

ə'x'ə:n **er' ə'x'ə:n ti:v 11J, 20C** *ar ACHAON taobh;*

ə'x'ə:n' x'ə:n a'kəb ə rə: 20C *ACHAON cheann acub a rá.*

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x'e:n korəx er' x'e:n tiv gən wə:d **897P** *corach ar CHAON taobh dhen bhád; x'e:n darrnə ... 20C CHAON darna ...*

Rare:

ə'he:n CHAON he:n darna rabharta ... ACHAON | ə'he:n' iomaire, ar ACHAON
he:n ə'he:n taoibh díob ... CHAON taobh | he:n ti:ʷ | **01P**. (Speaker **01P** only, who has it consistently; also (ə)hulə [sic] **01P** (a)chuile).

e:n mo:ra:n | e:n da:rə bl'iən' **23C** *mórán, CHAON dara bliain.*
This rare variant is homophonous with *aon* (8.241).

ACHAON-NDUINE

ə'xe:nin'ə SM. Also 'xe:nin'ə.

'x'e:nin'ə v'i: bə:d mo:r eg' 'x'e:nin' æ'ku **897P**
bhí bád mór ag ACHAON-NDUINE acú.

ə'xe:n-n'ə wil' ə'xe:n-n' akəb to:rt ku:nə gə: x'e:l'ə **17M**
a bhfuil ACHAON-NDUINE acub ag tabhairt cúnamh dhá chéile.
This speaker also has common **e:n-n'ə** *aon-nduine*.

xe:n-n'ə xe:n-n' æ'ku: g'u:mpərt' pə:ft'ə | **17M**
ACHAON-NDUINE acú ag iompairt páiste.

ACHUILE, CHUILE (ə)xul'ə, less often (ə)xir'ə, xur, (ə)hulə, xulə

ə'xul'ə ... ə'xul'ə la: ... **17M** ... ACHUILE lá ...

er' ə'xul'ə v'æ:ləx **898P** ar ACHUILE bhealach;
ə'xul'ə la: **898P** ACHUILE lá.

xul'ə CHUILE cheann ariamh acú;.

Speaker **852S** has two tokens in his short recording, one of each variant:

'vř ænhř' ə'xil'ə 'x' ũ:n ā'ku: 'ēř' | *bhreachnaigh ACHUILE cheann acú air;*
er' 'xil'ə 'střænjř:řō | ar CHUILE strainséara.

Speaker **897P** and his son **27J** (both from Loch Con Aortha) are the only speakers we have noted with consistent -r- for general l in (a)chuile. Speaker **897P** has **xir'ə** >> ə'xir'ə:

əns xir'ə hæx ins CHUILE theach; | xir' i:hō CHUILE oíche; eg' xir' æ:r ag CHUILE fhear; seasamh le CHUILE xir' aimsir; | xir'ə yin'ə CHUILE dhuine; ru xur'ə yun'ə rith CHUILE dhuine; ə'xir' æ:r ACHUILE fhear;
xir'ə yin'ə **27J** CHUILE dhuine.

Speaker **889P** (Coill Sáile) has regular (ə)xul'ə but **xur** before *fhear* in:

v'i:x 'xur' æ:r ə 'x' æ:pə gə ... *bhíodh CHUILE fhear ag cheapadh go ...*

Speaker **01P** (Doire Iorrais) is the only person heard with **ə'hulə**, **hulə**, which he uses consistently, e.g.

har(t) t'impəl ə'hul a:t' | hulə yūn'ə | | hul a:r ...
thart timpeall ACHUILE áit CHUILE dhuine, CHUILE fhear ...

Compare **ə'hul'ə ho:rt** **895M** (Maínis) ACHUILE shórt.

Speaker **72N** (Maínis) has common **xul'ə**, including in **xul'ə yin'ə** **72N** *chuile dhuine*, but also **xur'ə**, noted in *ag marú chuile dhuine*, and **xulə**, noted in *chuile mhaidin*.

Rarely followed by the plural, e.g.

Chuir sé GACH UILE pharúlachaí uirthi ansin gan tada a inseacht pé ar bith penalty ná bealach ná bóthar ... ná bualadh ... 866ESc158.1.

Intensified by *deabhal* and *míle*, e.g.

CHUILE DHEABHAL ceann ‘every single one’,

GACH UILE MHÍLE ball di (Asc)**894C** ‘every single part of her’ (boat).

achuile shórt can function as or similar to an intensified *achuile*, especially with *rud* and *ní*, e.g.

agus CHUILE SHÓRT NÍ déantaí aici, dinnéar réidh dhá muintir aici, **866Et**;

Ó! CHUILE xul'ə SHÓRT RUD gá dhíonamh le báid. **872Pt**;

is xul'ə hō:rt rud / ní: S is CHUILE SHÓRT RUD / ní;

CHUILE SHÓRT NÍ gár chruthaigh Mac na Maighdine M;

ag díona CHUILE xul'ə SHÓRT mí-ádh, mínós. **03S**.

8.245 *go léir* — *míle*

GO LÉIR gə l'ei'

an t-airgead GO LÉIR Sq.

GO LEOR gə l'oi:r (gə l'oi:r)

ta: iəsk gə l'oi:r a:g'iN' ə'n'i 46.1130 *tá iasc GO LEOR againn inniu*.

Tobar Cáilín ná toibreachaí GO LEOR eile a ngothaidh tú go dtí iad, ARN7664.

mar bhí an t-an-eolas acub agus dhíonaidís aicearra GO LEOR. **11C**.

oi: xum f'i: gə l'oi:r oi:ra:n' 11C ó! chum sí GO LEOR amhráin.

bhí amhráin GO LEOR aici 11C.

Agus bhíodar ag leigheas, tinneasachaí GO LEOR LEOR. GO LEOR LEOR tinneasachaí is daoíní bhíodh ... 11C3091.

| ugəs ə d'i:nə gə l'oi:r l'oi:r rudi: e'l'ə | nāx wil'əs æn' xor ə b'ix' | 894Cs

agus ag déanamh GO LEOR LEOR rudaí eile nach bhfuil fhios a'inn ar chor ar bith.

IN ÉIRINN, ÉIRINN (əN') ei:r'əN'

ar an gcéad toras IN ÉIRINN bháigh Carraig Chearc é. **11C**.

Creidim go maith go raibh fírinne ann mar choinic mé héin go leor ÉIRINN — más mé is óige — dhe na rudaí seo. **894C**.

IOMÚ (u)mu:, IOMAÍ umi:

umu: **894N, 04B, S**;

əs umu: a'ləs ə xir'ədər 04B is IOMÚ allas a chuireadar;

-Bhuel cé mhéad píosa eangaí ansin a bheadh amuigh acú? P. de Búrca

- ... tá fhios a'm ... gur HIOMÚ píosa sin, ach ní fhéadthainn a ínsean cén teoil ceart a bhí acub. **872Pt**.

mu: **mu' ka'l'i:n' d'æs ... 03C IOMÚ cailín deas ...**

Also **u'mu:**, **u'mu:** (1.378).

umi: *'nach IOMAÍ lá is gur gearr a mhairfeadh ...'* **866ESc133.14**;

consistently **52P**, **66N** (whose mothers are from An Cheathrú Rua), e.g.

sumi' uər' ... 52P is IOMAÍ uair ...

MÍLE m'i:l'ə, cf. 14

gach uile MHÍLE ball di (Asc)**894C** ‘every single part of her’ (boat).

... dhen MHÍLE buíochas dó **10Bt**.

MÍLE chrách sin ort! FFG s.v. *míle* 1.

8.246 *pé, péibrí**PÉ p'e:*ax 'p'e: f'k'e:l e 05M, 11C ach *PÉ scéal é.*p'e: b'æ:lax e 05M *PÉ bealach é.**PÉIBRÍ p'e:br'i:*, etc.,

We can use *péibrí* as a cover term for the many variants of this indefinite adjective which modifies nouns, as well as interrogatives *cé^L*, *cé^N*, *cá^N*, *céard*, *cé chomh*, *cén fáth*, *cén uair*, *cén chaoi*, *cén* + Noun, etc. *péibrí* can also modify the comparative conjunction *mar*, e.g.

Bhí inseo fadó 7 fadó bhí; ... Ach ar aon nús, FÉBÍ mar tá an scéal seo á'msa anocht ná ru sé leath cho math agá-se san oíche amáireach! 866E-ÓC217; also Sc288.

The commonest variants are *p'e(:)b'i:*, *f'e(:)b'i:* and *he:b'i:*, the least common variants are those in initial *k'-* and *x'-*. Variants in initial *f'* seem most common; next common are those in initial *p'*. Two of speaker 14M's variants, *f'e:bər* and *he:bə*, were noted from this speaker only, and there are similarly rare by-forms listed below. Nonpalatal medials are found chiefly following less common initial *k'-* and *h-*: *cérba*, *k'e:bri:*, *k'er-b'i*, *cébru*, *k'e:bə*, but also *f'e:bər*; also *péarbí* S (without phonetic transcription in my notes) for **p'er-b'i:*; cp. *pérbí* 875T presumably for **p'er-br'i:*. The constant element among the variants is the initial syllable *-e(:)b(-)*, except for *-ai-* in *p'/f'aib'i:* 869P. There are, in all, over thirty by-forms in my data, thus meriting classification of *péibrí* as a hyper-variable. Furthermore, many gaps in the series of forms (such as predictable **k'eb'i:*, **p'e:b'ər*, **k'e:b'ə*, **he:bri:*, **haib'i:*, **p'aibr'i:*, not to mention more variants in initial *x'-*) may have at one time been common or may yet be current but not yet recorded in Iorras Aithneach. One could thus double the amount of variants to around sixty. Double stress occurs, but infrequently, e.g.

k'e: b'i: k'em fa: e M CÉ BÍ cén fáth é.

<u>p'-</u>		<u>k'-</u>	
<i>pérbí</i>	875T	<i>cérba</i>	852S
<i>p'e:br'i:</i>	12S, (15W), 16M, 17Mp	<i>k'e:bri:</i>	!43Js
<i>péarbí</i>	12S	<i>k'er-b'i</i>	04Bln
<i>p'eb'r'i:</i>	12S, 18J		
<i>péibre</i>	04B	<i>cébru</i>	852S
<i>p'e:b'i:</i>	<i>péibí</i> 852SbLL31, 892M, 898P, 03V, 11P, 11C, 12S, 18J, 20C, 23B, 31P, 35E, 79J	<i>k'e:b'i:</i>	SID.46 and <i>céibí</i> 869PRBÉ, 05M, 13Jd, 16M, 18J
<i>p'eb'i:</i>	875TRBÉ, 12S, 16M, 16S	<i>k'eb'ər</i>	20MI
<i>p'e:b'i</i>	04B, 31D	<i>k'e:b'ər</i>	20MI
<i>p'e:b'ə</i>	894Cs	<i>céba, k'e:bə</i>	852S, 896P
<i>p'aib'i:</i>	869P, p'ei b'i SID.46		
		<u>x'-</u>	(perhaps higher register)
		<i>x'e:b'i:</i>	(Atps)06C

<u>f-</u>		<u>h-</u>	
<u>f'e:br'i:</u>	894CRBÉ, 00T, 01C, 11C, 15W	<u>he:br'i:</u>	27Md, 36P
f'e:br'ə	894Bl, 17M		
f'e:b'i:	04B, 11C, 12S, 43J	he:b'i:	14J, 20A, 21Pt, 23B, 27Md, 46S, 77C
f'eb'i:	898P, 14J, 16S, 43J, 60M, 72A, 78Rb	heb'i:	32J
f'e:b'i	16M, 64M, 79P	he:b'ə	06C
f'e:b'ə	866E, 16M	he:bə	14M
f'eb'ə	16M	he:bi:	896P
(f'e:b'ər)	899P	he:b'ər	899P
f'e:bər	14M		
f'aib'i:	869P		

Individual speakers' examples are listed here.

- 852S *cérba maide, cébru ... , céba carraíocht.*
852Sb *ól é le péibí fear is measa leat sa teach LL31.*
866E *Féibe sórt f'e:b'ə 'sò:rt a bhí ar bun acub 866Et (perhaps p'e:b'ə); Féibe f'e:b'i slí a chuir siad na raigeannaí.*
SID.46 'p'ei b'i k'e: 'ŋəhə tu, ... 709 péibí cé ngothaidh tú;
'k'e:b'i 'ka:l' f'è 46 (s.v. cá) céibí cá bhfuil sé.
869P2-5 *péibí céard ... ; péibí cé as ... ; céibí cé leis*
869Pt *go ndearna sé, péibí f'aib'i: céard a bhí le ceannacht aige, a cheannacht; péibí p'aib'i: cé hé an chéad fhear, a feicfí ag goil isteach*
875T *péibrí céard, peibí céard 875T1.*
894Bl *f'e:br'ə k'e:rd ... péibrí céard*
894C *Ach féibrí cén scéal é nú nach cén scéal é, bhí ... 894C3.*
894Cs *p'e:b'ə ~ fad atá sa nglais.*
896P *wel 'k'e:bə k'e:rd ə v'i: 'i:n'ə ... Bhuel ~ céard a bhí inti As pronoun: Ach ~ é, ax he:bi: e' | sa mbealach a raibh na daoine ... (8.239).*
898P *p'e:b'i: ukrəs ... ~ ocras*
899P *he:b'ər, also f'e:b'əl' taken as slip for f'e:b'ər*
00T *f'e:br'i' k'e:n*
01C *f'e:br'i: only, often in 01CARN.*
03V *p'e:b'i: uər' ~ uair.*
04B1n *k'e:r-b'ɪ k'ɛ xi: ... ~ cén chaoi ... ; p'e:b'i k'e'n ɣruhə ~ cén ghnotha;
a' f'e:b'i' la: ... (Smds) ó ~ lá ... ; péibre céard.*
06C *he:b'ə k'e xə dæŋg'ən əgəs v'edʒe sokri: eg'ə 06C
~ cé chomh daingean agus bheadh sé socraí aige.
ʂə | x'e:b'i: ka'l'i:n' ... (Atps) Is ~ cailín óg a bhéarthas uaim thú*
11P *p'e:b'i:, p'e:b'i' k'en'*
11C *f'e:b'i' k'e:rd, f'e:b'i: b'æ:ləx ~ bealach, p'e:b'i' k'e:rd, f'e:br'i:.*
12S *f'e:b'i: u:dər e ~ údar é, p'e:br'i:, p'ebri:, p'eb'i:, ... péarbí súisín íochthas é.*
14J *f'eb'i: (x2), he:b'i: (x2).*
14M *f'e:bər b'ə: k'e: ~ beo cé, he:bə k'e doskəl ~ cé d'oscail.*
15W *f'e:br'i: k'e ... , ax p'e: bri: ... , perhaps best taken as /br'i:/.
16M *p'e:br'i:, p'eb'i:, f'e:b'i, nu f'e:b'ə ka:l' f'i nó ~ cá bhfuil sí; f'eb'ə , k'e:b'i:.**

1686	Functors
16S	f'eb'í, p'eb'í.
17M	f'e:br'ə k'e:rd ~ céard.
18J	p'e:b'í:, e.g. ~ <i>ainm a bhí ar an mbean sin</i> ARN7129; <i>Peibrí cé chaoi</i> ; k'e:b'í:, e.g. ~ <i>deabhal a bhí orthub</i> ARN7992.
20A	he:b'í: k'e:rd ...
20MI	k'e:b'ər rud ~ <i>rud</i> ; k'eb'ər ʏe:lg'ə ~ <i>Ghaeilge</i> .
21Pt	he:b'í: k'e:rd.
23B	he:b'í: k'e:m fa: ~ <i>cén fáth</i> .
31D	p'e:b'í (x3).
32J	heb'í: k'e:n.
36P	he:br'í:.
43J	f'e:b'í: k'e' v'e:d ~ <i>cé mhéad</i> .
43Js	<i>Ach ~ k'e:bri: cailín óg a bhaintheas uaim thú</i> !(Atps); <i>Is ~ k'e:bri: cailín óg is mian liom ...</i> !(Acm).
46S	he:b'í: (869P's grandson).
60M	f'eb'í k'e'.
64M	f'e:b'í often.
72A	f'e:b'í: k'en i:f' iəd he:n ~ <i>cén aois iad héin</i> .
77C	he:b'í: ...
78Rb	f'eb'í:.
79J	p'e:b'í: ...
79P	f'e:b'í:.

Some speakers show more variation than others. For instance, **f'e:br'í:** is the only variant out of many tokens from speaker **01CARN**. This is in contrast with speaker **35E** who was noted in a short discourse with five or six variants. It appears from the tokens noted from younger speakers that interspeaker variation is being reduced to initial consonants: **h/p'/f'e:b'í:**.

This is the main nonspecific indefinite adjective (related in meaning to *aon*) and is very common introducing universal conditional-concessive clauses. *pé* is restricted as an adjective to *pé scéal / bealach é* (and as a pronoun to *pé acub*) in my data. *péibrí scéal / bealach é* is now more common. Pronominal *péibrí* is restricted to the set phrase of a similar meaning: *péibrí é*. Direct modification of a noun by *péibrí*, i.e. use without a following interrogative form, is probably retrogressive: *péibrí ainm*, for example, is (becoming) less common than *péibrí cén t-ainm*. The youngest speaker in the list above noted with the former construction is **20MI**, e.g. *céibear rud*. This suggests a three-stage progress: *pé* > *péibrí* > *péibrí cé(-)*.

8.247 *uilig* (< *uile g(o léir)*)

The indefinite adjective *uilig* has variation in its medial *-l-* (both **l'** and **l'**) and the quality of final *-g* (both **g'** and **g**). This combination yields four variants (furthermore, **i** and **u** vary (subphonemically) according to the quality of *-g*). The spelling *uilig* is used where appropriate in this discussion as a cover term for all four by-forms. The simple disyllabic form can be followed by *go léir* and *go léireacht*.

	<u><i>uiliug</i></u>		<u><i>uilig</i></u>	
ɾ	əɾɯg	SID.46, 881J , 889P , 892M , 897S , 899D , 01C , 04Br , 11C , 20A , 25M2 , 25T	əɾɯgʲ	866E , SID.46, 894Cs , 01P , 04Br , 11C , 15W , 64M , 78A
ɿ	əɿɯg	04Br , 06M , M	əɿɯgʲ	04Br , M
	<u><i>uiliug (g)o léir</i></u>		<u><i>uilig (g)o léir</i></u>	
ɾ			əɾɯgʲ əɿeɾ	M
ɿ	əɿɯg əɿeɾʲ	M	əɿɯgʲ əɿeɾʲ	M
	<u><i>uiliug (g)o léireacht</i></u>		<u><i>uilig (g)o léireacht</i></u>	
ɾ	əɾɯg əɿeɾʲəxt	48B , 50N	əɾɯgʲ əɿeɾʲəxt	866E , SM
ɾ	əɾɯg gəɿeɾʲəxt	11C	əɾɯgʲ gəɿeɾʲəxt	11C
ɿ	əɿɯg gəɿeɾʲəxt	11C		

Speaker **04Br** has all four variants; Máire has (at least) three; SID.46 has ɾ by-forms, as well as ɾɿɯg 46 s.v. *uilig*.

Examples listed here include adverbial usage.

<i>uilig</i>	əɾɯgʲ	mö xĩdʲ bʲehi:əx ɾɿɯgʲ, 46.2 <i>mo chuid beithíoch UILIG</i> ; gĩdʲ kʲa:rkĩ ɿɿɯgʲ 46.746 <i>gcuid cearcaí UILIG</i> ; aʲnəns bə:nur iəd əɿɯgʲ 899N <i>ionann's bánadh iad UILIG</i> ; ɿæ:ɸs o:gə ɿɿɯgʲ 04Br <i>leaidis óga UILIG</i> ; <i>bhí fhios aige na hamhráin sin UILIG əɿɯgʲ 11C</i> ; <i>... nach ndearna tú an chulaith shíoda dhom UILIG əɿɯgʲ mar a chéile. 11C.</i>
<i>uiliug</i>	əɿɯg	ən obəɾʲ əɿɯgʲ 04Br <i>an obair UILIG</i> . ŋ xũnʲfʲərt ɿɿɯg 46.1 <i>an choinfirt UILIUG</i> (sic stress in SID.46 but this is misleading); bə:tʲ əɿɯg 46.585 <i>báite UILIUG</i> ; <i>(Ba) mhaith linn ar deireadh thiar thall 's UILIUG, amhrán a thabhairt amach ar, dheireadh na cúise. 881J</i> (cp. <i>is uile</i> , 8.239); <i>ar na stopógaí is ar na leathreachaí seo UILIUG or nə ɿæ:rhəxi fo əɿɯg 892M1572</i> ; <i>... imʲi:hə ɿɿɯg 04Br ... imithe UILIUG</i> ; əʲmʲi:h̃ə ɿɿɯg M <i>imithe UILIUG</i> . əɿɯg iəd ekʲə:l əɿɯg 04Br <i>iad a fheiceál UILIUG</i> , nʲi:r o:l mʲe ɿɿɯg e M <i>níor ól mé UILIUG é</i> .

It seems that the variants with ɾ (lenited palatal *l*) are most common.¹ Some speakers show clear preferences for one variant (e.g. əɿɯg **869P**; əɿɯgʲ **866E**, **894Cs**, **11C**); others have greater variation (e.g. **16M**). For speaker **11C**, əɿɯgʲ is by far the most common variant, e.g.

¹ S. Ó Murchú (1998: 24) reports two variants: *uilig*, *uiliug*, i.e. variants in ɿ, which are probably the most common in Iorras Aithneach and in Conamara generally. The references in GCF s.v. *uiliug* (Clár na bhFocal) have əɿɯg only. Cf. SID q 2, 133, 585, 746, 788.

arb é an sáibhéara maith, an sáibhéara ceart anis maith UILIG, ab é, 'b'in é bheadh in íochtar nú in uachtar? 11C1329.

He occasionally has ə'ɫʊɡ; noted (perhaps coincidentally) before *a deir*, e.g.

-*Ara cén sórt caoi é seo oráí UILIUG? a deir sí.* 'fo ,ori: ɫʊɡ ə d'ɛr fɪ' 11C;

ææ' d'ɛr ə 'ta:l u:r mā:r bul tu də ha:l u:r 'ã'n'wã' ə'ɫʊɡ ə d'ɛr fe 11C

-*A! a deir an táilliúr, mar bhfuil tú i do tháilliúr an-mhaith UILIUG, a deir sé;*

- ... *marab fhuil tú thar cionn UILIUG, a deir an gréasaí 11C.*

With postpositioned *go léireacht* speaker 11C has ə'ɫɪɡ' and ə'ɫʊɡ but also ə'ɫʊɡ :

ə'ɫɪɡ' ɡ ə ɫ'ɛr'əxt ~ ə'ɫʊɡ ɡ ə ɫ'ɛr'əxt ~ (ə)ɫ'ɪɡ ɡ ə ɫ'ɛr'əxt 11C.

In fact the initial ɫ' in *go léir(eacht)* is the analogical or assimilatory source of ɫ' in *uilig*, as 11C's conditioned use seems to indicate. (The initial ɡ in *go léir(eacht)* is of course the source of final ɡ(ʰ) in *uilig*.)

ə'ɫʊɡ is the only form noted on audio tape from 869P (thus far, not systematically collated; examples of ə'ɫɪɡ' in SID.46 may therefore be from 869P's son, Wagner's secondary informant). ə'ɫʊɡ is also the only form in 899DARN (5+); and the only form in 01CARN (5+).

uilig go léir f' o:l' ə'ɫɪɡ' ə ɫ'ɛr' a:n M *feoil UILIG A LÉIR ann;*
 v' i:dəɾ ə'ɫɪɡ' ə ɫ'ɛr' a:n S *bhíodar UILIG A LÉIR ann;*
 ə'ɫ'ɪɡ' ə ɫ'ɛr' M *UILIG A LÉIR.*

uiliug go léir ə'ɫʊɡ ə ɫ'ɛr' M.

uilig go léireacht ə'ɫɪɡ' ə ɫ'ɛr'əxt SM;
Ní raibh sé ina dhall ón' óige UILIG GO LÉIREACHT. ə'ɫɪɡ'
ɡ ə ɫ'ɛr'əxt 11C2458.

uiliug go léireacht ə'ɫʊɡ ə ɫ'ɛr'əxt 45B, 50N;
 v' i: ɫ'ɪɡ ɡ ə ɫ'ɛr'əxt a:n 11C *bhí UILIUG GO LÉIREACHT ann;*
 n' i:l' fe wa:ɖ si:l' ə'ɫʊɡ ɡ ə ɫ'ɛr'əxt o v' i: fɪ: fin' a:n 11C
níl sé i bhfad saoil UILIUG GO LÉIREACHT ó bhí sí sin ann.

Cp. *uiliug go leor* in: *cúimse uiliug go leor ki:mʃə ɫ'ɪɡ ɡ ə ɫ'ɔ:r le tóigeál 897S.*

9 Initial mutations

Introduction

9.1 General

The two main initial mutations are lenition and eclipsis. *h* preposed to vowels, termed aspiration here (more precisely preposed aspiration), also functions within the mutational system, as does *t-* preposed to *s* although preposed *t-* is highly restricted in its context of usage.¹ The definite article preposes *t-* to vowels in the nominative masculine, i.e. in the absolute nonmutating context where neither lenition, eclipsis nor *h* apply, as described in 6.83. There are two morphophonological linking devices which are also dealt with in this chapter, i.e. *n* between vowels and related *-án-*. Prevocalic verbal *d'* functions as part of the system of verbal lenition but is most conveniently described as a verbal particle (8.36 ff.). The systematic generalisations relevant for initial mutations are presented in sections 9.1–9.15. Detailed descriptions and exceptions are found in the subsequent sections dealing with the separate mutations and their contexts.

Lenition, aspiration and eclipsis as well as other consonants which have mutating functions affect initial segments as follows:

	Consonants	Vowels
Lenition	+	–
Aspiration	–	+
Eclipsis	+	+
<i>t</i>	<i>s</i>	+
<i>d'</i>	<i>f</i>	+
<i>n</i>	–	+
<i>-án-</i>	–	+

Lenition is the only mutation which is exclusively consonantal, whereas aspiration, *n* between vowels, and *-án-* are exclusively prevocalic and *d'* is primarily prevocalic. Phonologically, lenition involves a reduction in the degree of consonantal occlusion; eclipsis involves an increase in sonority (voiceless consonants are voiced and nasality is added to sonorous bases: voiced consonants are nasalised and *n* is preposed to vowels). Lenition affects most initial stops and continuants whereas eclipsis mainly affects stops (as well as **f**(*')* *f* and borrowed **j** *gh*). Lenition and eclipsis involve the following consonantal alternations:

¹ Throughout this work the common notational convention, e.g. Oftedal (1985: 22–3), of a superscript character suffixed to a form or class (i.e. a trigger) indicates, when required, which of the three main mutations follow it, e.g. *a*^L lenites, *a*^N eclipses, *a*^H prefixes *h* (3 masculine, 3 plural, 3 feminine possessives respectively). Superscript [∅] indicates, where required, that no mutation is triggered, e.g. past copula *ni*[∅] by-form which does not cause lenition. (One might indicate minor mutations similarly, e.g. *a*^{LD} (lenites consonants and prefixes *d'* to initial vowels), *ag*^{AN} (preposes *-án-*), *an*^T (prefixes *t*; before *s* as part of the system of lenition (e.g. CGT §390)). Such indications are unnecessary here.) Occasionally the superscript character is prefixed to a target, indicating what mutation it undergoes, e.g. ^NNoun indicates an eclipsed noun.

Radical	p ([˘])	b ([˘])	t	t [˘]	d	d [˘]	k ([˘])	g	g [˘]
Lenited	f ([˘])	v ([˘])	h (h [˘])	h ~ x [˘] (hj)	y	j	x ([˘])	y	j
Eclipsed	b ([˘])	m ([˘])	d	d [˘]	n	n [˘]	g ([˘])	ŋ	ŋ [˘]

Radical	m ([˘])	f ([˘])	s	ʃ	t̪	ɸ	j
Lenited	v ([˘])	∅	h (x) (h [˘])	h ~ x [˘] (hj)		(j)	
Eclipsed		v ([˘])			ɸ	n [˘]	ŋ [˘] ~ n [˘]

Blank spaces indicate no change from the radical consonant. There is clearly a considerable amount of merger involved in these alternations. For example, the result of eclipsed *p* merges with radical *b*; lenited *t* and *s* merge as **h** and **x**[˘]; eclipsed *d*, *n* and vowels merge as *n*. For eclipsis of the borrowed consonants **t̪**, **ɸ**, **j**, see ‘Borrowings’ (11.172, 11.180 ff.). In eclipsis, radical **j** behaves both as a consonant (> **ŋ**[˘]) and a vowel (> **n**[˘]); for eclipsis of vowels, see further below. Mutations are essentially the only source of the velar fricative **y**, they are the major cause of word-initial continuants **v**([˘]), **x**([˘]), **j** and **ŋ**([˘]), and a major cause of word-initial **h**, in fact lenition is the only source of **h** in initial clusters, as we will see immediately below. Initial **y**, **v**([˘]), **x**([˘]), **j**, **ŋ**([˘]) and initial **h** in clusters are therefore regularly nonradical.

Initial clusters *sp*-, *st*-, *sc*-, *sm*- and borrowed *sv*- are not affected by lenition. (In *t+sn*- the *n* can become *r* (9.160).) Initial cluster *sn*- shows variation in lenition:¹

Radical	sn
Lenited	hr (obsolete) ~ hn (conservative) ~ sn (progressive)

Surface **hn** varies with **ŋ**, **nhn**, (**nh**).

There is also obsolescent lenition of palatal sonorants *l* and *n* (including in the clusters *sl*-, *sn*-):

Radical	l [˘]	n [˘]	including	ʃl [˘]	ʃn [˘]	with	ʃl [˘]	ʃn [˘]
Lenited	l [˘]	n [˘]		hl [˘]	hn [˘]	preposed <i>t</i> -	tl [˘]	tn [˘] ~ tr [˘]

Most speakers have nonlenition of **l**[˘], **n**[˘], i.e. they have, in lenited contexts, initial **l**[˘], **n**[˘], some (e.g. **M**) also have **hl**[˘], **hn**[˘], and **tl**[˘], **tn**[˘] (these four clusters being innovative initial clusters in the language); whereas others (e.g. **43M**), who have in lenited contexts initial **l**[˘], **n**[˘], in clusters have **hl**[˘], **hn**[˘], and **tl**[˘], **tn**[˘]. For discussion of the phonology of *tsn*-, see 9.160. Lenition of nonpalatal sonorants *l* and *n* is obsolete (1.139):

Radical	l	n	including	ʃl	ʃn	with	ʃl	ʃn
Lenited	l	n		hl	hn	preposed <i>t</i> -	tl	tn ~ tr

The quality of the eclipsed *n* preposed to initial vowels depends on the quality of the initial vowel; linking *n* can eschew palatalisation resulting in more variability:

¹ The historical basis for lenition of **sn**- > **hr**-, e.g. *mo shráthad* !894C6, is probably morphosyntactical rather than either phonetic or phonological. Regular phonetic development of **sn**-*sn*- with preposed *t* > **tr**- *tsn*-, e.g. *an tráthad an tsnáthad*, can be interpreted by speakers as a realisation of lenition, and so extended to *shn*-, thus avoiding initial **hn**- which is otherwise not found (that is apart from lenition). Nonpalatal **sn**- > **hr**-only is attested. See further 9.24.

Radical	Front vowel	Back vowel
Eclipsed	ṅ	n
Linking <i>n</i>	n ~ n' ~ ṅ	n

For back vowels in certain words which behave like front vowels, and front vowels in certain words which alternate with regard to this feature, see ‘Sandhi’ (2.73 ff.). Initial nasals, **n**, **n'**, **ṅ** or **m'**, resulting from eclipsis, whether eclipsed from a radical consonant or vowel, do not generally cause (morpho)phonemic nasalisation of a following vowel (1.279). With the loss of phonemic status of nasalisation, however, nasals resulting from eclipsis can cause considerable incidental nasalisation, e.g.

san óiche: **sṅn i:hə 16M** (phonemic) vs. **sṅn i:hə 72N** (incidental).

Lenited *f*- is elided, e.g. **f' ær fear** > **ær fear**. Palatal quality is retained for lexicalised sandhi functors, e.g. **ṅn o:d'**, **e:n o:d'** *an fhóid*, *aon fhóid* vs. **ṅn' o:ləm'**, **e:n' o:ləm'** *an fheoghlaím*, *aon fheoghlaím*. Behaviour in sandhi of radical clusters containing initial lenited *f*- (i.e. *fh*l-, *fh*r-) is determined by the remaining consonant (**l'**, **r'**), e.g. **n'ir-v' l'ær níorbh fhleár**; note **fl'** > **l'** (not ***l'**) with the exception of the form of article *an*^L which they trigger. The article, including leniting *an*^L (nominative feminine and genitive masculine), is usually realised as **ə** between consonants and optionally as **ə** in initial position. Before lenited clusters *fh*l-, *fh*r-, however, **ṅn** is normal, with retention of **n** of the article (**-n l-**, **-n r-**, **-n' l'-**, **-n' r'-**). For example, **ṅn ræ:ŋk' an Fhrainc**, not ***ə ræ:ŋk'**, i.e. in this position (interconsonantal and phrase-initial position before *fh*l-, *fh*r-), the article has the form normally confined to prevocalic position (but note **sə ræ:ŋk' 21Pt sa Fhrainc**, 9.91). In this way the mute *fh*- is indicated by the form of the article; contrast **æl' ṅn ri: aill an fhraoigh** with **æl' ə ri: aill an rí**.¹

Lenited *m* can retain the nasalisation of the base form or sometimes cause nasalisation, see ‘Historical Phonology’ (1.335, 1.341, 1.351).

9.2 Phonology

Most triggers cause mutation independently of specific phonological features. In contexts where the phonology is of significance, both the degree of this significance and the range of specific phonological features can vary. Most aspiration is caused by vowel-final triggers. Thus aspirating numerals *tr*^H, *cheithre*^H, *sé*^H typically contrast with non-aspirating *chúig*^Ø preceding plural nouns (similarly, *cúigiú*^H vs. *chúig*^Ø). Phonology is part of the definition of the trigger in nominative plural lenition (nonsyllabic plurals), as it is in defining the trigger of lenition of *déag* (vowel or consonant-final noun). The phonology of both the trigger and the target are significant in homorganic blocking of lenition (most significant in *an* (article), *aon*, *an chéad*, attributives (particularly adjectives), and prefixes), coronal clusters being prevalent but the features velar and, to a lesser extent, labial are also of relevance. The phonology of the target (\pm coronal) is significant following the copula. The considerable number of morphophonological (9.5) and other irregularities (e.g. 9.6–9.15) are described further below.

¹ Speaker **63S** tells me that as a child he misunderstood the toponym *Aill an Fhraoigh* (on his parents' small holding) as *Aill an Rí*.

9.3 Hierarchy of mutations

As stated above, lenition is the main or default mutation. Generally speaking, if two related items cause mutation, the more complex or marked item will cause eclipsis.¹ Lenition affects a series of targets more commonly than does eclipsis, while aspiration affects single targets only.² For instance, contrast the pervasive lenition in nominative feminine *an bhodóg bheag bhuí* with the single targets of eclipsis in genitive plural *na mbodógaí beaga buí* and of aspiration in nominative plural *na huibheachaí úra*. Similarly, the copula triggers either lenition or aspiration but not eclipsis.

In the noun phrase, in the case of the definite article: unmarked masculine does not cause mutation, marked feminine lenites, more complex {preposition + article} usually eclipses. Similarly, most singular possessives lenite, plural possessives eclipse. Even in numerals the lower cardinals ‘1–6’ lenite, whereas higher cardinals ‘7–10’ eclipse.

In the finite verb phrase:

- (a) simple particles, past tense markers (-r, forms of past copula) and null or zero historic tense markers act as leniting triggers;
- (b) more complex particles and complementisers act as eclipsing triggers;
- (c) two exceptional simple particles which do not lenite cause aspiration instead.

The functors involved are:

- (a) *ní, a* (direct relative), *cé* (interrogative pronoun), *má* (realis), *sul (má)* (vs. *shula* (b)), *níor, gur*, etc., copula *ba*, etc., historic tenses, e.g. *bhain, bhaininn, bhainthinn*;
- (b) *nach, go, a* (indirect relative), *an* (interrogative), *cé / cá* (interrogative adverb), *dhá* (irrealis), *mara, shula*;
- (c) *ní* (present copula), *ná* (negative imperative).

It is noteworthy that, following leniting numerals (‘3–6’), lenition of a singular noun alternates with aspiration of a plural noun, but that eclipsis, in contrast, affects both singular and plural nouns (cp. example of *uaire* immediately below). Following ordinals greater than ‘1’ aspiration is regular.

Aspiration (preposed *h*) and *t*- of the article before vowels can be classified as subordinate mutations, being defined, for the most part, in negative complementary terms to lenition (and partly to eclipsis). Aspiration typically affects vowels in those contexts where consonants are not lenited, e.g.

3m poss: *a mháthair, a athair* vs. 3f poss: *a máthair, A HATHAIR*;
trí chuismeig, trí cuismeigeachaí, trí easna, TRÍ HUAIRE; seacht n-easna, seacht n-uaire (9.156).³

¹ This insight is particularly indebted to Duffield (1997: 82 ff.) although my analysis is nontheoretical and differs in some details. The prominence of lenition is evident in its coverage below: over one hundred sections (9.16–9.132) are concerned with lenition (and some instances of eclipsis) in contrast with only ten sections covering eclipsis (9.133–9.143).

² Nevertheless, see 9.97 for conjectured 3f possessive **ḡ ha: haskal’ a há* [< *dhá*] *hascaill*, and p. 1796 n. 1 for conjectured **ba haoibhne háille*; cf. exceptional place-name genitive *na Banraí hAire* (9.156).

³ My presentation of the systematic generalisations concerning mutations is prompted by Borgstrøm (1968) and Duffield (1997), both of whom make many apposite points. There are, however, some

Similarly, as mentioned above (9.1), *t-* of the article affects vowels where aspiration does not (and therefore also where lenition and eclipsis do not affect consonants). *t-* (with the article and a subclass of coronal prefixes) affects *s* as a subtype of lenition. Verbal *d'* is also complementary to consonantal lenition: it affects vowels, generally in historic tenses, in those contexts where consonants are lenited.

9.4 Triggers

There are four types of mutational triggers: tense markers (generally absent or phonologically zero), specific lexical items (most functors), nominal categories and nominal endings. Nominal functors (particles, article, prepositions), prefixes and preposed adjectives, including numerals, generally cause mutations; lenition being the default case.

The following generalisations can be made across several nominal categories:

- (a) The four categories of masculine genitive, definite genitive, feminine nominative and nonsyllabic plurals (which are mainly masculine palatalised plurals) all have lenition in common.

statements in the latter article in particular which need clarification. For example, it is worth noting that ‘conjoined prepositional complements (3) ... *trí shioc agus shneachta*’ (Duffield 1997: 76, also 100–1, an example supplied by Jim McCloskey (n. 2) and therefore perhaps from Donegal), and *thar fhréamhacha agus chuirp na gcrann* (from Donegal, Ó Siadhail 1989: 117 (12)), and the similar examples of optional absence of the preposition but with general retention of lenition following the coordinators *agus*, *is* and *nó* cited from an Omeath text of 1825 in M. McKenna (2001: lxxvii–lxxxiii, s.v. *ar, de, do, fá, faoi, i, ré, tré*, e.g. *ar bheoibh agus (ar) mharbh*) are opposed to Borgström’s claim (1968) for the Scots Gaelic of Barra in the Outer Hebrides: ‘When two or more co-ordinated nouns are governed in the dat. by a preposition, the latter is repeated before each noun.’ Cp. McCloskey and Hale 1984: 524 n. 13. Also, the complementary relationship between aspiration and lenition has been long known (Duffield 1997: 78 n. 3, cp. McManus 1994 §3.1). Furthermore, *trí huair* is not aberrant despite Duffield’s (1997: 78 n. 4) claim to the contrary. His statement may be based on the Christian Brothers’ grammar (1990: 24 §11(x)) where aspiration is restricted to *uair* (also GGBC §83(a)(ix) ‘i geás an fhocail *uair*’, implying that all other nouns are to be used in the singular with numerals, but the second edition of GGBC has plurals *uair* and *orlaí* with numerals, e.g. *cúig horlaí* §5.16). See An Caighdeán Oifigiúil (p. 91 §3), where *uair* is used as an example only, and the dialect monographs for nouns other than *uair*, e.g. GCD §§452–6, GT §417, Ó Baoill (1996 §§8.4–8.4.1); also CGT §405. Some of the phonological and grammatical features of post-copula predicates which condition realisation of lenition are mentioned in Duffield (op. cit. 86–7, including Ó Siadhail’s (1989: 116) claim that nouns are not lenited in Connacht following *ba*, cf. below Class III, 9.118, 9.121) but these conditions are not satisfactorily applied in n. 8 (1997: 85) where, Duffield observes, one finds *go mba dhuine mór* [é] in ‘certain Connacht varieties’. It should be pointed out that *gur duine ...* and *go mba duine ...* are found far more commonly in Connacht. The reference in n. 8 to de Bhaldrath (1975 [1945], i.e. ICF, a phonetic study, where mutations are not specifically dealt with) should presumably read ‘1977 [1953]’ (i.e. GCF, cf. especially GCF §505 *go ba duine*). Genitive *an mhac* (Duffield 1997 (40) b.) is in fact permissible. Note also the following corrigenda: *dtugann* (15) (second token) leg. *dtugann*, *gúr* p. 83 leg. *gur*, *an úill bhige* (34) leg. *an úill bhig* (as in (32)), Ø Table 1 leg. Ø, ♣ Table 1 leg. w, N Table 2 leg. ŋ, tsɪ, tsn, tsr Table 2 leg. tl, tn / tr, tr, *dtugann* #14 (first token) leg. *dtugann*. The inaccuracy concerning *go mba dhuine mór* [é], possibly unattested in Connacht dialect material, highlights a general point which is pertinent in the general context of minority and dying languages. By definition, such languages can in practice prove difficult for researchers to acquire. In some instances dialect use is more systemically revealing than the standard as presented in (partly) prescriptive and didactic grammars. It is disconcerting that the two most comprehensive descriptions of mutations in Irish available (in 1997) are not alluded to in the article under discussion: standard GGBC and dialectal GCF, both of which are written in Irish (cp. CGT and now also GCD). In a thorough theoretical analysis of liaison in French, for example, one would hope to find reference to seminal material written in French.

- (b) The genitive feminine and nominative plural (apart from nonsyllabic plurals in (a)) take no mutation on consonants, but they take aspiration of vowels.
- (c) The most complex (synchronic) nominal case, the genitive plural, takes eclipsis following the article.

These separate genitives (a–c) all have grammatical correspondences in the 3 person possessive pronouns. Relevant examples are:

- (a) masc gen *an chroí*, 3m poss *a chroí*, definite gen *Sheáin, Mháire*, fem nom *an charóg*, palatalised masc plural *cinn mhóra*;
- (b) fem gen *na caróige*, 3f poss *a caróg*, plural *na carógaí*; fem gen *na huibhe*, 3f poss *a hubh*, plural *na huibheachaí*;
- (c) gen pl *na gcarógaí*, 3pl poss *a gcaróg*.

Most simple (non-nominal) prepositions cause mutation: lenition (the default mutation) in the majority (although to a limited extent in a number of these; 9.86), aspiration in *go*, eclipsis with *i*. The exceptional simple prepositions which cause no mutation end in consonants; they are: *ag, as, chuig* (and less central (non-inflecting) prepositions *ach, doir, marach, seachas, thaireas*). Other prenominal particles, not categorised thus far, cause lenition: *a* (vocative), *a* (verbal noun complementiser); or aspiration: *a* (numeral), *chomh, go* (adverbial); or no mutation: *ná* (before nominals or adjectives), cp. *níos* (before adjectives, also *ní ba*).

Nominal category supersedes nominal endings; for example, typically in noun phrases governed by numerals:

seacht bhfaobhar GHÉAR, i.e. $[[seacht^N + faobhar^{\emptyset}]^L + géar]$;
beirt fhear MHAITHE; beirt mhná BHACACHA Mq (9.105).

The aspiration (nonlenition) triggered by the ordinal numeral is superseded by the lenition of the stative construction $\{i + \text{possessive pronoun} + \text{noun}\}^L$ in:

sí bhí ag tíocht 'na dárna BHÁD,

i.e. where the numeral occupies the typical position of the noun: $\{i + \text{possessive pronoun} + \text{numeral}\}^L$, so that $[... dárna^H]^L$ causes lenition (9.52).

Most targets are local: the trigger mutates an adjacent element only. Only a few types of lenition can mutate a series of targets: attributive nominals (generally adjectives), postcopula predicative adjectives. These targets, which can be serially lenited, can be separated from their base trigger by elements which are not mutated by the trigger or are mutated differently by the trigger, e.g.

bean tí MHAITH (equivalent to *bean mhaith tí*),
spré mhaith thabhairt di, DHATHÚIL agus, mé héin a shású. 889P;
cheithre seachtainí déag MHÓR FHADA 27Mdperm (*seachtainí* affects nonlenition of *déag*, the numeral noun phrase affects lenition of *mhór fhada*; 9.105);
go mba seacht ngáir MHÍLE deirgmhíle MHEASA bheidheas tú bliain ó anocht!
S (postcopula lenition of labials preferred; 9.126).
Cp. ag cuir isteach FHÉIR (9.78).

Possessive pronouns can also cause serial mutation, including serial eclipsis: when targeting a numeral and its dependent noun, especially in the case of *dhá* '2', e.g.

nə ɲɑ: *N'aul S ina NDHÁ NDEABHAL* (9.97 ff.).

9.5 Morphophonological irregularities

In the vast majority of lexemes there are no morphophonological alternances with initial mutations; mutations affect the consonant initials only. In four irregular verbs, however, there are special dependent stems which occur in mutated position (with the exception of the lenited position of the direct relative). The syntactic conditioning of the dependent stem forms a subset of mutated position. These dependent stems are found in the past tense of *bí*, *déan*, *teighre*, the simple present of *bí*, and the future stem of *faigh*. For example, *bhí* vs. *ní raibh*, *rinne* vs. *ní dhearna*. In three verbs, *déan*, *faigh*, *teara*, there is optional or minority usage of particular stems in lenited position. See ‘Irregular Verbs’ (5.237 ff.). Cp. *nóiméad* > *dhe mhóiméadaí* (4.41).

9.6 Buffers

The future and past stems of the irregular verb **fa:** *faigh* have initial **w-** in dependent position following leniting *ní*, identical to eclipsed forms, e.g. *Ní: wí: ní bhfuighidh*, *Ní: wuər' ní bhfuair*; (in eclipsis) *nax wí: nach bhfuighidh*. There is an isolated example from speaker **01P** (Doire Iorrais) of this ‘buffer eclipsis’ in lieu of lenition with a regular verb:¹

nuər' ə wuəro: jí: 01P nuair a bhfuarós sí,

for regular *nuər' uəro: jí: nuair a fhuarós sí*. Cp. *nər' ə uəro: je Mt nuair a fhuarós sé*. A further anomalous example from speaker **01P** is the occurrence of **h** preposed to a vowel after the lenition of *f-* by past tense *-r*:

nach é an feall nar fhéadadar nar he:dədər an fhad saoil a fháil beo ariamh agus go ... 01P.

This may be a type of sandhi following *r* given his other example:

'tr' u:r hæŋ' 01P triúr a'inn (2.45).

Irregular **fa:** *faigh* in its future stems has further complications in eclipsis:

jof- / *jeh-* generally > *wi-*, but also *N' of-* / *N' eh-*, and even *N' ai-* (9.142).

An example of possible ‘buffer lenition’ with **j** was noted before *fh-* in:

xə ma' əs 'jætəs tu' | 43J chomh maith is a fhéadthas tú.

9.7 Coalescence

Mutated consonants affect preceding sounds in accordance with the usual rules of sandhi. This sandhi applies regularly in compounds, perhaps even more consistently in many compounds than across word boundary. For example, there is loss of **h** in *'drox'i:l 894C Drochshaol* and *'drox:i:n S drochshíon*, and loss of **ɣ** in *'drox:i:n ə P drochdhuine*. There is a handful of compounds which have (synchronically speaking) unusual coalescence between the final consonant of the prefixed element and the lenited initial of the second element. In the prefix *ath-* there is unusual coalescence in the by-form *æ:ta:r' athdair* (3.90, nonlenited because of the historical homorganic cluster, 9.39; similarly, obsolescent *árd-tíos* for current *ardchíos*, 3.89); in *leath-* *L'æ(h)*, final **-h** + **w/v-** yield **-w-** (synchronically regular), but also **-hw-**, **-f-**, **-f'-** (3.124).

¹ Compare, for example, buffer *dh'* (inserted between vowels) before lenited *f-* in East Sutherland Gaelic (ESG 122–3); also *nuər' ə 'wəgríən fə nuair a fhuagraíonn* [or *fhógraíonn*] *sé*, found among examples of sandhi **w** between vowels, the second of which is generally *ua*, in the Irish of Acaill (Stockman 1974: §1595).

9.8 Friction and quality in lenited *s*, *t*, *c*, and in *r*-clusters

Nonpalatal lenited *s* is regularly **h**; the adverb **o: hin'** *ó shoin* has an exceptional by-form **o: xin'** (nonpalatal initial **x** here is also exceptional in that it corresponds synchronically to **jin'** *sin*, i.e. synchronic *ó shin*). Further exceptional **x sh** was noted in both tokens of the lenited nonpalatal cluster *sl-*, regularly **hl-** *shl-*, recorded from speaker **896P** (Maínis):

(ə) **xlænt'** ə *a shlainte* (x2);

also **xlænt'** ə **27Md** (Leitir Ard) *shlainte*; **xla:t** **06C** *shlat*.

Lenited **hr(-)** *thr-* (presumably also *shr-*) occurs optionally as **xr(-)** in slightly more speakers, e.g.

də xr'i: **v' er'** **01P** *do thrí mhéir*; **xr' iəl** (male, born c. 1935) *thrial*;

nə jixra: ... **rəxru:m** (male, born c. 1935) *ina dhíthrá ... ro-throm*;

xri:a:l' **64M** *thraíáil*; see also **xr'i:** **892Mg** *thrí* (9.9).

In these instances lenited *s* and *t* in clusters merge with the regular realisation of lenited *c-*. Some speakers spirantise simple **h** > **x** or **χ**, perhaps especially in emphasis, thus merging *th-* (no doubt also *sh-*) and *ch-*, e.g.

də xe:rmə **ʃt' æ:x** **21Jc** *do théarma isteach*.

For palatal *s*, see 9.9 and 9.10.

Another optional merger, of *ch-* with *sh-* / *th-*, occurs in the weakening of initial **x** > **h** and **x'** (> **hj**) > **h**. This is especially common in:

hor ə b'i *ar chor ar bith*; **x' æpə** **hjæpə** **hæpə** *cheapadh*.

Similarly:

səh ə:m **hē:nə** **894Cs** *san am chéanna*.

Cp. **n'i** **hjæ:rt** ... **n'i** **x' æ:rt** **66N** *ní cheart ... ní cheart*.

Speaker **66N** has velarisation of the broad coronals (*t*, *d*, *n*, *s*) which are typically neutral in traditional dialect. When her velarised *t* **t^v** and *s* **s^v** are lenited she retains velarisation, i.e. **t^v**, **s^v** > **h^v**. This is in contrast with palatal *t* **t^j** and *s* **ʃ** which, when lenited, yield unvelarised **h** in her speech (but in one noted instance also **h^j**), e.g.

h^vi: **66N** (and **66Nq**) *thuí, shuí* vs. **hi:o:gi:** **66Nq** *shíógaí*;¹

ʃa: **h^jæ:x** **66N** *dhá theach*.

Speaker **43Mp** may also have **t^v** > **h^v** in lenition given his example:

mə h^vik' e:d **43Mp** *mo thuicéad*.

An even younger speaker also has **t^j** > **h^j** in:

də h^jæ:x **86R** *do theach* (in 1994).

9.9 Clusters; Variation in *th-*, *sh-*

In traditional dialect the quality of consonant clusters is not generally affected by mutations. Some younger speakers show (optional) depalatalisation of historically palatalised initial clusters containing *r*. The radical and mutated cluster may be affected by depalatalisation in different ways. E.g.

¹ My sons Dara and Brian (aged 3.8 and 2.4 respectively) also had **d^vin'** ə *duine*, **s^vi:** *suí* and lenited **h^vi:** *shuí*. Aged 4.5 Dara still had **h^vi:** *shuí* whereas Brian, aged 3.3, had **hi:** ~ **h^vi:** *shuí*. Aged 5.4 Dara generally had **hi:** *shuigh* and on one occasion, in conversation, produced **h^vi:** *shuigh* which he selfcorrected to **hi:** *shuigh*.

dr'- > ɣ-r'-	dr'eha:r' > ɣ-r'eha:r' 66L <i>dreatháir > dhreatháir</i> ; rare in older speakers, e.g. ə ɣ-r'ubəl' (brother of 897S) <i>a dhriobail</i> ;
dr'- > nr'-	dr'eha:r' > (perhaps) nr'eha:r' 66L <i>dreatháir > ndreatháir</i> ;
tr'- > xr'-	tr'umə > xr'umə 66N <i>triomaigh > thriomaigh</i> ;
tr'- > x-r'-	tr'umə > x-r'umə 66N <i>triomaigh > thriomaigh</i> ;
tr'- > xr-	tr'e:n > xre:n [x2] 66N <i>tréan > thréan</i> .

The fricative alternant, **x'**, of lenited palatal *t* **t'** and *s* **ʃ** occurs regularly before back vowels **a:**, **o:**, **u(i)**, and the diphthong **au**; see 'Historical Phonology' (1.119 ff., 1.135) where other exceptional forms are described, including the intermediary realisation **hj**; also 9.10. One speaker has been noted using an apparent extension of **x'** and **xr'** (i.e. **x'r'**) to the environment before front vowels: **x'i:l'** (2/2) **892Mg** *shíl*, **xr'i:** **892Mg** *thrí*, but **hn'i:w** **892Mg** *shníomh*. Another speaker, **21Pt**, has occasional palatal *th-* and *sh-* as **x'** before front vowels, e.g. **h/x'æsto:** **ʃe 21Pt** *thastós sé* (note nonpalatal base initial), **h/x'əsu:r' (i): 21Pt** *shéasúir(í)*.¹ Speaker **52M**, recalling the term *sioscadh* (used in peat-cutting) and trying to decide its correct pronunciation, produced, in order, the following:

... **hi:skə** | [selfcorrected to] **ə huskə** | **x'uskə** | ... **huskə** | **huskə** | **hjuskə** | **hjuskə** | **52M** *a shioscadh*.

The realisation in **hj** may be considered as either a blend of the regular by-forms, such as **ʃuskə > x'uskə** and **ʃiskə > hiskə**, or as a more transparent form of **x' < sh-** (or both factors may be involved). Speaker **52M**'s brother has **h** (for traditional **x'**) in **ɣa: hunəx [x2] 60M** *dhá shionnach* and an even younger neighbour of theirs has **də humrə 79S** *do sheomra* (for traditional **də x'umrə**).

As noted (9.1) there is optional *n > r* in *t+sn-*, i.e. **tn** ~ **tr**, **tn'** ~ **tn'** ~ **tr'** (and further variation, 9.160). For contrastive treatment of *shn-* clusters based on quality, i.e. *shn-* > **hn'** vs. rare **hr**, see 9.24.

9.10 Lenited palatal **s** and **t** before back vowels

Use of **h** and **hj** by older speakers in the environment of regular **x'** can sometimes be taken as phonetic weakening, but there is also possible morphological influence where regular **h** is found elsewhere in a paradigm. There are four definite examples of morphophonological or paradigmatic interference: **h** for **x'** in (i) and (ii); and **x'** for **h** in (iii) and (iv). There is, furthermore, in (v), a special case of sandhi which is specific to **x' < lenited palatal s** and *t*, where **hj** appears for **x'**.

- (i) Palatal **t'** of *teann*, a GEARR class verb, before **a:** is lenited to **h** significantly more frequently than to **x'**, e.g. **ha:n >>> x'a:n** *theann*. The irregular **h** is based on regular lenition before the unlengthened vowel **a**, found historically with intervocalic *-nn-*, e.g. **hanə** *theannadh*. Similar conditioning may be at work in the realisations of irregular future verbal stems *thiocht-* (< *teara*) and *thiúirth-* (< *tabhair*) which have initial **x' ~ hj ~ h**, the

¹ Speaker **21J** tells a humorous anecdote based on the ambiguity of **x'er'ə x'e:d** *cheithre théad*, as spoken by a man from the locality whose speech was 'soft' (*caint bhog*). From memory I recall the context and punchline as:

-Chuir mé cheithre théad **x'er'ə x'e:d** aisti. (of moored boat)
-Dhá gcuirtheá céad eile aisti bheadh ceathrú tonna aisti!

h-variant corresponding to the historical lenited nonfuture stems **hag-** *th(e)ag-* and **hug-** *thug-* respectively. Cf. 1.119 ff.

- (ii) Palatal **t'** of the stem **t'ug-** (**t'uk-** for **15W**) of the irregular verb *teara* when used outside the future / conditional is lenited to **h** only (in conversation), e.g. **Ní i: hugán' fe:** *ní thiugann sé* 'he does not come', corresponding to nonlenited **t'ugán** *tiugann*. (In query, however, Seán read *ní thiugann sé* as **Ní i x'ugán' fe** Sq.) This **h** corresponds to the more frequent present stems **t'()ag-** >> **t'ig'** - which have **h** only when lenited, i.e. **hag-**, **hig'** -.
- (iii) There is very anomalous lenition of nonpalatal **t** to **x' ~ hj** in the verbal noun of the irregular verb *tabhair*, i.e. **turt'** > **x'urt'** **hju:rt'**. This has been noted from speaker **04Br** only. Her verbal noun is an amalgam of the future stem **t'ur-** and the more common verbal noun **tort'** (as used, for example, by her father, e.g. **tort'** 46.102, lenited **hort'** **869P**, but also **turt'** [sic, probable error for **turt'**] 46.I.12). Her verbal noun lenition corresponds to her future stem lenition, i.e. **t'urə** > **x'urə** **hju:rə**. Her sister **15W** has **turt'** > **hurt'** which also corresponds to **15W**'s general future stem **t'urə** > **hurə**. (The recorded future stem lenition of the SID.46 informants, their father and brother, is **x'u:-** **x'u:-** **h'u:-** **h'u:-**.) Perhaps **04Br**'s usage represents an avoidance of initial **t'** - in the nonlenited verbal noun through dissimilation with final **-t'**; in lenited contexts dissimilation is not triggered since initial **t'** - is absent (in the surface phonetics). Speaker **04Br**'s son, **46S**, has (one may infer) regularised his mother's nonlenited form, i.e. he has **t'urt'** > **x'urt'** **46S**. Cp. **hurt'** **21Pt** *thabhairt*.
- (iv) Lenition of **f, t' > x'** occurs before **i** which has been fronted from **u** (and caused by palatalisation of the stem consonant(s), in the examples) before the diminutive suffix **-i:n'** and the abstract comparative in **-əxt**. Thus morphophonologically complex **fip'i:n'** *siopin* > **gə x'ip'i:n'** *dhe shipín* (Sq, **21Ptq**) based on regular **fupə** *siopa* > **gə x'upə** *dhe shiopa*; **gə x'imr'i:n'** *dhe sheoimrín* (< **fumrə** *seomra*) **27Mdq**. Contrast simplex **fik'i:n'** *sicín* 'chicken' > **gə hik'i:n'** *dhe shicín* with derived **fik'i:n'** *sicín* 'small frost' (< **fuk** *sioc*) > **gə x'ik'i:n'** *dhe shicín* **21Ptq**. So also in the example of lenited **t' > x'** in this environment: **t'uw** *tiubh* > **gə: x'iv'əxt** *dhá thibheacht* Mq. Cp. **t'i/us** > **his** **21Ptq** *tiubhas* > *thiubhas*, **t'uw** > **gə: x'uwə** **21Ptq** *tiubh* > *dhá thiubha*.
- (v) As noted in 2.38, following certain palatal and apical consonants, lenited palatal **s** and **t** before back vowels may be realised as **hj** (instead of usual **x'** in other contexts). This realisation of **sh** and **th** may optionally contrast with palatal **ch**. Taking, for instance, the verbs *seol* and *ceol* we can posit the opposition:

əgəs hjo:l *agus sheol* vs. **əgəs x'o:l** *agus cheol*.

9.11 Elision

Elision is a marginal phenomenon affecting the lenited consonants **h, ɣ, j, v'**. Two types of elision of lenited consonants occur: cluster simplification, and

elision of initial single consonants. The former type of elision, which in general occurs sporadically, affects the clusters $\mathbf{yl}(\cdot) > \mathbf{l}(\cdot)$, $\mathbf{yr}(\cdot) > \mathbf{r}(\cdot)$ ($\mathbf{yr} > \mathbf{j}$), $\mathbf{hr} > \mathbf{x'j} > \mathbf{j}$, $\mathbf{\eta n} > \mathbf{n}$, $\mathbf{hl} > \mathbf{l}$, $\mathbf{hn} > \mathbf{n}$. It is found more often in allegro speech (as cited in 1.100), e.g.

$\mathbf{yl}(\cdot) > \mathbf{l}(\cdot)$:- $\mathbf{mi:n't'ar' \ 'i:\eta'k'ə} \sim \mathbf{\gamma'i:\eta'k'ə}$ *S muintir Ghlinisce*, $\mathbf{ar \ la:n \ tu}$ *S ar ghlán tú?*, $\mathbf{n' \ i: \ li:d' \ i:f}$ *M ní ghlaoidís*, $\mathbf{\alpha'm'f'ar' \ la:s \ ə \ b' \ i}$ **21Pt** *aimsir ghlás ar bith*, note the presence of *r* before *ghl-* in three of these examples; cp. loss of friction in $\mathbf{'fa\eta' \eta'lin' \ əxi}$: *M seanghloineachaí*.

$\mathbf{yr-} > \mathbf{^y r-} \sim \mathbf{r-}$: $\mathbf{d' \ aul \ gə \ r'e:n'}$ << $\mathbf{\gamma r'e:n'}$ *M an deabhal dhe dhraein*; $\mathbf{də \ ^y ru:f}$ / $\mathbf{ru:f}$ *M do ghnúis*, $\mathbf{də \ ^y ru:h}$ *M do ghnotha*; $\mathbf{mə}$ / $\mathbf{də \ ri:m'}$ **21J** *mo / do dhroim*.

$\mathbf{yr-} > \mathbf{^j r-} \sim \mathbf{r-} \sim \mathbf{j-}$: commonly in a by-form of $\mathbf{mə \ \gamma r' \ eha:r'}$ ~ $\mathbf{mə \ r' \ eha:r'}$ *mo dhreatháir* but also $\mathbf{mə \ jeha:r'}$ **66N**. Cf. 1.7.

$\mathbf{hr-} > \mathbf{x'j-} > \mathbf{j-}$: speaker **66N** optionally spirantises *th* and weakens palatal *r* in $\mathbf{x' \ jausər \ jausər}$ **66N** *threabh sar*.

$\mathbf{hn-} > \mathbf{n-}$: (rare) $\mathbf{mə \ nə:həd'}$... *M mo shnáthaid*

$\mathbf{hl}(\cdot) > \mathbf{l}(\cdot)$:- $\mathbf{'m' \ i: \ la:xtwər}$ ~ $\mathbf{'m' \ i: \ hla:xtər}$ *Mq míshlachtmhar*. Elision is lexicalised in *shliocht* $\mathbf{l' \ oxt}$ (apparently, in set phrase), e.g. $\mathbf{b' \ e: \ l' \ oxt \ er'}$ *beidh a shliocht air*.

Younger speaker **66N** has the added feature of optional devoicing in the traditional cluster $\mathbf{yr-}$, merging in one variant with traditional $\mathbf{hr-}$ *thr-*:

$\mathbf{yr-} > \mathbf{x' r-} \sim \mathbf{hr-} \sim \mathbf{r-}$: $\mathbf{ə \ x'ri:m'}$, $\mathbf{ə \ hri:m'}$, $\mathbf{də \ ri:m'}$, $\mathbf{gə \ \gamma i:m'}$ **66N**
a / do / dhá dhroim.

Initial single consonant elision affects some common irregular verbs *bí*, *teara*, *teighre* (q.v.), 2sg pronouns *thú*, *thusa*, and more rarely other words. The consonants elided are **h**, **γ**, **v'**:

$\mathbf{hV-} > \mathbf{V-}$: $\mathbf{nər' \ a'gəns}$ / *ains nuair a thaganns / théanns*;
 $\mathbf{v' \ i:x, \ aegəx \ bə:d'}$... **35E7046** *bhíodh, theagadh báid* ... ;
 $\mathbf{gə \ n' \ i:k-f' \ i:}$ *u P go n-íocfí thú* (6.17);
 $\mathbf{mə \ ə:nən \ tu}$... **01J** *má theannann tú* ... ;
 $\mathbf{| \ n' \ i: \ 'æ:stə:x}$ | **889P** *ní thastódh*;
 $\mathbf{| \ hul \ 'a:k \ got' \ ən \ 'simr' \ əs}$ **01P** *chuile teach gaibhte un suimreas*;
 $\mathbf{s \ 'hul \ o:rt}$ | **01P** *is chuile shórt* (cp. 1.405);
 $\mathbf{mə \ ogri:n \ tu}$... *P má thograíonn tú*
Cp. $\mathbf{o: \ n' \ i: \ 'hæ'a}$ | **889P** *Ó! ní hea*. Recall also **h-** ~ \emptyset - in the preposition *chuig*, including its inflected forms.

$\mathbf{\gamma o-} > \mathbf{o-}$: $\mathbf{ax \ n' \ o.ə'n'}$ *ach ní ghabhthainn*.
Recall $\mathbf{d-} \sim \mathbf{\gamma-} \sim \emptyset-$, $\mathbf{d' -} \sim \mathbf{j-} \sim \emptyset-$, in *d(h)om*, *d(h)íom*, etc.

$\mathbf{v' V-} > \mathbf{V-}$: $\mathbf{nər' \ i:}$ / $\mathbf{i:x}$ / *ex nuair bhí / bhíodh / bheadh*.

In SID.46 there is apparent coalescence of **j** in the second token in $\mathbf{ri: \ jər}$ (or $\mathbf{ri: \ irtəx}$) 46.872 *ríghearr, ríghiortach*; and apparent metanalysis or stress adjustment involving **j** in the compound preposition in $\mathbf{,mari \ 'a:l \ èrə}$ 46.794 *mar gheall ar a*, perhaps via (or misheard for) phrasal epenthesis $\mathbf{marə \ jə:l}$ There is a similar change in $\mathbf{j(r')-}$ in speaker **23Ms**'s *mo dhreatháir mə 'íeha:r'*.

It is worth recalling here speaker **66N**'s frequent elision of the initial consonant in lenition in the verb **bru**: (a blend of *gnóthaigh* and *buach*, 5.315), i.e. **bru**: > **vru**: ~ **ru**:. (Whether she has this elision in other lexemes (in *br*-) I do not know.)

The single example noted of cluster simplification in an eclipsed initial cluster has been lexicalised in the dialect:

gn- ~ **n-**: by far the most common by-form of the exhortation (**gə**) (**ŋ**)**nu:i: d'ia ...**
go ngnóthaí Dia ... has initial **n-**, i.e. (**gə**) **nu:i: d'ia ...**. Cp. loss of friction in **'faŋ'glin'əxi: M seanghloineacháí**.

9.12 Metathesis

In this context it is appropriate to mention the surface realisations of phonological clusters comprising **h** followed by sonorants (**hl**(^h), **hl**(^h), **hn**(^h), **hn**(^h), **hr**(^h)). When they occur between vowels: (i) the **h** can precede the sonorant (or devoice its initial part), (ii) the **h** can devoice the final part of the sonorant, ((iii) as noted by de Bhaldraithe for Cois Fharraige but not found in my notes, the **h** can follow the sonorant (ICF §264, cp. §639)). Therefore, a phrase such as *mo shlabhra* can be realised as (i) **mə hlaurə**, (ii) **mə lhaurə**, ((iii) **mə lhaurə**), perhaps with (ii) most often (in older speakers), e.g.

nə lhaurə ... lə: g^hɾ'ɛ:n'ə rhr'ũm'ox e' ... l'enə nhnā:həd 894Cs
ina shlabhra ... lá gréine a thriomódh é ... lena shnáthad.

When the phonological clusters do not occur between vowels, e.g. in phrase-initial position, the position of voicelessness can also vary, e.g. **hl-**, **l-**. I have also noted postconsonantal **lhl**, i.e. **er' lhlām 894Cs ar shlám**. Recall the rare examples of elision of **h** cited above (9.11), e.g. **mə nā:həd' M mo shnáthaid**. The common realisation of **tn-** following **n** in sandhi is **-n hn-**, this has been transcribed with metathesis in one token as **ə nhā:həd' S an tsnáthaid** (9.160).

Seán consistently realises *seacht ngrá* as **fa:xt gřa: ~ fa:x gřa: S**, with the nasalising effect of eclipsis of initial *g* carried over or transferred to the following *r* (this is of course in contrast with his regular oral uneclipsed **gra: S grá**). The synchronic stages which underlie the surface form can be taken to be: **-xt ɢr-** > **-xt ɢř-** > **-xt gř-** (> **-x gř-**); the result is a type of metathesised nasalisation. See 9.138 (including footnotes), especially examples [9], [20], [21].

9.13 h + Vowel, aspiration

Aspiration denotes the preposing of **h** to initial vowels. The quality of this **h** is phonologically invariable; it does not vary according to the quality of the following vowel (except on the level of surface phonetics). Words which contain the semi-vowel **j** in initial position are borrowings and are variable with regard to eclipsis, as indicated above (9.1) and discussed in 11.183 ff. In positions which trigger aspiration these borrowings are treated as consonant-initial words, i.e. **h** is not preposed. There is, however, one exception, **ju:rop' Ghiúróip** (etc.), one of the oldest borrowings in this **j** class (it does not have an alternant in initial **g'**, the initial **j** may be a more recent adaptation to the English form, cp. 11.183 ff.), which in the genitive (feminine *na^H*) has, as well as regular initial **j-**, both **h-** and **x'-**:

j, i.e. **nə ju:ɾo:p'ə**;
 j > Ø /h_, i.e. **nə ho:ɾo:v'ə** [perhaps -v'ə] **869P**, **nə hu:rəp'ə** **35E7028**;
 hj > x', i.e. **nə x'u:ɾo:b'ə** **06C**, **nə x'o:rəpə** **27Mdq**.
 (Cp. **nə hju:ɾo:b'ə** LFRM s.v. *Iúróib*.)

9.14 Stressed non-initials

Words with unstressed initial consonants are mutated initially, e.g. **gə hə'bak** *dhe thobac*, **ə də'bak** *i dtobac*. Native words in initial unstressed vowel, ə-, undergo elision of the vowel in the few relevant examples I have noted. The initial consonant of the stressed syllable in **ə'ma:r'əx** *amáireach* is lenited in the following exchange:

- ... **ma:r'əx** ... **64M** ... *amáireach* ...
 -**ma:r'əx** ... **ta fe nə wa:r'əx | ta fe nə wa:r'əx** **51P**
Amáireach! ... *tá sé INA (A)MHÁIREACH, tá sé INA (A)MHÁIREACH!*
 'Tomorrow! ... it is tomorrow (already), it is tomorrow (already)!'

In this instance unstressed ə can be taken to be elided following a (leniting) functor in ə; although the form **la:rnə wa:r'əx** *lá arna mháireach* might also be of relevance. In query, quasi-verbal **ə'max** *amach* and **ə'n'is** *aníos* following eclipsing *mara* are treated as consonant-initial items:

ma:xəð fe l'ef əs marə ma:xə he:n' ... Mq
Amachadh sé leis, is MARA (A)MACHA héin is cuma liom;
n'isəð fe ... marə n'isə he:n' ... Mq
Aníosadh sé leis ... is MARA (A)NÍOSA héin, cén dochar! Bíodh aige.

(I.e. not *mara *n-amacha*, *mara *n-aníosa*.) Similar elision is found following the eclipsing article, with the nominalised adverb **ə'max** *amach*. It is treated as a consonant-initial word in:

n'i:l' mo:ra:n k'e:l'ə l'ef ə ma:x fo S
níl mórán céille LEIS AN (A)MACH SEO,

rather than ***l'ef ən ə'ma:x fo**. Similarly, **h** is not realised before *i* in **xə g'eft** *chomh i gceist* (9.151), see also 'Borrowings' (11.173).

9.15 Continued mutation

For obsolescent continued mutation (e.g. *sa ngarraí bheag*) and continued lenition (e.g. *dh'fhear mhór*), both found in the masculine dative, see 9.50 (and p. 1735 n. 1). Speaker **889P** has examples of unhistorical lenition of *bhreá* and *ghloine* in what might be classified as continued lenition:

mo mhaide bhreá draighean ... an maide,
d'ól sé héin chupla ghloine ... chupla teach eile (cf. 9.115 for *chupla*).

This speaker also has frequent spirantisation of *c-* > *ch-*, discussed in 1.405, which may in some way influence his use of lenition. There are examples of continued mutation in compounds and phrases such as *a* [3m] *shean-sheanathair mór* (9.40), *dhá* [3m] *mhíle bhuíochas* (9.108), *a* [3pl] *mórndóthain* (9.133). Correlative mutation (lenition 9.86, aspiration 9.152) is very limited and occurs where a lexical mutation is altered on a given target word to agree with the mutation of another token of the same word. For example, the first instance of aspiration in the minority usage *ó háit go háit* eschewing lexical *ó^L*.

Lenition

The rules of lenition affecting nouns and adjectives will be outlined first (9.16–9.128). There are important circumstances where lenition may be blocked or absent (9.17 ff.). These will be discussed before the main detailed exposition of nominal lenition. The rules and use in the verb phrase will then be presented (9.129–9.132).

9.16 Nominals

Functors

Certain functors cause lenition of following nouns, prefixes, numerals and rarely of other functors. The leniting functors are: the vocative particle *a*, possessives *mo*, *do*, *a* (3m), prepositions *ar*, *dhe*, *dho*, *faoi*, *ó* ~ *uaidh*, *roimh(e)*, *tha(i)r*, *thrí*; more limited *gan*, *eidir*. So also *a* (and *dhá*) before abstract comparatives generally (3.69, including exceptional nonlenition). Lenition with the feminine nominative and genitive masculine of the singular article is regular (6.83).

Other preposed elements

Nominal prefixes and the preposed element of a compound regularly cause lenition, as do the numerals ‘1–6’ with singular nouns, i.e. *aon* (including *(ga)chaon*), *an chéad*, *dhá*, *trí*, *cheithre*, *chúig*, *sé*. So also the preposed indefinite adjective *(ga)chuile*.

Nouns

Masculine nouns in the vocative generally cause lenition (feminine nouns in the vocative cause lenition, just as in the feminine nominative). Attributive adjectives, and to a lesser extent dependent nouns, of masculine genitive and feminine nominative nouns are regularly lenited, as are those following plurals in a palatal consonant as well as borrowed plurals in *-s*, *-z*. Attributive adjectives following nouns qualified by numerals greater than ‘1’ can be lenited: adjectives following ‘2–10’ are generally lenited, variably following *dhá*, also variably following *d(h)éag* ‘11–19’, and lenited in query following *fhichead* ‘20s, etc.’ Definite nouns, including proper names, are regularly lenited when in the genitive position (excluding nouns mutated by a preceding article).

Copula

The copula lenites following nouns and adjectives in limited circumstances, and sometimes optionally: past *-r*, *-(r)bh*, *-(m)b*, *(m)ba* (*b'*) (also past *ní*, *nach*, *cé*, also past relative *a*); jussive *go mba* (*gur*, *go*); innovative present *nach bh'*.

Nonlenition

9.17 Palatal / (*l' > l'*) and *n* (*n' > n'*)

Lenition of palatal *l* (*l' > l'*) and *n* (*n' > n'*) is regular only in older speakers; for example, **852Sb** (*l* noted), **866E**, **869P**, **875T** (*l* noted), **892M** (*l* noted), **897S** (*l* noted), **898P** (*l* noted), **899N** (*l* noted), **01P** (*l* noted), **04B**, **10B** (*l* noted), **14M**, **18J** (*l* noted). Speakers **05M**, **11C** and **25M** have predominant lenition and speakers **889P**'s and **35E**'s recordings (*l* noted) have conditioned variation, with lenition predominant. Some of the oldest speakers noted with regular nonlenition

are **899DARN** and **01CARN** (for *l* at least); **04Br** and **15W** (daughters of **869P**, and **25M**'s older cousins); **16P** (*l* noted); siblings **16M** and **19P**; **20A** (*l* noted). In view of these speakers' dates of birth, one might suggest that the loss of lenition of palatal sonorants occurred, for the most part, during the forty years between 1895 and 1935. Speaker **25M**, of clann Mhacáí 'ac Con Iomaire of An Coillín, and speaker **35E**, of An Aird Thoir, are obvious conservative outliers in this, as in other features. Both are sons of renowned storytellers (speakers **875T** and **04B**, respectively) and are themselves storytellers. Singer **19J** has lenition of palatal *n* in song and **37J** and **43Js** have lenition of palatal *l* in song but I am unaware of their vernacular usage (cf. p. 1697 n. 1). In non-initial position all speakers maintain the lexical distinction **l'** vs. **l'**, **n'** vs. **n'**, i.e. when lenition is not involved. (For lenited *l*, *n* in initial clusters, see 9.19; for innovative speaker **66N**'s **n'** > **n'** in non-initial position, see 1.144.)

Examples of regular lenition in **04B**'s usage are:

- l* **l'æ:n** (Smds) *LEAN* [past], **n' i l'ik'əd'i:f** **04Bl** *ní LIGTHIDÍS*,
nə l'æ:bə *ina* [3m possessive] *LEABA*, **tr'i: l'e:g'** **!04B** *trí LÉIG*,
er' l'æk'ræxi: glasə (Smbb) *ar LEACRACHAÍ glasa*.
n **kir' hn'æ:xtə** (Abr) *ag cuir SHNEACHTA*.

Including **fl' - sl' - hl' - shl'**, e.g.

sléibhtí fl'e:vt'i' i bhfad ó thír ... ó SHLÉIBHTE o: hl'e:vt'ə le ... !04B.

Speaker **05M** (a close neighbour of **04B**) has general lenition of both sonorants but she has **l'** in some instances (noted in two proverbs and a song):

- l* | 'wel' | 'l'æ:n' 'fel'əv' | f'iar'ixt | **05M** *Bhuel LEAN seilbh síoraíocht*,
or mə l'æ:nə sə gl'iwə:n **05M** *ar mo LEANABH sa gliabhán*,
ní LEIGHEASTHAIDH 'l'aisə cliabh seaimpíní !05M.

Speaker **11C** has lenition of palatal *l* and *n* in the vast majority of cases. Some rare examples of nonlenition of *l* in his speech include:

- l* *céard A LEIGHEASFADH ... l'aisəx ... l'aisəx ... 11Ctn*,
-Agus an FHÉASÓG FADA LIATH 'l'i: air. ... an FHÉASÓG FADA LIATH 'l'i: ar
gach duine acub. 11C4856-7,
thrína LEATHPHOLLÁIRE hri:nə 'l'æ:fula:r'ə >> ə 'l'æ:fula:r'ə 11Ctn (3m),
go leor dhe na báid sin LEITIR OTHARD f'in' l'et'ər' ohə:rd ann 11t,
an chuid thoir DHE LEITIR OTHARD gə l'et'ər' ohə:rd 11C1161.

Examples of lenited *n*:

- n* **n'i: f'i: e'** **11Ctn** *NIGH sí é*,
ũ:nə 'jæ:s n'i: 'n'i:! | **!11C** *Úna dheas Ní NIA*.

It may be significant that speaker **05M**'s noted examples of nonlenited *l* contain the initial sequences **l'æ-** and **l'ai-**; speaker **25M**'s noted example contains past verbal **l'æ-** (**jæ:n m'é** **25M** *lean mé*); whereas speaker **11C**'s noted examples contain **l'æ-**, **l'ai-**, **l'e-** and **l'ia-**.¹

¹ These include tokens from higher register (**05M** in song and proverb, **11C** in traditional narrative). Cp. **mə l'en'ə** **!!(Atm)39D** *mo léine*, **mə l'ais** **!!(Alp)39D** *mo leas*, **o: l'ergəs** **!!(Alp)39D** *ó léargas*. Nevertheless, Wentworth (2002: 98) describes the retention of the contrast in the Scots Gaelic of singers from Wester Ross between dental velarised *l* (i.e. **l'**) and alveolar velarised *l* (i.e. **l**), both of which are merged in their vernacular in all positions of words.

9.18 889P, Pádraig Ó Madáin

Speaker **889P** has less recorded data than the previous three speakers. He was, however, noted with (consistent) lenition of the initial sequences **L'í-**, **L'íi-**, **L'íə-**, **L'e-**, **L'ɑ-**, **ʃL'íi-**, but with variable use or nonlenition in **L'æ-** and **L'e-**. Both of the last-mentioned sequences are found (rarely) unlenited among **05M**, **11C** and **25M**. It may be that lenited **L'** is more commonly maintained before back vowels where the contrast with **L'** is phonetically more salient (cp. relevance of vowel height in 1.160, 1.163, 1.164). Speaker **889P**'s noted examples are as follows:

L'í- > Íi-	... he:n' Íig'ə:n ... i: Íigə:n ə'nuəs ... əŋ x'l'e Íig'ə:n ... oɡəs Íig' ʃi: ... ax' Íik'əd' i:ʃ ... 'Íik'əd' i:ʃ ...	<i>í héin a ligean amach; í a ligean anuas ... an chleith a ligean agus lig sí isteach é ach lighthídís ... lighthídís ...</i>
L'íi- > Íi-	mə Íi:nsə	<i>mo linnsa</i>
L'íə- > Íiə-	'f'iaso:g 'Íi: e:r'	<i>féasóg liath air</i>
L'e- > Íe-	əɡəs Íe:m' ... 'Íe:m' ...	<i>agus léim mé ... Léim sé seo ...</i>
L'ɑ- > Íɑ-	... i: Íɑ:v ə'ma:x ...	<i>... í a leábh amach ...</i>
ʃL'íi- > ʃÍi-	e:n' t'f'i: ...	<i>aon tslí mhaireachtála</i>
L'æ- > Íæ-	... mə 'Íæ:bə 'm' /v'e:(Í)'Íæ:k 'kaur'Íæ:ylin'ə	<i>... mo leaba mb- l bhéil-leac corr-leathghloine</i>
> L'æ-	L'æ:g pst (x3), əɡəs L'æ:kɑ: i: 'L'æ:gə:n L'æ:n' ʃe pst (x3)	<i>leag sé l mé; agus leagthá í a leagan suas ansin lean sé</i>
L'e- > Íe-	mə L'ehəd'əsə fi: L'e (x2)	<i>mo leithidesa faoi leith</i>

I have insufficient examples of relevant initial sequences from this speaker in order to draw any firm conclusions. The contrast, however, between the verbs *lig* on the one hand and *leag* and *lean* on the other is striking, as is the contrast within the class of words beginning in **L'æ-**: lenited nominals *leaba*, *leac* and *leath-* vs. unlenited verbs *leag*, including verbal noun *leagan*, and *lean*. These two contrasts, as well as nonlenition of (nominals in) **L'e-**, suggest that there are both morphological and phonological constraints on **889P**'s usage. One can tentatively assert that his verbs in **L'æ-** are unlenited, as are his nominals in **L'e-**. The reason for nonlenition of verbs in particular (in the **L'æ-** sequence) may be due to the absence of a surface trigger of lenition in the independent past and conditional. This might then spread to verbal nouns following the particle *a^L*, which is in fact often absent in the surface realisation, as in the example *i: 'L'æ:gə:n 889P í a leagan*.

As seen in other speakers above, relevant attestations of palatal *n-* are less common than palatal *l-*. The single noted token of palatal *n-* from speaker **889P** in leniting position is a nominal in radical **ʃN'æ-**. The lenition is realised, i.e. *ʃl'íhn'æ:xtə 889P flichshneachta*.

9.19 Other speakers; **L' > Í** in set phrases; Clusters

A systematic analysis was not made of the many recordings of speaker **35E**. In leniting contexts he was, however, noted with both **L'æ-** and **Íæ-** as well as **L'e-**. He also lenites the initial sequences **L'í-**, **L'íi-** and **L'ái-**. Examples:

L'æ- > Íæ-	gər Íæ:g	<i>gur leag</i>
--------------------------	----------	-----------------

> L'æ-	L'æ:n pst	lean
	mə L'æ:s-	mo leasmháthair
L'e:- > L'e:-	L'e:m' pst (x3)	léim
L'i- > I'i-	gər I'ig'	gur lig
L'i:- > I'i:-	I'i:dər	liodar
L'ai- > I'ai-	ə I'aisəs, I'ais pst, I'aisəx	a leigheasthas, leigheas(thadh)

It should be noted, however, that he seems to have initial I'i- in a nonleniting context where L'i- would be expected:

I'ig' 35E *lig* (2sg imperative), also 35E's father, 04B, and speakers younger than 35E, e.g. 43M, 72N (1.161).

Speaker 18J has regular lenition of L' > I' but has nonlenition of N' in (indefinite pronoun, cf. 9.43):

tá barail a'inn DHE NEART N'æ'rt dhá gcuid aicsean 18J7784.

Examples with L' in 899DARN's usage include *dho léir a chéile, a leithide*; lenited I' was noted from him in *ligtheá* only. Examples with L' from 01CARN include *dhá léir, a leithide, dhe léim, I'* was noted in *lig, ligtheá*, also *leabhairse, léis (thar éis)*; he has N' in:

hri: N'æ'rt akəb 01C6783 *thrí neart acub*.

Also unlenited:

L'æ:gəð fjad 04Br *leagadh siad, i: N'i: 04Br Uí Nia*;

L'æ:gədər 15W *leagadar*.

Examples of consistent nonlenition from Máire (16M) are:

l	L'æ:n <i>lean</i> (past), N'i: L'ik'əd'i:f <i>ní lighidís,</i> o: hl'e:v't ə ó <i>shléibhte, er L'æ:krəxi: ar leacracháí.</i>
n	kir' hn'æ:xtə <i>ag cuir shneachta.</i>

Initial I' is lexicalised (for all speakers) in *leabhairse, léis (thar éis), leáise*. Many speakers who do not regularly lenite L' > I' do have I' in certain historically lenited set phrases. For example, Máire has:

ə I'æ:nə a *leanabh, ə I'æ:n'i:n' a leainín, mə I'eŋ g'e:r mo léan géar,*

ə I'ehəd'ə a *leithide* (cf. 9.114); cp. also:

'fa:d,l'ekn'əx ~ 'fa:d,l'ekn'əx SM *fadleicneach*;

and Seán has, e.g. ya: I'e dhá *leith*. Cf. 9.114.

In initial clusters *tsl-, shl-, tsn-, shn-, -I'-* and *-n'-* are more common. For example, 43M has *mə L'aur mo leabhar, mə N'æ'd mo nead* but *tl'-, hl'-, tn'-, hn'-* in *tslí, tsleán, shleamhnaigh, tsneachta, shníomh* (in contrast with unmutated *I'L'ævnə sleamhnaigh, I'N'i:v sníomh*, etc.; all 43Mq). Similarly, *n tl'i:* P *an tslí*. It can be argued that, for speakers who do not lenite simple L' and N', the occurrence of *-I'-* and *-n'-* in these clusters might be interpreted as a phonotactic rule rather than an instance of the initial mutation. For instance, *-I'-* in 43M's *tl'a:n tsleán* can be equated with *-I'-* in *gl'a:n gleann*.

9.20 f-

Lenition of initial *f-* is usual, e.g.

ə tɪjk'ə oxə 20Mlt *an t-uisce a FHIUCHADH*;

guə 06C *DH'FHUAIGH (< dhe fhuaigh)*.

Nonlenition of *f*-, however, is common. It is commonly noted in certain words, e.g. numeral *fiche*:

Cheannaigh sé Conamara AR FICHE punt. ABg62;

ó FICHE troigh suas go dtí ... Clad135–6;

fi: f'ix'ə punt M FAOI FICHE punt; **har' f'ix'ə punt** M THAIR FICHE punt.

Numerals as targets of mutation are a marked category (e.g. $a^H c(h)úig^L > a chúig$ *bhó*, etc., 9.94). So also *feá*, e.g. *aon feá déag, dhá f(h)eá déag* (4.42).

The phrase *fidirín fuaidirín* is consistently unlenited:

Tá sé INA FIDIRÍN FU Aidirín eidir iad, thrína chéile uiliug. 12Stn.

Compare *a chulaith fubuineach fabuineach* 866ESc45.2.

Note the consistent lack of lenition of *fortún* in:

- ... *sea ínseos mé, a deir sí, DO FORTÚN duitse. ... ní raibh AON FORTÚN i ndán dó. ... mar bhí A [3m] FORTÚN ínsithe* 11C4568–70.

A lenited example is found in *Tá M'FHORTÚN ar Dhia ... !* CABI §18(c) v. 5. Cf. *f*- in modern borrowings, which is only rarely lenited (11.172, 11.176, 11.178).

9.21 Further examples

Other examples of nonlenition of *f*-, including some variation, are listed here.

- an^L* fem *agus gheithidh tú úlla, agus feadóg. ... agus fuair sé an t-úlla, agus AN FEADÓG. Shéid sé seo AN FHEADÓG,* (Suda) 894Cs.
- an^L* gen (examples from older speakers who regularly lenite in the masculine genitive context)
- TÓRAÍOCHT AN FRAOCH bán* 869P5;
- Tháinic lagar air, is dóichí DHE BHARR AN FAITIAS. gə wɑ:r ə 'fa:ɪ' iəs | 889Pt; dearg, AR NÚS AN FÍON, 894Cs;*
- | n' iʃ | g' a:r ɣə dɑ:n' ək' nə dɪ:n' ə fə ʃt' æ:x | ə v' i: əg' iərə n' f' is | 894C*
- Anois, gearr go dtáinig na daoine seo isteach a bhí AG IARRAIDH AN FIOS;*
- ... ar féasta. Bhí achuile shórt réitithe ansin aige, LEIHÍ AN FÉASTA, ach amháin ...* 11C, LEIHÍ AN FÉASTA 11C5288;
- æ:s k' i:n ə fɑ:rdorəs [x4] 11Ctn AS CIONN AN FÁRDORAS, cp. faoin fárdoras* M85, and *várdoras* FFG19, *bárdoras* FFG32.
- do^L* 2sg poss - ... *sea ínseos mé, a deir sí, DO FORTÚN duitse.* 11C4568.
- a^L* m poss *d'ínsigh sí A FEASA héin dho chuile dhuine acub* 892M4470;
- mar bhí A FORTÚN ínsithe* 11C4570; *tá sé 'NA FARÚCH mhaith ...* 869P5;
- bhí sé, INA FILÍ, 892M4464; bhí sé INA FILE mhaith* 11C.
- dhá^L* *DHÁ FOIDE ó g'a' f'od' o a ghothas tú ó bhaile ... DHÁ FOIDE ó, ...* 63S.
- a^L* rel **er' ə l' æ:r'hə fɑ:səns n' æ:mə'n' jæ:rəg S**
- ar an leathraigh A FÁSANN an fheamainn dhearg.*
- noun fem *BAINIS BHREÁ FIAL FAIRSINN GHRAOIÚIL* 869P2;
- + adj *AON BHÓ AMHÁIN, FIONNRUA. 'Gus sin é an t-údar (anis) ar tugadh Boifinn air.*
- BÓ FIONNRUA. 892M3061;*
- AITHNE FADA 892M4036;*
- Agus an FHÉASÓG FADA LIATH 'Y'i: air. 11C*
- Bhí an FHÉASÓG FADA air. 892M*
- Bhí an FHÉASÓG FADA LIATH 'L'i: ar gach duine acub. 11C4856–7;*
- FEAMILÍ GHLAN FIÚNTACH f' æ'm' ə' l' i: ɣl̩:n f' ũ:ntəx a raibh ... !11C;*
- PÍN N BHEAG FÁNACH EICÍNT SNG295.*
- noun fem *agus bhí AN ABHAINN FOLA ar do bhóna* 866ESc169.17;
- + noun *SLAT FHÓISIR ... SLAT FÓISIR (sic) 869P5;*
- BEIRT FILÍTHE 881J. Cp. bean feasa, etc., (9.59).*
- gen masc *agus chaith sí stós i mbuicéad UISCE, FUAIR í, 18J8624.*
- pl masc *dho bheithí bhainne ... DHO BHEITHÍ FÁSTA, 25Tt;*

Tala glas na hÉireann 7 é faoi BHEITHÍ FÉIR ánn !852S CABI §161 v. 9; na BRADÁIN FEARNA Clad134, PORTÁIN FAOILEANN Clad183.

-C^o pl
def noun **loxti:l' f' æ:mə:n' ə 03C** LOCHTAÍL FEAMAINNE.
ag scaladh AS CIONN FÉILIM 894C;
mī:m' fuə m' fr' iəxə:n' 892M MAIDHM FUAIGH AN PHRÉACHÁIN;
Ach ba bhinne bád Janaí AG GOIL FARRAIGÍ ÁRAINN MHÓIR !NUath11C.

dhá^L *dhá mhéad fuaim dhá raibh sí a bhaint as an túirne ariamh, bhí sí ag baint*
 DHÁ FUAIM as an truíp seo, 894Ct.

ar^L *le freagra a thabhairt AR FILÍ Bhleá Cliath. 892M5613;*
 ə'nuəs er' ə fə:d ə wə:lə 894C *anuas AR FAD AN MHÁLA* (see 9.23 for (f)ad);
 ... go mbeadh aithne a'd air. Bhí aithne a'd ar, ar a, chlann ar aon nós AR
 FEAR a dtugaidís Colm an tSagairt air ... 21Pg7421.

dhe^L *beidh fhios a'msa, a deir se, an bhfuil aon bhlas, a deir se, DHE FÉITH na*
 filíocht sa mbuachaill sin. 11C.

dhó^L
roimhe **n'ir wə:n' je f'i'ŋ gə f'e:l'əm' 894C** *níor bhain sé sin DHO FÉILIM.*
 hə:n'ək' 'klox rūv' ə f' iəklə' n' 'v' ə'f'i:n' | 892M
 tháinig cloch ROIMHE FIACLA an mheaisín.

an^L **d'air' ā:n.fəkəl' f'l'ubər' əm 892M4338** *d'éirigh AN-FOCAL sliobair dhom;*
 badh in AN-FILE eile 11C5303;
 p'isə əməd' f'in' 'an'fl' ə:skəx M *tá an píosa adhmaid sin AN-FLEASCACH.*

dearg^{-L}
in^{-L} **'d'æ:rəg'fə:fən M** DEARGFAISEAN.
ro^{-L} **ə'n'f'ek'i: M** INFEICTHÍ.
sean^{-L} **v' i' f'i' rəf' ex:tə [x2] 42C** *bhí sí RO-FÉACHTA.*
síor^{-L} **'fæn'f' e:l'əm' 892M5239,-46, -57** SEAN-FÉILIM (a Cúil).
aon^L **er' f'iər'fə:nə xrik' (run)Pt7a** *ar SÍORFÁNA an chnoic.*
 AON FORTÚN 11C4569.

9.22 Fionn, fíor-, etc.

Examples of *Fionn* without lenition are particularly common (cp. *Féilim* (x3), 9.21):

genitive **v' i' je nō:əs 'f' i:n' 'wə:r 'yək 'u:l' |**
 bhí sé AR NÓS FINN Mhór mhac Úil 11C.

a^L voc ... do bhreith 'gus do gheasaí anís, a deir sí, ' FIONN! f' i:ən | 11C;
 ortəə f' i:n' və ku:l' 11C *ortsa, A FIONN mhac Cúil ... agus a Rí ...*

dhe^L *mar bhain Diarmaid, u-, Gráinne DHE FIONN. 892M5791;*
 d'fhiathraigh sé DHE FIONN mhac Cúil 'f' i:n' ,wə ku:l' cé ... 11C.

dhó^L *agus bheannaigh sé DHO FIONN mhac Cúil f' i:n' wə ku:l' | 11C.*

faoi^L *FAOI FIONN f' i:n 892M.*

roimhe^L *ROIMHE FIONN mhac Cúil f' i:n' və ku:l' | 11C.*

It may be that the prefix *fíor-* is particularly averse to lenition (cp. 9.137), e.g.
bhí sé INA LÁ FÍORBHREÁ. 892M (stative *i* + possessive, 9.50).

Note the hesitation in the following example, perhaps owing to a feared loss of clarity if regular **er' ir'** *ar fhír* were realised:

diocair AR — AR — AR FIR, bheith leothub héin 04Br.

For nonlenition with *fáil* in particular, see verbal noun particles (8.110). For lenited *f-* of feminine nouns following the prepositional article in place of regular eclipsis, see 9.91. Note the slip of the tongue in:

fuər' 'mid' ə ri:hu:ləxt | əs ə v' aus gə v' ir' | 892Mtn
Fuair muide a rúthiúlacht AS A [or AN] BHFEABHAS DHE BHFIR (a bhí ionainn),

for expected *as a fheabhas dh'fhir* influenced by *as a* (1pl poss) *bhfeabhas* or even *as an bhfeabhas*.

9.23 *fad*

The noun *fad* is irregular with regard to initial mutations. As a target of mutations it has the forms *fad* and *ad*.

= *fad*: *i bhfad, ag goil i bhfad, gá bhfad* 869P2; *seacht bhfad* LL14, **ta fa'x^d wa:d a:n** Mq (50Nq, 56Bq) *tá a seacht bhfad ann; a* (3f) *fad agus a* (3f) *leithead* 11C.

= *fad, ad*: *an fhad* often refers to time, whereas *an fad* is common for shorter distances or lengths, cp. *ar fad* 'lengthwise' (as well indefinite adjective); *an fhad* often 869P2–5; (*iad a chuir*) **er' æ:d** 33M *ar fhad, an æ:d* M *an fhad, an æ:d* (fo) P *an fhad (seo), n' i ro n æ:d' i:n' jin' ... S ní raibh an fhaidín sin ...*; but *an fad sin ansin an foirtéim* 892Mg, '*nach é an fad* [length, of body] *céanna istigh agus amuigh mé*' S (in a pun or retort to '*tá tú i bhfad* [long time] *amuigh*' which I recall from memory).

= *ad*: *leis an fhaid seo g'aimsir* 852Sb6.67, *ní fhaca muid é leis an (fh)ad*, cp. 9.91 where lenited *fh-* is not uncommon with feminine nouns; also:

ta ha:xt næ:d a:n S *tá a sheacht n-ad ann;*

ta fa'x^d næ:d a:n Mperm *tá a seacht n-ad ann.*

Cp. *Sin é a fad is a ghearr a bhí ann* Mq, translating by calque 'that's the long and the short of it'.

9.24 *sn-*

It is probable that most older speakers regularly lenite the cluster *sn-* to **hn-**, e.g.

'i:h 'ã'n'uor 'hn' æ:xtø | 866E *oíche an-fhuar SHNEACHTA;*

hna: m' e SID.46 (s.v. *snámh*) *SHNÁIMH mé;* also 897St;

i: hn' i:w 05M *í a SHNÍOMH; hnã:v' ə f' ær Mq, 35E *SHNÁIMH an fear.**

The alternative change of **sn-** lenited to **hr-** was noted from a small group of four speakers, three of whom were born in the 1890s: 892M (Dumhaigh Ithir), 894C (Glinisce) and 896P (Maínis); and one in the 1940s: 45N (Maínis):

SHNÁIMH hřã:v' 892M2870;

mo SHRÁTHAD lúm !894C6 (snáthad), mo SHRUADH !894C9 (snuadh),

agus SHNÁIMH hřã:v' sé aniar 894Ct;

agus go snáimhtheadh gə snã:f' əð sé héin i dtír. Agus doir Dia, SHNÁIMH |

hřã:v' sé i dtír, ... ag snámh ə snã:w' ... sé an chaoi a snáimhthidh

snã:f' ə ... 896P;

prað gə hrã:həd' 45N *praid dhe SHNÁTHAID* (unless this speaker has radical **sr-** in *snáthaid*, compare base **srã:hədi'** 81A *snáthadaí*).

The examples contain nonpalatal **hr-** *shn-* only. Of the group of speakers who yield **hr-** *shn-* I have palatal examples from 894C; three tokens of *shníomh-*, all in **hn'-**, e.g. **hn' i:ðəx** 894Ct *shníofadh*. Thus the attested pattern is:

Radical	sn	fn'
Lenited	hr	hn'

In my data there are more lexemes with nonpalatal *tsn-* (6, i.e. *tsnaidhm, tsnáithe, tsnámh, tsnaoisín, tsnáthaid, tsnúda*) than palatal *tsn-* (1, i.e. *tsneachta*; cp.

tsneamh !852S). More frequent occurrence of the nonpalatal cluster and thus of application of *tsn-* > *tr-* than in the palatal cluster may have favoured the development of lenition of nonpalatal *sn-* > *hr-*. It may also be of relevance that there is a greater phonological distinction between radical and lenited cluster in palatal *ʃn' - > hn'* - than in nonpalatal *sn-* (or *sn-*) > *hn-*.

Cp. speaker 896P's *r'* in *mā r' i:n* 896P *mā níonn* (for common *mā: n' i:n*, 1.146); this *r'* is perhaps a phonetic weakening of initial *n'* (rather than a mutational change *n' - > r'* - which would be similar to *sn-* > *hr-*).

In speaker 892Mg's short recording all the examples of *shn-* but one are in *hn-*, e.g. *shníomh, ina shnúda, ina shnáithe* 892Mg. There is, however, variation, with nonlenition in:

má bhí tú ag cuir trí, sé SNÁITHE nú TRÍ SHNÁITHE, nú, ' dtonamh snúda fíneáilte ... 892Mg.

Nonlenition is common in slightly younger speakers, e.g.

sná:f' ənfə !899N *SNÁIFINNSE*;

nuər' ə snā:v əs ə 'ba:d | 01P *nuair a SNÁIMH[TH]EAS an bád* (vs. a *shníomh* 01P);

snā:v 12Jq, *snā:v* 23Bq *SNÁIMH* [past];

iəd ə snā:v ə'max ... s iəd ə ho:rt' ... 23B *IAD A SNÁMH* (transitive) *amach ... is iad a thabhairt ...* ;

mə snā:həsə 23B *MO SNÁITHEASA*;

hna:v fe ... snā:v fe 26Pq *SHNÁMH SÉ ... SNÁMH SÉ*.

In his recording speaker 23Ms has past *snáimh* (*sé*) (x2) and past *go snáimh sé* (x1) but conditional *hna:v əd fe* 23Ms *shnámheadh sé* (x1). In query 27Mdq lenites *shníomh, shnáimh*, but in conversation was noted with *snáimhidís* 27Md (x2).

Speaker 60M has regular nonlenition here:

sná:fənf' ε 60M (x3) *SNÁMHTHAINNSE é*.

My notes also contain nonlenition in *snamál' m'e e* 12S *snadhmail mé é*, perhaps a response in query. We can compare here the only examples of lack of lenition in questionnaire results from Seán (12Sq) on the CAITH class verbs (cf. 5.126). They are found in tokens of *sroich* following *má* and *ní*, i.e. *má sroicheann Seán* 12Sq and *ní sroichthe mise* 12Sq. The initial *sr-* *sr-* cluster is probably significant here (cp. *thar s(h)r-* Mq, 9.35; *corrslám*, 9.32) but other query sessions yielded further instances of aberrant nonlenition. For example, past habitual *da:ləʃ f-* Mq for *dhalladh s-* in a long query session concerning the GEARR verbal class (5.9.6.2.3).

9.25 Personal names

The borrowed personal name *Tríona* (< *Cairtriona*) remains regularly unlenited, e.g.

gə tr' i:nə, t' i: tr' i:nə, g' æ:n' si: tr' i:nə, ə tr' i:nə M

dho Tríona, tigh Tríona, geansaí Tríona, a [vocative] *Tríona*.

The borrowed personal names *Liam*, *Liúc* and *Liútar* are not usually lenited, e.g.

p' ædə v' ik' ə l' iəm 892M *Peaide Mhicil Liam*;

d' iə:rəməd' l' iəm 03C *Diarmaid Liam*;

ʃa:n' l' u:k Seán *Liúc*; *ə l' u:k* 10Bq *a Liúc*;

ʃl' oxt l' u:tər' !!(Ascr)881J, 19J *sliocht Liútar*.

But also ə ʎiəm 10Bq a *Liam*, ʎi: ʎu:k 10Bq *tigh Liúc*. Similarly, nonlenition in **ba:l'ə l'u:ʃb'ərg** [x2] ... o: l'u:ʃb'ərg 869P *baile Liúisbearg* ... ó *Liúisbearg* (< *Louisburgh*).

For nonlenition following 'ac (< *mac*) in patronymic use (no longer productive), e.g. *Seán 'ac Séamais*, see 12.2.

Surnames

Certain surnames which are neither historical genitives nor adjectival remain unlenited following (otherwise) leniting Christian names, e.g.

clann Pheaidí a BÚRC f'æði: bu:rk ARN7301; *tigh Thomás CÚG* ARN7494.

Lenition is general in surnames following genitive *Uí* and *Ní*, e.g.

ũ:nə 'jæ:s n'í: 'n'í: | !11C *Úna dheas Ní NIA*;

but unlenited *Uí Con* and *Ní Con* is the norm; the main stress follows *Con*. For example:

Mac Uí CON Raoi agus Mac Uí CON Fhaola 899D6266, etc.,

p'eg'i: n'í: kə:ni:l̩ !894C *Peigí Ní CON Fhaola*.

Lenition is attested in *Mac Uí Chon Raoi* 892M4009–40 >> *Mac Uí Con Raoi* 892M4015–8. Similarly, stressed **k** is unlenited in *Conncha* (< (*Mh*)*ac Dhonncha*), i.e.

Uí CONNCHA, Ní CONNCHA.

Other surnames with initial velars can on occasion remain unlenited following *Ní*:

Brid Ní CAÉANA ! CABI §453 v. 3;

ma:r'ə n'í: kuə:lən' 897P *Máire Ní CUALÁIN*;

seanathair mór Bhríd Ní GUAIRIM 11C5018.

These are influenced by historical *Nic G-* / *Nic C-*; *Nic* is, however, not heard in traditional usage.

Many native surnames are lexically lenited, e.g. nominative *Máirtín Chúláin*, but some are not, e.g. *Mícheál 'ac Suibhne*. There is an example of lenition following Ó in genitive context:

hi:s t'i: o: ɣunəxu: ə v'ɪdər 899N *thíos tigh Ó DHONNCHÚ a bhíodar*.

Adjectival surnames are commonly lenited following female personal names, e.g.

nū:r̩ə v̩r' æ:n̩h̩x̩ !894C *Nóra BHREATNACH; Máire BHREATHNACH S*.

Contrast non-adjectival *Brid Guairim M*.

There is lenition (following *Chiaráin*) of the adjective in one of the examples containing surnames preceded by *cloinne*:

na cloinneachaí Mhaoil Chiaráin CHÉANNA S;

na chloinne Con Fhaola CÉANNA iad 25M.

An Bríd céanna ~ An Bríd chéanna ~ An Bhríd chéanna

Personal female names may rarely be lenited after the article. Lenition was noted in query only:

k'e:m' br'i:d' M, Mq *cén BRÍD?* vs. **cén Bhríd* MØperm,

k'en ma:r'i:n' Mq *cén MÁIRÍN?*

ʃin' i: m' br'i:d' x'e:nə >> **k'e:nə** Mq *Sin í an BRÍD c(h)éanna*;

an BHRÍD chéanna Mperm.

Cp. *Máire fhada* ('grey heron'), **d'er' ə wa:r' æ:də** Pt *deir an Mháire fhada*. For nonlenition of other proper nouns, see 9.84.

9.26 Compounds

There are examples of (synchronically) irregular nonlenition following the prefixes *dí-*, *in-*, *meath-* and *so-*:

- dí-*: before *m-* in: *dímeas* 894C3 (x2), normally *dímheas*;
'*d*'i:m'aurəx 04B and son 35E *dímeabhrach*, *díth-meabhrach* Clad144, normally *dínheabhrach*.
- in-*: *incinneadh*, *incinnite*, *inchinniúint*; *incúnta*, *inchúnta*; *ingearrtha*.
- meath-*: *v*'i: 'm'æ:γar' er' M *bhí meathgháire air*,
wil' tu: 'm'æ:γar' i: fu:m M *an bhfuil tú ag meathgháirí fúm?*
na: b' i: 'm'æ:γar' i: fu:m M (x2) *ná bí ag meathgháirí fúm*.
- so-*: *fear so-cúirleach go math* 894C3, but also *sochomhairleach* 899D.

Semantically prefixed *dorcha-* regularly has nonlenition, e.g. '*dorəxə,d'ærəg* S, M84 *dorcha(-)dearg*, indicating its adverbial syntactic status (3.106). Cp. 9.39, also *fíor-* (9.22).

There is absence of lenition in three compounds containing *-s-g-* clusters:

- d'æ:sgəwə:l* S *Deascabháil* (i.e. *deas+gabháil*);
cluaisgléigeal 04B in a Fenian lay:
əŋ gairə d'ærəg ɣluəf'gl'e:g'əl ə ta'fən ... (Lam)
an gadhar dearg chluaisgléigeal ag tafann ... (1st token);
ə γair d'ærəg kluəf'gl'e:g'əl ... (Lam)
a [3m poss] *ghadhar dearg cluaisgléigeal ...* (2nd token).
(note the anomalous lenition of *chluais-* in the first token);
leasgleanntán 04B in a traditional run:
... gəl hri: 'f'æ:s,gl'antə:n kɪ'k' (Smbb)
... ag goil thrí leasgleanntán cnoic; there is a slip of the tongue in:
... gəl hri: l'æ:s d' [?'antə:n kɪk' [sic] (Smré)
sionnán gaoithe Mháirta ag goil thrí leasgleanntán cnoic.

Cp. rare loss of velar friction in *-s x-* *-s ch-* and *-s γ-* *-s dh-* in sandhi (2.37).

9.27 Sequences, adjectives and nouns

Sequences of adjectives show various lenition patterns. Continuity of lenition is common, e.g.

- bean MHÓR MHILLTEACH*;
fear, a raibh fiasóg MHÓR DHUBH air. 899D6698;
na deilg MHATHA CHRUA GHÉARA láidir ar ... 869P5.

In a series of epithets unlenitable items may be followed by lenited ones, e.g.

- Bhuel bhí mise an t-ám sin ' mo fhear ÓG MHSNIÚIL.* 889P,
bhí fear thall i Sasana d'fhear ÓG BHRÉA 866ESc193.16,

but not always (see further below). Where homorganic consonants block the lenition of an epithet after its head noun, the unlenited epithet is frequently followed by epithets which are lenited, e.g.

- | *nə 'hæ'n'ær' əʔ* | '*də:l* | '*f'io* | (Suda)894Cs *ina sheanfhear DALL LIATH*;
ar an gcopóg GLAN GHEAL GHOBÁISTE; *Pádraig CÓILÍN MHAITIAIS*;

but, again, not always, as evidenced by examples further below. Lenition may be blocked by a homorganic cluster between epithets, e.g.

an each CHAOL DONN; luibh BHEAG GLAS.

See 9.33 ff. There are additional examples of lenition of first (and second) epithets followed by nonlenition of later epithets, e.g.

ailt BHEAGA TIÚGHA 869P2;

fʲʲaifjín v̄ og v̄ i:d̄ əx tani: tani: | ə fʲʲaifjín v̄ og jin' M

sleidhsín BHEAG BHÍDEACH TANAÍ TANAÍ, an sleidhsín BHEAG sin;

a chulaíthe GHAISE CRUADHCHÓRAIC ... a chulaíthe GHAISE CHRUA-CHÓRAIC 852Sb6.66–70.

It is difficult to know whether there is any significance in the fact that the nonlenited initial *t-* of *tanaí* is homorganic with the final consonant of the trigger in the first two examples. Another example has homorganic nonlenition followed by nonhomorganic nonlenition, i.e. continuity of nonlenition:

plid'in yorəm | plid'in' tani: gorəm | plid'in' tani: gorəm M

pluidín GHORM, pluidín TANAÍ GORM, pluidín TANAÍ GORM.

Compare:

də ʲəhəd' ə gar wɔ:r sɛv' ər' 17M *do leithide dh'fhear MHÓR SAIBHIR;*

ə t'umər' ə wɔ:r ʲəhən' jin' *an t-iomaire MHÓR LEATHAN sin fheiceanns tú sa talthamh 11C* (this speaker has almost categorical lenition of **ʲ**; for an *iomaire* >> an *t-iomaire*, see 3.6).

In the last two examples the marginal homorganic clusters *-r s-* and *-r l-* occur across the epithets. The instances of nonlenition of *t-* (*tiúgha*, *tanaí*) and *s-* (*saibhir*, cp. **f'iar'sir** *fíorsaor*, 9.39) may be attributable to the phonological opacity (cp. 11.183) of the change involved in lenition of *t-* and *s-* (> **h**, **x'**), and perhaps to the added complexity of *t-* and *s-* as coronals regularly involved in homorganic blocking of lenition. There is selfcorrection in the following example:

Tá fhios ag an lá beannaíthe nach mbíodh ach rúinne dh'fhuinneoigín BHEAG BÍD-, U- BHÍDEACH! 05M.

9.28 Further examples

There are rarer examples of nonlenition of the first adjective followed by lenition of the second. Two recorded versions of a prayer from speaker **05M** have:

A Mhuire GEAL DHÍLIS, mo mhíle grá thú. !05M;

~ A Mhuire GEAL DHÍLIS ... !05M.

Note also:

agus bhí sé ag tabhairt a chuid ola BREÁ BHUÍ, aríst. 06C.

(One would expect nominative *ola bhreá bhuí*, or genitival *ola breá buí*, or with *breá* in adverbial function, *ola breá buí*.)

There is an example in the dative (conservative leniting position) in:

áitiú an-bhreá dhe theach MÓR BHREÁ, 866Et.

In this example *teach mór* could be explained as a lexicalised entity meaning 'mansion' where the adjective *mór* would be expected to remain unlenited. The intonation in this example does not, however, support such an analysis. Also in the genitive (in a tale run, clearly higher register):

famʲə ba'lhə e:r' ənə br'e:gə vra*di' | (Smbb)04B

faighimse baladh Éireannaigh BRÉAGAIGH BHRADAIGH.

(Often ... *an Éireannaigh bhréagaigh bhradaigh*, etc.) Another dative example discontinues lenition following an unlenitable adjective:

staic de chailín BHREÁ ÓG SUÁILCEACH 866ESc280.19.

The sequence with discontinuous lenition owing to nonlenited initial *f-* is cited in 9.21:

bainis BHREÁ FIAL FAIRSINN GHRAOIÚIL 869P2.

There is both discontinuous and continuous nonlenition, with initial *f-*, in:

| **gus** ə́n 'iəso:g 'fa'də 'f'i: er' | v'i: n' 'iəso:g 'fa'də 'L'i: er' **gax** 'dín' **akəb** | 11C4856–7 *Agus an fhéasóg FADA LIATH air. Bhí an fhéasóg FADA LIATH ar gach duine acub.*

The following example from a young speaker is inconsistent with respect to number and lenition (cf. 9.99):

ya: hræk' dər wər m'i:l' əxə 60M *dhá thraictar MHÓR MILLTEACHA.*

A sequence of noun + adjective also shows blocking of lenition in:

tomaíl BHROIBH vs. *tomaíl MHÓRA BROIBH* Mq (cf. 9.75 §2(c)).

9.29 Echo words

Lenition of both elements in echo words is quite common, but nonlenition of the second element also occurs, e.g.

ga g(u)ig: do GHA GHUIG FFG (x2) s.v. *ga* 3 where *ga ghuig* is given as the base, but **də ya g'ig' M** (x2+) *do GHA GIG.*

gibín geaibín: ferd e hem' g'ib'in' g'æb'in' | du:n' də v'e:l ə j- j- | v'i: fe' nə j- j- M séard é héin gibín geaibín, dúin do bhéal a GHIBÍN GHEAIBÍN, bhí sé ina GHIBÍN GHEAIBÍN.

gling gleaing: ən gl'ing' gl'æ:ŋ S an gling gleaing, əŋ' vl'ing' vl'æ:ŋg' S an GHLING GHLEAING, xə:n vl'ing' vl'æ:ŋg' M chaon GHLING GHLEAING, 'a:n' vl'ing' vl'æ:ŋg' M an-GHLING GHLEAING; dhá GHLING GHLEAING Mq.

gliúradh gleáradh: v'i: fe nə vl'urə vl'arə M bhí sé ina GHLIÚRADH GHLEÁRADH ~ nə vl'urə vl'arə M ina GHLIÚRADH GLEÁRADH.

gortadh gartadh: gə vortə yar:tə S dhe GHORTADH GHARTADH; Ní de GHURTA-GHARTA a déantar aon rud. Clad181.

pruiseach praiseach: ina PHRUISEACH PRAISEACH S87, cp. *ina PHRUISEACH PHRAISEACH* FFG20.

súmh sámh: ina SHÚMH SÁMH FFG.

9.30 *th-, dh- > t-, d-* in sandhi following (*ag*)*us, síos*

A small set of closed-class lexemes with lexical lenition show synchronic delenition in set phrases following *s* (mostly *is (agus)*):

dho Dhia is DO Mhuire, faoi is TA(I)R, síos TRÍOM,
abhus is TÁLL, t(h)íos is TUAS, ... is DÁIRÍRE, ... is DÁ.

The preposition **gə** *dho* is delenited (from older **ʋə**) following *is* in the exhortation noted in:

mānəm ə jə s də wir' ə 11C5668 '*M'anam dho Dhia is DO Mhuire*'.

Cf. 7.24 for examples of possibly productive delenition of *dho* by speaker **869P**.

The preposition **har(')** *tha(i)r* is delenited in the phrase *faoi is ta(i)r*, e.g.

fi: star' ə rin' ə tu r' iəw nə kir tæd æ's gə də xur:fə M

faoi 's TAR a rinne tú ariamh ná cuir tada as dho do chomharsa;

-Hn, faoi is TAIR fi: star' ariamh, a deir Micil a deir sé, tá mise ag goil ag labhairt leat anocht. 11C5861;

bhíodh ... lán leothub faoi 's TAR fi: star áit a' bith eile 27Js.

Also *thar 's tar:*

har star ə wa:kə m' e r' iəw ... *M thar 's TAR a bhfaca mé ariamh ...*

The 1sg prepositional pronoun **hri:m** *thríom* is delenited and palatalised to (historical) **tr' i:m** following *síos* in certain collocations with **tr' in** *trian*, e.g.

xuə ɣa: tr' in ʃi:ʃ tr' i:m *S chuaigh dhá trian síos TRÍOM.*

Delenition of the adverb *thall* is obsolescent in the set phrase *abhus agus táll 866ESemr76, 869P3* (*7 táll MS*), **wus əgəs ta:l 869P**; now generally *abhus agus / is thall*. Cp. **852SBTS**: *abhos agus táll 130, abhos agus thall 142, abhos is thall 144.*

The adverb *thuas* is delenited in obsolescent use following *s*, noted once in the set phrase:

ti:s əs tuəs orhəb 01C6040 *t(h)íos is TUAS orthub.*

(The initial **ti:s** may be a set parallelism in this phrase or a once-off slip of the tongue for expected **hi:s** *thíos*.)

The adjective and adverb *dháiríre* generally has initial **ɣ-** far more often than **d-**, except in set phrases following *-s*, where it functions as a noun and where **d-** is the norm, i.e.

eidir shúgradh / mhagadh is DÁIRÍRE da:r' i:r' ə.

For numeral *dhá* > (*ag*)*us dá*, see 9.95. For nonlenition in *-s-g-*, see 9.26. For the imperative by-forms of the adverb *thart* heard in query, **tartət ʃe / hartət ʃe** *Mq t(h)artadh sé*, see 5.328.

9.31 Quotation and query

When queried, feminine nouns are often given as alternatively nonleniting; masculine nouns are far less often given as leniting:

bi:g wə:r / mo:r *Sq baog M(H)ÓR;*

g'ib' in' g' əb' in' mo:r *gibín geaibín MÓR* is given as a definite example of use, but compare the less definite **g'ib' in' g' əb' in' wə:r** *Mq? gibín geaibín MHÓR;*

ix' ə vr' a: 20Cq, 20Myq *ithe BHREÁ ~ ix' ə br' a: 20Myq ithe BREÁ.*

Cp. **ən gr' i:ʃk' i:n' ma / wa'** *Mq an gríscín M(H)AITH.*

In elicitation, where emphasis is placed on the lexeme or topic under discussion, examples of use given by speakers often show alternating lenition of feminine nouns, e.g.

s b'og ə pre: e S (x3) *is beag an PRAE é,*

s b'og ə fre: e S (x3) *is beag an PHRAE é.*

Words and phrases in quotation may follow the usual mutation rules, e.g.

gər ma:rə x' e:l' ə n da: ɣri:ú:l' ʃin' 14M

gur mar a chéile an dá 'GHNAÍÚIL' sin

'that both [pronunciations of] *gnaíúil* are the same';

níl fhíos a'm céard a chuirtheá ar 'DHRAUGHT' ɣrəf' t 21Pt

'I don't know what you would call [i.e. translate] "draught";

'rinne sé an-jab dhe "CHÚIRT an tSrutháin Bhuí".' **11C** (cf. CABI §285);

Raiméis a bhéarfaí ar an "GCEALLACHAÍN Fíonn." **SÓC1.83** (song title, cf.

CABI §268);

nax wil' je fín' ə 'gə't rɔ:ʃi: n' i: 'xɪ:n' | 05M

Nach bhfuil sé sin i 'GCAT Róisín Ní Chuinn' (song title, cf. CABI §535).

But there is often no lenition here, e.g.

n' i:l' əs am fi: krɑ:nti: | krɑ:nt' i: | krɑ:ntəxi: S

níl fhios a'm faoi 'CRANNTÁI, crainntí, cranntachaí' (discussing plurals of *crann*);

(*éan ... a dtugann siad*) an *GEABHRÓG air 27Clt.*

Note the lack of lenition in:

K'erd fi: fæk'ed M céard faoi SEaicÉAD? 'what about (getting a) jacket?'

In discussion of *snoigh*:

hnu m'e n ma'd'ə | v' i: m'e fN'iv ən 'ma'd'ə M

shnoigh mé an maide, bhí mé ag sníomh an MAIDE.

In discussion of *tréan*:

gruəg' tr'en is t'uv M gruaig TRÉAN is [i.e. agus] TIUBH.

Similarly, unfamiliar words often take both lenition and nonlenition in query, e.g.

fK'ib' fK'æb' wɔr M scib sceab MHÓR,

fK'ib' fK'æb' ma: ~ wa: S scib sceab M(H)AITH.

Cp. *teach p(h)obail*:

t'æx pobəl' xat'əl'əg'əx | kat'əl'əg'əx S teach pobail C(H)AITILICEACH,

t'æx fobəl' xat'əl'ək'əx [-g'əx ?] M teach (an) phobail CHAITILICEACH.

Compare the variable lenition of the uncommon personal name *Déirdre* in:

ar DHÉIRDRE, de / do DHÉIRDRE, fear DHÉIRDRE but *ag iarraidh DÉIRDRE*

866ESc31–5,

ə ɣol ə'max əg' iərə d'erdr'ə M a dhul amach ag iarraidh DÉIRDRE.

(Perhaps treated as a borrowing, see 11.172 ff.)

In querying the gender and appropriate pronominal reference for *sábh*, I was told *í* is regular with *sábh*, both *sábh maith* and *sábh mhaith* were offered in translation of 'a good saw' and *sábh mhaith géar* was proffered (by Sq and / or Mq). Seán has only *an sábh* as common case in conversation.

9.32 Miscellaneous

There may be a slight tendency to leave *céanna* unlenited:

agus an eanga CÉANNA 892M3759;

ə skol' k'e:nə [x2] (woman born c. 1930) *an scoil CÉANNA;*

cp. *an bhréag CÉANNA ə vr'e:g 'k'e:nə a dhíonamh 05M (9.37).*

There is perhaps influence from common *an oiread céanna*, *an f(h)ad céanna*, *an méid céanna* here, and from the echo form *ceannann céanna* (where adjectival sequences complicate application of lenition). Variation in *ag an / san am chéanna / céanna* may also contribute to an optional status for *chéanna* in feminine contexts. Nonlenition of *céanna* seems more obvious in nontraditional use (9.173).

It can sometimes be difficult to know whether an adjective is used attributively (mutating) or predicatively (nonmutating), e.g.

n' i ro n' fa:i: 'mɔ:r 'a:n | ... | n' i ro n' fa:i: 'mɔ:r 'a:n | 05M

*ní raibh an [perhaps aon] pháit MÓR ann.*¹

Other examples of nonlenition from other speakers are listed here.

Definite **mi:nt'ər' ɣu:ə fɔ:g'ə 892M** *muintir Dhúiche SEOIGE.*

aon *níl tú i ndan aon MACHNAMH e'n ma:knu: a dhéanamh orthub S.*

an chéad *ach badh í an chéad CORACH canbháis í a choinic mé ariamh. 18J8532.*

¹ Cf. p. 1725 n. 1.

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<i>corr-</i>	<i>Thosaigh sé ag baint CORRLÁM beag 'kaur'slā:m^ə ,b'og le gró ... 852Sb-TS(129), the coronals -r-s- may be of relevance here, as well as the initial cluster sl- (cp. sn- and occasional sr-, 9.24).</i>
<i>mí-</i> Feminine	<i>caint MISCEAMHNAÍTHE eicint 04B1.</i> <i>a' láimh CLÉITHE (sic) agus ... !894C9.</i> <i>nuair a shínead sí amach a láimh CHLÉ i gcónaí d'abraíodh a láimh CLÉ 'Ha Deaid! Ha Deaid! Ha Deaid!' ... ar a láimh CHLÉ. 11C.</i> <i>'mo ghlúin deas' ... 'mo láimh DEAS,' a deir sé, 'as cionn mo ghlúin deas.' ... a lámh, DHEAS, as cionn a ghlúin deas, (Suda)894Cs.</i> <i>... úmipi: 'f'á'x ēí' ē 'v̄'æ:mān' 'du 'f'æ'mān' 'bi:ᵒᵗ ... gə'n' 'æ'mān' 'wi:ᵒᵗ ... tr'ūmū: nō 'f'æ'mān' ē bi: 894Cs ... iompaíthe isteach ar an bhfeamainn dubh, feamainn BUÍ, ... dhon fheamainn BHUÍ, ... ag triomú na feamainne buí.</i> The serial effect may be of relevance in <i>mo ghlúin deas ... mo láimh deas</i> and <i>ar an bhfeamainn dubh, feamainn buí</i> , where, in both examples, the first instance of nonlenition (caused by the homorganic cluster) may be carried over to the properly leniting instances. <i>Márta gaofar ... Beáitine BÉILFHLIUCH S</i> (saying); perhaps through serial effect and / or for clarity of rare <i>béilfhliuch</i> . <i>Mo ghrua frae chéile las dhe léim le eágla GHÉAR gan fios cé faoi. !11C;</i> in a separate recitation of the same poem: ... <i>eágla GEAR !11C5350</i> (cp. <i>le saighead glan géar !11C</i> in the following couplet). <i>fáilte: an FHÁILTE sin 892M5628, bhí fáilte MHÓR agána aint roimhe 11C, bhí fáilte MHÓR aici roimpi 11C,</i> but note the lack of lenition in verse composed by the same speaker <i>fáilte SÉIMH [x2] !11C.</i> <i>'faid' br'á: gus 're:t'áxi: [x2] S foighid BREÁ agus réiteachaí.</i> <i>ní leaba MÓR ... 43Mp</i> (heard on TG4 (television) in 2005). <i>sí:rhíəxt wə:r S >> sí:rhíəxt mə:r S saothraíocht M(H)ÓR.</i> <i>skrub dúnə, skrub yunə Sq, skrub yunə, skrub dúnə Mq scrub D(H)ONA.</i>
<i>é ina</i> feminine	<i>s e n i:hə dī s e n i:hə dīw 25M is é ina oíche DUBH.</i> Contrast <i>s e n i:hə yuv M is é ina oíche dhubh</i> . Máire found the unlenited version of 25M to be 'seafóid' M (a strong opinion for Máire). Similarly, <i>tá sé 'na phluid GEARR CAR s.v. pluid</i> (from 869P and 875P , the former being 25M 's uncle). Cp. <i>le tuitim DUBH DORCHA na hoidhche Cladi155.</i>
<i>ar</i> <i>dhe</i> <i>dho</i>	<i>cp. ach ar CRUAICH na Caoile bhí fód a mbáis. (Aag)03C.</i> <i>f'æ'r gə'fə:g'əx [x2] 20MIt fear dhe SEOIGEACH.</i> <i>b'fhéidir go raibh an t-am sin anís, gar go maith dho CÉAD bliain, sol ár leagadh lámh ar an gCnoc Buí ariamh 11C3576.</i> <i>Céad slán go [i.e. dho] BLIAIN go taca seo !03V CABI §43(b) v. 2.</i>
<i>thrí</i>	<i> ax xur fe orəxər a'mə'x hri: f: hri: k'ɑ? hri: 'fə:l k'ɑ:ŋ gə nə 'bɑ:d' 892M4680 ach chuir sé urchar amach thrí s-, thrí cea-, thrí SEOL ceann dhe na báid.</i>
Numeral	<i>tr'i: p'istəl eg' ... !(Abr)04B trí PIOTAL aige</i>
Possessive	<i>v'i: fe nə'pɪt'əx 'jæ:rəg P bhí sé [i.e. an saol] ina PUITEACH dhearg.</i>
<i>a VN</i>	<i>... wəl' e: ə d'ial 25T ... bhuel é a DÍOL.</i>

Phonetic delenition

Sometimes (especially with velars) friction is reduced, in particular when in initial position, to yield what can be termed phonetic delenition, e.g. (S, **892M**)

- go fe ən' e:n'əx f'e ... S GHABH sé in éineacht le ... ,*
- kir' 892M1024 CHUIR, cp. kil'ə 892M1086 CHUILE,*
- ə go: ə d'in'ə 892M2004 a DHÓ i dtine,*
- | k'ə:lədər 892M1602 SHEOLADAR, ya: gr' eħa:r' 892M dhá DHEATHÁIR.*

9.33 Homorganic clusters

The blocking of lenition (of the initial consonant in the second lexeme) in homorganic clusters is quite common. The relevant clusters comprise most consistently *d, t, l, n, r, s* which range phonetically from dentals to palatals but which can be described as ‘coronals’ here for convenience, although strictly speaking ‘coronal’ does not include palatals. When the basic form of the article is taken as **ən**, the categorical nonlenition of *d, t, l, n* following the article, both surface **ən** and **ə**, can be classified as homorganic nonlenition. The same applies for *aon*, both surface **e:n** and **e:**, etc. (For related forms of *dhá* ‘2’, *an dá*, *aon dá*, *an chéad dá*, *is dá*, see 9.95. For *ghoil*, verbal noun of irregular verb *teighre*, but *an dol*, *aon dol*, see 5.302.) Both the article and *aon* commonly prepose *t* before *s*, the *t* functioning as lenition (9.159). Coronal *r* is marginal within this nonleniting homorganic system; in leniting contexts *-r* is generally followed by lenition. In fact there is optional lenition in *dhéag* following singular nouns in final *-r*, whereas other consonant-final singular nouns take unlenited *déag* (9.106 ff.). The lenition of *dhéag* following *r* resembles the similar occurrence after *r* of lenited variants of the prepositional pronouns and pronominal *dhá* of the prepositions *dhe* and *dho*. There is, on the other hand, optional nonlenition of coronals following plural *scóir* (9.75 §2(b)).

Adjectives with initial coronals in leniting positions are in some instances not lenited following words in final coronals. This includes the final of a preceding adjective in a series. Words in initial coronals following *an chéad* are regularly nonlenited. Compounds containing coronals in juncture show a wide range of usage.

Homorganic nonlenition includes in more limited circumstances velar and labial clusters including some which become homorganic through sandhi. Examples are categorised below both according to the leniting trigger and to the type of cluster involved. The blocking clusters are labelled coronal, velar and labial for ease of comparison between the various triggers.¹

9.34 Coronals; Article, adjectives, etc.

Article *an, aon, an chéad*, attributive adjectives

The article *an*: **gəN´ d´aul** *dhen deabhal*, **ə(N´) dr´if** *an dris*, **la:r ə t´i:** *lár an tí*,
la:n ə l´aur´ lán *an leabhair*, **ə N´ æ:nto:g** *an neantóg*.

aon (numeral and indefinite adjective): *aon deabhal*, *aon teach*, **e:(N´) l´aur** *aon leabhar*, **e:(N´) N´ æ:nto:g** *aon neantóg*.

Following *an chéad* regularly, e.g. *an chéad duine*, note nonlenited palatal *l* (from speakers who do regularly lenite palatal *l* in other instances):

-d l- **ən x´e:d l´et´ər´ | o:gəs ə x´e:d l´auər | 869P**
an chéad leitir agus an chéad leabhar;
ə x´e:d l´ig´ən ə ma:x 892Mg *an chéad ligean amach* (‘lending’).

Attributive adjectives (more often lenited), mostly in set collocations:

-d d- **plid´ yu:bə:l´ə ~ plid du:bə:l´ə S** *pluid d(h)úbailte*.

¹ Examples presented here of unlenited *l´* in homorganic clusters are taken from the few (older) speakers who otherwise regularly lenite *l´* (9.17).

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- d t- *clúid the ~ clúid te* Mq.¹
- l d- **ə na: xi:l daun 11Ctn** *an each chaol donn*, also *each chaol dubh 11Ctn*, *m'each caol dubh 869Ptn*.
- d s- *pluid shalach ~ pluid salach* Mq.
- n l- Only lenited examples noted:
ə 't̪ æn̪^ə ʲ æn̪ 't̪ iə 892M5265 *An tSeanbhean Liath*.
- n d- 'mo ghlúin deas' (Suda)**894Cs**, *feamainn dearg* regularly but also *feamainn dhearg* (e.g. S), *bean dubh ~ bean dhubh*; *ceathrú an lon duibh 866ESc65.27*.
- r d- **v̪ i' k̪ iər d̪ æs am əs n̪ i:l̪ ə v̪ l̪ a's d̪ i f̪ a:ki M bhí cíor deas a'm is níl a bhlas di fágthaí; obər d̪ æs ə ba'n̪ t̪ æ:ti: 20A** *obair deas ag baint fhataí* (i.e. *is obair dheas (í l é) a bheith ag baint fhataí*);
ən uər(') d̪ ɛrnəx 29C, 43M *an uair deireanach* (common), some older speakers, such as **12S** (Seán) and **16M** (Máire) have frequent *an uair dheireanach*, similarly *san aimsir dheireadh*;
| n̪ ə 'h̪ æn̪ æ'r ə^ə | 'd̪ a:l̪ | 't̪ iə | (Suda)**894Cs** *ina sheanfhear dall liath. gasúir deacra* Mq.
- r t- 'i mo shaighdiúr trustúil' **892Mtn**. Contrast **06M**'s *obair trúm í* and *obair trúm é* (x2) with his *obair dheas ghlan í*.
- r s- Perhaps in **də ʲ ehəd̪ ə ga:r wə:r səv̪ ər' 17M** *do leithide dh'fhear mhór saibhir*. See 9.51.
gasúir socra Mq.

9.35 Attributive nouns; Prepositions; Copula

In the case of attributive nouns it can be difficult in some instances to know whether nonlenition is due to the homorganic cluster or other semantic causes (or both, cf. 9.55). This goes for labial and velar contexts as well as coronal clusters.

- t d- *beirt dreathár / dreithiúr*.
Contrast -t sh- in *beirt sheanmhná 04Btn*, **b'ert' 'h̪ æ:n̪ i:n̪ ə 18J** *beirt shean-ndaoine*.
- d t- *téad tíre* (in run).
- n d- *maidin Domhnaigh*. In numerals *cinn* is followed by *déag*, e.g. *trí cinn déag*; contrast *scóir* which is followed by *dhéag*.
- n t- *bean tí*.
- n s- **m̪ d̪ ən̪ ' f̪ a:k̪ ə** SID.46 (s.v. *síoc*) *maidin seaca, maidin [pause] sheaca 892M*.
- s d- **ku:j̪ dl̪ i:(w)** *cúis dlí(obh)*; *cois deireadh, cois tosaigh*.
- s t- **er' əf̪ tr̪ a:n̪ ' hi:n̪ i: 20Pá** *eiris tráithníní*.

Prepositions ar, tha(i)r

There are rare examples of nonlenition of *s* following the preposition *ar*. These can perhaps be attributed to coronal homorganic nonlenition. Cf. 9.87.

- r s- *agus shuíodar síos ar seanchrann 'f̪ a:n̪ x̪ ə r̪ a:n̪ a bhí ann 897P*;
er f̪ uk tu:s n̪ ə hi:h̪ ə j̪ iəl f̪ i:n̪ ə br̪ o:g̪ ə S

¹ Máire (Mq) was queried here with examples taken from GCF §520. Further examples showing regular lenition in these clusters, in agreement with GCF §520, from Mq are: *áit dhona, poill dhoimhne, crois dhubh, an chuid dhona, cois thinn, áit shalach, péint thanaí*. Given that Máire does not lenite *l*, Mq also has **l'** in: *baithis leathan, an chuid leathan*.

ar sioc tús na hoíche a dhíol Fionn na bróga;
An calar ar Seán mara mbainit se gáirí as na cuit M;
sinneán gaoithe Mhárta ag goil ar síorfána er 'fjærfa:nə an chnoic
 (run)Pt7a.

In response to query Máire had consistent lenition following *thar* of nouns in initial *p, b, m, f, t, d*. (I did not transcribe the quality of the final *-r* of the preposition here.) Of nouns in initial *s-* she lenited simple *s-* but had variation with initial *sr-* (cp. 9.24):

thar sheas, thar sráid, thar shráid, thar srón (source Mq).

- r d- | or **du:nə:g** | 17M *ar donóg*.
 -r t- *a' goil thar teach óil* SNG295.

Copula -r

Nonlenition of the initial coronal of nouns following the regularly leniting copula past *-r* may be taken as instances of homorganic nonlenition. Coronals, however, are the most frequently unlenited initials following nonhomorganic *ba*. Cf. 9.118 ff.

-r d- *Níor dream farraige iad.* 892M1616.

Cp. *agus / is + t-/d-* (9.30).

9.36 Labials: attributive adjective, article *an, aon*

- p b- **gə m'ei skal' (p') b'og a:n** 20A *go mbeidh scailp beag ann*.
 -n b- Cp. **sblæ:ŋk 'ja:rəg, ... sblæ:ŋ'k'i:n' b'ög** 46.549 *splanc dhearg ... splaincín beag* (change of gender because of suffixation with *-ín* is unlikely; feminine *splaincín bheag* is regular, but cp. 'n *caíol-tslaitín* further below).

The article, where **-n b-** is realised as surface **-m b-**, rarely delenites; there is perhaps also an example of delenition with *aon*. Cp. **ə'n' m'p'ær** 894Cs *an fear* (possibly in sandhi: **m' + f' > m' + p'**; or **f' > p'** independent of preceding **m'**).

- n b- **m bə:** S *an bó* (rarely);
 | **m' b'ert' æn'** 10B *an beirt a'inn;*
ar an taobh ó thuaidh dhen baile gəm 'ba:l'ə | 06C.
 -n p- **b'er' gə gə:sə: e:m 'p'i:sə 'k'ol' du:n'** | 11C
b'fhéidir go gcasthá aon píosa ceoil dúinn.

9.37 Velars: nouns and adjectives

Attributive nouns

- c c- **pə:rk' k'i:n'Y'i** 46 (s.v. *coinneach*) *páirc coinlí; splanc céille* Sc213.30.
 -ch g- Cp. *deatach gaoithe* M, SeolG43; **du:x gan'ə** 46.1074 *dumhach gaineamh*, also 892M2712. Cp. velar sandhi **-x g-** > **-k g-**, e.g. **ə'ft'æk gə** 894Cs *isteach go*.
 -n g- Cp. *na liamáin gréine* 892M (the final consonant of *liamáin* is auditorily obscure in the recording, perhaps **n, n'** or **ŋ(')**), the context is one of contrast with *liamán mór* which may explain the lack of mutation (i.e. *gréine* and not *mór*).

In proper names, following *Pádraig*:

- c c- **pə:rə kol'əm' hma:fi:n'** S *Pádraig Coilm Thomáisín, pə:rə kol'fi:n'*

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wat'iaf M *Pádraig Cólín Mhaitiais*, **pa:rək' ka:rnə** *Pádraig Carna*.

There are many examples with lenition:

pa:rək' xol'am' hə'ma:f P *Pádraig Choilm Thomáis*

Cp. the borrowing **b'æ:ŋk' ga:n'ə** / **kloxə** M *beainc gáineamh / clocha*; *beainc* is feminine for older speakers, including M (11.145).

-g c- Cp. *ag dó(,) tornóg ceilpe* **35E7486**, *tornóg cheilpe* **892M**; *luach tufóg circe* S.

Attributive adjectives

Only a few examples of unlenited adjectives were noted:

-g g(h)- **liv' | v'og' la:s | 869P** *luibh bheag glas*;
| **gus kupo:g γ'la:s | ... | er' ə gupo:g | jæ:əl | γ'lä:n | ... | er' ə |**
gupo:g g'la:s | ... | er' ə | gupo:g 'gə'län 'jæ:l | 'γu,bə:ft' ə | 869P
agus copóg ghlas ... ar an gcopóg gheal ghlan ... ar an gcopóg glas ... ar an gcopóg glan gheal ghobáiste;

| **ax 'ka:ro:g 'γ'la:s | ðgðð | v'ī' ðŋ xa:ro: 'gla:s æs ə 'k'ī:n | ... ŋ**
'xa:ro: 'gla:s | ... eg' ə 'ga:ro: 'γlas | ... er' ə 'ga:ro: 'gla:s | 894Cs *ach caróg ghlas, agus bhí an charóg glas as a cionn ... an charóg glas ... ag an gcaróg glas ... ar an gcaróg glas*;

gə hāwro:g 'g'las nə 'he:r'ən | 894Cs

dhe sheamhróg glas na hÉireann.

Cp. **'mī:ŋ' 'g'ai: 'tlə:ɑ | (Asc)11C** *moing geal tláith*.

-g c(h)- *An Stopóg Caoil* **892M**1562, 1566, 1568, vs. *An Stopóg Chaoil* **11C**1570;

chúig céad a bhí sé a mheáchan sa truíp **896P** ('five hundred weight'), *chúig céad (meáchan)* **11C, 20A**; **xu:g' k'e:d 'd'e:g 'bl'ian' 869P, 27Mdq** *chúig céad déag bliain, chúig céad as Conamara* **892M**3124, *mo chúig céad xu: k'e:d slán leat* (Aag)**06C**; but regularly also *chúig chéad*;

go raibh mé i ndan an bhréag céanna ə vr'e:g 'k'ē:nə a dhíonamh **05M**.

-ch c(h)- cp. **ə na: xi:l daun 11C** *tn an each chaol donn*, also *each chaol dubh* **11C** *tn*, but | **'ma:x 'ki:l 'duw | 869P** *tn m'each caol dubh*.

9.38 Article an

The article and *aon*, where **-n k/g-** is realised as surface **-ŋ k/g-**, seem sometimes to block lenition:

-n c- **əŋ' k'ial 04B** *an ciall*; *choinic mé chugam anoir trasna an criathrach, ə'ner' 'træ:snə ŋ' 'kr'iarhəx | fear, a raibh fiasóg mhór dhubh air. 899D6698; **bə jin' e: ŋ' k'aird' 05M** *badh in é an ceird; sa gcéad seo caite agus bhí, mhair sé píosa maith dhen céad seo gəŋ' 'k'e:d fo froisin 11C; cé mb'fhéarr leat dhe chineál iascach é ná — ná an glioma-dóireacht? nā ŋ' gl'ümədo:r'əxt | 11C*.*

Note the variation in: **nuər' əs kruə ɣən kal'əx** (or **ən xal'əx**) ... 46.VIII.5 *nuair is cruá dhon c(h)ailleach ...* .

Cp. *bainthe mise 'n caol-tslaitín seo* **!894C**.

-n g- | **'wul' fe n-ŋ' 'g'ī:n' əs ə 'grā:n ... 894C** *bhuail sé an ginn as an gcrann ...* ; **ēŋ gruə hing'əl' 894Cs** *aon grua shingil; n' i 'kæ:f' ə'r 'la:h [sic] əŋ 'g' i:əv' ə | !05M* *ní caithfear ráithe an geimhreadh go ...* .

In a litany composed by Pádraig 'ac Con Iomaire (869P) and transcribed by S. Ó Súilleabháin (1955), lenition occurs regularly in the velar environment:

gan choir gan cháin [sic], *an Mhaighdean ghlórmhar*, *A Mhaighdean ghlórmhar*, *A Mhaighdean chumhra*;

except in:

an Coróinn spíona, *A Mhaighdean gléigeal gan smál* !869P6.¹

In the case of the article, labial and velar nonlenition is doubtless phonetic and felt to be aberrant or incorrect. This is probably true of other cases of velar nonlenition (to varying degrees), clearly in compound *lagdhroim* (9.39 under 'Velars') which has surface **-gʏ-** and **-gg-**, the latter showing delenition of **ʏ** to **g** with loss of the radical **d**. Nonlenition is, however, lexicalised in the compound *dubrón* (9.39 under 'Labials') and after *in-*, in *incinnte* for example, as well as to a lesser degree in *inc(h)únta* (and *ingearrtha* DT57).

9.39 Compounds

Compounds show a wide range of usage in regard to coronal clusters, far less so in regard to other homorganic clusters (see 'Derivation' 3.84 ff.). In coronal clusters one finds:

nonproductive nonlenition following final *th* (an obsolete or nonproductive 'coronal') of *bra(i)th-* in '**bra, tr'uməx** M, FFG *braitriomach*; and of prefixes *ath-* in **æ:ta:r' æ:ʏa:r'**, etc., *athd(h)áir*, and *leath-*, e.g. *leataobh*, *leatrom*, contrast the productive lenition, e.g. '**l'æ:ha:r'n'i:** M *leath-thairníthe*;

regular nonlenition following *an-*, *in-*, *sean-*;

optional lenition following *bán-*, *binn-*, *bun-*, *fad-*, *glan-*, *meán-*;

regular lenition following *ard-*, *fíod-*, *mion-*, as well as following all prefixes in *-r* before most coronals (*corr-*, *fíor-*, *géar-*, *mór-*, (*sár-*), *síor-*).

Coronals

Regularly with *an-*, *in-*, *sean-*, e.g. *an-dona*, *an-tuirseach*; *intruist*; *sean(-n)duine*, '**f'æ:n' l'æ:su:** 894Cs *seanleasú*. Further examples:

-d-d- '**fad, ʏra:mənəx 'fa:dra:mənəx** M *fad-d(h)ramannach*.

-d-t- '**fa:t' æŋgən'** S *fadteangain*.

-d-l- '**fa:d' l'e:m'n' əx** (Smbb)04B *faidléimneach*;
'**fa:d,l' ekn' əx** ~ '**fa:d,l' ekn' əx** SM *fadleicneach*.

-l-d- *béaldúinte*, *caoldroim*.

-l-t- *cúltead*, '**ku:l,tra:** S *cúltrá*.

-n-d- *binnd(h)eicheall*, *bund(h)orcha*, *ceanndána*.

-n-t- *aonteach*.

-n-l- **gə 'ʏlæn' l'e:m'** (Sdás)04B *dhe ghlanléim*.

-r-d- cp. *fárdoras*, *foirdris* (in *an fhaighirdris* 869P, FGB *foirdhris*).

-r-l- **fuərl' ek'** 894Cs *fuairleic*; (**bro:gə**) **u:r'l' əhər'** S (*bróga úrleathair*, **u:r'l' ar'** FFG (cp. **u:r'l' e:r'** FFG20); cp. **ma:r'l' ahir'** FFG s.v. *máirléir* (< *marbhleathair*).

-r-s- In *fuairleadar fíorsaor* '**f' iər'si:r é** 11C3385, rather than homorganic nonlenition, the nonlenition is perhaps attributable to emphasis on *saor*

¹ Emended to *gl[h]léigeal* in the edition.

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or to disambiguate the phonetically similar elements of expected and common 'f' iər'hi:r fíorshaor.

- s-d- maide glasdaraí 35E, leasdreithiúr.
- s-s- 'gla:s,sní:m' S, 'gla:sní:m' P glas-snaidhm.

Other prefixes may show lenition regularly, i.e. *ard-* (e.g. 'a:rd,ŷín'ə 866E *ard-dhuine*, *ard-dhochtúr* 866E_{Sc}235, *ardthráthnóna*, except in the place-name **n** 'a:rd,tra' ~ n 'a:rd,hra: 21J *an Ardt(h)rá*, *ar an Árd-Tráigh* Clad154, *ar an Árd-Thráigh* Clad196 and possible *ardtaoille*). Other clusters show lenition only:

- l-s- *caolsheans*, *cúlshimiléar* Mq, *cúlshiopa*, *gealsheachtain*. Note, however, *inín Mhaoilseachlainn* !852S (several examples). Rarely *t* is preposed, e.g. *caíol-tslaitín* !894C.

Labials

- bh-b- *dubh-brón*, e.g. *a' diana dubrúin* 894C2.
- mh-b- N'æ:mi:x M (?), N'æ:wí:x S (?) *neamhbhuíoch*; both speakers were unsure of this word. Cp. N'æ:mu:x S *neamúch*.
- n-b- Cp. eg' ə 'f'ā'm'b'æ'n' 'ju:l' 11C *ag an tseanbean siúil*.

Velars

- g-g- *dearg-gráin* ~ *dearg-ghráin*.
- g-c- 'la:kosəx M, 'la:g,xosəx M *lagc(h)osach*.
- g-d- 'la:g,ŷri:m' 'la:g,(g)ri:m' *lagdhroim*.
- n-c- *incinneadh*, *incinnite*, *inc(h)únta*, *inchurtha*. Cp. *filíthe* — *sin caint*-, *seancainteoirí*, *seancainteoirí*. 'f̃aŋ,kānt'or'i: | 'f̃aŋ,kānt'or'i: 881J.
- n-g- *Nuair a bhí an t-arbhar ingearrtha tháinig sé* 869P_{DT}57.

9.40 Prefixes in final -n, -d; 1. -n^L, -d^L + s-

We will consider here some of the mutational possibilities of prefixes compounded in homorganic coronal clusters. The prefixes in question contain final *-n* and *-d* and precede radical *s-*, *t-* and *d-*. With radical *s-* there is the additional factor of preposed *t* (as a form of lenition), e.g. *an-* + *sean* > *an-tsean*. We will discuss:

1. -n^L, -d^L + s-
2. -n^L + t-
3. -n^L + d-

The two very common prefixes *an-* and *sean-* are quite predictable (i.e. nonleniting) and are generally not included in the discussion.

1. -n^L, -d^L + s-

Prefixes which contain final *-n*, *-d* may lenite *s* to *sh*, leave *s* unchanged, or prepose *t* to *s*. The three possibilities have the following frequency as regards the number of prefixes with which they occur:

$$-n^L, -d^L + s- > -n-, -d-sh- >> -s- >> -ts-$$

This scale is based mainly on replies made by Máire (Mq) to queries, as set out in Table 9.1.

Table 9.1 Prefixes in $-n^L$, $-d^L + s(h)$ -, ts -, Mq

Prefix	<i>sh</i> -	<i>s</i> -	<i>ts</i> -
<i>ard</i> -	+		Øperm ^a
<i>bán</i> -	+		
<i>binn</i> -	+	?perm ^b	perm
<i>bun</i> -	+	perm	Øperm
<i>fíod</i> -	+		Øperm ^a
<i>glan</i> -	+	+	
<i>in</i> -		+	+
<i>lán</i> - ^γ		+	+
<i>meán</i> -	+	+	+
<i>míon</i> -	+ ^δ		
<i>sean</i> -			SM, P most frequent
<i>tréan</i> -	+		
Examples Base			
<i>ard</i> -	<i>sagart</i>	'a:rd'hə:gərt	
	<i>samhradh</i>	'a:rd'hæ:vɾə	
<i>bán</i> -	<i>soilse</i>	'bɑ:n,hailʃə	
<i>binn</i> -		'b'i:n',x'ʊ:rɑ:l't ə	'b'i:n',f'u:rɑ:l't ə
<i>bun</i> -	<i>sábháil</i>	'bun,hɑ:wɑ:l't ə	'bun,sɑ:wɑ:l't ə
<i>fíod</i> -	<i>sleabáil</i>	'f'id,hl'æ:bɑ:l'	Øperm
<i>glan</i> -	<i>siúráilte</i>	'glæ:n',x'ʊ:rɑ:l't ə	'glæ:n',f'u:rɑ:l't ə
<i>in</i> -	<i>seas</i>		ən'fʌ:stə
	<i>seol</i>		ən't'ɔ:l'tə
	<i>siúl</i>		ən't'ʊ:l'
	<i>snámh</i>		ən'f'u:l't ə
			ən'snɑ:v't ə
			ən ^m 'hnɑ:v't ə ^c
<i>lán</i> - ^γ	<i>siúráilte</i>	'lɑ:n',f'u:rɑ:l't ə	'lɑ:n't'ʊ:rɑ:l't ə
<i>meán</i> -	<i>siúráilte</i>	'm'ɑ:n',x'ʊ:rɑ:l't ə	'm'ɑ:n',f'u:rɑ:l't ə
<i>míon</i> -	<i>sodar</i>	'm'ín,hidə ^δ	'm'ɑ:n't'ʊ:rɑ:l't ə
<i>sean</i> -	<i>Seán</i>		'fʌ:n',t'ɑ:n ^ξ
<i>tréan</i> -	<i>siúl</i>	'tr'e:n',x'ʊ:l'	

^a Contrast the absence of *ts*- following prefixes in *-d* (here *ard*- and *fíod*-) with *an chéad*, which does regularly prepose *t* in Máire's speech, e.g. əŋ' x'e:d tɑ:gərt Mq *an chéad tsagart*.

^b Also *binn-sothóighithe* Mq. ^γ Speaker S(q).

^δ *míonshodar* S, also *míon-shíorbháisteach* Mq.

^c Superscript ^m indicates nasal release, a sign of underlying phonological *t*. ^ξ Speaker P.

The 3m possessive pronoun a^L causes continued lenition in a double-prefixed noun in:

'æhəɾ' 'mo:ɾ ... ə 'hæn,æhəɾ' 'mo:ɾ ... ə 'hæn,hæn,æhəɾ' 'mo:ɾ 32J

a athair mór ... a sheanathair mór ... a shean-sheanathair mór,

(perhaps through serial effect following the regular *sheanathair*) for more usual *s(h)ean-tsean*-. An older speaker has *shean-sean*- (for more common *s(h)ean-tsean*- in traditional speech, 3.141, 3.146 (17t)):

mo shean-seanmháthair, a shean-seanmháthair 852SbTS128, 133.

9.41 2. $-n^L + t$ -

Prefixes in *-n* may lenite initial *t*, or leave it unchanged, i.e. $-n^L + t > -nth-$ ~ $-nt-$. The unlenited variant seems to be slightly more common. The two most frequent of these prefixes, i.e. *bun*- and *in*-, take *t*- only — they are the only two of these

prefixes with nonlenited *t-* given in GCF §431 — nonlenited *t-* being the more conservative usage. Table 9.2 contains examples of $-n^L + t(h)-$ from Máire (Mq).

Table 9.2 Prefixes in $-n^L + t(h)-$, Mq

Prefix		<i>th-</i>	<i>t-</i>
<i>binn-</i>		+	perm
<i>bun-</i>			+
<i>glan-</i>		+	+
<i>in-</i>			+
<i>meán-</i>			+
<i>mion-</i>		+	Øperm
Examples	Base		
<i>binn-</i>	<i>triomaíthe</i>	'b'i:n'hr'umi:	'b'i:n'tr'umi:
<i>bun-</i>	<i>triomach</i>		'biN'tr'iməx
<i>glan-</i>	<i>tirim</i>	'gla:n'her'əm'	'gla:N't'er'əm'
<i>in-</i>	<i>taobhachtáil</i>		ən'ti:wi:(hə)
<i>meán-</i>	<i>téagarach</i>		'm'a:n't'e:gəɾəx
<i>mion-</i>	<i>torthaí</i>	'm'in,horhi:	

9.42 3. $-n^L + d-$

Prefixes in $-n$ are followed by both *d-* and *dh-*, the former being perhaps most common. Máire's examples (Mq) are given in Table 9.3.

Table 9.3 Prefixes in $-n^L + d(h)-$, Mq

Prefix		<i>dh-</i>	<i>d-</i>
<i>binn-</i>		+	+ ^a
<i>bun-</i>		+	+
<i>glan-</i>		+	+
<i>in-</i>	no examples		
<i>mion-</i>	Øperm	(+)	
Examples	Base		
<i>binn-</i>	<i>deicheall</i>	'b'i:n'jehəl	'b'i:n'd'ehəl
	<i>dóthain</i>		'b'i:n'do:hən'
<i>bun-</i>	<i>deireanach</i>	'bun,jernəx	'biN'd'ernəx
<i>glan-</i>	<i>deicheall</i>	'gla:n'jehəl	'glæ:N'd'ehəl
	<i>díreach</i>		'glæ:N'd'i:r'əx

^a Also *binn-deá-ghúmarach*, *binn-deargiarracht*, *binn-dophléasáilte* Mq.

It is striking that *mion-* is the only prefix (attested in all three contexts: before *s*, *t*, *n*) with consistent lenition; here we include *miondhuirling* GCF §431 *m'in-ɣu:rl'ən' SØperm.

9.43 Particles and functors

Many functors do not undergo lenition. (For use with numerals, see 9.94 ff.)

Possessive pronouns are not lenited, e.g. *dhe mo mhéir*, *ó t'athair*.

Interrogative pronouns have optional mutation, e.g.

ar an GCÉARD, *dhe CHÉARD*, but *ar CÉN fear*, *ar CÉARDÓS cleas* (8.63).

Emphatic personal pronouns in innovative use governed by simple prepositions are not lenited (6.26), e.g.

conversation: *ó MISE, uaidh MISE*;
 query: *faoi MUIDE, faoi SIBSE, faoi SIADSAN / iadsan, dho SIADSAN*.

The preposition *tigh* (petrified dative of *teach*) is not lenited, e.g.

fí' t'í' waik'əl' v'ik'əl' fə:d'i:n' 19P3
faoi TIGH Mhaidhcil Mhicil Pháidín 'under M. M. P.'s house';
ó dheas dhe TIGH Mháirín SM (contrast, e.g. ... *dhe theach Mháirín*).

Impermissible in the meaning *dhe tigh* is: *go dtí tigh* ... MØperm (cf. GCF §517(iii) n. 1). For *i dtigh, ó dhigh*, see 7.121.

Adverbs are not lenited by preceding prepositions, e.g.

FAOI MÓRÁN chuile dhuine;
AR SUAS LE dhá fhichid feádh ... ar doimhne Clad127.

An adverbial use of *cineál* may be the cause of the lack of mutation in, for example:

i ngeall ar an CINEÁL fraoch sin atá fás i gCruaich na Caoile 21Pg7723,
 although **21Pg**'s speech (as interviewer) is often rather disjointed and frequently lacks mutations.

Adjectives used adverbially remain unlenited following a feminine noun, as often do adjectives with non-inherent meaning, e.g.

Ní raibh baint BEAG NÁ BRUITE, BÁN NÁ BUÍ aige leis S;
N'i: ro e:n' d'ef k'ært | v'ir fe m'i:stu:mə 20Mit
ní raibh aon deis CEART, bhí sé místuama;
chuile bhean BEO.¹

(Cp. *an fhírinne ghlan*.) Neither are adjectives lenited when qualified by adverbs, e.g. *go leor, roinnt* (generally):

bean MÓR GO LEOR, bean ROINNT MÓR.

Adverbial *beag nar* 'almost' is probably generally unlenited following past copula *gur* (and presumably past copula *-r* in general), e.g.

gur bhuail a athair clabhta air, agus gur BEAG nár mharbhaigh sé é leis a' gclabhta 866EB17;

Nár fhága me an spota marar BEAG nar maraíú me M.

On the other hand, many adverbs and prepositions have lexicalised lenition, e.g. *thimpeall, le* (9.113 ff.).

9.44 **péibrí, gach, an méid, an oiread**

The indefinite adjective *péibrí, féibrí*, etc., can be taken as unlenited in, for example:

¹ It can sometimes be difficult to tell whether an adjective is used attributively, predicatively, or as an adverb. Instances of non-inherent adjectives seem to be syntactically attributive but to have coinciding adverbial force. Such adverbial force is typical of non-inherent adjectives, e.g. *deis ceart*. In GCF p. 272 n. 2 *críochnaithe* is taken as an adverb in *óinseach críochnaithe ceart í*, but (apparently) as an attributive adjective in *óinseach chríochnaithe a bhí inti*; whereas *beo* in *gach uile bhean beo* is taken as a predicative adjective (also GCF §316 *aon ... beo*, and Clár na bhFocal s.v. *gach*). So also in GGBC §59 Nóta (p. 33; second edition §4.23) *beo* is analysed as a predicative adjective. The alternative, adverbial classification of *aon ... beo* is found in GCD §773. It seems erroneous to take intensifying *beo* 'single' as predicative, since a clearly predicative interpretation of *tá chuile bhean beo*, and predicative use in *tá an bhean beo* can only have inherent meaning, i.e. 'alive'. Similarly, adverbial *beo* generally means 'alive' or (*go beo* 'lively, quickly'). Adverbial *tá an bhean (go) beo* cannot mean '*the woman is single'. This restriction of non-inherent adjectives to attributive use is of course typical, e.g.

amadán críochnaithe ≠ tá an t-amadán sin críochnaithe.

... go [dhe] *FÉ BÍ cineál* ... **869P2**, ... *le bronnadh ar PÉ BÍ cé* ... **869P4**.

The indefinite adjective *gach* is lenited (optionally) by a minority of speakers, e.g.

fear ó GHACH aon taobh ... **869P2**, but *ar GACH a gcolluít sé* **869P2**;

... *rabh fios aige ar GHACH uile shórt* ... *ar GHACH uile ní* **866EB16.108, 113**.

Nonlenition is by far the most common, e.g.

ó GACH síorleannán (Asc) **852S**;

si: ɛr ga:x bohán (Acrt) **05M** *suí ar GACH bothán*.

Lenition of *gach* as an indefinite pronoun is also a minor optional use:

b'ɛ:ŋ gə ʋa:x ə ro ŋl'i:nf'k ə ... 25M

b'éigin dho GHACH a raibh i nGlinsce ... ;

b'ɛ:g'əŋ gə ʋa:x ə ro mɪ:n'əf ... 20Cq

b'éigean dho GHACH a raibh i Maínis ... ;

... *búioch dhíot faoi GACH fi: ga:x a ndearna* ... **20Cq**,

b'éigean dho GACH a raibh i Maínis ... Mq, ... *dho GHACH a raibh* ... Mperm;

ar GACH ɛr' ga:x a ndearna sé **20Myq**.

The indefinite pronoun *cách* is regularly lenited, e.g.

nach diocair dhuit trial ar CHÁCH **!03V**.

The indefinite pronouns *an méid* and *an oiread* are indeclinable (cf. 9.64, 3.8) neither being lenited nor taking *t*-:

(*ag iarraidh*) *AN MÉID CÉANNA*; (*ag iarraidh*) *AN OIREAD CÉANNA*.

In contrast with functors, which are often unstressed, the unstressed initial elements of nominals are mutated (cf. 9.14), e.g.

gə hə'ba:k 46.432 *dhe THOBAC*; **du:l' ə də'ba:k** *S dúil i DTOBAC*.

Nominal phrases

Lenition is caused by the qualified noun (which can be separated from its qualifier by another element, for examples of which, see 9.54).

9.45 Masculine nouns

Nominative masculine nouns are regularly followed by nonlenition. There is one aberrant example noted of a masculine noun in the nominative taking lenition because of the natural female sex of its referent:

óigchailín *BHREÁ* **!894C9**.

For nouns such as *leabhar* with feminine reference and frequent feminine nominative lenition but masculine genitive, see 3.4, cp. 3.7.

There is irregular lenition following masculine nominatives in:

airgead *CHROIS* **894C9** (also *airgead croise* LFRM s.v. *airgead*);

də xim'ɑ:d v əhə 894C *do choimheád* *BHEATHA* (contrast the nonlenition in folklore transcription from this speaker *do choiméad beatha* **894C2** and in *coimeád guməd beatha* **11C**). This phrase is obsolescent, it was recorded in quotation in stories.

The lenition in common *teach an phobail* is retained without the article by some speakers:

t'əx fobəl' xɑ:t' əl' ək' əx [-g' əx ?] *M teach (an) PHOBAIL chaitliceach*;

sort t'əx fobəl' [sic] **ɑ:n 84P** *sórt teach PHOBAIL ann*;

for regular *teach pobail*, e.g.

t'æx pobəl' xat'əl'əg'əx / kat'əl'əg'əx *S teach POBAIL c(h)aitiliceach.*

Cp. common retention of the article in *teach an phobail* with definite dependent genitives (6.98).

There is also irregular singular masculine lenition in:

skudə:n ɣa:n'ə | huɡəns mid' ən'ʃin' er' P

SCADÁN GHAINÉAMH a thuganns muid ansin air;

eascann cladaigh ... bíonn sí cosúil leis an SCADÁN GHAINÉAMH skudə:n ɣa:n'ə **35E.**

Here lenition is doubtless generalised from the regular plural *scadáin ghainéamh*. Owing to regular quality assimilation in sandhi, the head noun in the plural is depalatalised: **skudə:n ɣa:n'ə** *scadáin ghainéamh* and **skudə:n ɣa:n'ə** *scadáin ghainéamh*, which is then phonetically indistinguishable from the singular.¹ A similar explanation may lie behind the lenition in **ʃæ:rəwə:n wik' 32P** *searbhán mhuic*, which, alternatively, may have been influenced by *cráin mhuice*.

There is optional lenition following phrasal *tinneas* (m.) *cinn* (m. gen), which, given the masculine nominative head, one would not expect to cause lenition:

tá t'in'əʃ k'i:n' ɣa:mənt orəm 43M *tá tinneas cinn DHAMANTA orm,*

t'in'əʃ k'i:n' wor ~ mo:r *M tinneas cinn M(H)ÓR* (nonlenition is preferred by Mq; *mór* thus agreeing with *tinneas*).

Lenition may be influenced by genitive *cinn* here (or even, anomalously, plural *cinn*). It is noteworthy that the final consonants of both *cinn* and *tinneas* are palatal (*tinneas* through lexicalised sandhi) which is typical of feminine nominatives.

In a few place-names lenition is common (from old dative use), e.g.

anəx v'ə:n' Eanach MHEÁIN;

(her') ən orə:n wor 05M, 12J (*thoir*) in *Órán MHÓR, níor bhain an cailín eile as Órán MHÓR ... ach coidhcís 05M*, but *taobh thoir d'Órán MÓR; in Iorras MHÓR 11C1576, ag Iorras MHÓR 892M1576; agus siar Cloch na Rún is Iorras BHEAG, 892M4311.*

There is nonlenition in *barr cleite* in contrast with apparent compound *bunchleite* and anomalous lenition in *an chleite* in:

gan barr cleite isteach ná bunchleite amach gəm 'ba:r'kl'et'ə 'ʃt'æx nā 'būn'xl'et'ə 'mā:ax, ach aon chleite amháin péacóige agus bhí an CHLEITE sin ... , [x2] (run)11C.

More regularly:

Ní raibh bun cleite isteach ná barr cleite amach inte ach aon chleite amháin péacóige a bhí ag déanamh ... 852SbLL92, also TS122, Clad1145.

The lenition following *poll* in the following passage seems to be a slip of the tongue, perhaps triggered by the following feminine noun *comhla*:

Bhí poll BHEAG ar an gcomhltha nach gcuirtheá breán thríd 892M3460.

Similarly:

bliain nar thriomaigh aon fhód MHÓNA, 892M4759,

... bliain nar thriomaigh aon mhóin. 892M4783,

where the lenition of *aon fhód mhóna* is probably a slip of the tongue influenced

¹ It is noteworthy that this plural phrase is given as an instance of sandhi depalatalisation with retention of lenition in GCF §495 n. 1.

primarily by the alternative *aon mhóin*.¹

9.46 Masculine vocative

(i) Lenition of adjectives following nouns in the vocative seems to be most common when the noun is inflected for vocative case, presumably also when the adjective is inflected.

(ii) Lenition of nouns following other nouns in the vocative is (fairly) uncommon.

(i) Vocative Noun + Adjective

noun inflected	æhə wɔr' vr'e:n' 11tn <i>a fhathaigh mhóir bhréin</i> cp. - <i>A fhatha' mhóir bhréan, adeir sé 852Sbts125</i> æ:hə wɔr' vr:ədə 11Ctn <i>a fhathaigh mhóir bhradaigh</i> <i>a chollaigh bhig S</i> fræ:təstun' wɔr vr:ədə P <i>a Phrastaúin mhór bhradaigh</i> ə 'vr'e:ntəf 'wɔr' 21Ptq <i>a bhréantaís mhóir</i> ə 'vr'e:ntəf 'wɔr' 27Mdq <i>a bhréantaís mhóir</i> ə 'vr'e:ntəf 'woxt' 27Mdq <i>a bhréantaís bhoicht</i>	Lenition
adj uninflected	ə f'æ:dər' ʔʔ mu:r'əx !39D <i>a Pheadair múirneach</i>	Nonlenition
adj inflected	ə harəxi:n' wən' P <i>a shearracháin bháin</i> <i>a luifearnach bhradaigh M (luifearnach m.)</i> <i>a mhac bháin S 'my dear fellow'</i>	Lenition
both uninflected	ə wuəxəl' wæ' 06C <i>a bhuaichail mhraith</i> ɣɪn'ə wox 894C <i>a dhuine bhocht</i> <i>a dhuine dhílis S; a dhuinín dhílis S</i> ə li:d'i:n' er'ən Mq <i>a laoidín fhíreann</i> ə jiə ɣlɔ:r:vər 43M <i>a Dhia Ghlórmhar!</i> <i>'Chailín bharúlach, 866E CABI §109(a) v. 8</i> cp. ' <i>Chailín chiúin uasail 00M CABI §16(a) v. 5</i>	Lenition
	ə 'ɣadɪ' h'og ~ 'v'og P <i>a ghadáí b(h)eag</i> <i>a leana bán 18Bm</i>	Optional Nonlenition
cp. in prayer	<i>a Dhia mór na glóire agus a Rí geal na ngrást(a) anocht !05M</i> <i>Go mbeannaí Dia dhuit, a chrois,</i>	Nonlenition
cp. as expletive	ə 'wɪn'ɑ:n' 'd'ɪr'əx 'd'æ:s A <i>bhuinneán díreach deas. !05M</i> v'ik' nə glɔ:r'ə v'æ:ni: P <i>A Mhic na Glóire Bheannaíthe!</i> (analysable as [A Mhic Bheannaíthe] or lenition possibly from <i>an Ghlóir Bheannaíthe</i> , 9.72)	Lenition

(ii) Vocative Noun + Noun

common noun	inflected: <i>'a fhathaigh mhóir bhréin chaca!</i> 866E Sc94.28 uninflected: <i>a dhuine chroí</i>	Lenition
personal name	'ē:n v'ik' 'mur'ə !11C <i>A Aonmhic Muire</i>	Nonlenition
in apposition	common noun inflected: <i>a ghaiscígh fir 869Pt</i> <i>a bhithiúna' baca' 866E</i> Semr142 noun ə wastər't' kɪt' M <i>A bhastaird cait!</i> uninflected: <i>a ghadáí crochadóir 881J</i> ə ɣa'di' ba:kə ... (Smds) 04B <i>a ghadáí bacaigh ...</i> <i>A phílí ghall ~ A phílí ghaill ! CABI §396(a)–(c) v. 3, 4</i>	Nonlenition
personal name	æhər' v'or-n'i: d'ə 'bān !11C <i>a Athair Bheorná de Bán</i>	Lenition
plural	cp. ə xur:səni x'l'e:v'ə (Abb) 03S <i>a chomharsanaí chléibhe</i>	Lenition

9.47 Masculine genitive; 1.0 – 1.2

Masculine nouns in the genitive (including *teach* > *tí*) are regularly, and in most instances historically, followed by lenition of adjectives:

¹ Wigger (1970: 125, footnote) discusses (non)lenition in this instance in the context of feminine head nouns (but *fód* is masculine, although *fód móna* can take feminine reference, 6.10); and he misleadingly implies that *fód mhóna* is common.

- 1.0** *ag cuir ortha an chroinn mhóir* ARN7014, *seol báid mhóir*; ADJECTIVE
i lár an lae ghléigil, ... iN' t'i: wɔ:r' !(Aár)04B ... an tí mhóir.

Both genitive noun inflection and adjective inflection are being lost, however, and the actual genitive inflection of nouns which are qualified is particularly retrogressive. With replacement of genitive inflection by nominative inflection in genitive syntax (i.e. common case use), one finds corresponding replacement of qualifier lenition with nonlenition. One can schematise the various combinations noted with nouns which inflect historically (*toras, fear*) and those which do not (*garraí, coirce*; in general the article occurs with the adjectival qualification only, without the article the adjectival phrase is rarely inflected for the genitive):¹

	ADJECTIVE	or	NOUN
1.0	<i>deireadh an torais</i>	<i>mhóir, chéanna</i>	<i>fhir</i>
1.1	<i>deireadh an torais</i>	<i>mór, céanna</i>	<i>coirce; fir / fear</i>
1.2	<i>deireadh an toras</i>	<i>mhór</i>	
1.3	<i>deireadh an toras</i>	<i>mór</i>	<i>fir / fear; cille</i>
2.0	<i>bun an gharraí</i>	<i>mhóir</i>	<i>choirce</i>
2.1	<i>bun an gharraí</i>	<i>mhór, chéanna</i>	
2.2	<i>bun an gharraí</i>	<i>mór</i>	<i>coirce; fir / fear</i>

Lenition of the adjective is regular when the head noun and, where possible, the adjective are overtly inflected for the genitive, as in the examples cited above (before the schema) and in:

- 1.0** *buachail an tuarastail BHIG* (set phrase); ADJECTIVE
lɑ:r ə dʊ:nə v' æ:ni: P i lár an Domhnaigh BHEANNAÍTHE;
ʃk'e:l ə ɣɑ:v'nə wɪ: S scéal an ghamhna BHUÍ (set phrase).

Lenition of the noun following an inflected genitive occurs in the set calendar term:

- 1.0** *Lá Chinn BHLIANA.* NOUN

The noun occurs in the genitive form followed by nonlenition of the adjective:

- 1.1** *cothrom an lae CÉANNA é 892M2499;* ADJECTIVE
Má tá sé ' fáil an tseanchais CEART S;
ə tɑ:rənt' ə dɔ:rəʃ [dɔ:r' əʃ ?] mɔ:r tru:m ənə d' iə 04B|
ag tarraint an dorais MÓR TROM ina diaidh;
cp. A Rí an tsolais SÍORAÍ !869P6 (the homorganic cluster
-s s- is possibly of relevance here).

(It is likely that, with adjectives, type 1.1 is the least common.)

Nonlenition of a dependent noun follows a genitive inflected noun:

- 1.1** *in aghaidh an tsagairt POBAIL ... in ainm an tsagairt POBAIL* NOUN
866ESc210.2, 15;
í ag goil síos, beainceannaí brocamais CEO é sin anis tá, timpeall
ortha. 892Mg;
ə dɔ:r't ə ŋ xɑ:r' mu:nə ʃin' 899N *ag dóirteadh an chairr MÓNA sin;*

¹ Only some of these specific lexemes were heard in these examples. The schema is to be read as, for example, **1.1** *deireadh an torais mór, deireadh an torais céanna, deireadh torais coirce, deireadh torais fir* or *deireadh torais fear*.

1730 Initial mutations

bhí sé ina thogha fír MAIDE 35E9166, 9182.

The noun, which has a specific genitive inflection in the dialect, occurs without genitive inflection but with lenition of the following adjective:

- 1.2** *i gcluais an fhear CHAOL árd. ... cloigeann an fhear CHAOL* ADJECTIVE
árd 852SbTS153;
a' diana íontas MHÓR (sic) de 894C2;
gá mbeadh spilléad na n-eascannaí a'd is an iasc MHÓR ní mhór
dhuit ... 896P (i.e. spilléad an iasc mhór);
 cp. *æmfər ə tiːlʰ woxt 892M2844 aimsir an tsao(i)l BHOCHT*
 (the -l is perhaps broad through sandhi before w).

Lenition of a surname following Ó (instead of inflected *Uí*) resembles type 1.2:
his t'í: o' yunəxu: ə v' i: dər 899N thíos tigh Ó DHONNCHÚ a bhíodar.

9.48 1.3 (1.0, 1.2)

There is nonlenition of the adjective which follows the nominative form in genitive position:

- 1.3** *ar dhath an airgead GLAS 892M2470;* ADJECTIVE
- ... léis an toras MÓR FADA, a deir sí, atá díonta a'd 11C2603;
- ... tá tú ag díonamh, a deir sé, an chur CEANNANN CÉANNA, a deir
sé, atá díonta a'm péin. 11C2835.

There is variation in the same phrase from the same speaker in:

- 1.0** *níos túisce ná thiúrthas tú aghaidh do bhéil BHROCAIGH* ADJECTIVE
orm ai dā v'e:l' vrok orəm 892Mtn, followed in the
narrative by:
1.3 *ná é bheí' ag tabhairt aghaidh, aghaidh a bhéal BROCACH orm. 892Mtn.*

Note the intergenerational contrast in:

- 1.3** *- ... scéal an tseanfhear GLIC. 21Pg2001;* ADJECTIVE
1.2 *- ... mac an tseanfhear GHLIC, ... mac an tseanfhear GHLIC ... in*
áit an tseanfhear GHLIC ... in áit an tseanfhear GHLIC ... ar
mhac an tseanfhear GHLIC 892M2008, 2010, 2054, 2061, 2066.

Contrast, however, **892M**'s examples of type 1.3 above.

So also nonlenition of nouns following uninflected nouns:

- 1.3** *der'ə xoləm k' il' ə !(SGuair)11C Doire Cholm CILLE;* NOUN
thúmpeall Dhún GODAIL 35E7155;
1.2, 1.3 *istigh i mbolag a' torc MHÓR MUICE ... i mbolag a' torc* ADJECTIVE,
MUICE, 852SbTS145–6. NOUN

9.49 2.0 – 2.2

There is lenition of adjectives following nouns which have no genitive inflection in (set phrases, containing *mór*, *beag*, less often *glan*, *marbh*, cp. *beo*):

- 2.0** *ag goil un baile MHÓIR 869Pt;* ADJECTIVE
cailín an chaipín MHÓIR 894C4;
gá gcastaí, gála, ná lá oibriú MHÓIR leothub 06C (oibriú, in
this meaning, has not been heard inflected for genitive);

marab fhuil diathrá rabharta MHÓIR (ann). 894Cs;
gá mbeadh trá amach san earrach ann — rabharta MHÓIR 32J;
lá an ghála MHÓIR 892M1709;
oíche ghála MHÓIR ... tháinic oíche eile, aríst, gála MHÓIR
892M4578–81;
Tháinig oíche an taoille MHÓIR, agus tháinig ... 864MDT35;
orchar gunna MHÓIR 11C3806;
íochtar an jib MHÓIR Mq; mra croí MHÓIR 35E;
doras an tseomra BHIG M; doras an tseomra MHÓIR 21J;
klæn ʃa:m v'ig' P clann Team BHIG;
d'ox ən iʃk'ə vlæ:n' 05M *deoch an uisce GHLAIN;*
spírid an duine bheo ... spírid an duine MHAIRBH 35E.
 Cp. field-names *Garraí an Mhaide MHÓIR 36P; Garraí an*
Duine MHAIRBH.

Lenition of nouns in type 2, however, is rare:

- 2.0** *ag foghlú, an gharraí CHOIRCE. 892M2863;* NOUN
cumar an mhaide MHULLAIGH agus na binne SÓC3.159.

The adjective *fuar* is inflected but not lenited (f- 9.20) in:
agus chaith sí síos i mbuicéad uisce, FUAIR í, 18J8624,
 a type so rare that it is not classified in the schema.

Lenition of uninflected adjective following noun which has no inflected genitive:

- 2.1** *faoi obair an tsábh MHÓR. 11C1423; (nom an sábh mór* ADJECTIVE
11C);
m'ínhəx nə hɑ:rd'ə guʃ ɔ:ɔ: fa:ʃə wə:r 05M
mianach na hAirde agus Jó Phaitse MHÓR (saying);
tá an beithíoch ag coinneál cúirse [i.e. cúrsa] MHAITH M.
 Cp. *Jaic an Ghadaí DHUBH ʃa:di: ʃu | 19P (common).*

There is nonlenition when the adjective qualifies a noun which has no genitive form:

- 2.2** *casadh (an) loch uisce BHR- BROCACH salach dhó 852Stn;* ADJECTIVE
bhí sé ag cuir an ghaineamh MÍN in íochtar, ' cuir
gaineamh GARBH in uachtar (run)11C;
i dteach an duine MARBH seo S;
Tigh Mháirtín BÁN (name of garage in Casla).
 Cp. *ə ʃ'iaxti: 'mã:k 'ri: 'br'ɑ: xur' m'ē m'ba:ʃ |*
(Aln)11C a liachtaí mac rí breá a chuir mé un báis.

Contrast phrases which have one qualifier (lenited) with those which have more than one qualifier (not lenited):

- 2.0** *sé bliana an chogadh MHÓIR 892M2294;* ADJECTIVE
2.2 *tús an chogadh MÓR deir'nach, 892M1094;*
in aimsir an chéad chogadh MÓR 11C1359.

Similarly, there is variation between old and new from the same speaker:

- 2.0** *eði: v'ærʃl'ə v'ig' M Eidí Bheairtle BHIG;* ADJECTIVE
2.2 *eði: v'ærʃl'ə b'og M Eidí Bheairtle BEAG.*

Cf. comments on Máire's alternation in this phrase (3.49).

Nonlenition of dependent inflected genitive with head noun which has no genitive inflection:

- 2.2** *leihí an bhuinne* BÉIL **892M**1475; NOUN
 ə nū:s ə ʃðhðřə 'ba:ɪf | **11C**3165 *ar nós an chomhartha* BÁIS.
 Cp. *lonna maide rámhá, BÁID iomartha* **18J**8146 'shaft of a rowing-boat oar'.

Similarly, unlenited uninflected dependent noun:

- 2.2** *an-fhír maide* DRAIGHEAN. **11C**4059. NOUN

For historical lenition following genitive *Uí* and *Ní* in surnames, see 9.25. For *tinneas cinn m(h)ór*, see 9.45.

9.50 Masculine noun in dative (conservative)

Lenition following masculine nouns is very limited outside of the genitive. It is found in (a) some (mostly obsolescent dative) phrases and (b) commonly in (the historical dative of) the stative possessive construction, e.g. (*bhí mé*) *i mo ghasúr bheag* '(I was) a small child'. The lenited initial consonants (in the first relevant lenited word) found in examples of type (a) are mostly labials (**w**, **v**) and less often velars (**y**, **x**, **x'**). These include the common adjectives *beag*, *mór*; *breá*, *maith*, *dona*.

Lenition of indefinite nouns following compound prepositions is rare. There is optional lenition of the noun in the phrase:

- as cíonn* CHLÁIR, e.g. **894C**9, **18J**9014,-7;
 but more commonly *as cíonn* CLÁIR **875P**, **35E**9024.

Speaker **892M** has lenition following *in aghaidh* in one noted example:

- bhíodh muid roimhe seo anís ag iomradh in aghaidh* GHÁLA, *ag iomradh in aghaidh* clags, *ag iomradh in aghaidh*, *in aghaidh taoille soir agus in aghaidh*, *taoille siar* **892M**.

There are limited examples from older speakers of lenition of the adjective following the preposition *i* + Noun:

- i dteachín* BHEAG BHÍDEACH **866E**Sc69.31,
i dteachín BHEAG SHUARACH *le rá*, Sc79.34, *i dteach* MHÓR *le rá* Sc233.12;
i mbotháinín BHOCHT DHONA Sc207.29;
i mbaile MHÓR / MÓR **869P**4;
i bpárlás BHREÁ **894C**2, *in ourdú* BHREÁ **894C**2;
 ə n'íl a:ŋ ɣlɑ:s nə heɪr'ən (Smds)**04B** *in oileán* GHLAS *na hÉireann*.
 Cp. borrowing (m. FGB, NIGCF): *bheat sé in úmar* MHAITH **869P**5; *v'i: ʃe ju:mər wa: dər' ma:nəm* M *bhí sé i ghiúmar* MHAITH *doir m'anam*.

Examples of *sa* + Noun + lenition are:

- sa mbaile* MHÓR **869P**2, 4, *sa ngarraí* BHEAG **869P**2.

It is perhaps significant that in these cases (following *i* and *sa*) eclipsis is phonologically realised on the noun; there are, for instance, no noted examples such as *i neart *mhór*, *sa teach *mhór*. This obsolescent usage with apparent dependence of lenition on preceding eclipsis might be termed 'continued mutation' (cf. p. 1735 n. 1).

9.51 Following lenited dative

There are a few examples of a lenited adjective following a lenited noun. The examples noted contain the prepositions *ar*, *dhe* (most common, including *dhen*), and *dhon*, and the nouns *bád*, *cailín*, *duine*, *fear* (most common, including *feairín*), *talamh*, *teach* and phrasal *baile mór* ‘town’:

- ar* AR BHAILE MHÓR [x2] ~ *ar bhaile mór* [x1] **869P4**;
nax frustə g'æ:nsi: d'æ:s xur er' æ:r jæ:s S
nach furusta geansaí deas a chur AR FHEAR DHEAS!
- dhe* *gleoiteog ... DHE BHÁD BHREÁ seoil* **06C**;
staic DE CHAILÍN BHREÁ ÓG SUÁILCEACH **866ESc280.19**;
stumpə gær'i:n' v'og | hrū:m fã:wər | 894Cs
stumpa DH'FHEAIRÍN BHEAG THROM ramhar;
də l'ehəd'ə ga:r wɔ:r sɛv'ər' 17M
do leithide DH'FHEAR MHÓR SAIBHIR;
ga:fk'iax g'ær: vr'ɑ: 11C4122 gaiscíoch DH'FHEAR BHREÁ;
... gá fhiathraí DH'FHEAR MHAITH anís muis **16M**;
bhí fear óg ann G'FHEAR BHREÁ DHEAS agus ... a deir mac an fhatha'
— G'FHEAR MHÓR MHÍLLTEACH, 866ESemr108, 116;
v'i: ... p'i:sə gə halhə 'wãh' ēg'ə | 894Cs
bhí ... píosa DHE THALAMH MHAITH aige;
áitiú an-bhreá DHE THEACH MÓR BHREÁ, 866Et;
 also in quotations in a tale:
'do leithide DHE DHUINE DHONA ariamh' 11C also ‘*mo leithide ...*’;
- dhen* **gə'n' æ:r x'æ:rt 60C DHEN FHEAR CHEART**;
- dhon* **gə'n wa'l'ə wɔ:r P DHON BHAILE MHÓR**.

Two nouns, vowel-initial *áiléar*, and *l*-initial *lá*, are (synchronically) unlenitable but are nonetheless followed by lenition in:

- dhe* **v'ex stumpə g'ɑ:l'ær v'og ɑ:n 32J**
bheadh stumpa DH'ÁILÉAR BHEAG ann;
(a) leithide DHE LÁ BHREÁ 16M.

Lenition may be specifically triggered following *leithide dhe* + Noun, based on the examples above containing *fear*, *duine*, *lá*.

The following phrases with *am* commonly take lenition:

- eg' ən ɑ:m x'e:nə 18J** *ag an am chéanna* (similarly SID.46.710);
sə'n ɑ:m h'e:nə 894Cs *san am chéanna*.

Another example without lenition on the noun but with lenited adjective is:

- ní raibh aon bhlas FAOIN DOMHAN MHÓR le díonamh acub 11C*.

The adjective *marbhach* occurs frequently lenited following *am* governed by a preposition in phrases such as:

- sə'n ɑ:m waru:x S SAN AM MHARBHACH**;
gə hã:m | 'wa:rɔ:x nə 'gɔl'əx | 18J8280 *GO HAM MARBHACH na gcoileach*.

This lenition may spread to the nominative:

- ə tɑ:m warəwəx P AN T-AM MARBHACH**.

Lenition occurs optionally in the phrase *ar lán mhara* **01P** (speaker echoing interviewer in recording). Contrast nonlenition in *faoi lán mara* **889P**.

There is an example of a lenited adjective, which is not strictly dative, in:

bhí, sé, 'na oíche, CRÓNACHAN DHUBH na hoíche, krū:nəxən yu nə hī:hə
11Ctn.

Also in the phrase *ó Dhia shúlach*, e.g.

ní:í' əs am o: jīə hu:ləx k'erd e hən' M
níl fhios a'm ó DHIA SHÚLACH céard é héin.

Cp. definite nouns (9.82) and surnames (9.85, 9.25).

There is an example of a masculine noun (in both verbal noun use and in more nominal function) being followed by lenited adjectives and nouns (cf. 9.70, 9.77 ff.):

ná bí ag gliúdán, GLIÚDÁN BHEAG CHAINTE / troda, ag gliúdán chainte, ag gliúdán le chéile, bíonn siad AG GLIÚDÁN MHÓR le chéile, do chuid gliúdáin Mq.

(Feminine verbal nouns with progressive *ag* are followed by lenited adjectives, as expected, e.g. *ag casacht bheag M.*)

9.52 "i mo ghasúr bheag (state)

The set construction of {*i* + possessive pronoun + noun}^L — indicating state — is regularly followed by lenition. This is particularly true of adjectives:

(ə) *mə ɣasur v'og i mo ghasúr BHEAG,*
nuair a bhí tú i do ghasúr BHEAG BHÍDEACH 11C,
'na scoláire MHAITH 869P2,
Bhuel bhí mise an t-ám sin ' mo fhear óg MHSNIÚIL. 889P,
tá mé i mo tháilliúr MHAITH ... tá mé i mo ghréasaí MHAITH ... tá mé i mo shaor cloiche MHAITH 11Ctn,
marə bul tu 't'ær 'wā' ɣenə 'hī:rhū | 11C
marab fhuil tú i t'fhear MHAITH lena shaothrú,
v'í' ʃe n ūnədor' 'wā: | 11C bhí sé ina fhonnadóir MHAITH,
nə ɣæɖ jæ:s M ina leaid DHEAS,
v'et ʃe ənə ɣot'or' wor M bheadh sé ina dhóiteoir MHÓR,
tá tú i do Chóilín MHÓR anis Mq 'you are a real Cóilín now', i.e. very similar to Cóilín,
... sé ... ag imeacht ina philéar DHEARG 79A.

There are nonpersonal referents in:

d'éirigh sé ina ghála MHÓR, agus 'na bháisteach ... agus é ina ghála MHÓR 892M,
nə fl'ʊkə hī:n' i: 12J ina phlionsadh THINTÍ.

Dependent nouns are regularly unlenited, including nouns following *togha*, e.g.

ina thaoille TRÁBH 20A, ina ghleáradh BÁISTÍ;
nə 'xnā'p 'm'ē'əg ə 35E8428 ina chnap MEIRGE;
ina shagart PURÁISTE (e.g. 35E8913);
i mo thogha DAIMHSEOIR 05M, bhí sé sin ina thogha FILE froisin. 11C,
bhí sé ina thogha FIR maide 35E.

But nouns are less often lenited (cp. 9.55):

ina liagáinín CHLOICHE 894C2 (x2),
nə hnə:hī:n' hī:də S ina shnáithín SHÍODA (in riddle).

Note the nonlenition of *f*- following 3m possessive pronoun *a*^L but lenited adjective in:

tá sé 'na FARÚCH MHAITH ... 869P5, bhí sé ina FILE MHAITH 11C,
ina FONNADÓIR MHAITH [x3] 20Pá (masculine reference).

Nouns qualified by feminine possessive *ina*^H also lenite the following adjective, e.g.

suas ina cailín BHEAG 866ESemr42, bhí mo mháthair mhór, bhí sí ina cailín
BHEAG an t-am a raibh ... 11C3323,
i: he:n' ʰnə ka:l'i:n' vr' a' P í héin ina cailín BHREÁ,
nuair a bhí síse ina gasúr BHEAG Mq,
ina bád BHREÁ M; bhí an Caolan 'na bád MHÓR. 18J7105,
Bhí sí ina comhráiteach BHREÁ 866ESc249.8,
... sé ... ag imeacht ina philéar dhearg ... sí ... ag imeacht ina piléar DHEARG
79A.

This also holds for nouns governed by plural possessive *ina*^N, e.g.
*bhí siad 'na meall MHÓR / MÓR aige Mq.*¹

9.53 Nonlenition

There may be homorganic delenition of *-r d-* and *-r t-* (but lenition of **L' > Y' liath**) in:

| nə 'hæ:ŋ' æ:r ʰt | 'dɑ:l | 'l' iə | (Suda)894Cs *ina sheanfhear DALL liath;*
'i mo shaighdiúr TRUSTÚIL' 892Mtn.

Nouns with homorganic clusters are:

bhí sé ina thúis TRABH 18J; ina han-bhád SEOIL 35E.

Nonlenition of adjectives sometimes occurs, e.g.

... nə 'yqur 'mɔ:r, 46.99 *tá an ceann seo ina ghabhar MÓR;*
tá sé ina chalm GEAL ó Ghob Leac Bhaile amach. 21Pt;
cp. **nə 'hæ:nɪn' ə kr'i:n' 'l' iə | !11C** *ina shean-nduine CRÍON LIATH.*

Although I have very little evidence, it might be that unstressed adjectives have a greater tendency to be unlenited. This is implied by three tokens in one response to query. In the phrase that Máire produced as *tháinic siad amach ina meall m(h)ór* she had:

stressed *mhór*; unstressed *mhór* ~ *mór*.

A tendency to lenite stressed adjectives and to leave unstressed adjectives unlenited clearly holds in noun phrases governed by the numeral *dhá* (9.99).

Contrast the nonlenition of *cloiche* with lenited adjective *mhaith*, both preceding and following *cloiche*, in:

Bhí sé ina shiúinéara MHAITH. Bhí sé ina shaor MHAITH cloiche. ... ina fhear
MHAITH, ar an gcroisín. 892M;
v' i' je nə hir klohə 11C *bhí sé ina shaor cloiche;*
tá mé i mo shaor cloiche MHAITH ... go raibh sé ina shaor cloiche MHAITH ...

¹ The feminine and plural possessive examples demonstrate that Ó Siadhail's classification of this construction (1989: §6.2.2(i)4) as 'continued lenition' is inappropriate. Examples outside this construction, however, such as *dh'fhear mhór*, may be classified as 'continued lenition' (9.50). Cp. GCD §110; Ó Baoill (1996) §§5.1.1, 4.7.1; GGBC §59(h) (cp. §4.22); CGT §393 (l); 'continued eclipsis' CGT §398. Similarly, the examples with eclipsis followed by lenition with the preposition *i / sa* suggest 'continued mutation' (9.50). For 'continued nonlenition', see CGT §394(c), e.g. *fríd an doras mhór* vs. *as teach mór beag*.

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' Bhfuil tú i do shaor cloiche MHAITH? 11Ctn.

Dependent genitive *gaoithe*, qualified by a compass adverb, is not lenited following *ina ghála* (masc), *ina stoirm* (fem), e.g.

bhí sé ina ghála GAOITHE aniar' duaidh 18J7064,
agus é ina stoirm GAOITHE aduaidh 18J7091.

There is an example of lenition following an ordinal numeral in:

sí bhí ag tíocht 'na dárna BHAD 18J7193 'she was coming in second place';
cp. *chuaigh sé héin 'na cheathrú FEAR gá hiúmpar. 11C.*

The adjective has nonstative function in:

nó go raibh sé ina thráthnóna DEIREANNACH LL170, also 175.

In instances such as:

bhí sé ina throm codlata, ... siad ina dtrom codlata, etc.,

nonlenition is of course regular since the preposition *i* here is nonstative in function.

9.54 Feminine nouns

Regular lenition of feminine nouns following the nominative article is sometimes extended to nouns following the indefinite adjective *péibrí*, by analogy with *péibrí cén*, e.g.

k'e:b'ər ɣe:lg'ə ... 20MI céibear GHAELGE ... (but more usual *céibear bean ... 20MIq*);
| heb'i: xi: e | 52M heibí CHAOI é.

Feminine singular nouns, not inflected for genitive case, regularly lenite attributive adjectives, less regularly nouns. Examples of lenited adjectives are:

aimsir GHARBH, áit THANÁI 27Md, bean BHREÁ, bó BHREAC,
mə x'ix v'og S mo chíoch BHEAG, bean MHÓR FHIÁIN GHARBH 875P.

The lenited adjective can be separated from its head by a dependent genitive, e.g.

a BHEAN an tí GHNAÍÚIL 866ESc217.4 'O generous woman of the house',
ní raibh aon TARRAINT uisce MHÓR acu(b). 20C 'they [boats] had a shallow draught',

kl'æm' dī:n'ə wāh iəd Mq CLEAIN daoine MHAITH iad (in query about the meaning of *cleain* < 'clan').

The nonlenition of the adjective, in an example written by a young speaker from Iorras Aithneach in 1929–30, if it reflects genuine use, may be attributed to the adjectival adverb which follows the noun:

thug sí TABHAIRT suas MAITH dhó B19.56.

The absence of lenition in the following example may indicate that *clann mhac* is treated as a masculine unit because of its meaning:

Céard fhágfas tú ag do CHLANN MHAC BOCHT a dhriotháirín ó? ! CABI §172(b) v. 6.

(It is possible though unlikely that *bocht* 'unfortunate' qualifies *mac* (gen pl) only.) Cp. *a' seanscológ* (9.161), *tinneas cinn mhór* (9.45).

Note the lenition of an adjective, added as an afterthought, following a demonstrative pronoun:

an BHÓ sin — BHÁN — tá sí ag iúmpar lao M.

Similarly, the adjective *dathúil* is lenited qualifying *spré* but added following a verbal noun complement:

má, bhíodar sásta, SPRE MHAITH thabhairt di, DHATHÚIL agus, mé héin a shású. 889P.

Following a relative clause; following quotative *a deir*:

OBAIR an-trúm a bhí inti, GHRÁNNA. 889P;

ə́n̩ eɪ́ ə́nə́ vr̩ e:ɣə́x ə́d̩ ə́r̩ ʃe vr̩ ə́d̩ə́x 889P

an ÉIREANNAIGH BHRÉAGACH, a deir sé, BHRADACH.

Speaker **52P** has nontraditional extension of lenition to *caite* (verbal adjective of *caith*) in:

nolə́k̩ ʃo xə́t̩ ə́ 52P ... Nollaig seo CHAITE.

Note the variable application of lenition following *craobh, craoibhín* in:

*hug ʃi̩ 'kri:v̩ i:n̩ 'dɔg [sic, slip of tongue] ,dɔ̩ | ,kri:v̩ i:n̩ 'v̩ ɔg 'v̩ i:d̩ ə́x
m̩ə́r̩ 'v̩ ɔx 'kri:v̩ i:n̩ 'b̩ ɔg 'fri: ə́n̩ | ... 11C thug sí craoibhín b(h)eag dó,
craoibhín BHEAG BHÍDEACH mar bheadh craoibhín BEAG fraoigh ann.
-Tabhair leat anois, a deir sí, an chraoibhín sin ... an chraobh.*

Note also:

*gá mbeadh aimsir BHREÁ ann, in aice, isteach ar an tanaí, gá mbeadh aimsir
BHREÁ ann agus, farraige CIONÁLTA. 31P.*

Predicative adjectives do not lenite, e.g. *tá an bhó (sin) mór*. For lack of lenition in non-inherent and adverbial use, see 9.43, 9.116.

Nonlenition of *cairbreach* is consistent in:

mə́ x̩i:v̩r̩ ə́ kə́r̩ ə́br̩ ə́x M mo chuimhne CAIRBREACH, so also FFG24 s.v.

Nonlenition is regular in some place-names, e.g.

Cluain BEAG, sa gCoill MÓR M,

cp. ə́n̩ ə́:hə́ l̩ ə́:k̩r̩ə́x 11C an Áth LEACRACH.

There is nonlenition of *beag* and *mór* when distinguishing complex place-names such as:

Loch Dhúileitir BEAG (Rob.92), Abhainn Ghabhla MÓR Rob.93.

9.55 Nouns following feminine nouns

Lenition of nouns following feminine nouns is far more complicated than lenition of adjectives in the same position (cf. non-inherent adjectives, 9.43, noun following vocative masculine, 9.46, noun following genitive masculine, 9.47, noun following leniting plurals, 9.74, noun following a noun governed by *dhá* '2', 9.100). I first present a synopsis of the description of nouns following feminine nouns (the head noun precedes the dependent noun in the phrase):

Head noun: N1		Dependent noun: N2	
1.		Lenition	
(a)		regular	type (quality, composition, function, duration, price, etc.)
(b)		vacillation	(i) type; (ii) plural
(c)		exceptions	type
(d)	with adjective	vacillation	type
(e)	abstract	vacillation	type
(f)		vacillation	type; with adjective
(g)	concrete quantity	vacillation	type

2.		Nonlenition	
(a)	abstract quantity	regular	
(b)	(definer)	regular	(i) personal appositive (defined)
		vacillation	(ii) non-animate appositive
	(defined)	lenition	(iii) animal appositive
(c)	physical part	nonlenition	metaphorical appositive (definer)
(d)	for purpose of	regular	physical possessor
(e)		vacillation	possessor
(f)	collective	regular	agent, actor
(g)(i)	verbal noun	vacillation	inflected genitive plural
	(ii)	vacillation	verbal noun

This synoptic table is repeated below with typical examples (9.71). Lenition is conditioned by the semantics and the case of the separate nouns and by the relation between the nouns, including their grammatical roles and by the syntax of the whole noun phrase; as well as phonological, morphological, and lexical properties.¹ This nexus is as yet not properly understood and it can be difficult to decide which conditioning factor or combination of factors is primary in particular examples. Typical leniting contexts, including important exceptions, are described in sections 1(a)–(g) (9.56–9.63); whereas typical nonleniting contexts, including their exceptions, are described under 2(a)–(g) (9.64–9.70).

Feminine nouns functioning in compound or nominal prepositions or in conjunctions do not cause lenition, e.g.

v' i: m' e fu:l köf 'klq:da 46.1065 *bhí mé ag siúl cois cladaigh*.

For exceptional obsolescent *in aghaidh ghála*, see 9.50.

9.56 Lenition; 1(a) N2 type

Dependent nouns denoting the type (including quality, composition, material, contents, (original) location, function or purpose, duration, price) of the feminine head noun are lenited. Examples are:

blao chluaise, bó bhainne, bruais chaoineacháin M, bruais gháirí M, buinneach mhíosa, do charaid ghaol Mq, cearc fhraoigh, cearc ghoir, cíb sháile, cloch thalúna, cleith sháite, an chleith íochtair sheoil, le cloich dhúirlinn 11C, cloich mhuráite, clúmhach chirce 32J, coinneal chéireach, coinneal phínne 27Mdq, coinleog sheaca S, corr chasta, corr shúgáin,

¹ This section is most indebted to the clear exposition presented in *An Caighdeán Oifigiúil* (1958: 84). Examples from my oldest speakers are favoured here. Given the change and variation in younger speakers, described briefly in 9.172 ff., a fuller description of both the older generations and intergenerational change is a desideratum. In such an investigation one would need to take into consideration phonological properties such as homorganic clusters, the degree of phonetic or phonological change which the leniting consonant undergoes (proven relevant in lenition of modern borrowings, Stenson 1990b), morphological properties such as number and case, syntactic properties such as syntactic case of the head noun, presence of adjectives or other dependent nouns, semantic as well as lexical properties and suprasegmental properties. The facultative nature of lenition is incisively discussed in Wigger (1970: 124–5; see also the following footnote 1, p. 1739). Speaker responses can be very uncertain in this context, cf. 9.31, so that recordings of spontaneous speech and reliable transcriptions must form the basis of any future study. M. A. Ó Murchú (2003) presents a standardised and categorical semantic approach. Although some of his categories and sources are not described in sufficient detail, his argument overall is persuasive.

croisín choirlí, cruach choirce / fhéir, kruəx wu:nə S cruach mhóna, cruít fhataí, cuairt mhíosa Sc192, -3, copóg glan gheal ghobáiste 869Pt, aon chraobh chaorthainn (Acs)04B, déis chruithneacht 869Pt, do 'wol'əg' doigh bhoilg, dris chosáin, druig phúcáin, in éide phláta Sc75, faocha chapail 'whelk' (a mollusc similar in appearance to a periwinkle), faocha ghliomaigh, fead ghloice, feamainn gheimhridh Clad200-1, feilm (mhaith) thalthúna, fréimh dhútha SÓC1.82, gais ghaineamh S, gaoth bhoird, geir mhúice, glaise phoint, glao chluaise, gualainn thosaigh 889P (equine), lasair thine 11C, leaba chlúmhaí (leaba chlúmhaich 894Cs), luch fhéir 46.816, maighdean mhara, mias mheala 866ESc50-1, min choirce, min choirce bhrón, min shábh, muc ghaineamh 46.1066, muic mhara, ola bhréidín M, páirc chruithneacht 869P, púir sholais, ríc fhéir 36M, ruaig bhásta, sail chnis, scail ghréine, scail thine, slaitín chaorthainn ! CABI §36(b) v. 6, slat xaul' slat choill, sméar mhullaigh, trí spúnóg mhaide a'inn 03V, stopóg choirlí 889P, straint gháiri, straoisín chaoineacháin, téad ghualainn, téad cheathrún, tine ghuail M, tine thalún 899D6708, tornóg cheilpe 892M, trá fheamainne, trá ghaineamh, tua bháis ABg87, tuí choirce, tuí sheagail, uv x'irk'ə 21Pt ubh chirce, ū:n' halhu:nə uamhain thalúna.

Note *an chéad mhí gheimhreadh* ARN7548 (perhaps with deleted *dhe*, cp. *an chéad mhí dh'fhómhar* and *ar an gcéad bhlaio choileach*; perhaps (also) continued lenition from head nouns *mhí* and *bhlaio*).

9.57 1(b)(i) N2 type

There is vacillation in epithets denoting type (material, contents, location):

an áit ghliomach 03S, but *an áit ballach* Clad1220, *níl áit ceoil ar bích 11C5684*, *áit cinn 25M* 'main centre, headquarters',¹

¹ Wigger (1970: 124-5) divides examples of nonlenited nominal attributes of feminine nouns into two main types, based on the corpus (now available, although further edited, in Aimeán I):

- (a) when the head noun is in a part-whole relationship to the epithet (this also includes measurements (of contents) and terms indicating material make-up (or composition));
- (b) the epithet describes or implies an activity (the main head nouns in question are *aimsir* 'time', *áit* 'place' and *obair* 'work') [my translation].

Although the semantic category 'activity' may well be of relevance, there are many examples of lenition in Wigger's type (b) phrases, generally with more concrete head nouns, e.g. *bean chaointe*, *láimh chúnta*, *culaith ghaisce* (see my type 2(g)(ii)). Wigger gives three examples of type (b), one of which is *áit ceoil 11C5684* (I recall hearing similar *áit poitín*). His other two words *aimsir* and *obair* are categorised in my treatment as type 1(e) (under abstract nouns), including his example *roinnt obair poitín*. Cp. p. 1740 n. 1. Wigger's example containing *aimsir* is, however, complex: he cites (adapted to my transcriptional system) *amfər' t'ixt əft'ax* which, however, in greater relevant detail I transcribe as:

amfər' ə | t'ixt əft'ax 01C6313 aimsir u-, tíocht isteach.

In fact, *aimsir* functions as a (nonleniting) subordinating nonfinite conjunction of time for a handful of speakers as is clear from other sentences in this conversation, e.g.

Ó, is, is ar aimsir cuir amach na heangá a bh[dis] ?] ag díonamh ... 21Pg6307.

(Cf. 8.132, which includes further examples from 01C; and cf. 1(e)). Wigger's type (a), an abstract category of part-whole relationship, defines and links accurately my types 1(g), 2(a)-(c), 2(e) and some examples in 2(d). Indeed, the same relationship is involved in many cases of nonlenition of dependent (genitive) plurals: my types 1(b) (some examples) and 2(f). The inclusion of 'terms indicating material make-up' is no doubt of relevance to Wigger's type (a) and is evidenced by his example *sail péine dhearg 11C1425* (but note the adjective here, my type 1(f)). Lenition is, however, very common with material epithets, e.g. *carcair ghúsaí*, *culaith bhréidín*.

brúisc bhainne M, but *brúisc gaoithe* M (note homorganic -c g-);
carcair ghiúsaí SID.46 (s.v. *carcair*), but *carcair giúsaí* S;
culaith bhréidín / shíoda, culaith sheoil, culaith ghaisce, culaith ghaiscíoch
 (run)05Md, *culaithe* [i.e. *kolhə*] *chanabháis* 852Sb6, but *culaidh*
canbháis 852SbLL26 (cp. 3.6, *gorə xa:nəwɑ:f* 31D i *gorach chanbháis,*
corach canbháis 18J8532), cp. *mo nuachulaith pósta* !(Atps)43Js;
eascann chochaill 25M, *eascann cladaigh* 35E;
iomaire chloiche 894Cs, cp. *obair chloiche* (I recall also hearing *obair*
cloch);
maidin bháistí 11C, *an-drochmhaidin bháistí* 18J, *maidin chailm* 18J,
maidin [pause] *sheaca* 892M, but *mɑ:d'ən' ja:kə* 46 (s.v. *sioc*) *maidin*
seaca, an mhaidin gharbh géimhreadh [x2] !05M (cp. *oíche*
gheimhreadh !05M and 1(d)); similarly *maidin chiúin fhómhair* (Adód)-
 03V but *maidin chiúin Fóvair* CABI §50a 10;
chuile ré sholais, chuile ré solais, chuile ré sholas (produced by the same
 speaker in that order, cp. genitive *oíche ré dorcha* ARN5809);
scian phóca, scian phínn 852Sb6 and *scian pínn* 852SbTS149 (< *peann*), the
 last-cited transcription (TS) is generally more accurate, although both
 may be correct;
 cp. *an tsnáthad chéimiric* [sic] 852SbTS133, *snáthad cróiseála* S (2(g)(ii));
tine ghuail, tine bhreá mhóna, but tine mhóna ... tine móna 889P, *tine toirní*
 46.852 ‘lightning flash’, cp. *báisteach toirneach* 1(c);
 tu(:)m vroho:g S *tom bhrothóg, tonn bhrochóige* FFG s.v. *tonn, tu:m*
 vroho:g 21Pt, tu:n 'vroxo:g 46.588 *tonn bhrochóg, but tom brochóg*
 FFG s.v. *brochóg* (note homorganic -m b-);
 u:m'i:n' 'ɣa'n'ə | u:m'i:n' 'ga'n'ə 21Jq *uaimín g(h)aineamh*.

One can conjecture possible minimal pairs such as *b'æn 'wan'ə* **bean bhainne* ‘milk-woman’ in contrast with *b'æn 'ban'ə* **bean bainne* ‘a woman fond of milk’, i.e. where the attributive relationship, or the semantically closer nominal pair, has lenition. Similarly, in examples with *oíche* as head noun, in most instances the noun phrase with more specific (or either less general or less universal) reference has nonlenition:¹

oíche ghealaí, oíche Shamhna, oíche shamhradh 892M, *oíche an-fhuar*
shneachta 866Et, *oíche gharbh bháistí* Sc165.2. *oíche gheimhreadh*
 !05M, but

oíche bainse 01Pt, *oíche tórrthamh* 892M3634, *drochoíche seaca* 21Pi, cp.
oíche sioc ... 60M, *ag éisteacht le oíche taibhsí* 21Pg6861 ‘listening to a
 night of ghost(-storie)s’.

The dependent noun in *chuile oíche Domhnaigh* !(Acgf)43Js, *oíche*
Sathrann 892M, *oíche Satharn* 35E8488, can probably also be lenited
 (in certain instances). Similarly:

oíche ghála mhóir ... tháinic oíche eile, aríst, gála mhóir 892M4578–81;
oíche chailm ~ oíche cailm 21Pt.

Cp. *oíche cheobarnach báistí* 866E858.8 (the lexeme *ceobarnach* is both a
 noun and an adjective).

¹ Compare M. A. Ó Murchú (2003: 164) where it is argued that *obair shamhraidh* (type) contrasts with *obair samhraidh* (period).

9.58 1(b)(ii) N2 plural

Dependent plural nouns, whether inflected for the genitive or not, seem to be less commonly lenited, in some instances the head noun is a collective noun (cf. type 1(g)), e.g.

áit gliomach, áit ballach;
*an chailleach chearc 11Ctn, but cailleach cearc 866E*Sc164.15;
coill shlata mara (Abr)894C CABI §509(c) v. 8 (cp. (North-West
Conamara) trá shlataí mara (b) v. 8);
coiriceog meachan SID.46 (s.v. cruiceóg), cp. types 2(d), (f); mil mheach
!881J, as plúr na mil mheach !894C, but as plúr mhil meach (Abtm)11C
(cp. GCF §89 mil meach, where meach is categorised as an example of
uninflected genitive singular);
crosóg brobh 869P5, but tom bhrobh 889P, 894Cs, cp. tom broibh 23Mst
and tomaíl bhrobh;
glaise fhataí ~ glaise fataí M;
léim cos 852SbLL98 'springing leap (on both feet)';
móin ghioltaí;
*plá mhíoltóg 866E*Sc58.14, *plá mhíoltógaí S;*
púir mheachain, púir chlocha sneachta, but púir míoltógaí, púir
druideachaí;
tine chnámh, tine chnáimh, but tine crámh 05M;
tom bhrobh 894Cs, tuimín bhrobh 894Cs, tom bhrothóg, tom dhrise 46.972,
*tom dhris 881J, Sq, tom dris Mq, tom driseachaí 892M*2124, *tom*
seileastruim 852SbDT79, tom cíbe !(Acdb)43Js, but also faoi bhun tom
sailcheánach ... bheadh an tom shailcheánach 11C.

Cp. *oíche taibhsí* (9.57).

9.59 1(c) N2 type

Exceptions in genitives denoting type, with only nonlenition noted, are:

cailleach draíocht 11C, an chailleach draíocht Semr162, báisteach toirmeach
47Ps, ag an mbean baile 894Cs 'by the housewife', bean sí, ar fheoil siopa
05M, an ghlasóig sráide 23Bq, gluit bóthair 894Cs (an ghluit, genitive na
gluit 894Cs), go tóin poill 35E, díle báistí, ar aon sleaic téide amháin
892M; cp. Carraig Moilt.

f- (9.20, 9.21): *bean feasa, cailleach feasa; craoibhín beag fraoigh 11C, leaba*
fraoigh 892M (contrast cearc fhraoigh).

9.60 1(d) N1 + adjective

There are many examples where the head noun is qualified by an adjective (which is lenited) and followed by lenition of the following noun:

cainthéibh mhór chainte, dlaoi ghlas ghruaige, obair mhaith shnáthaid
!32J, oíche an-fhuar shneachta 866Et, oíche mhór bháistí, páirc mhór
chruithneacht, teanga mhaith Bhéarla, tine bhreá mhóna, tom mhór dhris.

In some instances, however, lenited internominal adjectives are followed by nonlenition:

-Áit mhaith gliomach 's dóichí é. 11Ct
-Áit mhaith gliomach é ach go mbíonn an fharraige an-ard ann. 896P (but
cp. is fearr an áit gliomach atá a'inne 03S, in 1(b)),

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báí mhór talthúna S,
maidín an-bhreá cailm **892M**2781, cp. *maidín chailm, oíche c(h)ailm*
 (9.57),
an mhaidín gharbh géimhreadh [x2] **!05M**, cp. *oíche gheimhreadh* **!05M**,
 cp. *oíche cheobarnach báistí* **866E**Sc58.8 (*ceobarnach* both noun and
 adjective).

Examples with adjectives followed by plural dependent nouns can be compared
 with the vacillation found without adjectives (e.g. *púir míoltógaí* in 1(b) above
 and cp. 1(g)):

gearróigín bheag fataí M, *traein mhaith potaí* **35E**.

For plural head noun examples such as *tomaíl bhrobh* vs. *tomaíl mhóra brobh*,
 see 9.75 §2(c). Note also the lenition of a third noun dependent on the first noun
 in the series in:

an chleith íochtair sheoil **04B**, cp. *min choirce bhrón*.

9.61 1(e) N1 abstract

Following abstract nouns there is also vacillation, e.g.

- | | |
|-------------|---|
| lenition | <i>airde chaca, géarbhí chaint(e)</i> 21Pt , <i>cóir ghaoithe, creach mhaidne, dáimh ghaoil</i> 21J , <i>dairt chodlata, gairfean ghaoithe</i> S, <i>go dtiúrtha tú giorra shaoil do na fathachaí</i> Semr124, <i>meabhair chinn</i> 06C , cp. appositional examples such as <i>rigeáil bhualte</i> M, <i>tóirt chainte, tuairt mhaith bhualte</i> ; |
| nonlenition | <i>aois gadhair; bruth teaspaí</i> S; <i>caint fear</i> [genpl] 864MDT 32; <i>cosúlacht báistí</i> SM; <i>fíriúlacht maitheasa</i> S; <i>fuaim gála</i> 894Cs ; <i>fuaraíocht báistí; gadaíocht caorach</i> !05M ; <i>íde béil; in inmhe fír</i> Sc54, <i>in inmhe gaisce</i> LL101; malort' mādl' 872P <i>malairt maidl, ar mhalrait</i> [i.e. <i>malairt</i>] <i>beatha</i> 03V (Becker 1997: 189, cf. 164) 'change of life', cp. <i>malairt suíocháin</i> 04B1 ; <i>i dtrioblóid páiste</i> 892M ; cp. <i>puth gaoithe</i> (fem in <i>an phuth</i> 852Sb TS125); |
| both | (cp. <i>in aimsir ghábhaí</i> !894C 9), <i>san aimsir dheireadh, aimsir bháistí</i> , but <i>is úthásach an aimsir báistí / báisteach í</i> M, <i>in aimsir cruatain</i> (Aag) 03C , <i>in aimsir cruadhóige</i> SNG293, <i>aimsir the agus aimsir teaspaí</i> 31P , <i>aimsir toirní</i> Pt; cp. <i>aimsir baint choirce</i> ;
<i>bís chainte</i> S 'rapid talk', but <i>bís fataí</i> 'eagerness to plant potatoes', <i>bís fáis</i> S 'strong growth';
<i>cé a' chaoi bháis</i> 852Sb 6.67, but <i>cén chaoi maireachtála</i> 866E Sc154.25;
<i>cóirle charad</i> ! CABI §179(f) v. 5, but <i>leis an gComhairle Condae</i> 892M 3309;
<i>deis bháis</i> 894C , <i>deis chodlata</i> 06C , <i>deis mhaircíocht</i> 869P , <i>deis mharcaíocht</i> 852Sb TS131, also <i>deis bhí</i> [gen <i>bia</i>] ... <i>deis dí</i> ... <i>deis leapa</i> l'æpə 852Sb (TS127) (the last two phrases are homorganic), and <i>deis ceoil</i> 46.698 'musical instrument', <i>deis conra</i> 899N , <i>ar dheis fúála</i> 11C 5841, <i>deis meáchain, gloine mar dheis measa</i> Clad204, <i>deis níocháin</i> [with unlenited n'] 11C , <i>deis saothrú</i> 892M , <i>deis tine, deis troda</i> ; with adjective: |

deis eile troda ARN9203, *deis mhaith solais* **06C**; (in many of these examples *deis* has a concrete meaning ‘mechanism, machine, tool’);
 compare *san ísle bhrí* (idiom) with *ísleacht taoille* **894Cs**;
ga(i)l thobac Sc293.5, but *gail tobac* **866E**ÓC223 (Sc291), S;
obair bhaile / baile, roinnt obair poitín **21Pg**8381, cp. *obair chloiche, obair mhaith shnáthaid* **!32J**;
drochrúaig thinnis **11C**, but *bhuail ruaig donaicht agus slaghdán é* **11C**5076;
slí bháis **852Sb**6.67, Semr122, *slí bheatha* **866EB**16, *slí mhaireachtáil*, but *ar shlí sábhála* **03St**;
smeadar ghaoil **27Mdq**, *smeadar gaoil* **21Jq**;
bleibéarach *chainte* Mq, *plubaireacht cainte* 46.269, *tráthúlacht chainte / cainte*, e.g. *tráthúlacht cainte* **894C**.
 Cp. *tiocair báis*, but *tiucair bháis* FFG20 s.v. *tiucair*.

Regarding the nonlenition in *béim súl* **875PCAR** (in response to query on *béim súl*, glossed *drochshúil* ‘evil eye’), I have not heard *béim* in conversation and have not determined its gender (FGB feminine, variant masculine).

9.62 1(f) N2 + adjective

There is also optional lenition when the dependent genitive is itself qualified by an adjective (or adverbial used adjectivally), e.g.

lenition *ceilp fheamainne buí* **892M**, *oíche ghála mhóir* **892M**.
 nonlenition *pleainc péine dhearg nó sail péine dhearg* **11C**1425;
agus é ina stoirm gaoithe aduaidh ... ina stoirm thintí gaoithe aduaidh **18J**7091–2.

Contrast *dris bun i dalthamh* **06C** with *dris chosáin*. Cp. *léine-troith-as-túin* S. See also 9.78 for *ag baint fheamainne* vs. *ag baint f(h)eamainne buí*.

9.63 1(g) N1 concrete quantity

Concrete nouns used quantitatively also show alternation of following lenition:

lenition *deoch bhainne; deoir bhainne, deoir bháistí, deoir fhola, deor fhola* Sc206; *sile bháistí* M; *cupla slaitín chudáis* **05M**; *sluasad thine* **894Cs** ‘a shovelful of fire’; *smeach chéille* M.
 The personal numeral *beirt* is regularly followed by lenition, e.g. *beirt ghardaí*.
 There is lenition, despite the transferred meaning of *bleaist*, in *an bhleaist ghliomach* **16P**.
 nonlenition *aith'nne céille* **866E**Semr98 (< *aithinne*);¹
bhí brá thír pleainceannaí insna duirlinneachaí. **892M**, cp. *trá fheamainne*;
an bhliúrtach tobac **27Md**(q).
 both *bliain bháistí* **892M**4759, *an bhliain báistí* M (cp. GCF §497 *an bhliain beatha*);

¹ Feminine in Iorras Aithneach and FGB, masculine in An Clochán in Stenson (2003: 79.24) also in DIL s.v. *aithinne*.

cloich choirce, cloch fhataí, where the dependent noun refers to the contents of the head quantity noun, in contrast with variation in appositional *dhá chloch meáchain* **04B**, *clo(i)ch mheáchain* SM;
fasóid mhaith mhoirtéil S (also *fasóg / fasóigín mhoirtéil*), but *fasóid moirtéil* S, *fasair moirtéal* M;
gabháil fhéir, gabháil mhúna, fad gabháil bhrosna P, but *fad gabháil broсна* **21J**;
glaicín cháith **04B**, but *glac billeoga(t) báite* ! CABI §47(a) and (b) v. 2, *glac crialóige* **892M** (cp. *glac mhine* FGB s.v. *glac*);
gloine phoitín **11C**, *gloine poitín* **11C**1207, M, *gloine bhainne* S, *gloine bainne* SM, *gloine puins* (only, e.g. Sc199–202);
mám coirce **894Cs** (x2) (contrast *mám fhataí* GCF §495(i), *mám mhine, mhilseán* FGB s.v. *mám*);
scráib shneachta S, but *scráib báistí* S, *scráib seaca* S;
seachtain bháistí / báistí.
 Cp. *ceathrú* (GCF §496(iii) optional), e.g. *ceathrú mairteoil*.

For further examples with dependent plural nouns, see type 1(b)(ii) above (9.58).

9.64 Nonlenition; 2(a) N1 abstract quantity

Nonlenition of dependent nouns following abstract quantitative nouns is regular, i.e. following *cuid, dóthain, gairid, an iomarca, roinnt*, less productive *díth, easpa, suim*, also *an méid* and *an oiread* (which do not lenite adjectives), e.g.
do chuid cainte, mo chuid bróga, dhá chuid bealaigh ‘two parts of the way’,
mo dhóthain bainne, gairid blianta, an iomarca feola, roinnt pian;
díth céille, easpa céille, easpa pínn, suim blianta;
an méid fataí, an méid pian, an oiread pian, an oiread giúsaí.

Note anomalous lenition following *oiread* meaning ‘size’ in:
oiread mhíoltóg de loing / bhád **866E**Sc67.13, 108.19,
tuairim is le oiread mhíoltóg **866E**Sc109.20.

9.65 2(b) N2 appositive

In apposition there is a cline of nonlenition to lenition:
 personal – non-animates – animals.

One can note that the cline is not consistent in regard to the animacy hierarchy.

(i) In personal apposition (i.e. with people), nonlenition is the rule, e.g.

óinseach mná, óinseach caillí; cp. metaphorical *ginn fir*.

Lenition, however, is found in *an bhean chomharsan*. The sacred name *An Mhaighdean Mhuire* is generally lenited but note *An Mhaighdean Muire* [x4] **869P**4.404, *a Mhaighdean Muire* [x2] **!05M**. Cp. *a Mhuire Mháthair!*, *brat Mhuire Mháthair* **!05M**.

(ii) Non-animates vary, e.g.

lenition	<i>bleid chainte, caifearnach bháistí</i> M, <i>céim bhacaola</i> SÓC2.283, <i>an raicleach bhróige</i> S, <i>raidhm chainte</i> 13P , <i>smid bhréige, spaidealach mhóna, splanc thine</i> 889P , <i>spré thine</i> SNG293, <i>teanga Bhéarla, tóirt chainte</i> .
nonlenition	<i>leis an bhfuaim torainn</i> (Sgbf) 869Pt ;

both metaphorical: *bitse báistí* P, *bitse féir* P.
dhá chloch meáchain **04B**, *clo(i)ch mheáchain* M, *leathchloich mheáchain* S (1(g));
cuismeig siúil, *cuismeig shiúil* **11C**;
glasóg sheaca, but *glasóigín seaca* SM.
 Borrowed ‘smile’ > *smaidhl gáirí* **02J**, *smaidhl gháirí* M;
 ‘step’ > *steip bhacaíl*, *steip damsa*.

Cf. abstract nouns, type 1(e) above (9.61).

(iii) Animals in apposition take lenition, e.g.

cráin mhuiice, *stail chapaill*.

There is, however, nonlenition in metaphorical *leis an mbitse circe* S.

9.66 2(c) N1 physical part

Nonlenition is regular when the head noun indicates a physical part of a person, animal or thing, e.g.

adharc bó, *billeog boird*, *círín circe*, *cois bó / bulláin / fir*, *cois boird*, *cois casúir / piocóid / píce / sluasaid*, *ladhar píce*, *lá(i)mh duine*, *ordóg portáin*, *tóin baraille*, *tóin cábáin* **11C**, *tóin méise*. Also *leath bealaigh*, *leath deireadh* ‘posterior’.

Contrast *crú(i)b circe* (physical part) with *clúmhach chirce* **32J** (growth).

Exception: *ar muin chapail* **894C9**, cf. *copóg ghobáiste* 1(a). Lenition in *scian chorráin* ‘the blade of a sickle’ might indicate a nonpartitive interpretation, possibly along appositional lines, e.g. ‘the blade which is the (main part of the) sickle’. Lenition is found in the place-name **kluaʃ jiriə** *Cluais Ghiorria*.

9.67 2(d) N2 possessor

Nonlenition is common where the dependent noun is the possessor of the head noun or where the head noun exists for the purpose or benefit of the dependent noun, e.g.

lenition in examples such as *clo(i)ch fhaobhair*, *cloich mhuráite*; *druif phúcáin*; *scian phínn*; *téad ghualainn* (naval); some of which are cited in 1(a) above.

In *inín chailleach gan tuairisc* **12S** lenition may be caused by the feminine head noun *inín* or perhaps *cailleach gan tuairisc* is interpreted as definite (contrast nonlenition in *cleamhnas pis gan bualadh* **12S**, see 14 *inín*, *cleamhnas*).

nonlenition *cairt capaill* 46.194; *scoil buachaillí*.

both *i gculaith gleoiteoige*, *ná báid mhóir* **899D6089**, *culaith seanbhean* **8973t**, cp. *culaith ghaiscíoch* (run) **05Md** for more common *culaith ghaisce* 1(b).

Types 2(c) and 2(d) obviously have the possessor function in common; there is actual physical possession involved in 2(c). Cf. part-whole relationship, p. 1739 n. 1.

9.68 2(e) N2 agent

Nonlenition of dependent noun in agent or actor function, e.g.

géim bó, *fad cuismeig coiligh*.

Exception: *ar an gcéad bhlaio choileach*, unless derived from ... *bhlaio dhe choileach* with deletion of postvocalic *dhe*. Cp. *an chéad mhí gheimhreadh* (perhaps also with deleted *dhe*, as suggested above 1(a)).

9.69 2(f) N1 collective + N2 genitive plural

Nonlenition is found of the genitive plural following a collective noun, e.g.

scoltair cloch FFG s.v. *scoltair*;

cp. *soxri:d'ə pr'iax:n ort* **21J** *sochraíde préachán ort!* (part of traditional curse).

But *clann mhac*, *sliocht mhac*. Cf. 1(b), e.g. *an áit ghliomach* **03S** and *plá mhíoltóg(aí)* (9.57–9.58).

9.70 2(g) Verbal nouns

Verbal nouns (and nouns used regularly with progressive *ag*), both (i) as head nouns and (ii) in dependent position, show much variation. Reasons for nonlenition may be based on criteria cited above but these will hardly cover exhaustively all noun phrases which contain verbal nouns and it is worth listing examples here.

(i) Verbal Noun (feminine) + Noun

nonlenition *ina GHREASÁIL BÁISTÍ* **866E**Sc89.27;

goidé an scil i NGABHÁIL BÁID a bhí aige. **B19.55**;

... *go leor dhe na háiteachaí seo níos fearr leihí IASCACH GLIOMACH ná chéile*. **11C**;

is fearr an TÓIGEÁL MUIRÍNÍ a nídís **35E**7924.

lenition *dhíonadh muid go leor BAINT CHARRAIGÍN* **30M**st;

ag baint fhataí atá muid faoi láthair agus go deimhin is olc an aimsir BAINT FHATAÍ í **21P**i;

aimsir baint choirce, ag caint ar BHAINT FHÉIR ... le BAINT FHÉIR **27M**dq;

FEADAÍL PHOILL S; IMIRT CHÁRTAÍ;

-Is dóichí gur obair an-trom a bhí i M BAINT CHOIRLÍ. **11C**

-Níl obair a bith chomh trom le BAINT CHOIRLÍ. *Níl*. **896P**;

iad a stopadh ó THÓIGEÁL PHEICDIÚR **37J**.

Note that *ag baint charraigín*, etc., *ag feadaíl phoill*, *ag imirt chártaí*, etc., are regularly lenited. The lenition is retained or carried over from the more common progressive-aspect *ag*-constructions to the more clearly nominal usage. This is evidenced by masculine examples such as *ag ceangal chúirsí* which has nominal *ceangal chúirsí*, also *ceangal cúrsa* (9.78).

both *BRÚSCAÍL G(H)AOITHE* **SM**, *brúscáil bramannaí* **S**.

(ii) Noun (feminine) + Verbal Noun

nonlenition *aimsir baint choirce, aimsir freagartha* **894C**9 (in proverb);

na beithí, áit, áit, ceangailte dhóib **894C**s, *áit coisinte dho na beithí* **SID.46** (s.v. *buaille*), *áit cúnaí* **869P**t, *áit suite / suíte*;

coismeig siúil **11C**;

snā:həd kro:fa:lə **S** *snáthad cróiseála*;

cp. *steip* [*<* step] *damsa* **S**, *steip mhaith damhsa* **21P**t, and *steip bhacail*.

lenition	<i>leis an artha mharaíthe</i> 06C ; <i>do bhean phósta</i> ! CABI §172(a) v. 5; <i>blaoch chaoineacháin</i> 892M , <i>bruais chaoineacháin</i> M; <i>corr chasta</i> ; <i>cleith sháite</i> S (<i>cleith sháiteoireacht</i> FFG s.v. <i>cleith</i> 1); <i>an chroich chéasta</i> ; <i>cultha</i> [<i>culaidh</i>] <i>chruibeáilte</i> S; gi: haurnaile 35E8308 <i>gaoth thornála</i> ; <i>tonn bháite</i> ; <i>an tuile bháite</i> ! CABI §48 v. 2, !(Abcl) 43Js .
both	<i>deis meáchain</i> , <i>deis saothrú</i> 892M , but <i>deis chodlata</i> 06C , <i>deis mhaircíocht</i> 869P .

9.71 Summary

The description can be summarised with typical examples (N1 = head noun; N2 = dependent noun; + = regular (lenition in 1, nonlenition in 2); - = opposite of '+'; ~ = vacillation):

1.	N2 type	Lenition
(a)		+ <i>cruach mhóna</i>
(b)	(i) N2 type	~ <i>tine m(h)óna</i> ;
	(ii) N2 plural	<i>púir mheachain</i> , <i>púir míoltógaí</i>
(c)	exception	- <i>cailleach draícht</i>
(d)	N1 + adjective	~ <i>tine bhreá mhóna</i> , <i>báí mhór talthúna</i>
(e)	N1 abstract	~ <i>aimsir b(h)áistí</i>
(f)	N2 + adjective	~ <i>oíche ghála mhóir</i> , <i>sail péine dhearg</i>
(g)	N1 concrete quantity	~ <i>gabháil b(h)rosna</i>
2.		Nonlenition
(a)	N1 abstract quantity	+ <i>suim blianta</i>
(b)	apposition	
	(i) (N1 definer) N2 personal	+ <i>óinseach mná</i>
	(ii) N2 non-animate	~ <i>cloch m(h)eáchain</i>
	(iii) N2 animal	- <i>cráin mhuice</i>
	(N1 defined) metaphorical	+ <i>bitse circe</i>
(c)	N1 physical part	+ <i>adharc bó</i>
(d)	N1 for purpose of N2	~ <i>druij phúcáin</i> , <i>cairt capaill</i>
(e)	N2 agent / actor	+ <i>géim bó</i>
(f)	N1 collective, N2 genitive plural	~ <i>scoltair cloch</i> , <i>plá mhíoltóg</i>
(g)	(i) N1 verbal noun	~ <i>brúscáil g(h)aoithe</i>
	(ii) N2 verbal noun	~ <i>snáthad cróiseála</i> , <i>cleith sháite</i>

9.72 Feminine genitive

When a feminine noun is inflected for the genitive, nonlenition of its attributive adjectives and nouns is regular, e.g.

i lár NA FARRAIGE MÓIRE, *ag baint FHEAMAINNE BUÍ*;
ar lorg NA CROICHE CÉASTA ARN7691, *mála MINE COIRCE*,
 cp. *beannacht NA MAIGHDINE MUIRE*.

When the noun is not inflected for genitive, and the attributive item is identical to the form which follows the head noun in nominative position, lenition is regular, e.g.

1748 Initial mutations

- adjective *a' brú* NA CEATHRÚ DHEIREANACH *siar ...* **869P4**,
⁰ *ˠaurL'əx ɣu ʃo | n'í:l' tu' gól' ə fál' nə kaurL'əx ɣu ʃo |*
894Cs *an choirleach dhubh seo, níl tú ag goil ag fáil NA*
COIRLEACH DHUBH seo,
æs lar nə p'e:n'ə wɑ:n (Ams)**899N** *as lár NA PÉINNE BHÁN,*
tá mé ag ínseacht NA FÍRINNE GHLAN. **05M**;
- noun ... ' (ag) *diana* NA HOB AIR CHLOICHE **869P2**,
díonamh NA HOIGHE CHUIMEALTA **892M3745** (emended from
chuimealtan, taken as a slip),
*labhairt NA TEANGA DHÚCH AIS (Acea)***03Vt**,
gari: nə hū:n' halhu:nə **25M** *Garraí NA HUAMHAIN THALÚNA.*

Note, however, nonlenition in *a Mhic* NA MAIGHDEAN MUIRE **!869P6** (recall *An Mhaighdean Muire* [x4] **869P4.404** from this speaker, similarly **!05M**).

Rare examples of lenition following feminine nouns in the genitive form occur:

- koʃ nə laxən i:ɑ:n' Mq cois* NA LACHAN FHIÁIN,
le neart CÓRACH, [pause] *GHAOITHE* **869PSgbf**,
 cp. *v'ik' nə glo:r'ə v'æ:n'i' | P A Mhic* NA GLÓIRE BHEANNAÍTHE! (9.46).

Similarly, in the context of the wind (as in the preceding example with *cóir*):
lá NA STOIRME THINTRÍ SeolG30.

This spelling is most likely for the common phrase *stoirm thintí* (with adjective *tintí*, rather than genitive of noun *tintreach*) so that one might read **lá na stoirme thintí*. Cp. *la: stor'əm' hɪn't'i' ə v'i: ɑ:n* (brother of **21J**) *lá stoirm thintí a bhí ann*.

Exceptional lenition of an inflected adjective occurs in the by-names:

- skolo:g nə f'iaso:g' ə l'e:hə* **852Sb** *Scológ NA FÉASÓIGE LÉITHE*;
ʃɑ:n bɑ:n nə p'e:n'ə wɑ:n'ə *S Seán Bán NA PÉINNE BHÁINE.*

These forms are 'blends', the latter, for example, of older *na péinne báine* and progressive *na péinne bhán*.

9.73 Plural

Nominal plurals in final consonant(s) cause lenition, regularly of attributive adjectives but less regularly of attributive nouns. (For nouns, see 9.74 ff.). The plural endings in question are *-C' > -C'* (i.e. palatalisation, by far the most common of this leniting type), *-in*, *-il*, and rare *-is*.¹ These native suffixes all contain palatal finals; no examples were noted of the rare plural suffix *-ibh* with following epithets. Examples of lenited adjectives include:

- C'* *f'ir' v'ogə* *fir bheaga*,
skudɑ:n' | ɣort'ə **32Js** *scadáin ghoirte*;
- in* *lachain fhiáin, ,lɔxən 'ra:ŋkəx*, 46.818 *luchain fhrancach*,
fi:xən' wɔ:rə *faochain mhóra*;
- il* *loxti:l' wɔ:rə rūnəx* **35E7034** *luchtaíl mhóra ronnach*;
- is* *nə lɪŋg'əʃ wɔ:rə d'ir'* **11C** *na loingis mhór(a) i dtír*.

¹ The *-il* ending is also a feminine abstract and verbal noun suffix, which is its historical function. Lenition is therefore to be expected from its feminine origin and continued alternative feminine singular use.

Nouns in **-əx** *-ach* when ‘palatalised’ in the plural, i.e. become **-ə** *-igh*, take lenition, e.g.

stó:kə **v’ogə** **11C** *stócaigh bheaga*;
rūnə **hai:l’ə** **ARN7028** *ronnaigh shoillte*;
bacaigh bhréana; *ballaigh bhreá **06C**;
nə **f’iə** **γuwə** (Act) **13P** *na fíaigh dhubha*.*

So also *beithíoch*, e.g. *beithí mhóra*, (with noun) *beithí bhainne*. Contrast, for example, *soitheach* and *ualach* which have plurals in **-i**: *-í* without lenition, e.g.

ualaí beaga **M**, *soithí seoil* **899D6221**,

although a lenited adjective occurs in: *soithí mhóra seoil* **32Jt**, perhaps through analogy with *beithíoch mór* > *beithí mhóra* or perhaps even *báid mhóra*. Cp. *soithigh* [i.e. *soithí*] *thrí* [i.e. *hr’i*] *crainnte* **SeolG44**.

The plural of *caora* takes nonlenition:

ki:r’ə **mə:rə** **Mq** *caoirigh móra*.

The complex noun *deargadaol* has a variant plural which palatalises the initial element, *deirgeadaol*. This also lenites:

nə **d’er’əg** **ə:di:l** **wə:r** **27Mdq** *na deirgeadaol mhór*.

Borrowed **-s** and **-z** regularly cause lenition of a following adjective, e.g.

- s** **nə** **hæ:rtək’əl’s** **x’ə:nə** **v’i** **eg’ə** | **892Mg**
na harticils chéanna a bhí aige,
boks **wə:rə** **hæs:sənə** **ARN7758** *bocs mhóra Shasana*,
kəm’prosərs **wə:rə** **s** **in’ dʒin’s** **wə:rə** **S**
comprosars mhóra is injins mhóra,
pra:dəstuns **vr’ə:nə** **jin’** **P** (na) *Pradastúns bhréana sin*,
bhíodh réits [*< rates*] *mhór re:ts* **wə:r** **air** **05M**,
ní raibheadar ar aon teorams [*< terms*] *mhaith* **ʃorms** **wā** [perhaps
ʃorms as if ‘turns’] **06Ct**;
- z** **ɪ** **ori:z** **wə:rə** **M** *leoraíoz mhóra*, **ɪ** **æ:dʒ** **vr’** **ɑ**: **21Pt** *leaidz bhreá*,
gə **mə** **də’tek’div’z** **wāh** **iəd** **892M3471**
go mba diteicdivz [*< detectives*] *mhaith(e) iad*,
æmfər’ **nə** **b’i:l’əz** **γuwə** **18J8678** *aimsir na bpílearz dhubha*.

Lenition following borrowed plurals in **-s** and **-z** is probably a transference of lenition from native plurals ending in a (palatal) consonant. This may be for one or other of two reasons. Either (i) because plurals in **-s** and **-z** resemble most native plurals in a final consonant in being nonsyllabic, i.e. they do not add a syllable to the singular form. (This is a feature unique to these two plural classes.) Or (ii) because the alveolar place of articulation of **-s** and **-z** is interpreted as, or categorised with, palatal articulation, although phonemically nonpalatal. Quite probably, both factors are relevant. One can also compare native plural *-is*, an earlier feminine singular. Note nonlenition following singular *clags* ‘rough sea’: *clags mór* **892M**.

Plurals in **-əz** or **-əs** are quite uncommon, e.g. *sásajas* for more conservative *sásajachaí* ‘sausages’, and were not noted with following adjectives in conversation. In responses to query, **-əz** lenites, e.g. (adjective)

-əz **busəz** **wə:rə** **21Jq**, **63Sq** *busaz mhóra*, but **busaz móra* Øperm.

9.74 Nouns following plurals; 1. Lenition

In plural leniting contexts, lenition of attributive nouns is considerably more complicated than that of adjectives. (Cp. dependent nouns following feminine nouns, 9.55, nouns following nouns governed by *dhá* ‘2’, 9.100.)

1. Lenition

Examples of lenition of nouns following leniting plural endings include:

- C’ **aur̥l̥a:r̥ x̥l̥a:r̥** (Afl)03C *urláir chlár*;
 br̥’ æ̥ŋ’ x̥r̥’ it̥’ a:l̥ə 892M4793 *bioráin chnitéala* (also 46.224);
 f̥o:d’ wu:nə S *fóid mhóna*; *f̥ir bhréige* M; *buidéil phórtair* 869Pt;
 poill fhataí 20A, *poill choiníní* M, *carnáin cheilpe* Clad204;
 na cinn phise Clad122; *amhráin Bhéarla*.
- in *faochain chapail* M, *faochain sheilméidí* M.
- il **ba’ri:l’ wu:nə** 45C *barraíl mhóna*.
- igh *beithí bhainne*; cp. *beithí bhéildeirg na farraige* (run)869PB16.117.
 The phrase *beithí bhainne* seems to be the base for lenition in **ba’**:
 va:n’i 46.22 *ba bhainne*, with conservative or nonvernacular plural
 ba. Contrast historical *ba seascair* !894C9, *ba bána* (rhyme) 894C9.
- s **I’i:ʔərs wa:n’ə** M *lítears bhainne*.

9.75 2. Nonlenition

2. Nonlenition, optional lenition

Examples of nonlenition occur (a) in (metaphorical) apposition, (b) with numerals, (c) following adjectives, and (d) in other instances.

2(a) In apposition, there is lenition in:

maul’e:r’ xloxə P *moghailéir chlocha*.

Plural *deabhail* (used metaphorically) does not take lenition, e.g.

na deabhail cuit; *na bitseachaí deabhail málaí*.

There is nonlenition in a phrase with head noun qualified by an adjective in (cp. 2(c)):

ra:b’e:d’ wo:rə kloxə M *ráibéid mhóra clocha*.

2(b) Following plurals which are governed by numerals, lenition is optional, e.g.

- | | |
|-------------|---|
| lenition | <i>deich gcléibh fhataí</i> S;
ox̥t̥ ŋa:l̥u:n’ fof̥’ i:n’ 11C <i>ocht ngalúin phoitín</i> ; |
| nonlenition | tr̥’ i: ba:r’ mū:nə 892M <i>trí bairr móna</i> . |

Similarly, following *scóir* (meaning ‘scores’):

- | | |
|--------------|---|
| lenition | <i>trí scóir bhliantaí ó shin</i> 11C, <i>trí scóir bhlianta</i> ; |
| (noncoronal) | <i>trí scóir chaorach</i> 899N;
<i>ocht scóir chliabh</i> 892Mg, <i>sé scóir chliabh móna</i> 899P; |
| both | tr̥’ i: sko:r’ yuf̥æ(:)n’ i: 07Pt, 16St <i>trí scóir dhuiséinní</i> , |
| (coronal) | tr̥’ i: sko:r’ dif̥æ:n’ i: 23Jt <i>trí scóir dhuiséinní</i> ,
f̥e: sko:r’ yif̥e:n’ ə 15Pn <i>sé scóir dhuiséinne</i> ,
<i>cheithre scóir dhuiséinní</i> 32Jst (x2);
<i>trí scóir slata beaifidí</i> 11C. |

Following the numeral *fichid* there is nonlenition (of the singular noun), e.g. *trí fichid míle* (60 miles); *trí fichid gíní agus trí fichid pínn* **864MDT35**.

2(c) With preceding plural *-il*, Máire (Mq) has consistent lenition of a dependent noun and nonlenition when a lenited adjective intervenes:

tumi:l' vrov' tomaíl bhroibh vs. **tumi:l' wo:rə brev' tomaíl mhóra broibh**;
(also **(nə) tumi:l' (wo:rə) na tomaíl (mhóra)**, **nə tumi:l' əxi: brev' na tomaíleachaí broibh**).

(Contrast *plumpaíl mhóra thoirní* GCF §495(iii).)

Also: *báid mhóra seoil* ARN9345; (appositional) *ráibéid mhóra clocha* M.

2(d) Other examples:

- C' *fir ceirde* **892M2145**, *fir maide*; (*poll* (pl *poill*) *coinín* 46.211);
cp. *ag iarraidh ronnaigh Márta* **01C6298** (cf. nonlenition of definite nouns, 9.83).
- s **mo:lɔs** [perhaps **mo:ls**] **kuda:f 05M** 'moulds' *cadáis*.

9.76 Exceptions; Genitive plural

Lenition is optionally transferred from feminine singular *maighdean mhara* in:

maid' ənəxi wa:rə P *maighdeanachaí mhara*.

This contrasts with *muic mhara* > *muca mara*, *scian mhara* > *sceana mara*.

Lenition is lexicalised from the singular *doigh fhiacaíl* for speaker **56B** in:

doxi: iəklə 56B *doigheachaí fhiacla*.

All other speakers noted have nonlenition in the plural, e.g. *doigh(th)eachaí fiacal* (conservative) and *doigh(th)eachaí fiacla*. There are similar examples from younger speakers:

nə mra: xi:n' ə 63S *na mná chaointe* (< *bean chaointe*).

nə mra: fo:stə 76Mt *na mná phósta* (< *bean phósta*).

A similar extension of lenition from the singular occurred in the response of a younger speaker to a query for the plural of *bró* (*mhuilinn*):

bro:əxə wil' ən' 60Mq *brócha mhuilinn*,

where the speaker was, however, unsure of the plural.

The lenition of *slat* is unusual, as is its phonetic realisation (9.8), in:

ku:g' nū fe: gə x' e:ðə 'xlə't himpəl ən' il' a:n' | 06C

cúig nó sé DHE CHÉADA SHLAT thimpeall an oileáin;

perhaps a slip of the tongue with (hypothetical repetition of the preposition as well as) repetition of the velar fricative: **dhe chéada (dhe) shlat(a)*.

Genitive plural

A rare example of lenition following the genitive plural is:

ar a [3pl] *gcuid góltas bheaga (sic) thalthúna* **869P4**.

Cf. similar 'blends', e.g. *neart córach ghaoithe* (9.72), *scadán ghaineamh* (9.45).

The lenition in the plant name *Crann na Méaracán Phúca* **869P5** (cp. singular *a' Méaracán Púca* **869P5**) may be a similar instance or may be interpreted as *na Méaracáin Phúca* with phonetic depalatalisation of *-in* through sandhi preceding nonpalatal *Ph-*.

9.77 Verbal Noun

Quite a few verbal nouns (including some common nouns) which are used in progressive aspect following *ag*, regularly lenite their objects. There are instances with modern verbal borrowings in *-áil*, e.g.

ag faidhearáil mhóna, ag spraeáil fhataí.

There is an example of lenition of a prefix in:

ag ól chorrphionta ... , corrrhionta is corr-leathghloine 889P.

(This speaker has base *corr-*, 9.115.) Relevant examples are presented here, where ‘...’ indicates {*ag* + the verbal noun in question}.¹

<i>baint</i>	‘Extracting’: <i>a’ baint phiosa caint’ as 894C9; ... chainte as, e.g. ARN8557.</i> Also without lenition: <i>leihí baint gáirí amach. [x2] 05M, ag baint ceart as 06C.</i> ‘Reaping, harvesting, picking, cutting’: <i>a’ baint bhaoití 864MDT89; ... charraigín; ... chíbe 897P; ... choirce; ... bhairneach, ... bhairní 22M; ... bhít (< beet); ... bhreallachaí M; ... choirlí (including ARN1070); ... chreathnaí; ... fheamainne; ... mhóna,</i> example in common case <i>ag baint mhóin 10Bt; ə ba:n tla:t 11C1521, ə ba:n tla:t ... bant sla:t 15Pn ag baint s(h)lat.</i> Note <i>ag baint fhéir</i> generally; exceptionally nonlenition in <i>Ór níl grutha bith ag duine bi ‘ baint féar ar an aimsir seo M</i> , with slight emphasis on <i>féar</i> . Contrast the consistent nonlenition in: <i>ə ba:n t’ br’ e:n l’ i: / br’ e: n l’ ə x SM ag baint bréinlí / bréinleach.</i>
<i>bleaisteáil</i>	<i>ag bleaisteáil bhréag M, ... bhramannaí M, but ... ciceannaí M.</i>
<i>bleán</i>	<i>bl’ a:n v’ ehiəx 18J ag bleán bheithíoch, ag bleán bheithí 36Nt; ag bleán bhó 73P, but ag bleán bó SM.</i>
<i>caint</i>	<i>ə ka:n t’ ye:l g’ ə 23B ag caint Ghaeilge.</i>
<i>carraeracht</i>	<i>ag carraeracht mhóna ARN7386.</i>
<i>ceangal</i>	<i>ag ceangal chúirstí, ag ceangal c(h)úrsaí 27Mdq, ag ceangal cúrsa 21Pg6063.</i>
<i>cloisteáil</i>	<i>a’ cloisteáil cheoil 852SDT8.</i>
<i>coinneál</i>	<i>ə ki:n a:l xæ:n t’ ə f’ e x’ e:l’ ə M ag coinneál chainte le chéile;</i> <i>ə ki:n a:l xu:l’ d’ ə r M ag coinneál chomhluadar.</i>
<i>croisín teacht</i>	<i>a’ croisín teacht choirlí S, a’ croisín teacht coirlí 20At.</i>
<i>cu(i)r</i>	‘Putting, placing, applying, imposing’: <i>wil’ tæ:də kir’ wæ:də - kir’ wæ:d’ ræ:l’ ort P</i> <i>an bhfuil tada ag cuir bhada- [hesitation] ag cuir bhadaráil ort?</i> <i>kir’ xæ:kə wai M ag cuir chaca uaidh;</i> <i>a’ cur chaoi ar a cuid gruaige 875PDT85;</i> <i>bheadh an gabha ag cur chaoi ar na claidhmhtí. 875TLL44, now usually ag cu(i)r caoi ar;</i> <i>ta n’ d’ aul ə kir’ xahu: ori: 04Br tá an deabhal ag cuir chathú oraibh;</i> <i>... kur xahi: ort [x2] 10Bq ... ag cur chathaithe ort;</i> <i>Bhuel thosaigh sé ag cuir ceist-, thosaigh Seán ‘ac Con Raoi ag cuir cheisteannaí ansin air. ... ag cuir ceisteannaí air. 892M2415–7;</i> <i>ə kur xū:r l’ orəm S ag cur chomhairle orm, also 11C2825, ag cuir chomhairleachaí air 897St, but ag cuir comhairle 892M4429 (cf. tabhairt); contrast ag cuir, cainte 881J, ag cuir faitís orthub 18J8184;</i>

¹ Cp. GCF §499 for Cois Fharráige, with less leniting verbal nouns (listed) than Iorras Aithneach; and Ní Dhomhnaill (1969–70) for An Cheathrú Rua, with more leniting instances than Iorras Aithneach.

ag cur chuma dheas air / ar **875TLL184**;
bhí mé, ' cuir mhóna ar bóthar **892M**, contrast *ag cuir móna isteach ansin* **18J8972**, also *ag cuir múin ar bóthar*;
ə kur foti: 21Pt *ag cur photaí* 'setting (lobster-)pots'.
 All lenited words with *ag cu(i)r* in this sense contain initial labials or velars (*p, b, m, c*).

'Planting, sowing':
ə kir' æ:ti: *ag cuir fhataí*, note *go dtáinig mé anall ag — cuir — cuir fataí a chúnamh dho m'athair* **21Pt**;
ə kir' æ:mən'ə 60M *ag cuir fheamainne* 'planting seaweed'.
 In weather idioms:
ə kir' hæ:kə *ag cuir sheaca*, but **ə kur 'fɑ:kə 866E** *ag cuir seaca*;
ə kir' hn'æ:xtə *ag cuir shneachta*.
ə kumə vr'e:gə P *ag cumadh bhréaga*.
ə da:r' v'ehiəx P *ag dáir bheithíoch*.
a' díona bhréige **852Sbts145**, *a diana chuisleáin* **875T1** (only two lenited instances noted).
Tá se ' díol fhataí **M, 43M**.
do: x'elp'ə M *ag dó cheilpe*, but ... *ceilpe ann* **35E7486**.
 Also *ag dó móna*.
ag droimínteacht fheamainne, but also *ag droimínteacht cléibh* **FFG s.v. droimínteacht**.
ag faidhearáil mhóna.
ag fáil(t) bháis; ' fáilt bhainne **894C9**.
ə fi:l'ɑ:l' wu:n' 899N *ag fáilleáil mhóna*.
na: b'i: f'æ:di:l' fail' *M ná bí ag feadaíl phoill* ('breaking wind').
tá sé ' fídínteacht bháistí **S**.
ə go:l' i:n' *ag gabháil fhoinn*.
ag goid fhéir **866E**Sc318-53; *ag goid ghobáiste* **894C**; *ag goid fheamainne* **897St**.
əg' iə:rə wa:n'ə P *ag iarraidh bhainne*, generally *ag iarraidh bainne*.
ag iascach ghlíomach **894Cs**. But generally *ag iascach gliomach*, so also *ag iascach ballach*, etc.
əg' im'ərt' xɑ:rti: *ag imirt chártaí*.
əg' i:nʃən vr'e:gə *ag inSean bhréaga*.
ag ithe choirce **864M**D751;
g' ihə fl'e:tə k'e:k's P *ag ithe phléite céics*.
 Contrast *ag ithe fataí*, etc.
hosə fe m'æ:ŋgər' əxt ɣɑ:r' ə 01J *thosaigh sé ag meangaireacht gháire*; *a' meangaireacht gháirí* **SNG294**.
əg' o:l vræn'ðis 47P *ag ól bhraindíos*; ... *phórtair*, ... *phoitín*; ... *bhainne*; ... *chorrhíonta* **889P**.
ba:d' ... ə rix' wu:nə St *báid ... ag rith mhóna*, but also **ə ru mū:nə 889P, ta fi: rix' mu:nə S** *tá sí ag rith móna*.
ag saoirseacht chloch **11C3323**.
ə skuəd' i:l' wɪn' i: *S ag scuidíl bhuinní*.
əg' seim cheoil 866ESc50.38, **əg' jɪn'əm' x'oltə !05M** *ag seim cheolta*, *ag síorsheim cheoil* **SeolG35**.
ag sladáil chártaí **S**.
ə j'l'e:tə:l' vr'e:g *ag sléiteáil bhréag*.
snagi:l' xolətə SM *ag snagaíl chodlata*.
ag spraeáil fhataí **11C**.
(beithí ag) strachailt fhéir **35E**.
ag suanaíocht chodlata **S**.

1754 Initial mutations

<i>tabhairt</i>	<i>a' tabhairt chomhairle uaidh</i> !Clad134, ə to:rt' olə S, ... olə 46.475, ... ulə 889P <i>ag tabhairt fhola,</i> ŋ'i: to:rt' yuh [or yoh ?] orəb e 14M <i>ní ag tabhairt ghutha</i> [ghotha, or <i>ghuth</i>] <i>orthub é,</i> <i>ag tabhairt chúnamh inniubh dhó 84P.</i> Contrast more common <i>ag tabhairt cúnamh</i> (e.g. SID1.30). The lenition in the younger speaker 84P 's example may be through analogy with a <i>cúnamh</i> (9.81).
<i>tál</i>	<i>Tá se ag tál bháistí</i> M.
<i>tarraint</i>	<i>bhí sé tamall ag tarraint chairr,</i> (Suda) 894Cs ; ... <i>chléibh</i> M; ... <i>chlimín</i> P; ... <i>fhéir</i> S; ... <i>fheamainne ... feamainne 18J; ... <i>mhóna</i>; <i>ag tarraint pheicdiúir 37J.</i> Contrast ... <i>ceilpe l coirlí 15Pn</i>, <i>bhídís ag tarraint(.) cliabh,</i> ' <i>tarraint</i> <i>feamainn, 05M</i>, ... <i>cliabh</i> S; ... <i>cloch 894Cs</i>, ... <i>féir</i> 46.601, ... <i>móna</i> 11C3615.</i>
<i>tóigeál</i>	<i>ag tóigeál ghliomaigh 21Pt</i> ; ... <i>photaí 892M, 06C</i> (context: <i>potáí</i> <i>gliomacha</i>); ... <i>pheicdiúir 37J</i> ; ... <i>pheicdiúir 63S</i> , also ... <i>peicdiúir.</i>
<i>trinseáil</i>	tr' i:ŋʃa:l' æ:ti: S <i>ag trinseáil fhataí.</i>

9.78 Semantics and syntax

Verbal nouns meaning '(type of) speech, vocalisation' are very commonly collocated in apposition with a dependent 'speech' noun (also often a verbal noun), the dependent noun is generally, but not always, lenited, e.g.

ag aithris chainte (S. Ó Murchú 1989: 27), *ag seafóid chainte, ag béiciúch gháirí* P, **ʃi:al' v:erlə** M *ag siteáil Bhéarla, ag sleabáil Bhéarla, ag scréachadh chaoineacháin*; cp. *brúscáil g(h)aoithe* SM, *brúscáil bramannaí* (less common) S; *ag sc(i)ligeadh bhréag* Mq, *ag scileadh bhréaga 84P*, *ag sligeadh bhréag*, but *ag sligeadh bréag* FFG (also Mq) and *ag sligeadh cainte* FFG s.v. *sligeadh*. Similarly, *gibín chainte* S.

Contrast the regular lenition of *ag baint fheamainne* with instances of (optional) nonlenition of *feamainn* when qualified:

ag baint fheamainne buí ARN4060, but
v'i:n' ə ba:n't' f'æ:mən' ə bi: fʀoʃən' P *bhínn ag baint feamainne buí froisin,*
is é ' baint feamainn na carraige buí **1869P2.**

Cp. *ag tarraint feamainn deirge 881Nt.*

Verbal Noun + Adverb + lenited Noun

An adverb may occur between the verbal noun *cu(i)r* and its dependent lenited noun:

kur ə'ma:x wu:nə P *ag CUR amach MHÓNA*; *ag CUIR amach MHÚNA 60M*;
ə kir' əʃt'æ:x e:r' *ag CUIR isteach FHÉIR.*

Contrast *ag rith mhúna / múna, ag rith mhúna / múna isteach* Mq but nonlenition only in *ag rith isteach múna* Mperm.

There is an instance following the indefinite adjective *go leor* in:

... **d'i:nə gə l'or' v'i:ʃk'** **25M** '... *ag DÉANAMH go leor MHÍSC,* ' *a deirimse.*

Leniting nominal masculine noun, based on *ag* + Verbal Noun

There are examples of verbal nouns, which commonly lenite dependent genitives, retaining lenited dependents in nominal use or in use other than the progressive with *ag*. This includes both feminine (9.55) and masculine head nouns:

le haghaidh CEANGAL CHÚIRSÍ **01C6006**, 6042, 6044;
 ag ceangal c(h)úrsaí ... ag caint ar CHEANGAL C(H)ÚRSAÍ **27Mdq**;
 ag caint AR CHUIR FHATAÍ ... níl aon CHUIR FHATAÍ ann níos mú **27Mdq** ... cur
 na bhfataí **27Md**;
 ag ól phoitín ... níl maith a bith le ÓL POITÍN **27Mdq** ... le ÓL PHOITÍN
27Mdperm;
 ag ól bhainne ... ag caint ar ÓL BHAINNE **27Mdq**;
 ná bí ag gliúdán, GLIÚDÁN BHEAG CHAINTE / troda, ag gliúdán chainte, ag
 gliúdán le chéile, bíonn siad ag gliúdán mhór le chéile, do chuid
 gliúdáin Mq;
 luəd'ər'ɑ:n xɑ:n't'ə [x2] M LU Aidireán CHAINTE.

9.79 Nonlenition

The majority of verbal nouns are followed by nonlenition, e.g.

<i>ceannacht</i>	<i>ag ceannacht bainne.</i>
<i>fuireacht</i>	<i>ag fuireacht calthadh</i> 11C . Cp. <i>i bhfuireacht chalthadh</i> 889P , <i>sa bhfuireacht calthadh</i> 889P .
<i>marú</i>	<i>Bhí mé ag iascach ghliomach. Bhí mé ag marú braeims. Bhí</i> <i>mé ag marú ballaigh. Bhí mé ag marú mangaigh.</i> 894Cs .
<i>puthaíl</i>	puhi:l' d'æ:ti' M <i>ag puthaíl deataí.</i>
<i>sábháil(t)</i>	tɑ:je:sɑ:vɑ:l' t' f'e:r' 46.587 <i>tá sé ag sábháil féir.</i>
<i>spabhaiteáil</i>	spau:tɑ:l' bi:n' i: ɔn'jin' P <i>ag spabhaiteáil buinní ansin.</i>
<i>srannadh</i>	ʃra:nə kolətə (Lam) 04B <i>ag srannadh codlata, also SID.46</i> <i>(s.v. srannadh), 11C.</i>
<i>scréachadh</i>	<i>ag scréachadh báistí.</i>

Even a verbal noun meaning '(type of) speech' in *-acht* with dependent 'speech' noun may take nonlenition, e.g.

<i>geabstaireacht</i>	<i>(ag) geabstaireacht cainte</i> S;
<i>lufáireacht</i>	lu:fɑ:r' ɔxt gɑ:r' i' Mq <i>(ag) lufáireacht gáirí.</i>

9.80 Verbal Noun in nominal attributive genitive

Verbal nouns in nominal genitive phrases followed by their objects and preceded by their actors are quite rare. Some examples, both definite and indefinite, have lenition:

bhain cailleach mharbh [recte *MHARÚ*] *na gcéadta díom* **866ESc132.4**,
f'æ:r wɑ:ru' nə g'e:tə S *fear MHARÚ na gcéadta* (tale),
triúr fear DHÉANTA seoil LL25, *fear DHEASÚ éanacha* LL72,
fear DHEASUIGHTHE arm LL75.

Others phrases with actor head nouns, also both definite and indefinite, have nonlenition:

fear BRISTE [perhaps *BHRISTE*] *na gcloch lena leatúin* **11C** (tale),
lucht BRISTE na hAoine **!10B**, *fear DIANTA rópaí* **894C2**,
f'æ:r d'intə ʃo:l'tə bɑ:d' **893P** *fear DÉANTA seolta báid*,
Bíonn ar lucht CUR AMACH an leasaithe iad a phiocadh as ... Clad246;
fear FREAGARTHA an chuaille LL18, etc.¹

¹ In Cois Fharráige nonlenition of genitive verbal nouns dependent on preceding (actor) nouns is the norm according to de Bhaldraithe (1945–7b) although lenition occurs occasionally. He reports on two

Nonlenition is regular when the head noun is not the actor of the verbal noun:

aimsir BAINT choirce,

is olc an aimsir BAINT fhataí í 21Pi,

except for consistent lenition in *lá CH(R)ASCARTHA an tsneachta S.*

9.81 **ceapadh, cónaí, cúnamh, etc.**

There are two frequent verbal nouns and one noun frequent in verbal noun syntax which are anomalously lenited: *ceapadh, cónaí, cúnamh*. The noun *cuideachta* is also lenited in a verbal noun syntax. There are three further verbal nouns only rarely lenited: *comhaireamh, cuimhniú*, and borrowed *cléimeáil*; in their lenited examples they share the semantics of *ceapadh* ‘think, estimate’, the most common anomalously lenited verbal noun. Historically lenition of *cónaí* and *cúnamh* can be explained from a frequently elided *dho* (realised as ə) which has spread to unhistorical contexts in the case of *cúnamh*. Lenition of *cuideachta* can be similarly explained from an elided preposition *dhe*, now reanalysed as *ag* (by Mq) although the syntax of *dhe* is retained. An explanation for the lenition of *ceapadh* (and *comhaireamh, cuimhniú*) may be found in the phonological trait common to all six (verbal) nouns in this class; they all have initial *c-*. (For other lexemes with unhistorical *ch-*, see 9.113, 9.101.) The velar stop is phonetically the most fricative of the plosives; it has the longest duration of postaspiration and there are often two visible releases on a spectrogram (e.g. Fry 1979: 124). A slow articulation of *ceapadh*, commonly used to indicate uncertainty, would exaggerate the inherent friction of the palatovelar release. This could then lead to reinterpretation of the friction as phonological. The semantic similarity between *tá mé ag cheapadh go ...* and *cheapthainn go ...* (not to mention *séard tá mé a cheapadh*, and the construction with following clausal object, e.g. *théis muid héin* [subject] *a cheapadh go ...*; cp. *tá mé dhá cheapadh go ...* common in other dialects (e.g. Co. Clare LSE27; cp. *d’iarraidh (= ag iarraidh)* in other lects, including Cois Fharráige: *ad iarraidh* GCF §23, consistently in ICF Texts, lines 3, 56, 91, 132, also *ag iarraidh* GCF §§22, 25, 29) and the fact that other verbal nouns in *c-* are lenited anomalously could reinforce the lexicalisation of *ag cheapadh*. There is also anomalous lenition of semantically and phonologically similar *creidim ~ chreidim* (9.132).

ceapadh Lenition is the norm for the vast majority of speakers, e.g.

bhíodar AG CHEAPADH go raibh SM.

Nonlenition is consistent for **43M** (in contrast with her parents), often for **11C** and **64M**, also **899D6925** and **899P**, e.g.

bhíodh muid AG CEAPADH 899P,

wíl m’ e k’æpə gə ro 43M *bhfuil mé AG CEAPADH go raibh,*

v’i m’ e k’æpə gə m’ e:d’ə r’ gə m’ ex ɔ̃o: k’æpə gər tu: 43M

bhí mé AG CEAPADH go mb’fhéidir go mbeadh J6 AG CEAPADH gur tú ...

Speaker **15W** has *ag c(h)eadadh*, e.g.

tá mé ’CHEAPADH vs. bhíodar AG CEAPADH.

One wonders if she has a pattern of *-V x’æpə* vs. *-C ə k’æpə* (i.e. *ag*^ø when the particle is phonetically realised: ə). Her sister has *tá mé ’CHEAPADH 04Br* consistently.

There is an instance of the verbal adjective *ceapthaí* being lenited in an

speakers who vary their productive use in this context and of another who never lenites except in set phrases, e.g. (non-actor head noun) *Lá Chrosta na Bliana*.

apparent slip of the tongue:

... **ʃe x̥æ | x̥æ:pi: gər xrox ... 32J**

... sé ag cheap-, *CHEAPTHÁI gur chroch ...*

Cp. parenthetic sé an fáth bhfuil sé mar sin, *CHEAPAIMSE, ... 52P*.

- cléimeáil* Heard lenited in *ag chléimeáil* from speaker **66N** only. She uses it commonly in *tá siad AG CHLÉIMEÁIL go ... 66N* 'it is said that ...'.
- comhaireamh* Generally not lenited. Lenited, however, in:
Tá siad AG CHOMHAIREAMH x̥ũ:r̥'ə go bhfuil an t-airgead ... 11C4377.
Recall that **11C** has *ag c(h)earpadh*.
- cúimhniú* Generally nonlenited but lenited in:
bhí sé AG CHUIMHNIÚ x̥imn̥'ũ: nach é an deá-rud a bhí roimhe 892M-4527.
- cónaí* Lenited frequently following verbs of motion, e.g.
chua sí CHÚNAÍ leis S, but
dhá mb'ann a ghothaidís ag cúnaí 05M.
Otherwise not lenited, *ag cónaí* being less common than *ina gcónaí*, etc.
- cúnamh* Consistently lenited as verbal noun, both independently and following all verbs:
Ní tháinig me CHÚNAMH dhíb 52J85,
Bhí mé A CHÚNAMH dhó M,
le haghaidh sórt máistireacht bheag a bheir a'd, CHÚNAMH dhon stiúir. 01C6137,
xur ʃe əŋ ɣruə xunə ɣit̪ M ar chuir sé aon ghrua A CHÚNAMH dhuit?
'g obair leis is A CHÚNAMH dhó S.
There is a rare example of lenition of *chúnamh* as a noun:
su:l̥s ə n̥ukəx x̥ũ:nə b'ih ori: oŋ 'gʷf̥uk | 892Mtn
súil is go (n)diocthadh chúnamh ar bith oraibh ón gcnoc,
(cp. this speaker's *ag chuimhniú* above; for **n̥ukəx**, see 9.143).
- cuideachta* The *ə* preceding *chuideachta* is interpreted by Máire (Mq) as **eg̊** *ag* rather than **gə** *dhe*.
tháinig sé in éineacht liom A CHUIDEACHTA dhom ɥum ə 'xid̥əxt̪ ũm 11C,
gohə ʃe ʃis ə xid̥əxtə ɣit̪ M gabhthaidh sé síos A CHUIDEACHTA dhuit,
fanthaidh mé píosa CHUIDEACHTA dhuit 21Pt.

9.82 Definite nouns

Definite nouns, including proper nouns (and excluding nouns mutated by a preceding article), are lenited in genitive position. Examples with dependent proper names include:

mi:n̥t̪'ər̪ x̥a:r̪nə / wi:n̥ʃə M muintir CHARNA / MHAÍNSE;

f̪'ær wun 'dɔrəxə 11C fear BHUN Dorcha;

ə buələ f̪a:r̪ək' S ag bualadh PHÁDRAIG;

as ku:r̪' wɑ:r̪'i:n̥' M as comhair MHAÍRÍN;

choinnigh sé air i ndiaidh SHÉAMAIS ar chaoi ar bith ARN7476;

théis MHEIREACÁ; réitigh sí amach ansin, leihí MHEIREACÁ.

Lenition of embedded genitive nouns is common with proper names, e.g.

muintir PHOBAL CHLOCH na Rón 892M1800;

əgəs e: r̪'e:ʃ hobər kɑ:l̪'i:n̥' ARN3513 agus é thar éis THOBAR Cáilín;

ag leanacht MHCIL PHÁRAIC Séamais ARN8418;

bhíodar ag coinneál MHAC Uí Con Raoi ansin ARN4047;

gan aon bhád ag taobhachtáil CHRUAICH na Caoile, 892M4311;
ar bhruach CHÍONN tSáile !894C;
ar Mhullán CHARRAIG a Míle ... rúinte CHARRAIG a Míle 892M;
ar fhascadh CHRUAICH na Cara ARN9355;
chomh mór le leath CHRUAICH Phádraic 06C;
leithide CHAILLEACH na Luibhe bhí sa gClochán 11C2520.

Lá Fhéil ... is regularly **la:l'**; similarly, *Lá chinn an dá lá dhéag* and *Lá Chinn Bhliana*.

Embedded common nouns are also often lenited, e.g.

léine FHEAR an tí [x2] 866ESc218; iníon FHEAR an tí Sc219.33;
doras THEACH an phobail 869Pt;
tá barail mhaith a'inn dhe dháta BHÁIS u-, Mhícheál Mharcais 11C;
l'æ: ʸarɖ nə skol'ə 20Pá *leath GHEÁIRD na scoile (unlenited g'arɖ nə skol'ə 20Pá géáird na scoile).*

Particularly in sayings and set phrases:

kai:l' wa:d'ə n tri:m' 21J *coill MHAIDE an troim 'elder wood',*
dearmad BHEAN an tí S, uabhar GHIOLLA na briollaí S,
leámh CHÚR na habhann S, scéal CHAILLÍ an útháis 35E,
tanaí CHAC na circe, maidí THALTHAMH an éisc.

The dependent nouns in the phrases *mac col ceathar* and *mac mic (leis)* are regularly unlenited. Lenited examples found in:

| 'mā:k xol 'k æ:hər | 05M *mac CHOL ceathar,*
 | 'mā:k 'v'ɪk' l'ej ... 05M *mac MHIC leis ... ,*

are perhaps modelled on the common use of *mac* followed by a lenited personal name.

9.83 Nonlenition, alternation

Examples of nonlenition of the first dependent noun in a definite genitive series are common. Nonlenition of embedded common nouns is especially frequent. Examples occur following: (i) compound or nominal prepositions, (ii) verbal nouns, (iii) indefinite pronouns, (iv) common nouns.

- (i) *gur TIMPAL CÚIRT A ATHAR a bhíodar. 852Sb6.66;*
I BHFIANAISE CÚIRT A ATHAR 866ESemr52;
AR SHON GAISCE NA HÉIREANN [X2] 866ESc42–3;
 cp. *AR SHON CATHAIR NA GAISCE [X2] ... AR SHON CATHAIR NA GAISCE NA HÉIREANN 866ES43;*
Bhí búistéara ina chónaí AR AGHAIDH TEACH AN TSAGAIRT anonn. 875PDT10;
bhuail sé amach CHOIS BINN AN TÍ (run)04B consistently;
ag siúl leothub, I NDIAIDH CÚIL A GCINN ansin 894Cs;
ən æ:k'ə ga:ri: n' ɪr fo | 894C *IN AICE GARRAÍ AN FHIR SEO;*
ʃiər træ:snə ku:n raun'ɔft'ə:n *St2a siar trasna Cuan 'Roundstone';*
nuair a d'fhicidís na jaicíní seo go minic, AIMSIR DLÍOBH AN TSASANAIGH is DLÍOBH NA HÉIREANN, chuiridís faitíos orthub, 892M4850.
 Cp. *aimsir* governing a verbal noun without lenition (in nonfinite subordination):
bhuél, AIMSIR DÍONAMH ' BHRÉIDÍN, an mbídís ag cuir an olann go Gaillimh ... ? 21Pg1018.

- (ii) *bhí sé AG TÓIGEÁL MIOSÚR AN GHASÚIR, agus MIOSÚIR AN TSEANFHIR agus MIOSÚIR AN FHIR ÓIG. 894Cst;*
AG CUIR GAINÉAMH GARBH NA TRÁBH in uachtar (run)04B;
AG FUAGAIRT TUBAISTÍ NA BLIANA, ar an gcéad deatach ... 06C;
Ní dheárna se ao' bhlas ariamh ach A' FAIRE BRISEADH A CHOMHARSA, fáil rudaí faoi thír 's ... 12S;
cp. a cuid peictiúir dheasa táirní [tarraingthe] is í AG GARDÁIL BÉAL AN CHUAN. !11C1660.
- (iii) *Bhí BUNÁITE MUINTIR AN BHAILE MHÓIR ina suí nó ag éirí 875PDT10;*
Ach chreid, BUNÁITE MUINTIR NA TÍRE SEO ULIUG 35E9348 (bunáite is not interpreted as adverbial here).
- (iv) *faoi DHORAS TEACH SCOLÓG NA FÉASÓIGE LÉITHE 852SbTS121, etc., many unlenited tokens (including in corresponding audio recording); only once: faoi DHORAS THEACH SCOLÓG ... 852SbTS123;*
gur tháinig siad IN AMHARC CÚIRT UÍ CHONCHÚIR 864MLL77;
go dtáinig sé ag DORAS PÁLÁS A ATHAR 866ESemr172;
SEANATHAIR MÓR BEAN SHEÁIN ÓIG BULLUSTRAIN SÓC1.84;
Tháinig a' dreóilín ag DORAS TEACH A' TÁILLIÚR (Adn)03V CABI §431(c) v. 3 (similarly 03V (e) v. 1, also (a), (b), (f));
seod TÚS MÍ NA BEALTAINE, 892M1414;
ATHAIR FEAR ROISÍN NA MAINCHÍOCH 892M2551.

Note the nonlenition of a dependent embedded noun, *bainne na bó* which is syntactically definite but which has generic meaning, following an abstract noun in:

TEAS BAINNE NA BÓ FFG s.v. *fuair*(c).¹

Alternation occurs in the sayings:

AR SHIOC THÚS NA HOÍCHE (sea) dhíol Fíonn na bróga S, also AR SHIOC TÚS NA HOÍCHE ... S (cp. nondefinite versions of the same saying, i.e. ar shioc tús oíche ...);
AS OCHT Dé agus BHÉAL / BÉAL NA HUMHLAÍOCHT! 05M.

9.84 Proper names

There is also alternation, i.e. examples of nonlenition, in proper names:

- (i) *réaltaí áirthid ar an aer, A' NÚS BUALADH NA MBODACH agus mar sin, 11C;*
AR FUD CÚIGE CHONNACHTA 869P2.9;
- (iii) *LEITHIDE Y'ehəd'ə CÉIBH NA HAIRDE THAR ná an Mhása 18J8979;*
- (iv) **| hri: 'yri:m' 'kof 'efi:n' | er' 'war: knük 'ta:rə | 894Cstn**
thrí DHROIM COIS OISÍN ar BHARR CNOC TEARA;
Agus nach bhfuil mullán i MBÉAL CÉIBH NA HAIRDE MÓIRE ansin ' dtugann siad Mullán an Cheallaigh air an bhfuil? 11C;
cp. LOCH BHUN AN CHLOIFE commonly, but ceann LOCH BUN AN CHLOIFE 892M5550.

It may be significant that there is no example of nonlenition of a proper name following a verbal noun in this list (type (ii)). This absence might suggest that post-verbal-noun position has lenition most consistently.

¹ Contrast *i dteas bhainne na bó* (Tomás Ó Máille 2002 [1936]: 191).

In the double-article type genitive (6.96 ff.) there is generally regular lenition of dependent proper names, but nonlenition was noted in:

teach an phobail CHARNA >> *teach an phobail CARNA S*.

Unstressed *Maigh* is unlenited in:

b'æ:ɾl'ə hɛ:məʃ mə kil'ən ~ b'æ:ɾl'ə hɛ:məʃ mə kil'ən' S (both often)

Beairtle Shéamais MAIGH Cuileann / Cuilinn.

This contrasts with regular lenition of *Maigh Eo*, e.g. *Condae Mhaigh Eo*.¹

9.85 Saints, feasts and nonlenited names

Saints' names, are commonly not lenited in traditional phrases:

Bríd *crios Bríde* FFG s.v. *crios*.

Cáilín *Tobar Cáilín* **894C2, 18J**, *Lá Pátrún Cáilthín* ARN7546.

Conall **tobær kunəl' S, tobær kunəl' 11C2761** *Tobar Cona(i)ll*; nominative **ní:w kunəl Naomh Conall**.

Fionnán **kr'is f'ina:n mə xr'is** !(MP)**894Cs** *CRIOS FIONNÁN mo chrios*.

Mártan *coileach ceart Mártan, fíoréan Mártan* **894C9**, *chomh luath leis an ngaoth Mártan S* (contrast *an ghaoith Mhártan* **!894C9**; also '*tarrant fuil Mhártan* **05M**, in reference to killing of animals for the feast of St. Martin (Martinmas, 12 November)).

Muire *Tobar Muire S, A Aon-Mhíic Muire* (Abtm)**11C**, but *An Mhaighdean M(h)uire*. Cp. *gliomach Muire* (e.g. DT94), *ribe Muire, searrach Muire S*, but feminine *seamaire Mhuire, sine Mhuire* > plural *sineocháí Muire M, trua Mhuire* **!11C, SNG294**.

Contrast *crios Mhuire* (MP)**04B**, *brat Mhuire Mháthair* **!05M**, in *ainm Dé is Mhuire S*.

Pádraig *ag Tobar Pádraig go Mám Éan amuich*. **11C**; *An Mharthainn Pádraig ~ An Mharthainn Phádraig* **04B**, *An Mharthainn Phádraig* (MP)**894Cs**.

Peadar *Lá ('il) Peadar is Pól*.

Cp. *Cróithín* in *lagar Cróithín* **23B**, also *lagar Chróithín M*; place-name *Sruthán Síonach* (*Síonach* is said to be the earlier name of *Naomh Mac Dara*).

With *Naomh*, e.g. *in onóir Naomh Mac Dara* ARN7716.

Genitive (*Mh*)*ic* takes nonlenition in the Christian names which I have noted. The second elements in *Mac Dara* and *Mac Duach* are not lenited following *Mhic* in the genitive, e.g.

Oileán Mhic Dara,

la: ol'ə v'ik' dæ:rə 23Ms, la:l' v'ik' dæ:rə 894C, 05M,

la: l'ək' 'dæ:rə 18J, il' ək' 'dæ:rə 18J *Lá / Oíche 'il Mhic Dara*;

faoi choimrí Dé is Mhic Duach v'ik' duəx (Asc)**10B**.²

¹ Unstressed *Maigh* is also consistently unlenited in *Maigh Chromtha* (West Cork; in the writings of An tAthair Peadar Ó Laoghaire and in folklore) as stated by Ó Cróinín (1961–3: 253), e.g. *I n-aice Mochromtha* (Ó Cróinín 1980: 122). (I am grateful to Máirtín Ó Murchú for the example of *Maigh Chromtha* and to Seán Ua Súilleabháin for references.)

² Lenition in **Mhic Dhara* is, however, suggested by the evidence of the place-name *Cruaich Mhic Dhara* > **kruaə nə karə**, with **ka-** < **-k ya-** < **-k' ya-** (1.254). In fact nonlenition of *Mhic D-* may be attributable to avoidance of the opaque sandhi **-k' y-** > **k-** here. Cp. *'ac Dhonncha* > *a Conncha*; including *Uí Conncha* (9.25). Avoidance of opaque sandhi effects does not, however, explain

Similarly, in the use of (*mh*)*ac*, and genitive (*mh*)*ic*, meaning ‘son of’ (12.2), e.g.

Seán 'ac Pádraig, ar Leic Sheáin 'ic Pádraig **892M**.

Dia is not lenited in the genitive *Dé*, e.g. *le cúnaimh Dé, a Mhic Dé*, nor in common case *grá dia, sna mallachtaí Dia* **894C9**, *do neart Dia i dtala' leat!* **852Sb6.71** but there is lenition of the common case form in conjunction in the curse:

æ:skən' i: jja s / gus fə:rək' ort M, P *eascainí Dhia is / agus Phádraig ort!*

Críost(a) is often not lenited, e.g. *caras Críost, corp Críost* **35E**, *Déardaoin Chorp Críost* [x3] **05M, 18J8193–4** (contrast *Déardaoin Chorp Chríost* FGB s.v. *Déardaoin*), following feminine *ar pháis Críost* **05M**, *crois Críosta na Maighdeana Muire orainn!* **21Pt**; but *as ocht Chríost, tabhair dhom rilf!* **!37J**, vocative *Ó a Íosa Chríost!* **869PDT39**.

Following *Féil* (f' e:l', I', etc.) nonlenition is general (diachronically nonlenition is regular following feminine genitive *Féile* (> *Féil*) in some instances):

Lá Fhéil Cáilín **894C2**, **la:l' ka:l' hi:n'** S *Lá Fhéil Cáilín*;

Lá Fhéil(e) Ciaráin **866ESc23.5**; *Lá 'il Pádraig, ... na Féil Pádraig*;

il' mā:rətən *Oíche Fhéil Mártan*; *Lá 'il Muire, faoi Fhéil Muire*;

faoi Fhéil Michíl SID.46 (s.v. *comh-fhad*), *séard a bhí ann, amach faoi Fhéil Michíl, insa ngeimhreadh*. **11C**;

Lá 'il Peadar is Pól **01C6300**.

But **f'ri: e:l' fə:ri:k'** SID.46 (s.v. *comh-fhad*) *faoi Fhéil Phádraig* and regularly *Lá 'il Mhic Dara*. Cp. (*tSin*) *Seáin in il' t'in' ja:n' Oíche Fhéil tSin Seáin, nə f' e:l' t'in' ja:n'* M *na Féil tSin Seáin, ə muləx nə fl'e: ja:n'* S *i mullach na Flé Seáin*.

There is nonlenition in the names of some other feasts, e.g. (homorganic)

Domhnach Cincise, Domhnach Cásc.

Béarach occurs as an adjective in, for example, *an chailleach Bhéarach*, with regular nonlenition *aois na caillí Béara* M.

In the names of the days of the week *Dé* is not lenited nor does it cause lenition, e.g.

ó Dé Domhnaigh (seo caite), chuile Dé Máirt;

except in *Déardaoin*, which takes optional lenition:

xul'ə d'er'di:n' M *chuile Déardaoin* (nonlenition most common, if not categorical, for Máire following *chuile*);

f'e ya: je'r'di:n' M *le dhá Dhéardaoin*.

Calendar terms — days, months, most feasts — and names of languages are treated as indefinite nouns as regards lenition, i.e. they are lenited following feminine nouns, plurals in palatal finals, etc. Examples:

Lá Samhna, Oíche Shamhna, tráthnóna Domhnaigh, maidin Mháirt,

an teanga Ghaeilge, amhrán Béarla, amhráin Bhéarla.

Exception: *Márta in ag iarraidh ronnaigh Márta* **01C6298**; contrast general *gaoith(e) Mháirta*. Cp. *Máirtan* above.

Note nonlenition in the place-name **karəg' mā:nəs** **18J7101** *Carraig Mánas*. *Fáil* is unlenited, e.g. *as tíortha Fáil* (Lam) **04B**, *feara Fáil*.

Few epithets of masculine personal names are lenited. Typical examples of nonlenition are:

nonlenition in genitives such as *'ic Pádraig*. There nonlenition, synchronically anomalous in the nominative, may have spread from the nominative.

bhí Peadar Mór ... ar Pheadar Mór ... dhe Pheadar Mór **892M3643–7**.

The epithets in some proper names are lenited, but no consistency regarding dative case or lenition of the head noun is evident, e.g.

ag Bóirne Mhór **869P3**, *Bhí Bóirne Mhór* **869P3**.

Cp. *Crochú(i)r Dubh na hOrdóige* generally, but also *Crochúir Dhubh na hOrdóige* M (my impression was that Máire parsed this as expected: [[*Crochúir Dhubh*] [*na hOrdóige*]]).

The lenition of surnames is generally unrelated to dative case or lenition of the head noun, e.g.

le Seán Chúláin, le Seán Cúláin, ar Sheán Cúláin, ar Sheán Chúláin, etc.,
faoi Chóilín Ó Cúláin.

(Contrast GCF §511(ii) *Ó*.)

Speaker **892M**, however, has:

Peadar Breathnach (ARN3636,–43,–50) vs. *ar Pheadar Bhreathnach* (ARN-3644,–47).

See also ‘Surnames’ 9.25 (cf. Chapter 12).

9.86 Prepositions

Prepositions which lenite are:

ar, dhe, dho, faoi, ó ~ uaidh, roimh(e), tha(i)r, thrí;

with restricted use of lenition *gan, eidir, le, mar*.

Of these, *dhe, dho, faoi, ó ~ uaidh, roimh(e), thrí* (all (optionally) vowel-final) lenite consistently. The prepositions *le* and *mar* do not generally lenite although there are some instances of lenition.

There is exceptional correlative lenition following *go* (i.e. $go^H > go^L$) in younger speaker **71D**'s phrase *o wa:l'ə gə wa:l'ə 71D ó bhaile go bhaile*. There is a possible instance in *o: 'ɣlɔk gə 'lɔk' 892M4301 ó ghloic go g(h)loic* (but *gə lɔk'* is possibly attributable to loss of schwa between homorganics followed by coalescence from *gə ɣ(ə)lɔk'*). Similarly, *o x'a:n x'a:n nə bl'ianə 40S ó cheann cheann na bliana* (although not very audibly distinct) meaning *ó cheann [go] ceann na bliana*. Cp. correlative aspiration (i.e. $ó^L > ó^H$), e.g. *ó háit go háit* (9.152).

9.87 ar

The simple preposition *ar* is followed by nonlenition in many phrases, most of which have nonspecific reference. These include common adverbs *ar ball, ar deireadh, ar súil*, compound prepositions *ar feadh, ar fud*, (adverbial) phrases *ar bogadh, ar fáil, ar fónamh, ar fuaidreadh, ar leith (er l'e 11C), ar maidin* (including specific use, e.g. *ar maidin inniubh*), and indefinite adjective *ar fad*. It is also found with a modern borrowing *er bu:rd M ar búird* (< board, 'lodgings'). Contrast lenition in adverbial *ar fheabhas* and nonspecific *ar mhallúir*. Note also the conjunction *ar súil is go*, also *ar shúil is go*. (For the narrowing of the use of the preposition *un* (< *chun*) to nonspecific reference, see 7.80 ff.). A sample of other phrases noted without lenition is given here.

ar baisc: xir'ədər er' b'ur ogəs er' ba:fk' | k'ærhu' gən lu:n dɪ | (Suda)04B
chuireadar AR BIOR agus AR BAISC ceathrú dhen lon dubh.

ar balla: an chéad fhear a chuirtheadh céad éisc AR BALLA er' ba:lə 01C6355 (on the quay (wall)); with specific meaning in: *AR BALLA na Gaillimhe 869P4*.

- ar binse*: AR BORD is AR BÍNSE le clánn na ríte (Aag)03C.
- ar bior*: in phrases such as *do shúile* AR BIOR. See also *ar baisc* above.
- ar bogadh*: ‘steeping’, e.g. *an fheoil a fhágáil* AR BOGADH; ‘loose’, e.g. ‘*an capall — crú* AR BOGADH uirthi’ Sc188.6.
- ar bord*: common, but **ga: da:rin’ t’ er’ vquird** 46.1109 *dhá dtarraint* AR BHORD. Lenition in specific use: AR BHORD *an bháid* 01P; in second token in: *go dtáinig sí* AR BORD *ag a’ gCeannaí Fionn. ... go dtáinig sí* AR BHORD *an tsoithigh*. 875PDT15.
- ar bóthar*: *aon ghaiscíoch gá fheabhas (fhús) gár leag cos* AR BÓTHAR *ariamh ná gár rug ar chlainhe* 866ESemr78; *ag cuir múin* AR BÓTHAR; *nuair nar raibh rud ar bich ag teacht* AR BÓTHAR, *roimhe seobh, sórt truc ná leoraí ná rud a bich ...* 899P; *tá siad i ndan a bheith sa ngarraí is tá siad i ndan a bheith* AR BÓTHAR. 05M (context: *siógaí*).
- ar bruach*: *ag cuir airtid* AR BRUACH S.
- ar buaic*: *ag iomradh* AR BUAIC.
- ar buaile*: 06C, M. Cp. *Bhíodh bean* AR BHUAILE, ... *Triúr ban a bhí ann a bhí* AR BUAILE. 864MDT31–2.
- ar bundún*: in personal name in folk tale *Snaidhm* AR BUNDÚN 864MDT46, *Snaidhm* AR BÚNDÚN SNG294.
- ar cairde*.
- ar caladh*: cp. (*múin a chuir*) AR CALADH (Jan Chanraí, An Máimín and Ráth Cairn).
- ar céibh*: *go dtug sé* AR CÉIBH *aríst iad* 892M1538.
- ar cíos*: *tá teach* AR CÍOS *acub*.
- ar clár*: *’e gol er klar* P *bheith ag gol* AR CLÁR.
- ar coláiste*: *nuair a bhí mé* AR COLÁISTE ... *ag goil* AR COLÁISTE *sagartóireacht* 35E8951, also *er’ kla:jt’ eg’ a* 25M AR COLÁISTE *aige*.
- ar creathadh*: *Bhí sé* AR CREATHADH *le fuacht* Clad172.
- ar cuntraic*, *ar cuntraict*: *gan iad a thóigeál* AR CUNTRAIC 897St, AR CUNTRACT S; also *ar chuntraict* S (11.113).
- ar cuairt*: but lenition at least for one speaker in: *sa:l ə d’ukə fe er xuərt’ ə’wa:l’ə* 52P *sula dtiocthaidh sé* AR CHUAIRT *abhaile*, lenited *chuairt* may have specific reference here, meaning ‘on a visit’.
- ar cúl*: *curtha* AR CÚL 06C.
- ar cúlóg*: e.g. ARN2209, 2244.
- ar cúlraíd*: *er’ ku:lra:d’* | 894C.
- ar deargmheisce* 894C9, as *ar meisce*.
- ar dinnéar*: *nar chuir sé* AR PLÁTA *agus* AR DÍNNEAR *ansin* 892M5377, *Bhí an rí imithe* AR DÍNNEAR *ann* B19.56.
- ar domhain*: *leithchéad feá* AR DOMHAIN 899D, *amach* AR DOMHAIN *mór* 892M. Also *dhá fhíochid feádh ...* AR DOIMHNE Clad127.
- ar domhan*: *-Níl aon chaoi agam* AR DOMHAN *ach cuireadh dinnéir a chur chuige* LL22.
- ar dumhaigh*: *a’ troid* AR DUMHAÍ *agus* AR TRÁIGH 852S2.
- ar fad* ‘lengthwise’: *trí troithe* AR FAD.
- ar farráige*: *níor chaitheadar i bhfad* AR FARRAIGE *aon uair* 899D, *agus í curtha* AR FARRAIGE. 11C, *ar ithalthamh agus* AR FARRAIGE. ARN8002.
- ar fascadh*: *é chuir* AR FASCADH.
- ar féarach*: *tá na beithí* AR FÉARACH 46.40.
- ar féasta*: *bhí rún aige fios a chuir ar uaisle na Gaillimhe* AR FÉASTA. 11C.
- ar fleidh*: *er’ fl’ai s er’ f’ eistə* (Acsb)881Jt AR FLEIDH is AR FÉASTA.
- ar forbhás* SM.
- ar garda*: *bí* AR GÁRDA *i gcúnaí* 866ESemr80; *go raibh* ‘warrior’ *tao’ abhus*, AR GARDA. 892Mtn.
- ar glan*: *chaitheá a bheith* AR GLAN *san áit nach mbeadh aon ... fheamainn ag fás* 899D.
- ar gor*: *er gur*.
- ar leithead*: *ə l’agən ... er l’ehəd a leagan ... ocht n-orlaí déag* AR LEITHEAD 892M1459.
- ar maidin*: AR MAIDIN *an tríú lá ...* AR MAIDIN *an ceathrú lá* 866ESc95.9, 35.
- ar marcaíocht*: ‘*ghabh fear acu* AR MARCAÍOCHT *orm*’ 866ESc122.18, also Clad67.

1764 Initial mutations

ar meadh: *Báid eile* AR MEADH *ar bhainc throisc ag iasgach ó'n talamh*, Clad1152.
ar méid: *Tuairim trí thonna go leith* AR MÉID *a bhí an bád*, 866ESc25.7, also Clad8.
ar meisce.
ar míscríb: *Níor fhága sé* AR MÍSCRÍB *a chuid anois* Clad94, MØperm.
ar muin: AR MUIN *chapaill* 894C9.
ar muir: AR MUIR *is ar tír* (Afl)03C.
ar muráite: often, e.g. *chuaigh muid* AR MURÁITE *agus lig muid amach druife* 01C6524–5,
 but AR MHURÁITE *dhomhain* S, AR MHURÁITE FFG, *amuich* AR MHURÁITE *ballach*
 11C2261.
ar pátrún: AR PÁTRÚN 869P2 (saint's festival).
ar pláta: *nar chuir sé* AR PLÁTA *agus AR DÍNNEAR ansin* 892M5377.
ar séas: FFG s.v. *séas*.
 (ar *sioc*: in *er fuk tu:s nə hī:hə jīə f' i:n ə bro:ɣə S* AR SIOC *tús na hoíche a dhíol Fionn na bróga*. Also AR SHIOC *thús ... S.*)
ar slabhra: *an cú ... acu* AR SLABHRA 866ESc63.2.
ar sliobarnaigh *er f'ubərnə*.
ar sráid: *huə fe suəs, er f'ra:d' ə ri: 892M2032* *chuaigh sé suas* AR SRÁID *an rí; xur se:er f'ra:d' m'e !21Pt* *chuir Saera* AR SRÁID *mé*.
ar sraith: *er fra: S* AR SRAITH. Also *caint* AR SRAITH 21J.
ar suíochán: '*... an fhad a bheas an saol* AR SUÍOCHÁN' [recte] 866ESc213.2.
ar tír: *ar muir is* AR TÍR (Afl)03C.
ar tiubhas: *trí horlaí* AR TIUBHAS *er f'is*.
ar trá: cf. *ar dumhaigh* above.
ar trust: FFG s.v. *trust*, *er hrust S* *ar thrust*. (*trust* is an older borrowing.)
ar tuarastal: *agus fíodóirí ag obair* AR TUARASTAL *acu ann*. SÓC2.282.
 Note further the consistent nonlenition of *ar Clanna Bóirne* 869P3.

9.88 *eidir*

Nonlenition is regular in both local and coordinate functions of *eidir*. There is anomalous lenition in local function in the saying:

fin' e n a:t' ə wíl nə hanəmnəxi: boxtə ed'ər' huər əgəs i:m' əx S87
sin é an áit a bhfuil na hanamnachaí bochta EIDIR THUAR AGUS IMLEACH.

Nonlenition is found in coordinate function:

tharrainn sé an crann daraí as an talthamh, EIDIR CRANN AGUS RÚTA.
 892M2442;

mara mbeidh an cuisleán mór sin tugthaíthe aniar EIDIR CLOCHA, MOIRTÉAL,
 SLINN, IS ADHMAD *is chuile shórt* 894C;

xur'həx fa:l' ə fe:v' ed'ər' b'ā'n əgəs f'æ ru:b' !11C
chuirtheadh fáilte séimh EIDIR BEAN AGUS FEAR *romhaib;*
corrduine EIDIR BEAN AGUS FEAR *ag rich amach an doras* 11Ct.

In coordinate function, lenition of both coordinates or of only the first coordinate occurs in obsolescent use and in some phrases:

é chrochadh ar a' spiacán, IDIR CHLOIGEANN AGUS CHOS agus a rabh ánn
 866ESemr88;

Sé an chaoi a gcruthaíonn siad EIDIR FHEOIL IS LEATHAR *iontub. ed'ər' o:l'*
əf l'əhər intəb 01C6489 (speaker 01C retains l' - in lenited position);

ed'ər' wa:g əs da:r' i:r'ə Sq EIDIR MHAGADH IS DÁIRÍRE;
ed'ər' hau'r' əs da:r' i:r'ə Sq, ed'ər' hau gəs ga:r' i:r'ə Mq
 EIDIR SHÚGRADH IS / AGUS D(H)ÁIRÍRE.

Compare lenition of *corp* in:

hə:n'ək' fe nuəs xorp s a:nəm o:n' d'aul s ma:ri:w er' ə tra:d' e P

tháinig sé anuas CHORP IS ANAM ón deabhal is maraíodh ar an tsráid é, perhaps through elision of *eidir* (cf. Dinn, FGB s.v. *corp* 1., 3.) or 3m possessive *a^L*. Similarly, in a traditional prayer:

Go saora tú sinn ó gach uile olc,
Ar a námhaid, AINIMH, æ'n' ðv' | AGUS CHOIRP. !05M.

9.89 *gan*

The preposition *gan* is generally followed by nonlenition, e.g.

gəm bixəs GAN BUÍOCHAS ‘without thanks’;
gəŋ kosi: gən lā:wə 15W GAN COSAÍ *gan lámha*;
v' i: fe n'jin' gəm m'aur' gəm muhu: S
Bhí sé ansin GAN MEABHAIR GAN MOTHÚ; GAN GIG GAN GEAIĞ as. **06C**;
tá sé GAN BIA, GAN DEOCH, GAN DÍDEAN ná tada **11C**.

Lenition of initial *m* occurs in a few set phrases. It is found in the set adverbial phrase **gən waii'** *gan mhoill*, but not when in non-adverbial usage, e.g. clear nominal use qualified by a verbal noun phrase, i.e. [*gan [moill (ar bith) a dhéanamh*] (cp. 9.93)]. Also in the phrase *gan cor gan mhaing* S. Also optionally in *gan m(h)aith* (*gan mhaoin*):

GAN MHAITH GAN MHAOIN S,
bastard dhe ghadhar sin GAN MAITH ná maoin ann M.

Also *gan smais* GAN MHAISE; *fear óg* GAN MHSNEACH (Abtm)**11C**, cp. ‘*tá tú* GAN MHEABHAIR’ **892M**tn.

Lenition of *c* and *g* occurs optionally in *gan c(h)oilleadh gan c(h)lith* and *gan c(h)uma gan c(h)aoi*:

GAN CHOILLEADH GAN CHLÍTH S,
 GAN CHUMA GAN CHAOI GAN CHOILLEADH GAN CHLÍTH S.

Also *A Rí ar tugadh an bhreith* GAN CHOIR GAN CHÁIN ort **!869P6** (in litany composed by the speaker) and in the set phrase **kolə'n' gən x'an** COLAINN GAN CHEANN ‘headless person or ghost’; *Fear bocht* GAN CHÉILL a bhí i Seán **864M**DT35 (lenition often normalised in DT).

Contrast regular *gan fios*, e.g. *gan fios cé faoi* (Aln)**11C**, with petrified *i nganfhiós*. Lenition of *f* occurs in *gan fhiathraí* ‘without by your leave’, e.g.

rinne tú do ghrutha GAN FHIATHRAÍ déarthainn S.

The second verbal noun is lenited through parallelism with its preceding token in:

kumə ɾum i: fostə:l' nus gən fostə:l' 21Jq
Cuma liom í A PHOSTÁIL nó's GAN PHOSTÁIL.

9.90 *le, mar, tha(i)r*

le

There is an anomalous example of lenition of the verbal noun following *le* in:

Marab fhuil go [dhe] chapall agam LE FHÁIL ... *ach thusa*, followed by regular ... *le fáil a'm* **869P2**.

Note the slip of the tongue, through confusion of *le* and *dhe*, in:

a bhí chomh mór LE CHEANN a bith dh'Oileáin Árainn. **11C3049**.

There is anomalous lenition following *le*, through analogy (synchronically) with *ar*, in one of the by-forms of the obsolescent final conjunction: *ar súil*, *ar shúil*, *le súil*, *le shúil* (8.141); and in a minor by-form of final *ar fhaitíos*, *le fhaitíos*. Cp. *le linn* (9.114).

mar

There is often no lenition, e.g. *mar Seán* Mq, 20Cq ‘like Seán’, but there are examples of lenition with *bean* in the sense ‘as, in function of’:

sin í tá MAR MHNAOI *ĩĩĩ*: *a’ m inniubh* 889P;

bə bə’ntɾ’əx ə v’ ex a’kuɾ ma’r v’ æ:n 894C

ba baintreach a bheadh acú MAR BHEAN.

In query Máire lenites *mar pheicdiúr / teach / chogadh / dhlíobh / fhear* Mq. In stories and in formal contexts some speakers, e.g. 866E and 04B, have frequent *mar* (‘as, in function of’) with lenition, for present-day vernacular {*dhe* or *i* + possessive}:

agus mé féin agus an Cú Garbh MAR BHUACHAILL ... *agat* 866E_{Sc}49.4;

chuaigh sí isteach, insa gclochar, MAR [pausa] BHEAN rialta. 04B;

‘*ach fan a’ m* MAR GHAISCÍ.’ (Smbb)04B;

... *a bhíonnas ag daoine* MAR CHUIDEACHTA dhóib 04B;

song: ... *ə tɪl mar vlɑ*: (Asc)19S ... *an t-aol* MAR BHLÁTH.

Similarly, MAR CHÓMH-ÁBHAR *a’ tosaí ar bhád* 894C6.

tha(i)r

Lenition following *tha(i)r*, innovative *thairis*, is regular, e.g.

thair BHALLA, *thar* DHROICHEAD, *thar* DHUINE *eile*, *thar* THEACH *báicéara*;

gol’ hær’ əf xɪn’ t̪ gə wus 79A *ag goil thairis* CHUINT *dhe bhus*.

Nonlenition is common in set adverbial phrases, where *tha(i)r* is followed by an indefinite, nonspecific object, i.e.

thar baile isteach Clad211, *thar barr*, *thar barr amach*, *thar bord* Clad9,

thar cuan, *thar muir*, *thar sáile*, *thar tír isteach*, *thar tórainn*, *thar cionn*

(but *thair chionn* 31P).

For example, *hær’ mur’ əgəs hær’ sɑ:l’ ə* (Asp)11C *thar muir agus thar sáile*.

For possible coronal blocking, such as *thar teach óil* SNG295, see 9.35.

9.91 Preposition + article

The article preceded by a simple preposition regularly eclipses a following noun, e.g. *ar an bhfear*, *ar an bhfeamainn*. Exceptionally, feminine nouns may be lenited, retaining the lenition which is regular following the feminine common-case article without prepositions. Examples are:

ar an *ghá gcinnthit sé* AR AN FHAIRGE *an gaiscíoch a bhátha* 852S4;

‘*ach níor chaintigh sé* AR AN FHUIL,’ *a deir sí*. 866E_{Sc}205.38;

agus ní raibh tada le fáil AR AN FHAOCHA *an t-am sin*. 05M;

mar ja:l er’ ə ’nɪl’ | ma ja:l er’ ə ’fɪl’ | 51P *mar gheall* AR AN FHUIL, *mar*

gheall AR AN FUIL (with extra emphasis on both tokens of *an f(h)uil* extracting them from the phrase, i.e. as if [*mar gheall ar [an fhuil]*]).

Local place-name *an Fhaithe* ... AR AN FHAITHCHE ... AR AN FHAITHCHE B19.51–2.

sábháilt ó bháisteach AR A’ MHÓIN *ag an ám céanna* 894C9.

as an *æs ən a’rəg’ ə* 20Mlt AS AN FHARRAIGE;

... *an fheadóg ina bhéal agus chuir sé sian* AS AN FHEADÓIG Sc63.40;

æs ən’ æ’do:g M AS AN FHEADÓIG;

younger speaker: *æs ə ræ:ŋk’* 78Rb AS AN FHRAINIC.

faoin *aon bhilleog amháin ... an bhilleog ... faoin mbilleog ... an bhilleog ...* FAOIN

BHILLEOG. 892M2118–20;

ta tu fi:n ʔi: gəs fi:n v’ æ’rhən’ (Smds)04B

- tá tú FAOIN GHAOTH agus faoin bhfearhainn;*
fi:n' æ:mən' M FAOIN FHEAMAINN, fi:n' o:l' 54C FAOIN FHEOIL;
ar dhúirt sé tada FAOIN MHÓIN? fi:n 'wu:n' | 66N.
- leis an LEIS AN (FH)UAIM a bhain sé ... 869P2 (contrast regular f'ej ə wuəm' torən' | 869PSgbf leis an bhfuaim torainn a bhain sé ...);*
Rinneadar an jab céanna LEIS AN MHOING bhred a bhí uirthi. 01P (13.10, line 19);
f'ej ə f'ien ə ta mə hi:w S LEIS AN PHIAN atá i mo thaobh.
- ón ta: ən t'ülɾəx ɔ:n ɣ' r'e:g' ɔ:n !46.IV.1b*
Tá an i-iolrach ÓN GHRÉIG ann (perhaps higher register);
agus é bainte ÓN GHARAMAIN aige 894C3;
ɔ:n wa:rəg' ə ~ ɔ:n a:rəg' ə S ón bhfarraige ~ ÓN FHARRAIGE;
An oíche a raibh sé ag tíocht ÓN CHUARTAÍOCHT as tigh Bhideach fadó
ARN8802 (cp. common ó chuartaíocht);
... ɔ:n xlo | [x2] 79A ... ÓN CHLOICH.
- roimh(e) an le faitíos ROIMH AN FHRAINIC 852S2, cp. as an l sa Fhrainc.*
(in)sa SA CHAOI nach ... [corrected in MS from gcaoi] 894C9;
agus torann mór INSA CHISTEANACH 04Bt;
sə ræ:ŋk' 21Pt SA FHRAINIC.
- thríd an thríd an mbárr-chuanla agus thríd AN FHEAMAINN bhuidhe Clad1230;*
hri:d' ən' iəsə:g 892M4636 thríd AN FHÉASÓG.

The most common lenited initial in the examples is *f-*. The initial consonants and number of tokens involved are:

fh- (x18), *ch-* (x5), *gh-* (x3), *mh-* (x3), *ph-* (x1), *bh-* (x1).

Cp. historical $\pm f-$ (1.112, 1.226, e.g. fem *fuaigh* < *uaigh*). When queried Mq and 31Mq produced eclipsis here but permitted:

er' ən' æ:mən', fi:n' æ:mən, fi:n a:rəg' ə, f'ij' ən' æ:mən' Mperm
ar an fheamainn, faoin fheamainn, faoin fharraige, leis an fheamainn;
fi:n in' ɔ:g' 31Mperm faoin fhuinneog (this is described as *fleaitéúlte* by 20Cq while recognising that it does occur).

In translation and in query speaker 23B contrasted preposition *ar* with *faoi* in *ar an bhfuinneog* but *faoi fhuinneog*, although such a contrast is not supported by the actual examples above. Speaker 43Mq was even more permissive of such lenited forms, which were heard in her speech, than was her mother (Mq). No speaker permitted lenition with masculine nouns (but cf. 9.139):

***fi:n' er' MØperm, 43MØperm *faoi fhéar; *faoi fhear 20CØperm.**

In 2006, while discussing what I term nontraditional speech, the very literate and linguistically sophisticated speaker 45C disparaged the increasing tendency to lenite rather than eclipse the noun and provided examples of [prep + *an* + *fharraige, fheamainn, Fhrainc, fhuinneog*], all feminine nouns in *f-* and attested above and all given by 45C without any mention by me of this use.

9.92 Irregular nouns, verbal nouns

Indefinite pronouns *an méid* and *an oiread*, both meaning 'amount', are neither mutated nor do they mutate. They are not followed by lenition in the nominative, e.g. *an méid céanna, an oiread céanna* (anomalous *oiread mhíoltóg 866ESc67*). Nor is *an méid* lenited following the uninflected genitive article, e.g. *leath an méid sin, thar éis an méid sin*. This meaning contrasts with *an mhéid* 'size', e.g. *méid mhór*. For *fad*, see 9.23.

There is no lenition of genitive *an ceann* in the phrase *ag fáil an ceann ab / is f(h)earr ar dhuine* ‘getting the better of’ (e.g. LL180, ARN4021), although in response to a translation query Máire lenites: *bhí sé ag fáil an cheann is fhearr air* Mq. We can contrast regular eclipsis in, for example, *leis an gceann ab fhearr a fháil* ARN4022 ‘to get the better of’.

9.93 Verbal nouns unlenited

Verbal nouns have a tendency to remain unlenited following prepositions. Examples with *ar* are:

ní ro’ sí sásta AR SUÍOMH *sa gcathaoir ar aon chaoi* 852SbTS135–6;

níl aon tseans againn AR MAIREACHTÁIL *de bhí agus gur imigh an cat* 866E-Sc297.10–1;

beirt an-bhocht a bhí ag faire AR PÓSADH. ... *bhíodar le pósadh ...* 892M5372–3 ‘... were hoping or intending to marry ...’ (when *pósadh* is a simple noun it must be lenited: *ag faire ar phósadh* ‘watching a marriage’);

an bhfuil sib ag brath AR TOSAÍ *amáireach? M;*

cp. *ag brath* AR TOSAÍ, *ag caint* AR FANACHT *seachtain eile* GCF §490, which are also regular for Iorras Aithneach; *gan* (9.89); *Támuid ag cuimre* AR TÉAMH *dhíona ruimh an Nollaic*. LFRM s.v. *téamh* *í* e.

As a temporal conjunction *ar* regularly lenites verbal nouns, e.g.

AR CHROMADH síos dó.

Numerals

9.94 General

A maximum of five mutational triggers or target positions (excluding *fiche(ad)*) can be involved in the syntax of numeral phrases:

- (1) a mutation trigger may precede the numeral. The target range of that trigger may include the numeral or the following noun; especially in the case of a possessive pronoun as trigger;
- (2) the initial consonant of the numeral itself may be lexically lenited;
- (3) the numeral itself is an intrinsic trigger of mutation on the noun it qualifies;
- (4) the element *déag*, meaning ‘teen’, may be lenited (by the preceding noun);
- (5) the qualified noun (phrase) may in its turn trigger lenition of dependent nouns and adjectives.

A contrived example will serve to illustrate the maximum syntagm:

<i>bhí</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>gceithre</i>	<i>feara</i>	<i>déag</i>	<i>mhóra</i>	<i>ann.</i>
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)		

The following sections dealing with numerals will tease out some of these mutational complexities, including use of eclipsis.

The cardinal numerals ‘1–6’ lenite singular nouns; this mutation is intrinsic to these numerals. Plural nouns are generally not lenited. When these numerals are qualified by preceding possessive pronouns the pronominal mutation can take precedence over the mutation which is intrinsic to the numeral. Plural possessives involve eclipsis but are discussed here to gain a systemic view of numerals.

Adjectives, and at least some nouns, following singular nouns qualified by cardinals ‘1–10’ are lenited. Higher cardinals, i.e. those containing *d(h)éag* and *f(h)ichead*, also take lenition of adjectives, at least in query. (Through oversight, I did not query use of nouns in dependent position following higher numerals. Cf. 9.105.)

The ordinal numeral *an chéad* lenites (for nonlenition preceding homorganic consonants, see 9.34). The personal numeral *beirt*, being a feminine noun, is followed by lenition; following other personal numerals, lenition is apparently optional. For numerals following the copula, see 9.125 ff.

Numerals in genitive relation to a preceding noun which lenites adjectives are not lenited by the noun, e.g.

rin’ə je ‘ling’ ‘vr’ɑ: ‘tr’i: ‘kri:n’ə je | (run)11C

rinne sé LOING BHREÁ TRÍ CROINNTE dhe.

In numeral coordination, mostly with *nó* but also with *is*, the preposition *dhe*^L can be optionally absent, i.e. **gə ~ ə ~ Ø = dhe**^L. The lenition is, however, always present, e.g.

tr’i: s k’æhər’ vl’iəntə 31D *trí is ceathair DHE BHLIANTA.*

9.95 **dhá** ʎɑ: dɑ: ɑ: gɑ: , **d(h)ó** dɑ:, ʎɑ: ‘2’

In counting ‘2’ has a special form **dɑ:** *dó*. This is lenited to **ʎɑ:** in phrases following *nó*, e.g. *ceann nó dhó* (for other numerals with *nó*, see 9.117), and optionally preceding *nó*, e.g. *dhó nó trí dhe thóranachaí* **897St**. The cardinal ‘2’ is **ʎɑ:** *dhá* in unmarked adjectival position (also **ɑ:**, **xɑ:**; also vowel in **ɑ:**; cf. ‘Historical Phonology’ 1.11, 1.100(i) and ‘Numerals’ 3.76). This **ʎɑ:** *dhá* becomes **dɑ:** *dá* following the article, *an / na*, and *aon, is / agus* (in counting), and *an chéad*; as well as in *caol dá chois* **852SbLL103** (these are historically conditioned homorganic coronal sandhi positions of nonlenition, extended to plural article *na*). Examples:

an **ən dɑ: e:n’ jin’** *S AN DÁ éan sin,*
ʎɑ: u:n’ d’ e:g ... | ən dɑ: [perhaps **dɑ:**] **u:n’ d’ e:g 17M**
dhá uan déag ... , AN DÁ uan déag.

na **nə dɑ: e:n’ jin’ 12Sperm** *NA DÁ éan sin,*
NA DÁ scór slat seo 899D6015.

Sometimes *dhá* is retained, e.g.

an *agus gach aon bhean DEN DHÁ bhean seo 866ESc156.13,*
Nach bhfuil A’ DHÁ áit chomh maith le chéile S,
n’i: ro fin’ o:g ə b’i er’ ə ‘fæ:n’ t’æx ax ə ʎɑ: in’ o:g M
ní raibh fuinneog ar bith ar an seanteach ach AN DHÁ fhuinneog.

Especially in younger speakers, e.g.

ə ʎɑ: ʎair e’ ə 79A *AN DHÁ ghadhar eile.*

Also **ən dɑ:** | **ə ʎɑ:** ... **50P** *an d(h)á*, **ə ʎɑ:** **66N**; often, perhaps consistently **ə ʎɑ:** / **xɑ:** **64M** *an dhá*. Also **xɑ:**, e.g.

fɛŋ xɑ’ frin’ d ... 64M *SÉ AN DHÁ fruind* [< friend]

aon **e:n dɑ: xupɑ:n** *S AON DÁ chupán.*

is / agus in numerals, e.g.

e:ŋ’ x’ɑ:n d’ e:g əs dɑ: ix’ əd *S aon cheann déag IS DÁ fhichead;*
 and (optionally) in the phrase:

kat is da: jr'ibəl *cat IS DÁ dhrioball.*

an chéad **əŋ' x'e: da: xupa:n** *S AN CHÉAD DÁ chupán.*

Cp. place-name **il'a:n da: vrim'hog** **35E** *Oileán Dá Bhruithneog.*

Contrast the form *dhá* following the usually deleniting coronal prefix *an-*:

'æŋ'ya: i:hə *M AN-DHÁ oíche*; **'aŋ'ya: iəɾə** **21Pt** *AN-DHÁ iarraidh.*

9.96 Radical ga:

The unmarked form **ya:** can be interpreted by speakers as having unlenited **da:** or **ga:** as base. The former unlenited base occurs in the conservative sandhi positions just outlined. Radical **ga:** occurs (optionally), both as such and in eclipsis as **ŋa:** (e.g. following the preposition *i^N*), in aspirated and eclipsed position, and metalinguistically.

The preposition *i^N* with *dhá* is realised either as **ə ya:** or **ə ŋa:** by speakers who have base cardinal **ya:**, and as **ən a:** by a speaker who has base cardinal **a:**. There is also use of **ən / əŋ ya:** in *dhá*.

i dhá > **ə ya:** **b'e də ɣo:hən' ə ya: funt** **M**
beidh do dhóthain I DHÁ phunt;
ə ɣil' ə ya: a:t' 20Mlt *a ghoil I DHÁ áit.*
 > **ə ŋa:** **ə ŋa: re'ɕistəɾɔ' l'etəɾ 20My** *INDHÁ 'registered letter'.*
 > **ən a:** **|'a: 'v'i: | ... ə na: v'i: 01P**
dhá mhí ... INDÁ mhí (i.e. IN 'Á mhí).
in dhá **ən / əŋ ya:** **ta f'jəd ən ɣā: 'a:t' ā:n | 18J8518** *tá siad IN DHÁ áit ann;*
ə'n' tr' i: ra:hə ... əŋ ya: ra:hə 898P
in trí ráithe ... IN DHÁ ráithe.

The use of English 'only' with concomitant *dhá* (for Irish *aon dá*) may have caused a block on lenition of *siopa* in:

ə tonli: ɣa: fupə 20Ml *an t-ónlaí [< only] dhá siopa ...*

The form **ga:** was used metalinguistically in discussing the preferred use of *dhá* governing *béal* in the phrase:

Tá mo dhá bhéal i bhfastú dhá chéile ~ Tá mo bhéal ... M,

where Máire (in query) commented:

f'a: ə saundə:lən fe l'e ga: fearr *a sabhaindeálann [< sound] sé le 'DHÁ'.*

9.97 Possessives *a^H*, *a^N* + *dhá* + Noun

The intrinsic mutation triggered by *dhá* is lenition. (For *dhá dtrian*, see 9.111.) When *dhá* is preceded by leniting possessive pronouns, 1sg *mo*, 2sg *do*, 3m *a*, there is no surface change in its triggering lenition. When the mutation of the preceding possessive is not lenition, however, there can be a mutational clash between possessive and *dhá*. Two realisations of the numeral *dhá* have been heard in position of mutational clash following *a^H*: **ya:**, **ga:**; three following *a^N*: **ya:**, **ga:**, **ŋa:** (in a secondary source there is a doubtful fourth form *ndá*, indicating **na:**, based on radical **da:**). (Ambiguous instances with **da:** where the article may be present have not been taken into account. For example, in (3m reference) **gə d'i: bl'e:n' ə da: wā:sə** (run) **05Md** *go dtí bléin an dá mhása*, arguably interpretable as ... *a* [3m poss] *dá mhása*. In fact, this phrase alternates with *go dtí*

meall a dhá mhása (run)11C.) With regard to the mutation following ‘2’ in this position of mutational clash, two uses occur:

- (a) lenition (intrinsic to ‘2’);
- (b) mutation proper to the possessive.

The variation in the forms of the numeral and in the following mutations produces, in all, nine combinations (eight of which are attested in my primary sources). With *cóta* as a token noun, the following patterns are found:

1sg, 2sg, 3m *mo / do / a dhá chóta*.

3f *a dhá chóta*, *a dhá cóta* (including *a dhá hascaill*), *a gá cóta* (including *a gá hainm*), *a gá chóta*.

1, 2, 3 plural:¹ *a dhá chóta*, *a dhá gcóta*, *a ngá chóta*, *a ngá gcóta*, *a gá chóta*, *a gá gcóta*, (*a ndá gcóta* in 894C1 only, a folklore manuscript in rather standard transcription; contrast 894C9 with explicit *ngá*).

Forms in $\eta\alpha$: can be taken as eclipsed versions of $g\alpha$: or perhaps as eclipsed $\gamma\alpha$:. Two syntagms are ambiguous, neither of which, however, are common, as we will see below: $g\alpha$:^L (in 3f and 1, 2, 3 plural) and $\gamma\alpha$:^L (in 3f, 3m and 3pl). Table 9.4 summarises the range of possibilities.²

Table 9.4 *dhá* ‘2’ following possessives mo^L , do^L , a^L , a^H and a^N

Base	($d\alpha$: ?)	$g\alpha$:	$\gamma\alpha$:
1sg, 2sg, 3m			$\gamma\alpha$: ^L
3f		$g\alpha$: ^H $g\alpha$: ^L	$\gamma\alpha$: ^H $\gamma\alpha$: ^L
Plural		$g\alpha$: ^N $g\alpha$: ^L	$\gamma\alpha$: ^N $\gamma\alpha$: ^L
Variant base	($d\acute{\alpha}$)	$g\alpha$: (or $\gamma\alpha$:)	
	($nd\acute{\alpha}^N$)	$\eta\alpha$: ^N $\eta\alpha$: ^L	

Forms found only in secondary sources must be judged to be doubtful. That this is so is clear from two instances: the only example of $nd\acute{\alpha}^N$ (plural) occurs in 894C1; this manuscript is written in rather standard orthography and contrasts with the more dialectal manuscript 894C9, which has explicit $ng\acute{\alpha}^N$ and $ng\acute{\alpha}^L$, both of which, in contrast with $nd\acute{\alpha}$, are corroborated from current speakers. A

¹ Each token of *a* here can represent any plural possessive (examples 9.98).

² Bergin (1932: 146–9) presents the mutations found following possessives and other mutating functors in Middle Irish with numerals *d(h)á* and *trí*, while mentioning even older as well as more modern usage. Iorras Aithneach material supplements the patterns found in Middle and Early Modern Irish and Bergin’s statement regarding Modern Irish: ‘*dá* preceded by possessive pronouns is regularly lenited, and the lenition, gemination, and nasalization caused by the pronoun follow *dá*, e.g. [3m] *a dhá áit* [... 3f] *a dhá háit* [... 3pl] *a dhá n-áit*.’ This corresponds to CGT §393(f): *a* [3f] *dhá bróig*, and plural, e.g. *ar* [1pl] *dhá mbróig*. Both L. McKenna (1944: 22 (213.27), 152–3) and McManus (1994: 427) discuss use with *d(h)á* and present a view of the Modern Irish type similar to Bergin’s which may be oversimplified given the complexity of our dialect material. É. Ó hÓgáin (1984: *a*⁵ 5(a–d)) also reports variation in the plural for Dún Chaoin, Co. Kerry: 3m *a dhá ghlúin*, 3f *a dhá cois*, 3pl *a dhá gcluais*, *a ngá nglúin*, *a ngá earaball*. It is possible, however, to derive our dialect usage from the simple Modern Irish system described by Bergin, e.g. *a dhá n-áit* > $\eta\alpha$: $na:t'$ *a ndhá n-áit*, etc. This would also explain the absence of older 3f *a dá* (expected * $\eta d\alpha$:) and plural *a ndá* (expected * ηna :) in my primary Iorras Aithneach material.

common form in secondary sources is 3f *dhá^H*; where it has been checked against sound recordings in the speech of **866E** and **869P**, it is found to be *ɣa:^H* (**866E**) and *ga:^H* (**869P**). This implies that *dhá* may have been transcribed in some instances for *ga:*, from **869P** and other speakers. The possible misinterpretations involved, indicating **na:* for *ɣa:* and *ɣa:* for *ga:*, are quite likely from a phonetic point of view, especially when **na:* and *ɣa:* retain orthographic *d*. In contrast, the necessary transcriptions in *ngá* and *gá* to indicate the dialectal forms are far from the standard and from the base *d(h)á* and homonymous with, for example, *gá* ‘need’. Cp. 3pl *ə ga: g’i:* **11C**4233 transcribed in FFG (s.v. *meall* 1), possibly from **11C**, as *a dhá gcíche*.

The base form *a:* is not dealt with in Table 9.4 because of the paucity of examples in my material. Speaker **01P** (Doire Iorrais) has cardinal *dhá a:* >> *ɣa:*. He has an example with plural possessive, unfortunately with hesitation and change of construction, in:

d’fháisceadar a, dhá scian | ‘da:ʃk’ədər ə | ‘a: ʃk’i:m bhreá dheasa ghéara acub, ag bearradh na driobaile. 01P.

We can compare his 1sg and 2sg:

er’ mə ‘a: ‘ɣlu:n’ 01P ar mo dhá ghlúin,
də ‘a: ‘v’er’ 01P do dhá mhéir.

His example in eclipsis following the preposition *i^N*: *ə na: v’i: 01P i ndá mhí* (i.e. *in ‘á mhí*) as already cited, might be taken to imply possible plural possessive **ə na:* ... *a n-á* [< *dhá*] ... and perhaps 3f **ə ha: haskəL’ a há* [< *dhá*] *hascaill*.

9.98 Individual speakers

866E Semr	3m	<i>dhá^L</i>	<i>a dhá bhois</i> 102.
	3f	<i>gá^H</i>	<i>gá dhá (gá) bois</i> 66, i.e. <i>gá</i> [< <i>dhe+a^H</i>] <i>gá</i> [< <i>dhá</i> ‘2’] <i>bois</i> .
869P		<i>dhá^H</i>	<i>a dhá súil</i> 160, <i>a dhá glúin</i> 166;
		<i>ɣa:^H</i>	<i>ghabh sí ar a dhá glúin er’ ə ɣa: glü:n’ 866Et.</i>
	3pl	<i>dhá^N</i>	<i>lena dhá gclaimhe, ina dhá n-iolrach</i> 144, <i>ina dhá ndragún</i> 144.
	3m	<i>dhá^L</i>	<i>eidir a dhá chluais</i> 2, <i>a dhá chois</i> 2.
	3f	<i>ga:^H</i>	<i>wuəl’ ʃi: ga: bof fi: x’e:f ə Sgbf bhuail sí a dhá bois faoi chéile,</i> <i>ə ga: lorəgə ZCP151 a dhá lorga, ə ga: k’i: ZCP157 a dhá cích.</i> <i>dhá^H</i> Contrast <i>a dhá cois, a dhá lorga</i> 2, 3, with primary source <i>ga:</i> (audio recording).
	3pl	<i>ga:^N</i>	<i>nə ga: mwi:n’ t’ir’ ZCP150 ina dhá muintir.</i>
		<i>dhá^N</i>	<i>lena dhá mbata</i> 5, <i>ina dhá muíntir</i> 4.
881J	1pl	<i>ɣa:^N</i>	<i>-Ach tá muid ag goil ag tabhairt a dhá gcúl dá ə ɣa: gu:l da: chéile, a deir sé. ... a dhá gcúl dá chéile 881Jtn.</i>
894C	3m	<i>dhá^L</i>	<i>ar a dhá ghlúin</i> 2.
	3f	<i>dhá^H</i>	<i>eidir a dhá cích</i> !9 (x2), <i>go dtí na dhá hascail</i> 2, <i>lena dhá súil</i> 2.
		<i>dhá^L</i>	<i>ar a dhá ghlúin</i> 1, <i>ar a dhá ghlún</i> 2.
	3pl	<i>ngá^N</i>	<i>a ndhá</i> (pron[ounced] <i>ngá</i>) <i>slinneán</i> 9.
		<i>ngá^L</i>	<i>a ngá bhois</i> 9.
		<i>ndá^L</i>	<i>ar a ndá nglúin</i> 1.
		<i>dhá^N</i>	<i>ar a dhá nglún</i> 2.
01C	3f	<i>ga:^H</i>	<i>ki:n’ əl ənə ga: su:l’ ARN6476 coinneal ina dhá súil.</i>
04B	3f	<i>ga:^H</i>	<i>ə ga: gruə</i> (Asc) <i>a dhá grua, fi:nə ga kof</i> [sic] (Amit) <i>faoina dhá cois.</i>
05M	1pl	<i>ɣa:^N</i>	<i>ənə ɣa: ɣa:su:r ina ndhá ngasúr.</i>
	3pl	<i>ɣa:^N</i>	<i>nə ɣa: la:v’ ina ndhá láimh.</i>
06C	3pl	<i>ɣa:^L</i>	<i>is cuma cén rud a leagthaidís a dhá shúil air.</i>

		gɑ:^N	ed'ər' ə gɑ: gɔf <i>eidir a dhá gcois.</i>
11C	3m	γɑ:^L	wuəl' fe 'γ̥ɑ: 'wos fi: 'X'e:l'ə <i>bhuail sé a dhá bhos faoi chéile.</i>
	1pl	ŋɑ:^N	ə 'ŋɑ: 'gʊ:l' <i>a ndhá gcúl.</i>
	3pl	ŋɑ:^N	nə ŋɑ: m'æ:n' d'e:g tn <i>ina ndhá mbean déag.</i>
		gɑ:^N	gə d'i: m'ɑ:l ə gɑ: g'i: ARN4233 <i>go dtí meall a dhá gcích.</i>
12S	3f (q)	gɑ:^H	ə gɑ: su:l' (conversation) <i>a dhá súil, ə gɑ: pɔtə q <i>a dhá pota.</i></i>
	(q)	gɑ:^L	ə gɑ: fɔtə q <i>a dhá photo,</i> cp. nə gɑ: l'e (conversation) <i>ina dhá leith.</i>
	1pl	ŋɑ:^N	ə ŋɑ: mid'e:l <i>a ndhá mbuidéal.</i>
	q	gɑ:^N	ə gɑ: bɑ:rk' q <i>a dhá bpáirc.</i>
	2pl q	ŋɑ:^L	ə ŋɑ: æ:tə q <i>a ndhá fhata.</i>
	3pl	ŋɑ:^N	nə ŋɑ: n'aul (conversation) <i>ina ndhá ndeabhal.</i> Cp. ə ŋɑ: dʒɑ:r q <i>a ndhá jár.</i>
	q	gɑ:^N	ə gɑ: gɑ:pəl q <i>a dhá gcapall.</i>
	q	ŋɑ:^L	nə ŋɑ: jaul q <i>ina ndhá dheabhal, ə ŋɑ: f'i:ntə q <i>a ndhá phionta.</i></i>
16M	3f q	gɑ:^H	ə gɑ: hæ:n'əm' q <i>a dhá hainm.</i>
	q	gɑ:^L	ə gɑ: æ:n'əm' q <i>a dhá ainm.</i>
	q	γɑ:^L	ə γɑ: xɔ:tə q <i>a dhá chóta.</i>
	1pl q	ŋɑ:^N	er' ə ŋɑ: ŋɑ:ri: q <i>ar a ndhá ngarraí, ə ŋɑ: n'ox q <i>a ndhá ndeoch.</i></i>
	2pl q	gɑ:^N	ə gɑ: glɔg'ən q <i>a dhá gcloigeann.</i>
	q	ŋɑ:^L	ə ŋɑ: æ:tə q <i>a ndhá fhata.</i>
	3pl	gɑ:^L	v'i: ə gɑ: wɑ:l a'kəb bhí <i>a dhá mhála acub.</i>
	q	gɑ:^N	ə gɑ: wɑ:n'ə q <i>a dhá bhfáinne, ə gɑ: gɑ:pəl q <i>a dhá gcapall.</i></i>
	q	ŋɑ:^N	v'i: f'iəd nə ŋɑ: n'aul q <i>bhí siad ina ndhá ndeabhal.</i>
19P	3f	gɑ:^H	ənə gɑ: su:l' t <i>ina dhá súil.</i>
76M	3pl	gɑ:^N	γɑ gɑ: gɔf <i>dhá dhá gcois.</i>

Table 9.5 summarises the data from individual speakers (narrative, conversation and query).

Table 9.5 dhá '2' following possessives a^H and a^N, various speakers

3f	gɑ:^H	866E, 889P, 869P, 875P, 01C, 04B, S, Mq, 19P	γɑ:^H	866E (869P, 894C)
	gɑ:^L	S(q), Mq	γɑ:^L	894C, Mq
Pl	gɑ:^N	Sq 1, 3pl, Mq 2, 3pl, 869P, 06C, 11C, 76M	γɑ:^N	866E, 894C, 881J
	gɑ:^L	M 3pl	γɑ:^L	06C
	(<i>ndá^N</i> 894C)	ŋɑ:^N	894C, 05M, 11C, S 1pl, 3pl, Mq 1pl, 3pl	
		ŋɑ:^L	894C, Sq 2pl, 3pl, Mq 2pl	

The most common usage is clearly 3f **gɑ:^H** and plural **gɑ:^N ~ ŋɑ:^N**. This usage can be taken to have **gɑ:** as base with the mutation of the possessive often in ascendancy, controlling both the numeral and its dependent noun. It is impossible to tell without further evidence whether plural **ŋɑ:**, with or without following eclipsis, is particularly common following *ina*. All four examples in my primary sources have *ina* followed by **ŋɑ:** (**ŋɑ:^N** (x3), **ŋɑ:^L** (x1)). (**866E**Semr144 has two tokens of *ina dhá^N*; **869P**ZCP150 has **nə gɑ:^N**.)

9.99 dhá + Noun + Adjective

The prosodic feature of stress does not seem to play a central role in mutations. There is generally a correlation, however, of stress, nominal number, and lenition

in attributive adjectives following nouns qualified by *dhá*: stressed (generally plural) adjectives are lenited, unstressed singular adjectives are unlenited. That is to say (indicating primary phrasal stress only):

dhá + N^L + 'Adjective (pl / sg) vs. *dhá* + 'N[∅] + Adjective (sg).

This pattern has been described in GCF §519(d), and holds true for Iorras Aithneach, e.g.

γα: **γ**air 'v'ogə vs. **γ**α: 'γair b'og
dhá ghadhar bheaga dhá ghadhar beag

Also: | 'α: 'ʃk'ĩ:n^ə 'vr'α: 'jæ:sə 'je:r ,æ:kub | 01P
dhá scian bhreá dheasa ghéara acub;
γα: ha'ngə 'jæ:rəgə 31P *dhá theanga dhearga.*

(For a further correlation of stress and lenition, see *déag*, 9.106. Cf. the conjectured **b'æn** 'wan'ə ~ **b'æn** 'ban'ə **bean b(h)ainne*, 9.57, and speculation about the dative type *i mo ghasúr bheag*, 9.53.)

Examples of lenited unstressed plural or singular adjectives, i.e. 'N^L + Adjective (pl / sg), do occur, however, adding a third pattern:

γα: 'γair v'og(ə) *dhá ghadhar bheag(a).*

Examples from conversation are:

γα: 'v'i:nʃə v'ogə 32J *dhá bhinse bheaga;*
*bhí muid ag gol soir, agus dhá lása mhór(a) a'inn, | ogəs 'γα: 'lɑ:sə ,wɔ:r
,æ'n' | *agus muid ag gol soir ag an g'crochet school' leothub. 05M.**

Given the appropriate informational and intonational conditions, Máire translated:

A: -ər **γ**α: 'l'e:n'ə ,vrəkəxə / vrəkəx nu **γ**α: 'jæ:n'si' ,vrəkəx / vrəkəxə
tα tu kɑ:n't' ɛr' [or] ... wul tu kɑ:n't' ɛr' Mtrans
Ar dhá léine bhrocach(a) nó dhá gheansaí bhrocach(a) atá tú ag caint air
[or] ... *a bhfuil tú ag caint air?*

B: -**γ**α: 'jæ:n'si' ,vrəkəx Mtrans *Dhá gheansaí bhrocach.*

Examples of stressed unlenited adjectives, i.e. N[∅] + 'Adjective (sg), do not occur in GCF §519(d), but nonlenition occurs and is permissible for Máire, e.g.

γα: 'a:səl 'bin'ən 43M *dhá asal baineann;*
γα: 'jæ:n'si: 'brəkəx Mperm *dhá gheansaí brocach.*

The assertion in GCF that the plural adjective is always lenited is confirmed by the fact that the following are impermissible:

**dhá bhróig beaga* M∅perm, **dhá bhróig salacha* M??perm.

Unlenited adjectives following feminine nouns are permitted, e.g.

γα: 'vrɔ:g' 'b'og Mperm *dhá bhróig beag,*
γα: 'vrɔ:g' 'sa:ləx Mperm *dhá bhróig salach.*

The nonlenition of plural adjectives noted from younger speakers is therefore anomalous (for traditional dialect):

γα: hræk:dər wɔ:r m'í:l't'əxə 60M *dhá thraictar mhór millteacha;*
dhá ghasúirín beaga 66Nq.¹

There are also examples preceding vowels, where the number of the adjective is indeterminable:

¹ I did not note stress in my transcriptions of 60M and 66N here.

dhá bhord beag(a) ann 66Nq, *dhá chailín beag(a) ag an scoil* 66Nq,
dhá ghasúirín bheag(a) ag ... 66Nq.

The obligatory lenition of plural adjectives and the usual lenition of stressed adjectives are both related to the degree of cohesion between a given adjective and its governing numeral *dhá*. The unstressed, uninflected, usually unlenited, adjective has minimal dependency on *dhá* and fuller dependency on its preceding noun. In order to make this dependency relation explicit one can give a rough paraphrase of the contrasting pair which was exemplified above:

γα: γair 'v' ogə *dhá ghadhar bheaga* vs. γα: 'γair b' og *dhá ghadhar beag*
 'two small dogs' 'two dogs which are small'

One finds both lenited and unlenited adjective *tintí* in:

dhá bhreith ar [sic] *bheo*, *dhá ndrágun* [sic] *thintí*, *dhá sheabhadh*, *nó dhá n-iolrach* 866EB16.114

dhá bheithir bheo, *nó dhá ndragan* [sic] *tintí*, *nó dhá seabhadh*, *nó dhá n-iolrach*, 866ESc45.38.

(The anomalous eclipsis of *ndragan ... seabhadh ... n-iolrach* in the transcription reflects the 3 plural possessive construction which appears in *ina dhá ndragan tintí ... ina dhá seabhadh ... ina dhá n-iolrach* 866ESc53.5, *ina dhá ngaiscíoch* B16.114, cp. *ina dhá nduine lena dhá gclaimhe* 866ESc45.40.)

9.100 *dhá* + Noun + Noun

Dependent genitive nouns are lenited according to the gender of the head noun governed by *dhá*. It seems that *dhá* has no effect on the attributive genitive noun (generally the second noun). Feminine head nouns lenite, when lenited in the same phrase without *dhá*, e.g.

bó bhainne > *dhá bhó bhainne*;
bean sí > *dhá bhean sí*;
dhá chloch meáchain; *dhá mhias súp*; *dhá chuid bealaigh*.

Nonlenition is general in dependent indefinite genitive nouns following masculine head nouns:

γα: f' e'l' u:r klū:wī: a:l' 894Cs *dhá pheiliúr clúmhaí a fháil*;
 γā: hax kū:ʃ,ən 11C *dhá theach comharsan*;
D'ólthad se dhá sháspan cáirt ó chois na bó S;
dhá chlár péinne bhán ARN9226.

There is exceptional lenition of an adjectival dependent noun, *cuthach*, in a tale run:

dhá bheithir bheo nó mar a bheadh dhá tharbh chuthach, 866ESc48.30.

Definite dependent nouns are lenited, when lenited in the same phrase without *dhá*, e.g.

teach Sheáin, *bó Sheáin* > *dhá theach Sheáin*, *dhá bhó Sheáin*.

The lack of lenition of nouns in many instances following masculine head nouns is consistent with the more limited lenition of dependent nouns (in contrast with adjectives) in other leniting contexts, i.e. following feminine nouns (9.55) and following leniting plurals (9.74).

9.101 Numerals ‘3–19’

There is a rare instance of lenition of the numeral in genitive position in:

soithigh thrí [i.e. **hr’i:**] *crainnte* SeolG44.¹

Cardinal numerals ‘1’ to ‘6’ inclusive are followed by lenition of the singular noun. In the marked case where the noun is plural there is generally no lenition, e.g.

trí cinn (further examples in 4.39 ff.).

There is, however, some variation in a few nouns, which optionally take lenition in the plural; most of which have initial *c-*, i.e. *carr*, *cineál*, *coirnéal*, *cois*, *cuismeig*, *port*, (*seol*). For example:

deich gcarrannaí mína ... dhe thrí hr’i: chár é, ... go mbeidh cheithre chár a’d ann, ach bhí cheithre charrannaí go leith mína aige. **20At**;

chúig choisméagachaí **866ESc260.18**;

trí chuismeig ... cheithre chuismeig ... cheithre chuismeigeachaí ... cheithre chuismeig **21Pt** (as well as older *cheithre cuismeigeachaí*);

na trí phoirt chéanna **894C6**;

Do thrí [i.e. **hr’i:**] *sheólta bána* (rhyme) **894C9** (see discussion further below).

There is hesitation in the use of *coirnéal* in:

cheithre ch- [hesitation] *-oirnéil* **!05M**, alternating with *cheithre postaí* **!05M**.

Note the apparently exceptional nonlenition of the singular noun *coirnéal* in:

tá trí couirnéal (*sic*) *air* **869P5**.

(This example may be developmentally intermediate between conservative *trí / cheithre coirnéil* and current innovative *trí choirnéal*, or simply *trí coirnéalaí* through loss of schwa in sandhi. Both *ceithre coirnéala* and *cheithre coirnéalaí* are also attested. For similar ‘leakage’ between singular and plural use of aspiration following numerals, see 9.156.) There are also examples of *trí cineál* from the same speaker, e.g.

tá trí cineál (*sic*) *fraoigh ánn* **869P5**.

Similarly, Máire has the following alternants in her speech:

potí: tr’i: kos / xos / xof *M potaí trí cos / chos / chois*,

note **potí: tr’i: *kosə / *kosi:** *MØperm potaí trí *cosa / *cosaí*.

potaí trí cos retains the genitive plural form in *cos*, without historical eclipsis, but the nonlenition shows the plural status of *cos*. (This use is also found in *ar chapall trí cos* ARN2272.) *potaí trí chois* has progressive singular usage with regular lenition. *potaí trí chos* can be taken as intermediate between the other two. Nonmutation in the genitive plural syntax (the form being equivalent to a by-form of the common-case singular) also occurs in:

l’æ:xl’e:v’i:n’ n’if’je:klo | *P leathchléibhín anis sé cloich*;

(nominative plural **je:kloxə** *P sé clocha*).

The only example of retention of historical eclipsis in the genitive plural is the set phrase *beithíoch cheithre gcros* **869Pt**. Cf. higher register *crios na gceithre gcros* ~ *crios na cheithre gcros*, which, following vernacular rules, would be **crios na cheithre chrois*; also probably higher register *soithín breá deas trí gcránn ...*

¹ Otherwise there is, in our dialect, neither lenition of the numeral nor eclipsis of the following noun in the (genitive) plural, i.e. in Lorras Aithneach *loing bhreá trí croinnte* (run) **11C**, *píosa sé pinne, páipéar chúig phunt*. This is in contrast with IEM §§487(v), 490(v), e.g. *píosa shé bpeingne*; and CGT §399(f), e.g. *lorg thrí gcros*.

claimhe na naoi bhfaobhar **852Sb6.66**; proper name, in folklore, *Fathach (Mór) na gCúig gCeánn* (e.g. **852SbTS151**). (Cf. 10.105.) Numerals *trí* and *cúig* occur eclipsed following the genitive plural article, e.g.

i gcúingar na dtrí róid **11Cst**, *féarach na gcúig chaora* **111C**,
but *conra na chúig chláir* FFG s.v. *cónra*.

(For *trí thrian* ~ *trí dtrian*, see 9.111. For a younger speaker's anomalous plural (and lenition) with *dhá* in *dhá sheachtainí ó Dé Domhnaigh* **84P**, see 4.43.)

The form of *punt* found before *d(h)éag* (i.e. *punta*) is treated as a singular with regard to lenition, e.g. *cheithre phunta dhéag*, also *aon phunta dhéag*, etc. The terms *chúig phunt* and *deich bpunt* can be treated as one constituent meaning 'five pound note' and 'ten pound note' respectively. In the plural of *chúig phunt* the lenition is retained: *chúig phuint* 'five pound notes'.

The noun *feá* is exceptional in that it is not generally lenited and only optionally lenited following *dhá*, e.g. *aon feá déag*, *dhá f(h)eá déag* (4.42).

9.102 *trí, cheithre, chúig*

Apart from *dhá* there are other lexically lenited cardinals (which are also unlenited in non-adjectival use): *cheithre* and *chúig*. Both behave like other cardinals below '7' when they are not qualified by a mutating trigger. They lenite singular nouns and cause aspiration of plurals. The numeral *chúig*, however, is exceptional in two respects:

- (a) it lenites four or five commonly co-occurring plural nouns: *chúig bhliana* (*déag*, etc.) also *cúig bliana* **892M4412**; *chúig phínne*; and *chúig sheachtainí* also *chúig seachtainí* **20At**; *chúig throithe* **872P** (often) but generally *chúig troithe*; also noted in *conra na chúig chláir* FFG s.v. *cónra*,¹
- (b) it does not generally prepose *h* to vowels.

As with *dhá*, when possessives govern *cheithre* and *chúig* there is conflict between the preceding trigger and both the lexicalised lenition on the cardinal and the intrinsic mutation following the cardinal. An added complication is that both intrinsic lenition and aspiration (of singular and plural nouns respectively) are involved following *cheithre* and *chúig* as opposed to *dhá* followed only by lenition — *dhá* is followed by nouns in the singular only. The numeral *trí* is less complex as it is not lexically lenited in adjectival position. With plural nouns following *trí* there is, however, a mutational conflict when *trí^H* follows *a^L* and *a^N*. A conservative example occurs in a tale run:

(pl poss) *ina dtrí gcárnáin* **866ESemr156**, 158,

for present-day vernacular *a dtrí chárnán* (9.104). In reply to query speaker **27Md** produced:

(3f poss) *a trí huibhe* but (pl poss) *a dtrí ubh* [x2] **27Mdq**,

as well as permitting (pl poss) *a dtrí huibhe* **27Mdperm**.

My examples of *cheithre* and *chúig* are mostly from Máire in query (Mq) and supplementary and broader evidence is a desideratum. We can, however, summarise the usage as follows:

¹ I have heard only *chúig clocha méachain* in Iorras Aithneach as opposed to *chúig chlocha* GCF §509(ii); and singular *chúig phunt fhichead*, *chúig ghalún* as opposed to plural with lenition in GCF §509(ii).

- (1) leniting possessives retain lenited numerals and optionally lenite plural nouns;
 (2) aspirating possessive a^H optionally delenites the numeral;
 (3) eclipsing possessives a^N mostly eclipse but may leave the numeral lenited.

The range of attested syntagms is as follows:

	Intrinsic lenition (sg noun)		Intrinsic aspiration (pl noun)	
2sg do^L , 3m a^L	$cheithre^L$	$chúig^L$	$cheithre^H$	$cheithre^L$
3f a^H	$cheithre^L$	$chúig^L$	$cheithre^H$	
	$ceithre^L$	$cúig^L$	$ceithre^H$	
3pl a^N	$gceithre^L$	$gcúig^L$	$gceithre^H$	
			$cheithre^H$	

The plural possessives, then, regularly eclipse and the feminine (aspirating) possessive optionally delenites the numerals $cheithre$ and $chúig$. Only with plural nouns and leniting possessives can the numeral's intrinsic mutation (aspiration) be overridden and then only optionally.

9.103 Examples

Intrinsic Mutation		
Lenition	$a^H c(h)eithre^L$	ta x'er ə / k'er ə wo: bl'it' ə Mq <i>tá a c(h)eithre bhó blite.</i>
	$a^L chúig^L$	ta ə xu:g' f'i:n' eg' ə Mq <i>tá a chúig phínne aige.</i>
	$a^N gcúig^L$	ta ə gu:g' f'i:n' eg' nə ga:su:r' Mq <i>tá a gcúig phínne ag na gasúir.¹</i>
	$a^H c(h)úig^L$	ta xu:g' / ku:g' wo: bl'it' ə Mq <i>tá a c(h)úig bhó blite.</i>
Aspiration	$do^L cheithre^H$	wil' də x'er' hiv' əd Mq <i>an bhfuil do cheithre huibhe a'd?</i>
	$a^L cheithre^H$	<i>ina cheithre ceathrúnaí 864MDT33;</i> <i>in aois a cheithre bliana déag 869Ptn;</i> <i>bhuaíl sé a cheithre cosaí ar a chéile 11C;</i> wil' ə x'er' ə hiv' eg' ə Mq <i>an bhfuil a cheithre huibhe aige?</i>
	$a^L cheithre^L$	ə x'er' ə xosə Mq <i>a cheithre chosa.</i>
	$a^H cheithre^H$	wil' ə x'er' ə hiv' ə ek' ə Mq <i>an bhfuil a cheithre huibhe aici?</i>
	$a^H cheithre^H$ (gen pl)	<i>an capall ... ar bhonn a cheithre cos</i> 866ESemr52.
	$a^H ceithre^H$	<i>a ceithre cosa 894C2 (x2);</i>

¹ Duffield's (1996: 322 (17)a.) example *a cúig dteach* 'their five houses' is anomalous for our dialect and for standard Irish (e.g. GGBC §79 (§5.10), but compare correct *bhur dhá dteach* §75 (§5.5), and Christian Brothers (1990: 20) §A.1(b)). Duffield (1995: 277–8) is regular: *a dhá gcós* [sic leg for *gcós*] 'their two feet'.

	ə k'ər'ə kosə Mq <i>a ceithre cosa</i> .
<i>a^N ceithre^H</i>	ə g'ər'ə kosə Mq <i>a (3pl) gceithre cosa</i> .
<i>a^N cheithre^H</i>	<i>chuireadar díothab a cheithre ceathachaí</i> [< <i>cith</i>] <i>móra troma</i> (run) 04B (fighting warriors).

There is an example following a leniting preposition in (cp. 9.101):

Aspiration	<i>dho^L c(h)eithre^L</i> <i>go cheithre chouirnéil an tí</i> 894C9 .
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9.104 *trí, sé, seacht, ocht, naoi, deich*

With other numerals, '3', '6–10' there is no change to their intrinsic mutations when they themselves are mutated, e.g.

go raibh siad ina DTRÍ DHALL **866E**Sc36.20; *agána DTRÍ CHÉILE* !ZCP160;

xul'ə hr'i: jæxtən'i: M chuile *THRÍ SEACHTAINÍ*;

ar SHÉ PINNE **894Cs**; *pósadh ar chaoi ar bith faoi SHÉ BLIANA déag* **05M**;

teigheann siad thart AR SHEACHT N-ÁIT ARN7653;

in aois A SHEACHT MBLIANA ... in aois A CHEITHRE BLIANA déag ... in aois a bhliain is fi', **869P**tn.

Exception: *Do thrí* [i.e. **hr'i:**] *sheólta bána* (rhyme) **894C9**, cp. this speaker's *go cheithre chouirnéil* (9.103). There may be a continuation of lenition in these two examples; but compare lenition of *thrí* in the similar phrase *soithigh thrí* [i.e. **hr'i:**] *crainnte* SeolG44 (cp. p. 1776 n. 1).

As seen in examples such as *chuile thrí hr'i: seachtainí* just cited, other cardinals commonly undergo lenition in the usual circumstances, e.g.

fuair sé a [3m possessive] *DHEICH scilleacha* **11C**;

agus a [3m possessive] *SHEACHT agus sé pinne aige* **866E**t;

er' hr'i: p'i:n' əs ... 899N *ar THRÍ pinne is ...* .

There are, however, examples of numerals not taking lenition, e.g.

ó TRÍ chéad go trí go leith (male, born c. 1940, Cill Chiaráin);

faoi TRÍ cinn **66Nq** '(talking) about three (of them)';

rug muid ar SÉ cinn dhe, ... **31D**t;

chuile SÉ mhí **19J**; *chuile SÉ seachtainí*;

er' jæ:x d'e:g ogəs punt **899N** *ar SEACHT déag agus punt*.

Cp. *fiche* (9.20). Here we can compare the preposition *i^N* with numerals and the blocking of eclipsis (7.57).

9.105 *Attributive adjectives, dependent nouns*

Attributive adjectives, formally both singular and plural, are commonly lenited following singular nouns qualified by cardinals, e.g.

tr'i: wid'e:l wə:rə *trí bhuidéal MHÓRA*;

trí lá DHEIR'NACH dhe chúl (na) gealaí S;

'ar na trí dhath, álainn SHÚNTASACH sin' **04B**tn;

chuir sé na seacht bhfaobhar GHÉAR v'i:vər jər *ortha* **04B**tn.

Nonlenition is, however, also found in attributive adjectives. Especially perhaps when the noun and adjective are in close association, as in the first example in:

bhí cheithre RÍ CÚIGEACH ánn **03V**t;

hug m'e nuəs 'tr'i: 'wə:lə 't'ər'əm' | 21Pt

thug mé anuas trí mhála TIRIM.

An example of an adjective with a plural noun is unlenited:

lé seach' mbliana MÓRA FADA dhuít 852SbTS123.

One example of lenition of a dependent noun following a simple cardinal has been noted. The example contains *trí* which lenites its qualified noun:

tr'í: wa:lə wu:nə *M trí mhála MHÓNA*;

But nonlenition of nouns is most common:

go gcuiridís trí thonna MEÁCHAIN, isteach, sa mbád, dh'fheamainn. 896P;

go raibh ocht locht BÁD trí thonna dh'fheamainn ínti. ... ocht locht BÁD trí thonna. 896P 'three loads of a three ton boat ...';

chúig lucht fhichead MÓNA [*m-* slightly unclear but sic leg, corrected from transcribed *mhóna*] 3–13–01, *cúig lucht fhichead MÓNA* 3–08–15, *na chúig* 'load' *fhichead MÓNA* 3–13–01 (all 897P in Wigger 2000);

cheithre charr MÚNA S;

cheithre leoraí MÚNA, trí mhála dhéag MÚNA, trí mhála MÚNA, trí leoraí

MÚNA 27Mdq, in contrast with:

**trí mhála mhúna, *trí leoraí mhúna* 27MdØperm.

There is lenition of adjective followed by nonlenition of dependent genitive plural in:

tr'í: wi:t'ə 'wā'hə 'ba'ləx ə xir' ā:n | 896P

trí bhaoite MHAITHE BALLACH a chuir ann.

In query both lenition and nonlenition are found with adjectives following *d(h)éag*:

- Mq: **tr'í: wo: jə:g vr'ɑ:** *trí bhó dhéag BHREÁ,*
x'er' æ:r d'e:g vr'ɑ: *cheithre fhear déag BHREÁ,*
e:n wuəxəl' d'e:g vr'ɑ: [x2] / **br'ɑ:** [x1]
aon bhuaichail déag B(H)REÁ,
e:n ɣa'wən' d'e:g | b'og *aon ghamhain déag BEAG.*
- 27Mdq: *le cheithre seachtainí déag MHÓR FHADA* perm,
trí seachtainí déag MÓRA FADA perm,
trí seachtainí déag MHÓRA FHADA perm.

Palatal plurals take lenited adjectives, as would be expected, e.g. *trí cinn mhóra*; correspondingly plurals in a vowel take nonlenition, e.g. *Do thrí* [i.e. **hr'í:**] *sheólta bána* 894C9 (rhyme). Following the personal numeral *beirt*, however, both nouns and (plural) adjectives are lenited:

... **b'ert' 'ær 'wā'hə** | 889P ... *beirt fhear MHAITHE*;

b'ert' vrɑ⁽⁻⁾ 'wa:kəxə Mq *beirt mhná BHACACHA.*

Also nonlenition, written by an Iorras Aithneach native, in a series of adjectives:

bhí beirt iníon ÓG DEAS aici, agus iníon óg ghránna eile, B19.60.

9.106 *déag, dhéag*

In the absolute cardinal numerals '13–19' *déag* is used, '12' has *dhéag* and '11' has apparent *ndéag* (in coalescence with the final consonant of *aon*). The contrast, between unmutated *déag* on the one hand and a mutated form on the other, correlates with the occurrence of '11–12' containing stressed *ndéag* / *dhéag* in telling the time, i.e.

	Absolute (counting)	Time
11	hi:n' e:g	<i>tá sé an haon dhéag 'hi:n' 'n' e:g</i>
12	do:je:g	<i>tá sé an dó dhéag 'do: 'je:g</i>
13	tr' i:d' e:g	
14	k' æhərd' e:g	
	etc.	

Lenition of *déag* depends on the form and number of the preceding noun with partly complementary distribution. In adjectival cardinal function *dhéag* generally follows singular nouns in a final vowel, *déag* follows singular nouns in a final consonant and plural nouns in a final vowel. Both *déag* and *dhéag* are found in the few examples noted following plural nouns in palatal final. Further variation does, however, occur: *déag* is found following singular nouns in a final vowel; *dhéag* is also found following singular nouns in a final consonant. Usage can be summarised schematically as follows:

Following nouns in	final vowel, -V		final consonant, -C	
singular	<i>dhéag</i> >> <i>déag</i>	(a)	<i>déag</i> ~ <i>lr_dhéag</i>	(b)
plural	<i>déag</i>	(c)	<i>dhéag</i> ~ <i>déag</i>	(d)
ordinal	<i>déag</i> (e)			

(a) Singular nouns in a final vowel are regularly followed by *dhéag*, e.g.
aon nduine dhéag, dhá dhuine dhéag, trí bhó dhéag,
seacht n-acra dhéag agus fi' talthúna 897St.

The form *punta* of the singular *punt* generally takes *dhéag*, showing its interpretation as a special singular form in teens:

e:n / **tr' i: funtə je:g** M *aon* / *trí phunta dhéag*. But less commonly:

e:n funtə d' e:g 892M, S (MØperm) *aon phunta déag*.

The minority lack of lenition following *aon phunta* ... may indicate a plural interpretation of *punta*, even though *aon* and *dhá* regularly take singular nouns. A similar plural interpretation seems possible in:

ya: ʎalu:nə d' e:g P *dhá ghalúna déag*,

ẽ:n trohə d' e:g 892M3110 *aon troithe déag*.

In reply to query speaker 21J has:

e:n troə d' e:g [x2] ... **e:n** | **tro** | **d' e:g** | 21Jq *aon troigh(the) déag*,

in contrast with his son:

e:n tro je:g 63Sq *aon troigh dhéag*.

(21J and son, 63S, agree on *trí troithe déag*, the usual dialect usage.)

But *déag* sometimes occurs with clearly singular nouns in final vowels:

e:n dín ə d' e:g M, **e: nín ə d' e:g** M *aon (n)duine déag*,

an t-aon nduine déag dreacháir 11C;

ocht nduiséinne déag is fi' 26Pct;

aon rása déag, 20A;

dhá throigh déag 889P; *dhá throigh déag is trí troithe déag 896P*,

dhá lá déag na Nollaig 46.801.

Also *déag* with *feá* (now a singular), e.g. *dhá f(h)eá déag, cheithre feá déag*. Lenition of the initial of the noun may be a factor here in favouring *dhéag*. It is noteworthy that I have no example of a lenited noun (which does not have a plural use following numerals) taking *dhéag*, e.g. *dhá dhuine *déag*.

The optional use of *déag* following *cloich* (in final vowel) may be related to alternate singular *cloch* (in final consonant) or typical plural with digits higher than *dhá* (e.g. *trí clocha déag*):

γ_α: xlo je:g 872P *dhá chloich dhéag*;

γ_α: xlo d' e:g 32J *dhá chloich déag*.

Cp. examples of *dhá through déag* above, perhaps related to ... *troithe déag*; *dhá f(h)eá déag* and < plural *feadha*.

9.107 (b)–(e)

(b) The final consonant of singular nouns is mostly followed by *déag*:

aon cheann déag (always); *seacht gcéad déag* (always);

dhá uan déag ..., *an dá uan déag* 17M;

nə η_α: m' æ:n' d' e:g 11Ct *ina ndhá mbean déag*; *dhá mhac déag* 11Ct;

γ_α: γalu:n' d' e:g M *dhá ghalún déag*;

γ_α: γa:su:r d' e:g M *dhá ghasúr déag*;

dhá chuisméig déag 18J, *dhá uair déag dhe* 'shift' 21Pt.

But also *dhéag* (noted with *aon*, *dhá*, *trí*, *sé* and nouns in final sonorant -r: *fear*, *scvaer*, *stór*) in:

e:n' æ:r je:g M *aon fhear dhéag*;

γ_α: stɔ:r je:g e:r' air d' ə P *dhá stór dhéag ar airde*;

tr' i: æ:r je:g M *trí fhear dhéag*;

f_e: skwe:r je:g 17Mp *sé scvaer* [< square] *dhéag*.

(c) The final vowel of plurals is generally followed by *déag*:

f_æ:x nuər' ə d' e:g P, M *seacht n-uaire déag*;

ni: nuər' ə d' e:g M *naoi n-uaire déag*;

tr' i: bl' iənə d' e:g S *trí bliana déag*;

tr' i: f' æ:rə d' e:g M *trí feara déag*, *chúig feara déag* 866ESc, 18J;

ox t gloxə d' e:g m' a:xən' S *ocht gclocha déag meáchain*;

ocht dtroithe déag cheithre horlaí déag ar airde. 896P;

dhá chuisméig déag nú trí chuisméigeachaí déag 18J.

(d) The palatal consonant in noun plurals is followed by *dhéag* in:

ocht scóir dhéag 894C3.

But always *déag* following *cinn*, as well as noted *déag* following *cléibh*:

trí cinn déag; *ocht gcléibh déag* S85.

(e) In ordinals *déag* is general:

bhí an dóú (h)óiche déag caite aici Mtrans, *an cúigiú lá déag* 11C.

Thus the nonlenition triggered by the ordinal seems to govern the initial of *déag*, rather than the qualified noun governing *déag* as is general with cardinals.

9.108 '20'; '1,000'; Progressive use

fiche

The numeral *fichead* (dependent form of *fiche*) is:

(a) lenited following a singular noun (in final consonant and vowel):

ceithre beár FHCHEAD 894C6, *chúig dhuine FHCHEAD*;

although nonlenition is found, e.g. *deich dtonna FICHEAD* SÓC1.82.

- (b) lenited following a plural in palatal final: *trí cinn FHICHEAD*;
 (c) nonlenited following a plural in final vowel: *trí bliana fichead*. So also with *feá*, e.g. *deich bhfeá fichead*, also *chúig feadh f'æ' fichead 21Pt*.
 An adjective following *f(h)ichead* is lenited, e.g.
tr'í: k'í:n' íx'əd ɣorəmə Mq *trí cinn FHICHEAD GHORMA*
 (a forced version in reply to query, for Mq's preferred: **tr'í: k'í:n' íx'əd gə v'ehi: ɣorəmə** Mq *trí cinn fhichead dhe bheithígh ghorma*).
 Cp. *c(h)úig lucht fhichead móna* (9.105); *fiche* (9.20).

scór

The noun and numeral, *scór*, is regularly followed by lenition in the plural:

tr'í: skor' v'l'iantə S *trí scóir BHLIANTA*,
x'er ə skor' funtə SM *cheithre scóir PHUNTA*.

Recall also *ocht scóir dhéag 894C3*.

míle, seacht míle

When functioning as intensifying adjectives, *míle* and *seacht míle* can be 'inserted' into some common phrases without changing the lenited targets. This can be termed anomalous 'continued' lenition as found following *mhíle* in:

dhá mhíle BHUIÓCHAS 869P 'completely against his will / despite him';
rinne sé dhen mhíle BHUIÓCHAS dhom é 21Ptq;

(where *dhá* is *dhe* + *a*^L possessive, *dhen* is *dhe* + article) echoing common *dhá bhuíochas*, *dhen bhuíochas*. Contrast feminine possessive:

gá míle BUÍÓCHAS 21Ptq.

Speaker **27Md**, in reply to query, does not apply continued lenition, rather:

dho mo mhíle BUÍÓCHAS, *dhá mhíle BUÍÓCHAS* (both **27Mdq**).

A similar 'continued' lenition is found following *sheacht míle* with *dícheall* in:

ar a sheacht míle DHÍCHEALL 866ESemr104.

This echoes common *ar a dhícheall* (also pronounced *dícheall*, *deoicheall*); but not in:

agus é ag obair, ar a mhíle DICHEALL 04B.

The numeral *míle* functions as an intensifier and is lenited in the following example where it occurs in higher register in a noun phrase governed by *mo*^L and where it follows a feminine head noun:

Sé mo chreach mhaidne MHÍLE bhrónach !894C9.

Progressive adjectival use

In progressive adjectival use of numerals greater than '20', neither lenition nor eclipsis is applied. This usage has been acquired from school and presumably from written and mass media and is used (by some speakers) in more formal situations instead of the more traditional usage and especially instead of English numerals. E.g.

ní:xə s ə ku:g' bl'ian' g ɿ:ɿ' | **11Ct** *naocha is a cúig BLIAIN dh'aois*;
tríocha cúig POTA 31Dt; *tríocha seacht DUINE 25Tt*.

9.109 Ordinal an chéad

The ordinal 'first' is lenited following the definite article, i.e. *an chéad*, *na chéad*. This lenition is sometimes retained where eclipsis is regular:

... ná bhí ón CHÉAD uair. **04Bt**;

ᵛə x'eið xogə mo:r S sa CHÉAD chogadh mór (more often sa gcéad ... S).

Cp. adverb a chéadair, an chéadair. With temporal ó + an chéad followed by relative clause:

o: ə x'eið la: n'æ:xə fe ft'æ:x M ó an CHÉAD lá a ndeachaigh sé isteach (more often ón gcéad ... M).

This lenited usage of chéad for gcéad is common but not judged to be 'correct'. Even céad meaning 'century' was noted once with lenition following na in:

nə x'eið'ræxi: d'ernəx fo **01J** na CHÉADRACHAÍ deireanach seo.

Absence of lenition was noted in some of **11C**'s usage, in phrase-initial position:

agus dúirt sé in Uachtar Ard -Gotha' mé isteach, a deir sé, an CHÉAD teach | k'eið' t'ax tábairne casfear dhom, a deir sé, gotha' mé isteach, a deir sé, go mbeidh deoch agam An CHÉAD teach | k'eið' t'ax a casadh dhó -Bhuel an CHÉAD teach | weɫ' ə x'eið' t'ax a casfear dhom An CHÉAD teach | x'eið' t'ax a casadh dhó ... **11C**.

9.110 Other ordinals

Feminine nouns, when governed by an ordinal numeral, do not cause lenition of the ordinal following the article, e.g. an cúigiú huair, an séú bean. There is no lenition of the noun in the genitive, e.g.

teach a' tríú FATHACH ... teach a' dárna FATHACH ... [but contrast] teach an chéad FHATHA'. **852Sb6.75**.

Lenition of ordinals occurs following possessive pronouns:

mə ɣa:rə ma:k ... mə hr'iu: ma:k **04B1** mo dhara MAC... mo thríú MAC;

ʃod e: ə heu: iə:rəxt Mq seod é a shéú IARRAUGHT;

ʃod e: ə hr'iu: iə:rəxt d'e:g Mq seod é a thríú IARRAUGHT déag.

Nonlenition is common in chuile d(h)ar(n)a 'every second':

xul'ə da:rə [sic -ə] i:hə **66N** chuile DARA óiche;

... chuile DHARNA ɣa:rnə ... **69S** ... chuile DARNA darnə ... [x2] **73P**.

Note the eclipsis (ndarna), but lack of lenition (tríobhú) and aspiration (uair) in: fuair mé naoi NDARNA háit, trí [pause] TRÍOBHÚ háit, agus trí [pause] uaire glanta amach **18J7206** (of finishing positions in currach races).

Ordinals generally show no evidence of continuing particle lenition rather than the intrinsic aspiration (and nonlenition) of the ordinal. Therefore mo thríú mac is regular, not *mo thríú mhac. The example of optional lenition following ordinals in the stative use (i mo ghasúr bheag type, 9.52) can be repeated here:

sí bhí ag tíocht 'na dárna BHAD **18J7193**; but

chuaigh sé héin 'na cheathrú FEAR gá hiúmpar. **11Ct**,

bhí sé ina thríú HASPAL déag **864MDT5**.

In response to query about possessives governing ordinals, however, the only instance of aspiration on the noun iarracht that Máire produced was following the 3f possessive a^H, i.e.

a GCÉAD / a DTRÍÚ / a SHÉÚ / a THRÍÚ iarracht (déag) Mq,

a CEATHRÚ iarracht / hiarracht Mq.

This implies that the presence of an aspirating particle before the ordinal may increase the likelihood of aspiration of the noun.

9.111 Fractions

The following example implies that lenition following the genitive article may be suspended (although two adverbials, i.e. *ar maidin*, *a' ceathrú lá*, are possible):

Ar maidin a' CEATHRÚ lá chuaigh sé ... 869PB16.117.

Obsolescent fraction *trian*

The productive 'third' fraction is *tríú cuid*. The obsolescent fraction *trian* occurs following the numeral *dhá* as **ya: hr'ian** *dhá thrian*, **ya: dr'ian** *dhá dtrian* and nonmutated *dhá trian*. The last form occurs optionally in:

xuə ya: tr'in / ya: hr'in / tr'i: hr'in *fi:f tr'im S*
chuaigh sé DHÁ T(H)RIAN / TRÍ THRIAN síos tríom.

Also **ya: yr'ian** **04B1** *dhá dh(t)rian*. With numeral *trí*, both *trí thrian* (including **tr'i: hr'in' sa:ləxər** **11Ct** *trí thrian salachar*), and *trí dtrian* (in a run in **869PS**gbf) occur. For examples, see 1.24 and 14 *trian*.

9.112 Personal numerals

Personal numerals are mutated as regular nouns following the article, e.g. *an bheirt* (fem), *an ceathar* (masc), *dhen tseachtar* (masc).

Masculine personal numerals may take lenited adjectives optionally, based on the example:

tr'ur yunə **P** *triúr DHONA*.¹

The numeral *seisear* is lenited by a minority of older speakers following *nó* when coordinated with *cúigear*:

go n-iarrhat sé cúigear nú SHEISEAR ... 869P2;
ku:g'ər nu hefər **16C, 20A** *cúigear nó SHEISEAR*.

But mostly *cúigear nú seisear* (e.g. **892M, SM**).

Cp. rare **k'əhər nu xu:g'ər ban** **20My** *ceathar nó CHÚIGEAR ban*.

The plural adjective is lenited following *beirt* and lenited nouns, e.g. *fear* (historical genitive plural, formally equivalent to the nominative singular); also following lenited *mná*, the plural of *bean*, in:

beirt bhodach MHÓRA 852SbLL116;
... 'b'ert' 'ær 'wā'hə | **889P ... beirt fhear MHAITHE;**
beirt mhrá BHACACHA Mq.

The attributive noun *coimhdeachta* (now rare and confined to traditional narrative) is lenited in the singular *bean choimhdeachta* (similar to an adjective, cp. *bean choimhdeach 866E*) and in:

beirt mhná CHOIMHDEACHTA 866ESc106.34, but
beirt mhrá COIMHDEACHT ... dhá bhean COIMHDEACHT 866ESemr132.

9.113 Lexicalised use

Some words have (optional) lenited initial consonants lexically. Most of these words, listed in this section, have initial *c-*, cf. verbal nouns (9.81), numerals (9.101). For *creidim* ~ *chreidim*, see 1.193 and 9.132.

CEAD >> *thead: mar nar raibh chead ro x'æ'd acub 05M, Chead x' - iche do dhóthain dhe bheatha ... is cead k' - colladh go sáimh. !05M, L'ig' x'æp dum ... P lig chead dom*

¹ Cp. *an triúr mhóra* CGT pp. 45 (footnote), 60.

This has been generalised from lenition with the commonly used cataphoric 3m possessive, *a chead*.

CEAPADH ~ *cheapadh*: commonly *ag cheapadh*, see 9.81.

CEAL ~ *cheal*: *is cheal na hoibre s x'æ'l nə haibr'ə tá bualadh na háite seo 05M*; *cheal tobac S, ceal misní ~ cheal misní, ceal duine a chuirfeadh caoi ortha LL75*. I have also transcribed *a ceal misní* (in my early notes). Lenition here is based on earlier *dhe cheal* (e.g. FGB *ceal*¹, GCD §386).

CHEITHRE >> *ceithre*: rare examples of unlenited *ceithre* occur (in older speakers' usage):

cheithre horlaí déag ar airde. ... títpeall's, trí chéad nó ceithre chéad bád ann. ... ach cheithre phunt an tonna, ceithre phunt an tonna. ... na cheithre phunt sin. 896Pt.

CLOINNE ~ *chloinne*: *nə klɪn'əxi: wi:l' x'iaɾən' x'e:nə S na cloinneachaí Mhaoil Chiaráin chéanna, Tá me maraí ag chloinne Con Fhaoltha S; na chloinne Con Fhaola céanna iad ... tileadh chloinne Con Fhaola 25M.*

Lenition here has been generalised from the common collocation *fear, bean* (etc.) *dhe Chloinne ...*.

Lenition in *Chlánn Dhonncha í ón Déis !866E CABI §60(c) v. 3* may stem from elided *ba* (past copula) or *dhe* or both. Cf. 12.23.

Cp. *COIMRÍ, choimrí, coimhrí, choimhrí: ximr'i: d'e: mid' 05M choimrí Dé muid!; ximr'i: d'e: 08B choimrí Dé!; xivr'i: d'e: fíb', fi xivr'i: d'e: fíb', xivr'i: d'e: jib', xivr'i: d'ia yit' M choimhrí Dé sib!, faoi choimhrí Dé sib!, choimhrí Dé dhíbh!, choimhrí Dia dhuit!*

Lenition retained with optional elision of initial leniting preposition.¹

CROICH ~ *chroich*: in (*an*) *c(h)roich chéasta xro x'estə, xru/i x'estə, kir'ə x'estə*, genitive *d'ɪ:nə nə xir'ə x'est orhə 06C déanamh na chroiche chéasta uirthi.*

Compare lenition of *chéasta* following masculine *comhartha*, carried over from (near-)synonymous (*an*) *c(h)roich chéasta*, in the plural form *kohəɾə x'esti: 29Cq comhartha chéastaí.*

CHUMHDACH: in *xudəx d'e: ort M Chumhdach Dé ort! xudi: d'ia hu M Chumhdaí Dia thú!*

Presumably from original *faoi chumhdach Dé thú* (etc.).

DÍTHRÁ: d'iaɾhə: 35E. Common in lenited phrases *ar dhúthrá* and *ina dhúthrá*, hence *ag fanacht le dhúthrá jiaɾhə: 30Mst*. Also with vowel-initial *ən' iaɾhə: S an iarthrá.*

GNATHA: n'i:l' yrah ə'r'i:jt' æd d'i M (perhaps some other speaker) *níl ghnatha aríst a'd de* (perhaps *aon* has been phonetically elided here).

Cp. *aon ghnatha* (1.263).

VACH: (noun) see 14.

9.114 *leic, léim, leithide, etc.*

Certain words in palatal initial *l*, mostly in nonlow front vowels, have optional lexicalised lenition.

leic

Speaker **892M** has conservative regular lenition of *l' > l'* (9.17). The lexeme *leic*

¹ Similarly: *Choimrighe an Ríogh thú (leat)*. CGT §293. Cp. *chumhdach, chumhdaí*.

however, recorded from him mostly in the place-name *an Leic Mhóir*, alternates in his speech between *l'ek'*, *ʎek'*, *l'ik'* and *ʎik'*. The *ʎek'*, *ʎik'* (ə) by-forms of both the common noun and *Leic* in place-names occur in regularly nonlenited position, e.g.

ag LEIC MHÓIR eg' ʎik' wɔr' Chruaich na Caoile,
faoin LEIC MHÓIR fi:n' ʎik' wɔr',
GOB NA LEICE MÓIRE gob nə ʎik' ə mɔr' ə;
ar AN LEIC ər' ə ʎik' (all 892M).

The variant with the *i* vocalism seems to select initial *ʎ* in a phonetic compensatory lowering or quality dissimilation of the consonant (i.e. higher vowel coinciding with less palatal consonant).¹ Nevertheless *ʎek'* and *l'ik'* also occur:

an áit a dtugann siad AN LEIC MHÓIR ə ʎek' 'wɔr' air 892M (13.7, line 4),
... a bheadh i mullach LEIC l'ik' ná i mullach cnocáin 892M3167.

Examples of *l'ek'* are:

tao' muigh DHEN LEIC MHÓIR gə'n' l'ek' 'wɔr',
Duirinn NA LEICE MÓIRE nə l'ek' ə mɔr' ə,
an áit a dtugann siad AN LEIC BHUÍ ARD ə l'ek' wi: ar:d air,
DHEN LEIC gə'n' l'ek' (all 892M).

léim

The noun *léim* is often preceded by a possessive pronoun referring to the actor, e.g. *caith do léim*, *chait sé a léim*. The lenition of (2sg and) 3m is transferred to the 3 plural context in:

bhíodar ... raibheadar ... chaitheadar A LÉIM ə ʎe:m' amach i bhfarraige
agus báitheadh na sé cinn acub. 892M4327.

Although singulative use is possible here, i.e. '(each) his jump'. There is lenition without any audible possessive preceding *léim* in a 3m context in:

Bhí sé le thíocht ar an mbruach, 'gus LÉIM gəs ʎe:m' a chaitheamh síos sa
lagphortach, 892M4854.

(a) *leithide*

There is generalisation of lenition from 3m in the phrase *a leithide*. In the following example speaker **04B**, who has regular lenition of *l' > ʎ* (cf. 9.17), hesitates following his initial unlenited form and then produces the unhistorical generalised lenition:

ən v' æn uəsəl | ə:lən' | nax wəkə ʃe l'ehəd' ə | ə ʎehəd' ə r' iəw | 04B
an bhean uasal, álainn nach bhfaca sé a leithide — A LEITHIDE ariamh.

In fact *ʎ*- occurs without any preceding *a*, e.g.

LEITHIDE ʎehəd' ə Céibh na hAirde Thiar ná an Mhása 18J8979 (speaker **18J** has regular lenition of *l' > ʎ*).

Contrast historical use by speaker **892M**:

l'ehəd' ə fə:rək' LEITHIDE Phádraig, l'ehəd' i: A [3pl] LEITHIDÍ.

le linn

Regularly *ʎe l'i:n'*, e.g. *bheadh sí LE LINN ʎe l'i:n' breith* Mq. But *ʎe ʎi:n'* in:

¹ Such dissimilatory conditions between vowel and consonant can be found in lects where *l'* and *ʎ* merge or show signs of merger. There are significant examples in our dialect of historical *l'* alternating with *ʎ* in the context of nonlow front vowels (1.160 ff.).

| t̪̪ m potə | ^ʷ | ʲ e ʲ i:ŋ | ə v e f'oxə | **869P**

tá an pota — *LE LINN a bheith ag fiuchadh*.

Cp. synonymous *ar linn* FGB s.v. *linn* 1. where lenition would be regular; also common lenition following possessive, e.g. *le mo linn*, and possible parallelism with preceding ʲ in *le*. Cp. *le shúil, ar shúil; le fhaitíos, ar fhaitíos* (9.90).

Thus *léim* and *leithide* have instances of generalised lenition from frequently occurring leniting possessives (especially 3m), similar to *thead* (9.113). See also *leáise, liag, lig, léine* (1.161).

9.115 *c(h)orr, c(h)upla*

As well as the regularly lenited numerals *dhá, cheithre*, and *chúig*, lenited minority by-forms occur of the indefinite adjectives *corr-* (prefix) and *cupla*.

chorr- 'xaur'uəɾ' P *chorruair*,
kahə 'xaur'sig'əɾəɟ P *ag caitheamh chorrsuigearoit*,
 ə 'xaur'afɾək er' P (*thugainn*) *an chorramharc air*.

chupla **xuplə** P (consistently), e.g. *chupla beithíoch*;
xuplə k'ɑ:n / bl'ien' **36S** *chupla ceann / bliain*.

We find both conformity and division within families, i.e. between brothers and sisters, with regard to use of *c(h)orr-* and *c(h)upla*. For example, Pádraig (speaker **19P**) has categorical use of *chorr-* and *chupla*; they are the only forms recorded from him. His sister Máire, in contrast, has categorical *corr-*, *cupla*. Speaker **36S** has *chupla* but his siblings **26P** and **29C** have consistent *cupla*. Table 9.6 presents the usage observed from a small number of speakers (those with *ch-* are probably overrepresented from the population as a whole).

Table 9.6 *c(h)orr-, c(h)upla*, various speakers

<i>corr-, cupla</i>	869P and SID.46, e.g. 1155–6, 04Br, 07M, 10B, 12S, 16M, 16P, 19J, 20C, 23B, 23J, 26P, 29C, 64M, 78Rb, 80A
<i>corr-</i>	852Sb , brother of 21J, 20A, 25T, 30M, 69S, 78Pb
<i>cupla</i>	897S, 898P, 03V, 04B, 13P, 15W, 20Pá, 30Ms, 47L, 72C
<i>cupla, chupla</i>	894Bl, 18J
<i>corr-, chupla, cupla</i>	899N, 01P, 13J, 32J
<i>corr-, chupla</i>	889P, 00C, 14J, 36S, 44P, 45N, 66L, 76Mt
<i>chorr-, cupla</i>	12J, 24M
<i>chorr-, chupla, cupla</i>	894Cs (881J 's brother)
<i>chorr-, corr-, chupla</i>	05J
<i>chorr-</i>	23C, 40S, 71D
<i>chupla</i>	866ESemr134, 881J, 00B, 03C, 16S, 23Ms, 36S, 73P
<i>chorr-, chupla</i>	19P
	Number of speakers (total 63)
<i>corr-</i>	36
<i>cupla</i>	35
<i>chorr-</i>	8
<i>chupla</i>	25

Only a minority of speakers have lexical lenition on either of these items, and very few indeed have such lenition on both. *chupla* is more commonly lenited

than *chorr-* and there may be a weak implicational relation between *chorr-* >> *chupla*. Only one speaker, **19P** (P), seems to have exclusive lenition in both. Cf. 9.140.

Anomalous lenition of *cloich* occurs in **kuplə xlo xork'ə 20Pá** *cupla chloich choirce* for regular *c(h)upla clo(i)ch choirce*; the lenition is perhaps in assimilation with *choirce* and may be influenced by *dhá chloich choirce*. (Speaker **20Pá** has consistent **kuplə cupla**.)

9.116 Adverbs, pronominals and other functors

Many simple adverbs have lexicalised lenited initials, e.g. *choíchin*, *thart*, *thuas*, also optionally, e.g. *timpeall* ~ *thimpeall*. Many prepositions and conjunctions have lenited initials. For **d-** ~ **ɣ-** ~ **Ø-**, **d'-** ~ **j-** ~ **Ø-**, in *d(h)om*, *d(h)íom*, etc., and **L' ~ I'** in the preposition *le*, see 'Prepositions'. The 2 singular personal pronoun has lenited *thú* and *thusa* in disjunctive use, i.e. generally outside the subject position of the active verb (6.14 ff.). The 1 and 2 singular possessive pronouns have petrified lenited forms *mh'* and *th'* respectively (6.29 ff.). The reciprocal pronoun is lenited: *a chéile*. Note generally lenited *dheamhan* in contrast with unlenited *deabhal* as negative adverbs. There are unlenited variants in limited sandhi of *thall*, *thuas* (*thíos*) and *thríom* (9.30).

The lexical adverb *shaolta* is lenited generally (in contrast with adjective *saolta*):

wel' ju:n hi:ltə ... M bhuel dheamhan SHAOLTA ... !

Optionally lenited is *teisceanta*:

d'aul t' - / hæ:jk'əntə blais ... Mq deabhal T(H)EAIŒEANTA blas

The adjective *mór*, occurs duplicated in adverbial (**gə**) **mə:r mə:r** (*go*) *mór mór*, but also in lenited form *go mhór-mhór* FFG (s.v. *mór-mhór*; cp. (*go*) *mór-mhór* FFG20, *mhór-mhór* FFG20).

Lenition of *stóraí* in:

ta m'e grá:n'i: hiəri: orhəb M tá mé gráiní SHÍORAÍ orthub,

seems to be an extension from regular *an ghráin shíoraí*.

The feminine noun *roinnt* when used adverbially does not lenite, e.g.

roinnt SEAN, roinnt CRAICEÁILTE, roinnt FLIUCH go maith.

Exceptionally there is lenition of the verbal adjective in *roinnt chraite go maith* **894C2** (x2); contrast nonlenition with a noun from the same speaker in *roinnt cúthalacht* **894C2**.

9.117 Coordination

Nonlenition is the rule following lenited nouns in coordination with *agus* and *nó*, e.g.

agus é faoi PHIAN IS PIOLÓID. 866ESc133.5,

faoi BHRÚN IS BRISEADH CROÍ !00M CABI §5 v. 6,

thimpeall CHRUAICH na Cara AGUS CRUAICH na Caoile AGUS CARRAIG

Thollta. ARN7092.

Similarly, numerals, e.g.

gə he: nu: fæx g' k'æ'nə 'poti: 892M1564

dhe SHÉ NÓ SEACHT dhe cheanna potaí,

tá cúimre a'm ar CHÚIG NÓ SÉ dhe cheanna acub 18J7003.

Examples of retention of lenition on adjectives occur, e.g. (in rhyme):

er xirə yu nū: wā:n !892M5184 *ar chaora DHUBH NÓ BHÁN.*

Dependent definite nouns are lenited (examples in response to query, Mq):

aois MHÁIRE is SHEÁIN, aois MHÁIRE nó SHEÁIN, aois MHÁIRE ná SHEÁIN.

nó causes lenition (optionally) in the following phrases with numerals:

ceann / uair, etc., NÓ DHÓ;

cp. *bliain NÓ DHÓ NÓ THRÍ* [i.e. **hr' i:**] **!04B** CABI §302 v. 8;

CÚIGEAR NÓ SHEISEAR, more often CÚIGEAR NÓ SEISEAR;

rare **K'æhər nu xu:g'ər bə:n 20My** *CEATHAR NÓ CHÚIGEAR ban.*

Both *nó* and *ná* cause lenition in obsolescent use in the phrase:

Más OLC NÚ MHAITH bheadh le rá 05Mt, more often OLC NÚ MAITH;

céibí céard tá air OLC NÁ MHAITH, 05Mt, more often OLC NÁ MAITH.

ná also causes lenition in the obsolescent phrase:

K'e: 'hæ'n'əm' nā: 'hlīn'ə hu 881Jtn

-Cé hainm NÁ SHLOINNE thú? a deir Raifdaraí, a deir sé.

More commonly *cén t-ainm ná sloinne ... ?*

agus is followed by lenition in (see *eidir*, 9.88):

Go saora tú sinn ó gach uile olc,

Ar a námhaid, AINIMH, æ'n'əv' |AGUS CHOIRP. !05M.

Copula

9.118 Target; Trigger classes I – IV

Copula as target

From a morphological standpoint both eclipsis and, less transparently, lenition are present in forms of the copula. These copula targets are generally preceded by trigger elements (functors, *-r*). Forms in **m(°)**- *mb-* can be analysed as containing eclipsed past copula element **b(°)**- *b-*, e.g. **bə wa ba mhaith** > **gə mə wa go mba mhaith**. Forms in **-v(°)**- *-bh*, particularly **-r-v(°)**- *-rbh*, can be analysed as containing lenited past copula element **b(°)**- *b-* (but contrast forms in **-rb**- *-rb*). There is, however, in the context of the overall system of mutation, considerable unhistorical or aberrant usage in the morphology of the copula. For example, past *ní[∞]* and *ní^N* in *ní ba / ní mba* for older *níor(bh)*; or past *cé mba* for older *cér(bh)*; not to mention double formations such as **gə məb' go mbab** [*go + ba + ba*] and aberrant combinations such as {eclipsis + radical} in **ga: mb(°) dhá mb'** and *-r^N* in **nar mə nar mba**. Clearly, the realisation of mutations on the various morphs of the copula has greater systemic autonomy, lexicalisation or redundancy, reminiscent of the often complex mechanisms of nominal allomorphy, than is otherwise the case for mutations. Hence the use of the term 'morphology' in this paragraph referring to this type of lexicalised initial mutation and the need to refer to 5.331 ff., for the actual forms. Cf. aberrant alternation of copula triggering of lenition and aspiration (9.124).

Copula as trigger

The majority of leniting forms of the copula are past tense; forms in *-r*, *-(r)bh*, *-(m)b*, *(m)ba* (*b'*); with loss of *-r* also past *ní*, *nach*, *cé*, also past relative *a*. Jussive forms *go mba* (*gur*, *go*) also lenite; as does an uncommon (recent) inno-

vative present form *nach bh'*. The major leniting forms, i.e. past forms, can be divided into four categories, **I–IV**, according to three features: regularity or frequency of occurrence of lenition; nominal class of following lenited word; type of initial consonant lenited.¹

	I	II	III	IV
Form	<i>níor, nar, céir (cár)</i> ^a	<i>b', -(m)b, -(r)bh</i>	<i>(m)ba</i>	<i>(m)ba</i>
Nominal class	Adjective (>>) Noun	Adjective (limited to copula set)	Adjective	Noun
Initial consonant	All (optional: adj: <i>cúimhneach</i> ; noun: coronal ^β)	<i>fh(r)l-</i>	noncoronal ^β >> coronal	noncoronal (coronal)

^a The three particles *ar, gur, marar* are ambiguous and could be classed with **III** (9.121).

^β Coronal, as in the discussion of homorganic nonlenition (9.33), stands for stops ranging from dentals to alveo-palatals; noncoronal stands for labials and velars.

Class **I** is the most regular and pervasive, leniting both nouns and adjectives, irrespective of their initial consonant. Class **II** is also quite regular but is confined to a very small phonologically restricted lexical set in *f-*. Classes **III** and **IV** characterise use following *(m)ba*: regular lenition of (common) adjectives (generally) in initial labials and velars in **III**; lenition, less frequent than nonlenition, of nouns in **IV**. This can be summarised, with relevant examples and disregarding some exceptions, for classes **I, III** and **IV** in a (non)coronal–adjective–noun cline presented in the table below. Initial *f-* is excluded from classes **I, III** and **IV**, although noncoronal, because it is far less susceptible to lenition than any other consonant. A separate cline involves *f-* with general nonlenition except in the small copula set of adjectives in class **II**. This class has two subsets, one with

¹ Cp. IEM §487(viii–ix) for a similar description of adjectives; in contrast, lenition of nouns following the copula is not mentioned in IEM §486. Cp. Ó Siadhail (1989: 116 (8)) where it is claimed that nouns are not lenited following *ba* in Connacht, the example cited, *ba mac a bhí ann*, is presumably taken from GCF §505 (but lenited counterexamples are found (in class IV, 9.122, and jussive *mba*, 9.123). In CGT §394 (f, footnote), concerning adjectives, past copula *-r* lenites categorically, but *ba* does not lenite *t, d, s*. Nouns are not dealt with in this context in CGT but examples of nouns which I have gleaned behave similar to adjectives: nonlenition of *d* following *ba* (*Ba doctúir* §309) and lenition of *s* following *-r* (*nár shaighdúir, nár shagart* §346).

The presence of mutations can be taken as a partial indicator of the degree of cohesion between copula and predicate. Obligatory aspiration (*h*) precedes the closed class of pronouns; before adjectives it is generally optional. Obligatory and common lenition occurs particularly with adjectives in contrast with lexical nouns. Nouns form the least grammaticalised post-copula class; adjectives as a class are often far more restricted in their ability to act as copula predicates. It may be that innovative copula forms are found particularly before the unrestricted noun class, e.g. *ní ba* rather than *níor* will precede nouns. Formal innovation and mutational variation, often depletion, go hand in hand, e.g. *go mb'fhada* (**II**) ~ *go mba fada* (as in **III**). The distinction following *(m)ba* (**III–IV**) between common lenition of noncoronal (labial and velar) initials as against the rare lenition of coronal stops may be related to the greater phonological change involved in the lenition of coronals; contrast, for example, labial **m** > labial **w** (place of articulation unchanged) with coronal **d** > velar **y** (large distance from coronal to velar place of articulation). Nonlenition of *f-*, outside of the small copula set of class **II**, also avoids the considerable transformation which consists of the lenition of **f** > \emptyset . Class **I** forms are generally not used with *f-* (although a conjectured **nar fáiscthí an seanfhear é* does not strike me as unusual). A similar contrast or scale of nonmutation is found in borrowings (cf. 11.172, 11.176, 11.178, 11.183). In class **I** there is the additional possibility that homorganic nonlenition may feature when *-r* precedes coronals. (Historically of course a *badh* form also contains a coronal.) Finally, note that pronouns are not lenited, i.e. *ba mé, ba mise*, etc.

more categorical lenition. The four classes are set out in greater detail in the sections below.

	coronal		lenition	example
Adjective	–	I	+	<i>níor mhaith, gur bhreá^a</i>
	+		+	<i>nar dheacair, gur dhona / dheabhalta</i>
Noun	–	I	+	<i>níor Phratastúin, níor ghallaoireach^b</i>
	+		±	<i>níor thada / dhliobh / dream</i>
Adjective	–	III	±	<i>ba mhaith / cheart / ciontaí</i>
	+		–>> +	<i>ba deacair / dona / dheacair / dheas</i>
Noun	–	IV	–>> +	<i>ba cuide >> ba chuide</i>
	+		–>>> +	(query: <i>ba dhreatháir</i>)

^a Rare nonlenition, e.g. *níor beag* 892M.

^b Rarely also ± lenition here, cf. *dhár mac* (9.119).

9.119 Class I: -r + Adjective (>>) Noun

This class contains historical: *níor, nar, céir (cár), ar, gur;*
as well as innovative: *ní, nach, cé, a, go.*

Nouns in initial coronals are optionally lenited. This rule is based, for example, on:

níor DHLÍOBH ~ níor DREAM 892M.

Exceptionally nonlenition occurs with adjectives. The adjective *cúimhneach* is not lenited in one example (following *níor*). There is also a rare example of *nar maith* 21Pg. Adverbial *beag nar* ‘almost’ is probably generally unlenited following (*gu*)*r*, e.g.

gur bhuail a athair clabhta air, agus GUR BEAG NÁR mharbhaigh sé é leis a’ gclabhta 866EB17.

Contrast regular *níor dhóichidí* with irregular *N’íir no:hi: níor ndóichí* (8.228).

There are two formal ambiguities which can cause circularity regarding categorisation; identical forms, both in *-r* and without *-r*, occur in the present:

Past ^L	<i>NÍOR</i>	<i>NAR</i>	<i>céir (cár)</i>	<i>ar</i>	<i>gur</i>	<i>marar</i>
	<i>ní</i>	<i>nach</i>	<i>cé</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>go</i>	<i>mara</i>

Present [∅]	<i>ní</i>	<i>nach</i>	<i>(cér)</i>	<i>ar</i>	<i>gur</i>	<i>marar</i>
			<i>cé</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>go</i>	<i>mara</i>

The only difference between identical forms is presence or absence of lenition. Accordingly, lenition in the past with *ní, nach, cé, ar, a, gur, go* and *mara* will by definition be obligatory. For example, *ní^L* is classified as past (innovative for traditional *níor^L*) whereas *ní[∅]* in the same context is classified as present, e.g. *ní chás* is taken as past and *ní cás* as present. In an example in past context such as *dúirt sé gur mó a mhillthidís* M, the *gur[∅]* is taken as present tense. The only commonly occurring clearly distinctive forms in this class **I** are therefore *níor* and *nar* (in small capitals in the schema immediately above). Nonlenition with these two particles indicates class **I** nonlenition. Many more examples, particularly of *níor* and *nar*, in all nominal and consonantal contexts are needed. These examples might lead to reclassification closer to classes **III–IV** with mainly noncoronal

adjectival lenition. On formal grounds one would expect *dhár* to belong to class **I** but the only relevant example has *dhár*²: *cé mb'as é, nú cé gár mac é* **869P**, indicating classes **III–IV**-type nonlenition of a noun. (In fact in GCF §§503, 505, 521 only *níor*, *nar* and *cér* are categorised in class **I** (of my description); whereas *ar* corresponds to my class **III**; *mara* is possibly more complex (§523); *gur* is not discussed, it presumably patterns with *ar* of my class **III**, *gurbh* occurs in §521.)

9.120 Class II: *fh-* (lenited lexical set)

This class has categorical lenition, following *b'*, *-(m)b*, *-(r)bh*, of the small copula set of 'adjectives' in initial *f-* which occur in set phrases: *fada*, *fearr*, *féidir*, *fíor*, *fiú*, *fleár*, *frusta*, including vowel-initial *éigean*, also the nouns *faillí* and *fearacht* (in *ab fhailli*, *níorbh fhearacht*). Nonlenition of *fada* (also *foide*), less commonly *fearr* and *fíor*, sometimes occurs following *(m)ba* (presumably especially outside of the more set phrases). It is with an adjective from this set that **66N** has present tense lenition in **nax v'ar 66N** *nach bh'fhearr* (Copula 2ii.o).

9.121 Class III: *ba* + Adjective

Lenition following past *(m)ba* can be set out in the following provisional cline (which requires further quantitative research).

Form	Nominal classes and lexemes: Adjectives			
(m)ba	Obligatory	Very common	Less common	Unlenited, others
	<i>mh-</i> : <i>mhaith</i> , <i>mhór</i> , <i>mhó</i> , <i>mheasa</i>			<i>múinte</i>
	<i>bh-</i> : <i>bheag nach / nar</i> , <i>bhreá le</i>	<i>bheag</i> , <i>bhreá</i>	<i>bhocht</i>	
	<i>ch-</i> : <i>cheart</i> , <i>chóir</i> , <i>chórtha</i> , <i>chuma</i> ¹	<i>cheannach le</i>	<i>chiontaí</i> , <i>chosúil</i> , <i>chunúsach</i>	(<i>crua</i>), etc.
	<i>gh-</i> :		<i>ghearr</i> , <i>ghráinne</i> , <i>ghráidiaíla</i>	<i>gairid</i> , <i>gnáúil</i>
	<i>dh-</i> :	<i>dheas</i>	<i>dhiocair</i> (<i>dhaoire</i>)	<i>deabhaltaí</i> , <i>dona</i>
	Rarer examples		Optional	
<i>sh-</i> :		numeral <i>sheacht</i>	<i>slachtmhaire</i>	

Note that labials here do not include *f-* which is not lenited in **III**. The adjective *cuma*, e.g. *ba cuma liom* 'I did / would not mind', contrasts with regular nominal use (**IV**), e.g. *ba cuma eile ar fad a bhí air* 'it was in a completely different state'. A less common copula by-form *a* occurs in the relative, with optional lenition, therefore apparently a member of this class. There is also one instance of possible zero copula, for common *ba*, in *go maith is cheart dó* **01P** (i.e. *chomh maith is ba cheart dó*). I have no data from conversation (nor are there any in GCF §524) regarding adjectives in initial *p-* following *ba*. (For an example of a lenited noun, cf. 9.122.) Examples from query are:

^b f'e:ka:lt'ə ŋ ka:l'i:n' i Mq BA PHÉACÁILTE an cailín í.

bə fi:n't' a:lt'ə m' f'ær e Mq BA PHOINTEÁILTE an fear é.

(Máire was asked to change sentences, produced by the writer in present tense, to past tense.)

¹ Speaker **872P**, however, has consistent nonlenition of adjective *cuma* in his recording: *ba cuma ... ba cuma ...* **872Pt** (3/3, although the third token is not very clear). There is further variation in *Ba córthaí dhó ...* **!894C9**, *Ba córthaí go do dhream* **!894C6**.

An example illustrating the alternation is:

ní raibh aon dream ... BA MHÚ a raibh ríméad orthub, ... agus níor scal an ghrian ariamh ar aon bhean BA GRÁDIAÚLA, ná ba láí, ná BA MÚINTE ná í. 866Et (13.2, lines 26–30).

Marginal *dhá mba* preceding abstract comparatives (Mq) lenites in all adjectives queried. This may well indicate greater lenition than class **III**, which would not be surprising given regular lenition of abstract comparatives following *dhá*¹. Cf. 3.69.

9.122 Class IV: *ba* + Noun

The small amount of nouns found lenited following past (*m*)*ba* are listed here, nonlenition being far more common.

Form	Nominal classes and lexemes: Nouns	
(m)ba	Conversation	Query
	<i>ch-</i> : <i>cheird, chomhaois, chuide</i>	<i>chol ceathar</i>
	<i>ph-</i> : <i>Phratastún</i>	
	<i>bh-</i> : <i>bhean, bhréag, bhuí</i>	
	<i>mh-</i> : (<i>mhac</i> LL117)	<i>mhac</i>
	<i>dh-</i> : <i>Dhéardaoin</i> ^a	<i>dhreatháir</i>

^a There is an example of a possible selfcorrection of the lenited coronal in:

Níorbh ea. BA DHEARDAOIN, Déardaoin Chorp Críost a chuadar amach. 18J8193.

9.123 Jussive

Nonlenition, even aspiration, is most common following the jussive copula. Jussive *gur* and *go* have been noted with lenition of adjective *measa* and numeral *míle*; jussive *go mba* can lenite nouns (noted: *cac, gáir*), adjectives (noted: *measa*) and numerals (noted: *seacht, míle*); class **II** jussive *go mb'* is found before *f-* (*go mb'fhearr*); in query Máire permitted **gəɾə v̥ɑːr** [x3] Mq *gurbh fhearr* and **nɑːr v̥ɑːr** Mq *nár bh fhearr* (the former with some hesitancy). The only coronals attested following *go mba* are not lenited: *deirgmhíle* and *deirgmheasa* (one token each). This suggests that jussive *go mba* can be categorised with past copula classes **III** and **IV**.

9.124 Synopsis and references

Given the anomaly found in the copula, where lenition and aspiration can alternate with the same trigger (i.e. the same form of a given functor), aspirating forms are also noted in the following synoptic table which also provides cross-references for all the relevant sections of the Copula, excluding forms in class **II** (*b'*, *-(m)b*, *-bh*) which have obligatory lenition; 5.331 ff.¹

¹ This mutational alternation is coordinated in the second example in the following citation:

aon fear BA MHÚ 7 BA BHREÁCHA ... aon fhear BA MHÚ ná BA HÚTHÁSAÍ ná é, 866ESemr40, 54.

Lenition and aspiration as well as the absence of any mutation also co-occur in impersonal verbal usage, but far less so than with the copula in traditional dialect. Furthermore the variation within the impersonal verb occurs over a greater span of apparent time, cf. 'Functors' (8.40–8.45).

Examples of	lenition		nonlenition		aspiration	
p a s t	I neg decl	N'ir níor ^L	1ii.bb	N'ir níor ^{∅,H}	1ii.bb	cp. 1ii.cc
		N'í: ní ^L	1ii.c			
	interr	ər ar ^L	2ii.bb			
		ə a ^L	2i.c			
	neg interr	nar nar ^L	2ii.bb			
		nax nach ^L	2ii.c			
	dep	gər gur ^L	3i.bb			
		gə go ^L	3i.c			
	dep neg	nar nar ^L	3ii.bb			
		nax nach ^L	3ii.c			
	rel neg	nar nar ^L	4ii.bb			
	indrel	ər ar ^L	4iii.bb			
	cé	k'ər cé ^L	8.bb			
		k'e: cé ^L	8.c			
	mara	marər marar ^L	7.bb			
		marə mara ^L	7.c			
	III decl	bə ba ^L	1i.c	bə ba ^{∅,H}	1i.c	1i.d, 4i.d
	neg decl	N'í: bə ní ba ^L	1ii.c			
		N'í: mə ní mba ^L	1ii.m			
	interr			əmə a mba [∅]	2i.m	
	neg interr	nar mə nar mba ^L	2ii.mm			
	dep	gə mə go mba ^L	3i.m	gə mə go mba ^{∅(H)}	3i.m	cp. 1i.m
				gəm bə gom ba [∅]	3i.t	
	rel	bə ba ^L	4i.c	bə ba ^{∅,H}	4i.c	4i.d
		ə a ^L	4i.c	ə a [∅]	4i.c	
		∅ ^L	4i.c			
		əmə a mba ^L	4i.m, iii.m	əmə a mba ^{∅(H)}	4i.m	cp. 1i.m
	má			mə: bə má ba [∅]	5.c	
	mara (I)	marə mə mara mba ^L	7.m			
	cé	k'ər cé ^L (cár ^L)	8.bb, 9.bb	k'e: bə cé ba [∅]	8.c	
	k'e: mə cé mba ^L	8.m				
IV decl	bə ba ^L	1i.c	bə ba [∅]	1i.c		
neg decl	N'í: bə ní ba ^L	1ii.c	N'í: bə ní ba [∅]	1ii.c		
			N'í: mə ní mba [∅]	1ii.m		
interr			əmə a mba [∅]	2i.m		
dep	gə mə go mba ^L	3i.m	gə mə go mba [∅]	3i.m		
drel	bə ba ^L	4i.c	bə ba [∅]	4i.c		
juss- ive		gə go ^L	(13i.c)	gə go [∅]	13i.c	
		gər gur ^L	13i.bb	gər gur ^{∅,H}	13i.bb	13i.cc
		gə mə go mba ^L	13i.m	gə mə go mba ^{∅,H}	13i.m	13i.m, z-aa
				nar nar ^{∅,H}	13ii.bb	

9.125 *mar a chéile; seacht, míle*

Adverbial *mar a chéile* and numerals, *seacht* and *míle*, are optionally lenited by the copula:

Past *ba*: **bə ha:xt m'ər ε nər tusə** Mq (x3)

ba SHEACHT mb'fhearr é ná tusa;

'á ba bhreácha 'á ro' ... ba SEACH' mbreácha ... 852SbTS124;

ba MHÍLE b'fhearr liom agam a' buachailín deas óg CABI §29 v. 4.

Jussive **gə mə ha:xt / fa:xt m'ər / f'ər ...** Mq (43M), **gə mə fa:xt v'ər ...**

go mba: Mperm, 43Mperm *go mba SHEACHT / SEACHT mb'fhearr / fearr / bhfearr ...* ;

*go mba SEACHT fearr 20Cq, *... seacht bhfearr 20CØperm.*

For examples with *míle* and further examples with *seacht*, see the jussive examples in series immediately below.

9.126 Serial predicates

Series of adjectives or nouns following the copula are overall not common. Nonlenition is regular and expected in the common phrase:

bə ɡ̊ːr ɡ̊ːr̥ əd̊ ... (Smds)**04B** BA GEARR GAIRID ... ,

given that both adjectives used independently are commonly not lenited following *ba* (especially *gairid*). In songs, adjectival series are more common, in particular comparatives, e.g. (relative past and negative interrogative past)

' *Bhuachaillín* BA GHILE MHÍNE ná an síoda is ná an sneachta !**869P** CABI §45(a) v. 5;

A bhuachaillín BA GHILE MÍNE ariamh ná 'n síoda is ná 'n sneachta !**04B** CABI §45(b) v. 3 (transcribed by **35E**);

... *a* BA MHÍLSE DEISE póg !**894C**;

cp. *NÁR* GHILE bínn a bráid ná cúr na tuinne 'r trá !**01S** CABI §84(b) v. 5, where *binn* is presumably a noun although it may be interpreted as an adjective.

In *a ba mhílse deise* lenition apparently follows its independent course: *ba mhílse* and *ba deise* being the general usage.¹ There is coordination in:

Mar bhí a cúm BA GHILE IS MÍNE ná an síoda is ná clúmhach na n-éan !(Acgf)**43Js**.²

In invocations in the jussive copula with *fearr* and *measa* in nonserial predicates, nonlenition is most common and regular:

GO MBA SEACHT gcéad déag míle feárr a bheas sinn héin 7 a' cúlodar bliain ó anocht! **866E**ÓC223 §10,

GO MBA SEACHT MÍLE MEASA a bheas tú héin agus an 'pig'! ARN4612,

GUR MEASA bheidheas tú amáireach! S,

SEACH(T) MEASA bheidheas siad bliain ó anocht! S.

Less consistent and with optional lenition, however, are invocations with *fearr* and *measa* and serial predicates, or with a series of *go* forms, or both. There is also optional eclipsis following *seacht*, e.g. (all Seán, except first)

GO MBA GHÁIR MHEASA bheas tú ... ! FFG19, 20 s.v. *gáir mheasa*,

ɡ̊ə mə ʃaːx ɡ̊aːr̥ xak ʋ̊ æːsə ʋ̊ eis tu

GO MBA SEACHT GÁIR CHAC MHEASA a bheidheas tú!

ɡ̊ə mə ʃaːx kaːk 'xaːk ʋ̊ iːl̥ə ʋ̊ æːsə ʋ̊ eis tu

GO MBA SEACHT CAC CHAC MHÍLE MHEASA a bheidheas tú!

GO MBA SEACHT NGÁIR MHÍLE DEIRGMHÍLE MHEASA bheidheas tú bliain ó anocht!

¹ Cf. GCF §528. The two examples given there, cited from songs, have lenition on both adjectives in the series: noncoronal *ba ghile mhíne* and coronal *ba dheise dheirge*. Some of my examples contravene this regularity. My jussive examples in unlenited coronals following lenited labials also contravene the consistency of the GCF examples and rule. But they do imply a greater tendency to lenite serial predicates. Although I have no examples, it seems that serial aspiration might be possible, for instance, in conjectured **ba haoibhne háille*, or that aspiration might be possible in combination with nonlenition, e.g. **ba deise háille*.

² Compare *A cúl* BA GHILE MHÍNE ná an síoda is ná clúmhach na n-éan !(Acgf) in *Ú Ógáin* (1999: §46 2c; *Beairtle Rua Ó Flaitheartaigh*, *Camas Uachtair*, *Paróiste Ros Muc*); and cf. previous footnote.

GO MBA SEACHT, GO MBA HOCHT, GO MBA NAOI MHÍLE MHÍLE DEIRGMHEASA
bheidheas tú ó anocht!

GO MBA SEACHT, GO MBA HOCHT, GUR MHEASA bheidheas tú bliain ó anocht!
GO MBA SEACHT, GO MBA HOCHT, GUR MHÍLE MHEASA bheidheas tú bliain ó
anocht!

Note the lenition following present *is* in:

IS MHÍLE *fearr liom é sin*. [2] 27Mdq.

This was the speaker's second token produced in query following:

IS MÍLE 's *fearr liom é ná an ceann eile*. [1] 27Mdq.

is mhíle fearr may, however, be a once-off example of lenition, perhaps through transfer from *ba mhíle* ... or frequent *is fhearr*. Cp. *míle chrách sin ort!* FFG s.v. *míle* 1.

9.127 *fearr, fíor, fiú, frusta* (< *furusta*)

Initial *f-* in *fearr, fíor, fiú* is elided commonly following *s* of the copula. One speaker, 20C, also elides *f-* in *frusta* (< *furusta*). (These four adjectives are a subset of the regularly lenited set in *f-* in the past tense, class II.) Although the result is commonly the same as lenition, lenition (i.e. loss of *f-*) is synchronically aberrant in the present copula, and loss of *f-* is limited to these four words.¹ It is perhaps best taken as an optional lexicalised sandhi reduction of the *-f/s f' -s f-* cluster.²

fearr s a:r umsə v' e g' im' əxt M IS FHEARR dhomsa a bheith ag imeacht;
je: s a:r M sé IS FHEARR.

Apart from the environment of preceding *s*, the initial *f* is optionally absent in the speech of at least two speakers. Following *ní* in:

n' i: a:r ə b' e he 14M85 NÍ FHEARR ar bith é,

n' i: ha:r it' ə ɣol' ... 20Cq ní h(fh)earr dhuít a ghoil ...

Following *gur* in:

tá mise cheapadh gur h(fh)earr gər ha:r an Ghaeilge 20C,

b'fhéidir gur h(fh)earr gər ha:r leis ... 20C.

fíor s iər it' S IS FHÍOR dhuít.

ma:s iər | ... | ax əs iər e 66N MÁS FHÍOR, ... ach IS FHÍOR é.

fiú In my experience *f-* is more often absent than present in (*is*) *mór is fiú*:

is mo:r əs f' u: e: jin' [x2] 25M is móir IS FIÚ é sin;

mo:r ə su: b'æ:r ə want' d' i M móir IS FHIÚ bearradh a bhaint de.

This collocation [*mo:r ə su: ...*] *móir IS FHIÚ* is very common where *fiú* occurs as *u:*. There is often a lack of tense agreement between the two occurrences of the copula, e.g.

bə wo:r ə su: ^ə | k'æ:tl'i:n' 25C ba mhóir IS FHIÚ Ceatlín 'it was very helpful that Cathleen was present'.

The phonetic nature of the reduction (rather than lenition), is sometimes evident in the palatal glide deriving from *f'* of *fiú*:

ə:s ju: o:r ko:l'i:n' ... M IS FIÚ ór Cóilín ... ³

¹ Relative present copula *as* lenited in the older language.

² Cp. (adopted to my transcription) 'sf' a:r Also *sar*, in casual speech', ITM §403 (34), note 1.

³ A similar reduction was noted in *-Is feicthea dhom s: f'ek'ər um, a deir mac Rí in Éirinn, go bhfuil tú ag imeacht ar leathchois*. 11Ctn. As noted in 2.1, rare aberrant palatalisation of *is* before *f-* occurs

An extension of this glide to the past tense is found in:

N'ir ju: gə ... M NÍOR (BH') FHIÚ dho Diuncan a ghoil soir.
(Máire (M) does not have general past *N'ir j* in *N'ir jə níor dh'ea*, etc.)

An extension of the absence of *f'* - is found in the failure to palatalise:

nar vu: do: e 24B NARBH FHIÚ dó é.
(More usually *nar v'u:*.)

frusta (ə)s *frustə* generally, but speaker **20C** (who also has *har fearr*) has:
| *srustə* | **20Cq** IS *FRUSTA*,
srust e xir' əg obər' 20Cq IS *FRUSTA é a chuir ag obair.*

9.128 *is cuimhneach le ~ cuimhníonn*

In the interrogative *an / ar cuimhneach le* (*cuimhin le* in song) is occasionally 'contaminated' by the form and mutation proper to the verb *cuimhníonn*. This usage is unhistorical and judged to be anomalous (MØperm). Eclipsis in the copula construction derives from verbal *an gcuimhníonn*, e.g.

A' GCUIMHIN leatsa 'n oíche ' ra' mise 'gus tusa?
A' GCUIMHIN leatsa 'n oíche ' ra' mise ag a' bhfuinneóig? !01S CABI
§16(c) v. 5, v. 6.

The example may represent the speaker's vernacular usage or a 'blend' of higher register *cuimhin* and vernacular *an gcuimhníonn tú*: both *cuimhin* and *cuimhníonn* end in *n*. The vernacular adjective is regularly: *an / ar cuimhneach leat*. There is occasional formal 'confusion' or blending between *cuimhníonn* and *cuimhneach* (cf. 1.84). E.g.

-ər xun' u l'æt ... 37J AR CHUIMHNEACH leat ... ?
-hæ Hea?
-ər kun' i:m' l'æt ... 37J AR CUIMHNEACH leat ... ?

Also *ki:m' ən' l'um 51P* (*is*) *cuimhneach liom*, cp. *ki:n' i:m' 51P* *cuimhním*.

9.129 Verb

Lenition occurs regularly in the personal verb in the historical tenses (past, past habitual, conditional); it also occurs following *ní, má, ó, a* (direct relative), *cé* 'who' (basically *cé a* relative); following past marker of functors *-r*, which also occurs, leniting, with negative jussive *nár*. The impersonal verb is historically not lenited. For example, past tense: personal (*níor*) *chuir* vs. impersonal (*níor*) *cuireadh*. Similarly, present subjunctive personal *faigh* is lenited but impersonal *cuir* remains unlenited in:

nā:r a: tu' bā:s ənə 'x'e:l'ə gəs nā:r 'kurtər ənə 'x'e:l'ə hu | 11C
NÁR FHAIGHE tú bás ina chéile agus NÁR CUIRTAR ina chéile thú!

The system of lenition, aspiration and prevocalic *d'* in the impersonal does, however, show substantial change in progress (8.40 ff.).

Nonlenition

Nonlenition in the direct relative is rare. There is an example of nonlenition where lenition is expected and regular because of the conditional mood, not to mention the relative function, in:

in *if f'iar* *S is fíor* (similarly, *N'if f'ar níos fearr* ICF §261), thus resembling Scottish Gaelic *af ar* *is fhearr*.

blukɑ:n t̪ʷr̪həx mid' er' S blocán TIÚRTHADH muide air.

The irregular verb **d'ín** *déan* in the conditional has been noted very seldom with initial **d'**- from Máire and **10B**, e.g. **d'ínəx** *déanthadh*, **d'ínɑ:** *déanthá*, but Máire claims such forms are incorrect.

There are instances of nonlenition in conditional *chaitheadh sé* in modal function, e.g.

kahəx ʃe gə b'æ: 52P CAITHEADH sé go b'ea,

... *CAITHEAD sé gur mharatobh an mhuc, 892Mt;*

influenced by future *caithidh sé* which is also used in this modal function, although less commonly.

Verbal particles

See 'Functors' (8.20 ff.), for anomalous *nach* with lenition in past and conditional, *nach + r / d' / h-* in past impersonal, *nach* with nonlenition in conditional. One example of conditional particle *dhá^N* 'if' followed by lenition was noted in a slip of the tongue (the tense lenition was retained):

... **ga x' u:l' hɑ: n daun S ... DHÁ SHIÚILTHEÁ an domhan.**

Irregular verbs

The nonhabitual present of the verb *bí* (i.e. *tá*) combines with *ní^L* to give *níl* (with *-l* similar to the eclipsed form *bhfuil*), otherwise the form *tá* does not generally lenite: *má tá, ó tá, atá, cé tá*. The irregular verb *faigh* has a lenited variant of the future stem in nonlenited contexts: *gheof-*, etc.; irregular *tabhair* has lenited variants in the present and future: *bheir-* and *bhéar-*. See 'Irregular Verbs' (5.237 ff.), and compare *ní-* in the verb *déan*.¹ The verb *abair* has irregularities concerning lenition (see directly below). The verbs *clois*, *tabhair*, *teara* have alternate lenition or eclipsis in the past following particles that regularly eclipse in the present tense, e.g. *nar chuala ~ nach gcuala* (9.169).

9.130 *abair*, forms in **d'er'-** and **d'er:-**; **du:r(t')-**

The three stems of the irregular verb *abair* in initial **d'()** are **d'er'-** **d'er:-** **du:r(t')-**, i.e. (generally) present, future and past, respectively.² In lenition **d'e(:)-** becomes **je(:)-** and more commonly **e(:)-** (indicated here by **j** and \emptyset respectively); **du:-** becomes **u:-** (past **d** can be understood as the past prevocalic verbal particle *d'*; see further below). For the most part, **d'er'** and **d'er:-** are lenited following *ní*, but not elsewhere. For example, in the direct relative in the present tense, normally realised with *a^L* before other verbs, there is no lenition, e.g.

mar (ə) d'er' ə k'ɑ:n e'l'ə mar A DEIR an ceann eile,

ə d'er' ʃe ~ əd'ər ʃe A DEIR sé (quotative).

The future stem **d'er:-** commonly remains unlenited, both in the future relative, the independent conditional and the conditional relative. In the conditional relative initial **d'** is considerably more frequent than its absence (i.e. **d' >> \emptyset**). E.g.

d'er'əd'i:ʃ DEIRIDÍS; d'erhɑ: l'æt iəd DÉARTHÁ leat iad,

¹ Lenition in these verbs is a reflex of historically elided verbal prefixes. Recall the historically anomalous *bhéarthainnse* for expected *dtiúarthainnse* in:

-*Ara tuige bhéarthainnse punt duit? a deir an sagart. 11C5149.*

² Speaker **27J** (Loch Con Aortha) has pervasive nonpalatal **d d'** in the verbal particle which includes 2sg conditional **de:rhɑ:**, i.e. *d'éarthá* (2.87).

mar (ə) **d'ərha:** *mar* A DÉARTHÁ,

mar **e'rhə:** P *mar* A DHÉARTHÁ (often phrase-finally, as tag, often reduced to **mar era** ~ **marera**).

With *ní* lenition is regular. For example, the future personal **ní: e:rhə** 11C, M, 43M *ní dhéarthaidh*, also **ní: je:rhə**. (Of ***ní: d'ərha** Mq commented *má tá canúint ort, tá dream ann a abraíonnas é* but it has not been noted for Iorras Aithneach (nor GCF §536).) In the impersonal form, regular verbs generally remain unlenited (where the personal verb is lenited). This nonlenition is also found in impersonal **d'e(:)**- forms following *ní*, but lenition also occurs, yielding three variants: **d' ~ j ~ Ø**, e.g.

ní: je:r-f'i: ... S, **ní: d'er-f'i:**, **ní: e:r-f'i:** *ní D(H)ÉARFÍ*.

A fourth variant in the impersonal, with **h** before vowels, also occurs:

ní he:r-f'ər 11C *ní HÉARFEAR*.¹

Lenition of **d'e(:)**- does occur, however, in regular leniting contexts other than *ní*. This can be classified as a minority usage. For example, independent past habitual is regularly **d'er'əx** *deireadh* but **je:r-** is indicated by *dheirit sé* [x2+] 894C9. The same speaker has regular *déarthá* quite often alongside minority *dhéarthá* [x2] 894C6, 9. Speaker 20C has **d'ərhan'** but **mar e:rhə fjad** (categorised, in the schema below, as minority (a) type usage). Recall conditional relative lenition in the tag **mar e'rhə:** P *mar a dhéarthá*.

The young innovative speaker 66N has regular lenition in the conditional, with preposed ə in parenthetic lenited position, e.g.

... **gə l'or | ə je:rhən'** 66N ... *go leor*, DHÉARTHAINN,

also (context not recorded): ə **je:rhəx fje** 66N *dhéarthadh sé*, cp. imprs **je:rxi'** 66N, i.e. /**je:rhil'**. Compare older ə **d'-** in '*an gréasaí a thiúirthá air, a déarthainn | ə d'ərhan' | 21Pt.*

In the future leniting relative context she has **d'er-**:

'sausages' a DÉARTHADH ə **d'ərha:** *muide* ... a DÉARTHAS **d'ərhas** ... 66N.

In fact in a minority usage **e:r-** occurs in nonleniting position.² Speaker 19P, for example, (a **mar e'rhə:** user) has future **e:rhə** quite often for **d'ərha:** used by most other speakers, e.g.

e:rhə m'ə forəkun e'l a'ku: P ÉARTHADH *mé foracún eile acú*. Also:

e:ran fjad 78E ÉARANN *siad*.

We can summarise usage of **d'e(:)**- as follows, exemplified by **d'er-** (there are gaps in the table owing to irrelevance of some combinations or lack of data):

	Position	nonleniting	tense lenition	particle lenition	following <i>ní</i>
	majority	d'er-	d'er-	d'er-	e:r- ~ je:r-
minority	(a)	d'er-	d'er- (e:r- ~ je:r-)	d'er- ~ e:r- ~ je:r-	
	(b)	e:r-			
	(c)	d'er-	ə je:r-	d'er-	
	impersonal	d'er-	d'er-	d'er- (e:r- ~ je:r- ~ he:r-)	d'er- ~ e:r- ~ je:r- ~ he:r-

¹ The example is **gəs ní he:r-f'ər ēn 'fa:d'ər'in' 'ān 'd'ərhan' ... nāx ní:r'ə:d fje er' ə glər | 11C agus ní HÉARFEAR aon pháidirín ann déarthainn ... nach ndíreodh sé ar an gclár**.

² The basis of analogy may be described as follows:

déarthá, dhéarthá : déarthaidh, x; x ⇒ dhéarthá > dhéarthaidh.

Minority (a) usage is not uncommon; minority (b) usage is less common; minority (c) usage was noted from **66N** only corresponding to older **d'ér-**. The impersonal probably also has **ér-**, **jeir-** and even **heir-** in nonleniting and tense lenition contexts.

The past stem **dur(t')**, in synchronic description, basically contains **ur(t')** with preposed past prevocalic verbal particle **d d'**. In leniting position therefore (i.e. following *níor*, *nar*, *ar*, *gur*) **d d'** is absent, e.g. *d'úirt ~ gur úirt* (resembling regular *d'ól ~ gur ól*). In the past impersonal nonlenition, i.e. absence of *d'*, is common in **hurru:**, as it is in the regular verb. Anomalous 'lenition', i.e. *d'*, in **durru:**, also occurs, however, even after *-r*, e.g. *níor dúradh*, *ar dúradh* (as well as *níor (h)úradh*, *ar (h)úradh*).

There is a similar alternation in the past of irregular verbs *déan* and *teighre* between the two lenited variants: *ní éárna* **852S4** for *ní dhearna* and **jæxə ~ æxə** (*dh*)*eachaigh*. An eclipsed form such as **nax n'æxə**, for example, might well be interpreted as *nach n-eachaigh* with prevocalic eclipsis rather than the traditional orthographic form *nach ndeachaigh* with eclipsed *d-*, a *d-* which, in the case of the verb *teighre*, never has a surface realisation. Cf. 5.268, 5.300.

9.131 Impersonal

The impersonal verb is generally not lenited in conservative traditional dialect. Cf. *d'*, etc., 'Functors' (8.40) and 9.153. Note the example of the list effect in:

hær'æg'əd'i:f Mq *thairgidís* (psth),
followed by **hær'æg'o'f'i** Mq *thairgeoifí* (cond),
followed by Máire's more usual **tær'æg'i't'i** Mq *tairgítí* (psth).

Impersonal forms of irregular verbs, however, tend to be lenited more than regular verbs.

- bí* The only example of impersonal *bí* noted without lenition, where the corresponding personal verb has lenition, is past habitual **b'i:t'i** **892M**. Máire lenites the impersonal of *bí* as the personal. See *bí* (5.246 ff.).
- abair* **N'i: jeir-f'i** ... S *ní dhéarfí*, etc. The optional retention of initial *d-* in the impersonal past following preverbal *-r*, although *d-* functions as the verbal particle *d'* in the personal, is anomalous, e.g. **ær durru:** *ar dúradh*. See the discussion above (9.130).
- déan* **tosi:t'i: kahə suəs ka'p'i:n'i ... ogəs nər ə ji:n-f'i ... M**
tosaítí ag cáitheamh suas caipíní ... agus nuair a dhéanfí ...
- feic* Past impersonal *fachtas*, etc., see 9.142.

9.132 Anomaly in otherwise regular verbs *chreidim*, *shílim*

chreidim

creidim ~ chreidim (cf. 1.193). The 1sg present of *creid* is often lenited when expressing opinion; it is less commonly lenited when expressing belief. Typical examples of parenthetical use:

taif'əs hed'am' e S 'typhus' *CHREIDIM é*;
... **əft'æ:x | ed'am' | ... 35E** ... *isteach, CHREIDIM, ...*

Example of sentence medial use, marginally parenthetical:

ta: b'il'dal' vr'a: eg'ə a:n | hr'ed'am' gər f'u: ʎol' go d'i: e S

tá bildeáil bhreá aige ann, CHREIDIM gur fiú ghoil go dtí é.

Examples of sentence initial or nonparenthetic use:

CHREIDIM dá mbeadh ... 852Sb2; CHREIDIM go gcathfa mé ... 869P2;

cp. *mifə kr'ed'am ə nuəs ga'x rud ənsən a:m ... kr'em' gə gaha: ...*

11C1521 *muisse CHREIDIM ar nós gach rud insan am ... CHREIDIM go gcaitheá ... ;*

hed'am' gə wil' uəxtər a:rd he:ŋ gə wil' fe .gunəma:rə S

CHREIDIM go bhfuil Uachtar Ard héin, go bhfuil sé i gConamara;

v'i: nə gasu:r' j'in' huəs ən'j'in' is hed'am' gə raus eg'ə j'in' gə mah e

18Bm *bhí na gasúir sin thuas ansin is CHREIDIM go raibh fhios aige sin go maith é;*

-b'ar' yə ka:l't'ə BóC *B'fhearr dhó cailte.*

-o: hed'am' gə m'ar' P Ó! *CHREIDIM go mb'fhearr.*

Recall the example, cited in 1.193, of sentence-initial *chreidim* in a profession of faith:

CHREIDIM, a Dhia, x'ed'am' ə j'jə go bhfuil tusa anseo láthaireach !05M.

Following *go* there is anomalous *go chr-* and, less often, anomalous *go cr-* in:

m'anam go CHREIDIM go mb'fhéidir ... 894C3,

m'anam go CHREIDIM (sic) gur fíor 'uit é 894C3;

'wā'nəm gə 'xr'ed'am' gə ... 05M *Mh'anam go CHREIDIM go raibh sé ... ;*

'mā'nəm gə 'kr'ed'am' gər 'b'e: 05M *M'anam go CHREIDIM gurb é.*

Other persons are lenited by Mq:

ta fe b'ə: ə gu:ni xr'ed'an' j'jəd | Mq

tá siad beo i gcónaí, C(H)REIDEANN siad; also ~ ... kr'ed'an' j'jəd Mq;

ta fe ... | xr'edtər Mq *tá sé ... , CHREIDTAR.*

shílim

sílim ~ *shílim* (the latter is quite rare and usually phonetically reduced):

d'aul əs am k'erb ə:s e | hi:l'm' gər korli: n tæ:n'am' ə v'i: er' St
deabhal fhios a'm cérb as é, SHÍLIM gur Corlaí an t-ainm a bhí air.

hi:m' gə(r)b' ə: 11Ct *SHÍLIM gurb ea.*

níor, [repair] SHÍLIM hi:m' nach raibh ach beirt nó cupla gasúr ... 70M.

The form **hi:m'** 11Ct might be interpreted on formal grounds as *chím*. It was, however, explained by Máire as **ji:l'am' gər b'ə:** Mq *sílim gurb ea*, which is more fitting in the context. Cp. *nach shíltheá* (8.24).

Eclipsis

For eclipsis of words in initial **j**, **g'**, **hj** *ghi-* ~ *gi-* ~ *chi-*, see 'Borrowings' (11.183 ff.). For rare 'double' eclipsis, see 'Verbs' (9.143) below. For non-eclipsis of prefixes, numerals, time nouns, nouns in quotation, and place-names with the preposition **ə** ^N and non-eclipping **ən** *in* as well as other forms of this preposition, see 'Prepositions' (7.52 ff.).

9.133 Nominal

In the genitive plural the noun undergoes eclipsis following the article. The noun is also eclipsed following the singular article preceded by a preposition (with two main exceptions: initial *t-*, *d-* remain unchanged; **gən** *dhen*, *dhon* cause lenition).

The simple preposition *i* eclipses. Plural possessive pronoun *a*, and its allomorphs, eclipses in all three persons. Cardinal numerals ‘7–10’ also eclipse.

Echo words

In echo words, sometimes the first, sometimes both initial consonants can be lenited (9.26). Here double eclipsis is also found, i.e.

s.v. *fruislín*: *Tá nead AG AN BHFRAISLÍN BHFRAISLÍN*. FFG (cp. *ag an muiscín maiscín* FFG20);

gling gleaing: *OCHT NGLING NGLEAING* Mq.

Single eclipsis occurs in an example noted from conversation:

Bhí bun A NGAIG GIG amu’ 43M.

Compounds

Exceptional eclipsis on the second element of a compound (i.e. *mórdhóthain* > *mórnóthain*) occurs in coordination following regularly eclipsed *a ndóthain* in:

gur itheadar A NDÓTHAIN agus A MÓR NDÓTHAIN 866ESemr62.

Cp. regular (lenited 3m) *d’ith sé agus d’ól sé a mhórdhóthain*. 866ESemr112; and (3f and 3pl) *d’ith sí a dóthain is a leordhóthain ... gur itheadar a ndóthain is a leordhóthain* 852Sbts142–3.

We can compare here the (perhaps corrupt) parallelism of initial **g** in:

ə gra:nə guəxtə 05Md *i gcranna cumhachta*.

Cp. the anomalous ‘continued’ lenition in, e.g. *dhá mhíle bhuíochas* (9.108).

The common by-form of indefinite pronoun *aon-nduine* has medial **-n-**, e.g. **e:nin’ə**. This could be interpreted synchronically as irregular eclipsis or coalescence of *n-d*. Similarly, **(h)i:n’ə:g**, **’hi: N’ə:g aon ndéag**, **klu nu:nə:l’ Cloinn nDónaill**, **gə xlu nunəxə** M *dhe Chloinn Donncha*.

Other exceptional cases

Two nouns in *f-* have lexicalised eclipsis in set usage derived from phrases containing the preposition *i*^N:

i bhfalach > *BHFALACH BEAG* (or *VALACH BEAG*) ‘hide-and-go-seek’;

i bhfastú > *BHFASTÚ* (or *VASTÚ*) ‘place which entangles (dredge at sea)’.

The noun **ra:n arán** is treated as vowel-initial following the article, as well as following eclipsing *i*^N: **er’ ən ra:n ar an arán**, **ən ra:n in arán**.

There is anomalous eclipsis following *ar* and *faoi* in the adverbial phrases *ar gcúl* and *faoi gcuairt*. The latter has less common by-forms *faoin gcuairt* (with regular eclipsis) and older *máguairt*.

9.134 *freastal*

In obsolescent phrases with *díol* or *riar* the noun *freastal*, qualified by possessive pronouns, has various radical initial consonants or consonant clusters:

Base:		fr’	nr’	gr’	*g’ (*d’)
These are attested following possessives:		↓	↓	↓	↓
nonleniting, 3f		fr’	nr’	gr’	
leniting, 1sg, 2sg, 3m		r’		jr’	j-
eclipsing, plural		vr’	nr’		ŋ’

Examples are:

1804 Initial mutations

Base fr -	1sg	d'íal mḁ r'æ:stəl' am S <i>díol mo fhreastail a'm.</i>
	3f	d'íal ə fr'æ:stəl' ek'ə SM <i>díol a freastail aici.</i>
	3m	d'íal ə r'æ:stəl' S <i>díol a fhreastail.</i>
	3pl	d'íal ə vr'æ:stəl' akəb S <i>díol a bhfreastail acub.</i>
Base nr -	3f	d'íal ə nr'æ:stəl' ek'ə S <i>díol a ngfhreastail aici.</i>
	3pl	d'íal ə nr'æ:stəl' akəb S <i>díol a ngfhreastail acub.</i>
Base gr -	2sg	<i>díol do ghreastail a'd</i> FFG.
	3f	<i>riar a greastail aici</i> FFG.
	3pl	d'íal ə nr'æ:stəl' akəb S <i>díol a ngfhreastail acub.</i>
Base *g - (*d -)	3m	<i>Ghiothadh riar a gheastail</i> !(MP) 894C9 .
	1pl	<i>díol a [ár] ngeastail a'inn</i> FFG.

The variation of the radical or base in these phrases was no doubt brought about by reinterpretations of the lenited historical form with the 3m: **d'íal ə r'æ:stəl' díol a fhreastail**. Simply stated, this **r'æ:stəl'** was reanalysed as (a) **jr'æ:stəl'** yielding the new base **gr'æ:stəl'** (for instances of **jr** ~ **r**, see 9.11), and (b) **jæ:stəl'** yielding a new eclipsed form **nr'æ:stəl'** (loss of *r* perhaps in dissimilation with preceding *riar*). The most anomalous base appears to be **nr'æ:stəl'** but here the reanalysis might in fact be through replacement of the possessive with the preposition *i*^N (or through influence of *i*^N), i.e. *díol i ngeastail*.

Non-eclipsis

9.135 Genitive plural article

Non-eclipsis following the genitive plural article can occur owing to a following relative clause:

GO BHÁRR NA TÍNTÍ CEATHA BHÍ ' gcuid airim a bhaint as a chéile **!894C9**.

The singular noun *dream* with the plural article in genitive syntax is not eclipsed in (6.91):

thosaíodar AG TÓIGEÁL NA DREAM A BHÍ ag caoineadh **866E**Sc277.27.

There is an example of non-eclipsis where the dependent plural is subject of a following verbal noun clause:

bhí sé ag cuir an ghaineamh mín in íochtar, ' cuir gaineamh garbh in uachtar, ' CUIR NA HEASCANNAÍ BEAGA AG LÚBARNAÍL in ascallaí na n-eascannaí móra. (run)**11C**.

Contrast *' cuir na heascannaí ag lúbarnaíl* with *ascallaí na n-eascannaí* immediately following. Similarly, in double article constructions:

Agus badh in é an t-ám THÍMPEALL NA BLIANTA AN DROCHSHAOIL. **869P4**;

ə kir nə p'uni: nə kərtəx | əg obər' | 892Mg

AG CUIR NA PIONNAÍ NA CARTACH ag obair.

Also in an utterance containing double article and intrasentential pause:

k'e x'ukəx er' ma:d'ən' ax ə tʌ:rən'əx | nə br'e:d'i:n'i: gə d'i: m'e hem' St3a *cé thiocthadh isteach ar maidin ach AN TÁRAINNEACH, NA BRÉIDÍNÍ go dtí mé héin '... the Aranman, who had the tweeds ...'.*

In most instances, however, mutations are applied regularly in double-article use (6.96 ff.), e.g.

ag triomú NA MBUALTRAÍ, NA MBEITHÍOCH S.

In fact non-eclipsis following the genitive plural article is not uncommon. My examples, apart from the embedded cases cited above, are:

- (1) most frequently governed by verbal nouns with progressive *ag*,
 - (2) governed by nominal or compound prepositions,
 - (3) least frequently governed by a common noun (noted from speakers born after 1930).
- (1) *chruinnigh na Lochrannaí orthub nó go dtosaíodh siad ag marú NA FIANNAIBH ÉIRINN. ə 'ma:ru: nə f'ianə 'we:r'ən' | 875T1,*
agus é ' cuir NA HEANGACHAÍ air 894C2,
ag bearradh NA DRIOBAILE. 01Pt, ag díonamh NA TÁIRNÍ 04F,
... ag tóigeál NA GASÚIR ceart. 15W,
fin' e m fa: wil' je k'ænəx nə ha:t'əxi: fin' S
sin é an fáth a bhfuil sé ag ceannacht NA HÁITEACHAÍ sin,
ta f'iad ə ma:ru: nə pa:ft'i: fi: vri:n' ə ma:hər S
tá siad ag marú NA PÁISTÍ faoi bhroinn a máthar,
na ra tu g' i:nfəx nə k'ejt'əni: k'ært M
nar raibh tú ag inseacht NA CEISTEANNAÍ ceart.
 - (2) *i ndan a ghoil un NA GEALLTA níos foide 892M4696,*
go mbíodh doirsí ard ann, ' bhfuil fhios a'd? ar nús NA DOIRSÍ tá ansin anis. 05M)
(note following relative, contrast bíonn siad ar nús na ndaoiní. 05M),
- ... dhe bharr NA HAISTIREACHAÍ fada, a deir sé. 11Ctn.
Cp. bhí muid ag goil, i gceann NA POTÁI. 892Mt, where i gceann functions like a compound preposition.
 - (3) **t'ikə la: nə g'altə !37M** *tiocthaidh lá NA GEALLTA,*
with place-name: muíntir NA HÁIRDEANNAÍ [x2] 34C.

It is likely that qualification of nouns by other nouns, by adjectives, adverbials or relative clauses (cp. 9.136) disfavors eclipsis as can be inferred from examples in (1) and (2) above, e.g.

ag marú na Fiannabh ÉIRINN,
ag tóigeál na gasúir CEART, ag marú na páistí FAOI BHROINN A MÁTHAR,
ag inseacht na ceisteannaí CEART, dhe bharr na haistireachaí FADA.

The nonspecific meaning of the syntactic direct object *na coillte* and the following prepositional phrase are presumably of relevance in the lack of eclipsis in:

'agus tá mise ag tabhairt NA COILLTE dom féin.' 852SbLL2.

Cp. (i) **gə d'ə: nə d'ə:r 892Mt** *go deo NA DEOR* (through alliteration or serial effect of **d'ə: ... d'ə:-**) for common *go deo na ndeor*;

(ii) slip of the tongue: ... *ar na gcearca* S84.

Non-eclipsis in the examples cited results in homophony with the nominative plural article and noun as there are no instances of uneclipsed specific genitive inflection in the noun (i.e. *ag marú na bhfear* → [- eclipsis] *ag marú na fir*, not *ag marú na *fear*).

9.136 Preposition + Article before relative or verbal noun

Following the eclipsing singular article eclipsis is sometimes not applied to (i) a relative antecedent or (ii) head of a dependent verbal noun phrase, e.g.

- (i) *bhí Micil Ó Luideáin le bheith sáite ag Seán Veail, FAOIN FOCAL A DÚIRT SÉ. 892M2509,*

more regularly: *FAOIN BHFOCAL A DÚIRT SÉ* **892M2283**;

(ii) *agus ní raibh sé ag goil ag ínseacht aon fhocal amháin ach bréag, ... ' súil le fear, i gcúnaí a déarthadh, 'Tá tú ag díonamh na mbréag,' LEIS AN T-ATHAIR A SHÁBHÁIL.* **892M2067**,

gur íoc na ministéaraí Seán Ó Luideáin as Maínis LEIS AN CROIS A GHEARRADH, LEIS AN CROIS A GHEARRADH dhen tumba. ... agus an crois bheannaíthe a ghearradh dhi. **892M3438–9**,

gan fhios aige LEIS AN FAOBHAR A CHUIR leis an drochspeal, **11C5075**,

v'ídər bræ her' e: wər'u | fi:n' tr'ublo | fi: fukəl' jin' ə ra: ... **892M2275**
bhíodar ag brath ar é a mharú, faoin triobló-, FAOI AN FOCAL SIN A RÁ agus ... (note anomalous noncoalescence in fi: [< fi: ə] faoi an for fin faoin; cp. 9.138 [7]),

FAOIN FOCAL SIN A RÁ **892M2511**.

For comparative *thair* in *thair an feamainn dearg*, see 9.139.

9.137 Others

Lenition sometimes occurs for regular eclipsis with *an chéad* (9.109).

Prefixes

In eclipsing contexts prefixes are regularly eclipsed. There are, however, some examples of non-eclipsis of *droch-* and *fíor-* following the preposition *i^N* (7.54), e.g.

mar ta tu 'f'iar'xuntu:rt' 21Pt *mar tá tú i FÍORCHONTÚIRT.*

Functors

The non-eclipsis of adverbs has been mentioned above (*ar an cineál fraoch*, 9.43); similarly, the indefinite pronoun *cé* is not eclipsed, e.g.

... er' ə k'e: v' ex 45N ... *ARAN CÉ a bheadh ...*

For examples of mutated interrogatives, see 8.63. For the blocking of eclipsis following subordinator *go^N* in *go creidim, go chreidim*, see 9.132. A similar blocking of eclipsis occurs in *go feicthear*, e.g.

Tá fhios ag an oíche GO FEICTHEAR gə f'ek'ər dhom péin go mbíonn! **05M.**
 Cf. *is feicthear* (5.282), *b'fhacthas* (9.142).

Preposition *i^N*

For conjunctive forms of the preposition *i^N*, including instances of the blocking of eclipsis, see 7.52 ff.

Verbal

There is a rare example of *dhá d'* for regular *dhá^N* before a verb in *f-* in:

Ach rud a' bith beo DHÁ D'FHEICTHEAD SÍ ar an gcéad iarraidh, sé a bhí scuabthaí. **12St.**

For consistent examples of anaphoric *dhá^L* for regular *dhá^N* in speaker **01P**, e.g. *dhá choinic*, see 8.82.

9.138 Miscellaneous

Miscellaneous examples of non-eclipsis are listed here according to both the radi-

cal initial of the target and the eclipsing trigger involved.

- b:** *i* **əm b'ɛrlə ɑrd ræ:hən tɑ: ɛr' S** [1]
IN BÉARLA, 'Ard Rathán' atá air
 (taken from the context to contain the preposition *i*^N).
- ag an* **f'ær ə v'i: f'ih eg' ə b'ær:əbɔ:r' ə ɲa:l'ə St3a** [2]
fear a bhí istigh AG AN BEARBÓIR i nGaillimh.
- ar an* **'Tá múta feola AR A' BEITHÍOCH' nú 'ar a' duine sin'** [3]
Mq (in exemplifying 'múta feola').
- ʃe:rd ə v'i: ɑ:n buər'hin' ... | æ:səl ə ro slaur ɛr' ə** [4]
buər'hin' 12J séard a bhí ann buairchín ... , asal a
raibh slabhra AR AN BUAIRCHÍN.
- k'en tæ:n'əm' ə hugən ʃiəd ɛr' ə bɑ:d ʃin' S** [5]
cén t-ainm a thugann siad AR AN BÁD SIN?
- agus, anis, bhí, bhí Conamara uilig ag cruinniú go* [6]
Cloch na Rún, AR AN BEALACH CÉANNA, bhí Conamara
ag cruinniú go Maigh Cuilinn froisin. 11C.
- faoi an* **Bhí scéal eicín eile ann an gcuimhríonn tú air, FAOI AN** [7]
BÁILLE | fi: ɲ bɑ:l'ə agus an siorriam, tháinicdar ar
fhear eicint ... 11C2758.
- sa* **Chuaigh me 'steach SA BRUÍN uaidh S84.** [8]
- seacht* **agus faoi cheann SEACHT BLIANA nuair a tháinic an mac** [9]
abhaile ón scoil, ... -Caithidh tú, deir sé, ghoil
SEACHT BLIANA eile ann. Faoi cheann SEACHT BLIANA
eile, ... ghoil SEACHT BLIANA eile ann. Chuaigh sé
SEACHT BLIANA eile ann, ... 894Ct.
- ən i:ʃ mə hæ:xt bl'ienə d'eg 11C** [10]
in aois mo SHEACHT BLIANA DÉAG.
- p:** *ar an* **v'i: ʃe ka:n't' ɛr' ə pɑ:dr'i:n' M** [11]
bhí sé ag caint AR AN PAIDRÍN.
- leis an* **' Bhfuil tú réidh LEIS A' PÁIPÉAR SIN? M.** [12]
- t:** *a (pl poss)* **Tá (A) TEACH héin acub sin M.** [13]
- k:** *a (pl poss)* **din'i: kahə kid' ɛ:də ʃi:b S** [14]
daoíní ag caitheamh A CUID ÉADAIGH dhíob.
- f:** *leis an* **Muise deabhal blas, a stór, ach an fata beag LEIS AN** [15]
FATA MÓR S.
- a (pl poss)* **n'i:l' ʃiəd rə'v'og | n'i:l' ʃiəd nə fi:xən' M níl siad** [16]
ro-bheag níl siad INA FAOCHAIN (of seed potatoes).
- sa* **sə [audibly unclear] flahəʃ d'e: S SA [sna ?] FLAITHIS** [17]
Dé.
- seacht* **ceirt agus SEACHT FICHEAD 875T1.** [18]
- ... dochtúr 7 SEACHT FICHEAD dochtúr ... bhí dochtúr 7** [19]
SEACHT BHFICHID ann. 869P2.
- g:** *seacht* **ʃa:xt g'rik' | ʃa:xt gl'an | ʃa:xt mal'i: kifl'an' ...** [20]
(Smré)04B seacht gnoic, SEACHT GLEANN, seacht
mbailí caisleáin ... ;
- mə 'hɑ:x g'ra: hu' 'v'ik' ... 'ʃa:x 'g'ra: ... 'nai 'gra: ...** [21]
mə 'hɑ:xt g'ra: ... S 'Mo SHEACHT NGRÁ thú a mhic,'

... SEACHT NGRÁ ... in aghaidh grá ... (13.15).¹

Note the series of alternating lenition and non-eclipsis in:

k: **gə mə ʃa:x ka:k ˈxɑ:k v̥i:l̪ə v̥ə:sə v̥eis tu S** [22]

go mba SEACHT CAC chac mhíle mheasa a bheidheas tú!

g: **gə mə ʃa:x ɡa:r ˈxak v̥ə:sə v̥eis tu S**

go mba SEACHT GÁIR chac mheasa a bheidheas tú!

According to Seán (Sq) *seacht* **gcac* does not occur in this usage.

i **ta mid' ˠ ˈgʲi:m' ən'if ə d'ərʃe | 892M2787** [23]

-Tá muid I GREIM anis, a deir sé.

d: *ina* **bhí muid uilig ag siúl thart is pian INA DROÍM, is ... 52P;** [24]

ar dtús do na Sasanachaí a theacht isteach go hÉirinn [25]

INA DEARNACHAÍ ar mhuintir na hÉireann, Sc274.1.

ocht **oxt diʃe:n̪ə 07P OCHT DUISÉINNE** (vs. regular *OCHT* [26]

NDUISÉINNE déag is fí' 26Pct).

Examples without eclipsis sometimes have special emphasis on the uneclipsed element. There is possibly contrastive emphasis in [1] (with *Gaeilge*) and [16] ('they are not tiny (winkles)' with emphasis on 'not'), and disjunctive simulation in [3] (*beithíoch* with *duine*), and conjunctive simulation in [7] and [15]. In examples [2], [4], [5], [7], (perhaps [8]) [9], [11], [12], [23] the non-eclipsed element can be taken as the discourse theme. Example [14] may be a slip of the tongue through assimilation: **k ... k**. There seems to be confusion in [18]–[19] between *seacht fichead* '27' and *seacht bhfichid* '140'. This is understandable especially in [19] with the vague sense of basically 'many doctors' and given the phonological context. If we take it as originally most likely *seacht bhfichid dochtúr*, the voiced *bhf-* could possibly be devoiced (cf. 'Sandhi', 'Voice' 2.36), the palatal *-id* depalatalised. The basis for the non-eclipsis in [20] and the unusual, metathesised eclipsis in [21] is phonological or morphophonological. The clusters *-cht ngl-* / *ngr-* are avoided. There may also be a cluster explanation in *seacht bliana* [9], [10] and *ocht duiséinne* [26].² There is a syntactic explanation for the lack of eclipsis following *go mba seacht* [22]. Here the copula lenition, or lack of it, takes precedence (9.126). The adverbial phrase *an bealach céanna*,

¹ Cf. 13.15. Similarly, /*mə hax gra:*/ *mo sheacht grádh* is attested in IEM §247, and *s'ax gra:* *seacht grádh* as well as *s'ax bas seacht bás* in Lavin (1956a) §322. In my early notes when transcribing *seacht ngrá* from Seán's speech I sometimes hesitated between **ʃa:x gra:* and **ʃa:x ɣra:*, and was obliged to choose one or the other. I now realise, having listened to his recording, that the nasalisation of *r* led me sometimes to hear or analyse his actual *gʲra:* as doubtful **gra:* ~ **ɣra:*. It is therefore at least possible, although by no means necessary, that *seacht grádh(a)* cited in IEM and Lavin also represents actual *ʃax gʲra:*. Cp. *seacht breácha / mbreácha S* from my early notes which may have had at least one variant realisation as **ʃax bʲr̪ˠa:xə*.

² For loss of nasalisation in clusters across word boundaries in Old Irish, see GOI §§180, 236, Feuth (1982: 89–90), Ó Maolalaigh (1995–6). Feuth argues that the loss both across word boundaries and word-internally in Old Irish indicates that *mb*, *nd*, *ng* in eclipsis were realised as two segments. Synchronically in our dialect the lack or in the case of *seacht ngrá* metathesis of eclipsis does not reduce the number of consonants in the cluster; non-eclipsis does, however, reduce the morphophonological complexity of the cluster. Thus, our evidence shows that Feuth's two-segment analysis is not clinched by examples of non-eclipsis of *b*, *d*, *g* following other consonants. It does, nonetheless, seem possible that the modern instances represent an inheritance or adaptation of the facultative use found in Old Irish, particularly given the lexemes involved in our examples: the only two cardinals which end in a final cluster, and these followed mostly by other words in initial clusters: *seacht bli-* [9], [10], *gl-* [20], *ngr-* [21], *ocht d-* [26].

without preposition, may have influenced [6]. I can conjecture no obvious explanation for [13] unless it is a slip of the tongue and was perhaps planned as *tá teach dhá gcuid héin ...* or perhaps the two initial *ts* in *tá teach ...* are of relevance. The high number of examples with uneclipsed *b-* may be significant; recall that *b*, *d* and *g* are the only consonants which change to nasal consonants in eclipsis.¹ The example of *pian ina droím* [24] is from a woman speaker who sometimes has nontraditional usage; perhaps expected *pian ina ndroím* was avoided to avert the sequence of three *ns*. Perhaps similar dissimilation is involved in *ina dearnachaí* [25] meaning ‘in small groups’.

An example of non-eclipsis from a younger speaker is (9.177):

i: seasamh — seasamh i doras fæ:sə dorəs 64M.

9.139 Preposition + Article

As described in 9.133, prepositions with the singular article cause eclipsis, e.g.

hri:d’ ə ‘ŋl’ā.ən | 11C *THRÍD AN NGLEANN.*

An example with the testifying preposition *doir* is:

der’ ə gro x’estə ax gə wil’ M *DOIRAN GCROICH chéasta ach go bhfuil.*

But not in *doir a’ Bíobla Naofa S.*

The dental stops *t-* and *d-* are not eclipsed following the singular article. A rare example of eclipsis occurs in:

ní raibh an oiread aird AG AN DTÍORÁNACH i gcúnaí ar an drochshliabh agus bhí aige ar an talthamh maith choir a bith. 11C3555.

There is anomalous eclipsis in **gən ɣræ:ŋk’ 40S** *dhon bhFrainc* (only) presumably influenced by common *sa bhFrainc* (cp. *sa Fhrainc*, 9.91).

Two speakers, **21PgDU** and **27CbAI**, independently report exceptional instances of lenition. Speaker **21Pg** claims to have heard a certain ‘*seanfhear dhe Uaithnínéach*’ in Dumhaigh Ithir (or vicinity) use lenition habitually in:

ta fati: sə fotə tá fataí SA PHOTA.

Similarly, **27Cb** reports that his neighbour in An Aird Thiar, speaker **848B**, consistently said *sa channa*, *sa phota* (**848B**) and the like. Similarly, *sa chalahd* [cited from local song] ... *sa chalahd* [in SÓC’s text] SÓC1.83 (otherwise, SÓC has consistent eclipsis). There is one example noted from speech in:

nuair a chuaigh sé SA CHLOIGEANN lúsáilte dhi, 892M,

(but perhaps simply a slip of the tongue influenced by *chuaigh*). The noted examples contain *sa + ch-*, *ph-* (voiceless velar and labial). Prepositions [*dhe*, *dho* + singular article] lenite, and prepose *t* to *s* (part of system of lenition). For rare *ar an + ts-*, (*in*)*sa + ts-*, see 9.162.

For examples of lenition of feminine nouns instead of more regular eclipsis, see 9.91; and of masculine nouns from innovative younger speakers, see 9.176.²

There is a rare example of eclipsis following the article in coordination in:

Ón gcéad oíche, ’GUS AN GCÉAD LÁ dtáinic sé anseo, ní dheachaigh sé ar a ghlúine, ’gus ... 892M4624 (cp. p. 1692 n. 3).

¹ As mentioned in the previous footnote, eclipsed *mb*, *nd*, *ng* may well have been clusters in Old Irish.

² In response to a query to use *uaidh* as a simple preposition with the article, for her more usual *ó + an* > *ón*, Máire produced: **wai ən v’ær jin’ uaidh an bhfear sin** [x4] and anomalous **wai ən’ ær jin’** [x2], **wain’ ær jin’** [x1] *uaidh an fhear sin*. Similarly, in reply to query she produced correct **mar ə f’ær jin’** Mq *mar an fear sin* as well as anomalous **mar ə N’ær jin’** Mq *mar an fhear sin*. Cp. **son: uəxt 66N san fhuacht** (9.176).

The prepositions *mar*, *marach*, *seachas*, *tha(i)r(e)as* with the article do not take eclipsis:

mar ən | v'æ'n' j'in' Mq *MARAN BHEAN sin*,
mar ə wo: ol' ə M *MARAN BHÓ eile*,
MARAN CEÁNN a raibh an ceol inti **852S3** (corrected in MS from *gc-*);
marach / seachas / tharas an ceann / bhean eile.¹

Except in the phrase:

MARA' GCEÁNNA **894C2**, DT95; *MARAN GCEÁNNA ar an gcapall* !P.

There is an example of non-eclipsis (and nonmutation) following *thair an* in comparative function:

Tá difear mór inti THAIR AN FEAMAINN DEARG. **889P**.

There is unexpected nonlenition (perhaps eclipsis) in:

Tá sí éasca ar a thriomú froisin THARAS AN MÓIN a bhaintheas tú fút síos **897P**.

Cp. (with hesitation) *thaireas an, feoil* **31Mt**.

With the compound preposition, *go dtí*, a rare example of eclipsis was noted in traditional speech:

gə d' i: ən wi'n' o:g' **24Nt** *GO DTÍ AN BHFUINNEOIG*.

There is an example of eclipsis following *go dtí* through parallelism with preceding *ón* in a tale:

a dhianthach solas ÓN GCEÁNN thoir gon domhan GO DTÍ AN GCEÁNN (sic) thiar, **866ESemr70**.

Consistent eclipsis following *go dtí* is heard from some young speakers (9.177):

gə d' i: m ma:lə **70S** (semi-speaker), **79P** *GO DTÍ AN MBALLA*.

9.140 Numerals

The eclipsing preposition *i^N* has three forms before numerals: *ə i^N*, *ə i⁰*, *ə n in⁰*. For example, with *trí* (7.57):

ə dr' i: , ə tr' i: , ə n' tr' i: *I DTRÍ, I TRÍ, IN TRÍ*.

For eclipsis of lexically lenited numerals, see *dhá* (9.97), *cheithre*, *chúig* (9.101).

For *seacht fichead*, see 9.138 [18], [19]. Of the other numerals, *trí* is attested both eclipsed and uneclipsed in the genitive plural, e.g.

i gcúngar NA DTRÍ róid **11Ctn** (in the set phrase, with plural noun);

-Tá 'journey' NA TRÍ lá seasta a'ad, adeir sé **852SbTS141** (singular noun).

I have heard *i gcorr-*, *i gcupla*, *in chupla*, rare *is cupla* **18J**, in Iorras Aithneach including from speakers who have lexical *chorr-*, *chupla*, e.g. **19P**. But **59P** (Ros Muc) retains lexical *chupla* following *i^N*: *i chupla*.

Ordinals

Ordinals are regularly eclipsed, e.g.

cardinal **fuər' m'e' ni: 'nɑ:rnə 'hā:t'** | ARN7206 *fuair mé naoi NDARNA háit*;

prep + *an* **ēř' ə g'æ:rəhu: lɑ:ə f'ix'əd** (Aár)**04B** *ar an GCEATHRÚ lá fichead*,
o:n gu:g'u: lɑ: d'e:g **24Mt** *ón GCÚIGIÚ lá déag*;

possessive **fođ e: g'e:d / dr' i:u: iərəxt** Mq *seod é a GCÉAD / DTRÍÚ iarracht*.

¹ There is eclipsis in *tharas a' ngliomach ... seachas a' ngliomach* DT95 but this may have been normalised by the folklore collector Seán Mac Giollarnáth (1940).

Examples such as *ar an t-aonú ... , ón t-ochtú*, however, occur (6.90); from memory, I recall noting a lack of eclipsis in phrases such as *ón cúigú lá*.

Clock time

Numerals used in telling the time, the hour to be precise, are eclipsed by a minority of speakers. The eclipsed version can be analysed as containing the article, the non-eclipsed as containing historically the numeral particle *a^H* (although synchronically it can be analysed as containing the article without regular eclipsis). The *n* of the article is present in all collocations following a vowel. The article also precedes *(h)aon*, *(h)ocht*:

<i>aon</i>	rí v ə n hín <i>roimhe an HAON</i> .
<i>ceathair</i>	eg ə k'əhər' SM <i>ag a CEATHAIR</i> , most common, but eg ə g'əhər' 05M (x2), 10B <i>ag an GCEATHAIR</i> .
<i>cúig</i>	eg ə ku:g' SM <i>ag a CÚIG</i> , most common, but eg ə gu:g' 10B, 11J, 27Md <i>ag an GCÚIG</i> .
<i>ocht</i>	rí v ə n hox't <i>roimhe an HOCHT</i> .

Fractions

For synchronically exceptional eclipsis of *trian* following *dhá* and *trí*, see 9.111.

seacht mb'fhearr

With the copula, the numeral *seacht* can eclipse a comparative adjective, e.g.

'á ba bhreácha 'á ro' an ceann eile ba seach' MBREÁCHA [*a bhí an ceann a bhí ag a' driotháir eile.*] 852SbTS124.¹

seacht can eclipse *fearr* and *b'fhearr* or leave *fearr* unchanged, yielding *seacht mb'fhearr* ~ *fearr* ~ (*bhfearr* permitted):

Past	bə ha:xt m'ar e nɑ' tusə [x3] Mq <i>ba sheacht MB'FHEARR é ná tusa</i> ; bə ha:xt f'ar e nɑ' tusə [x1] Mq <i>ba sheacht FEARR é ná tusa</i> .
Jussive	gə mə ha:xt ~ ʃa:xt m'ar ~ f'ar ... Mq (43M), gə mə ʃa:xt v'ar ... Mperm, 43Mperm, <i>go mba s(h)eacht MB'FHEARR ~ FEARR ~ BHFEARR</i> . <i>go mba seacht FEARR</i> 20Cq.

9.141 Verb

The following particles eclipse the verb: *a* (indirect relative and cataphoric pronoun), *an* (interrogative), *cé / cá* (interrogative adverb), *dhá* 'if', *mara*, *nach*, *shula* (and many of its by-forms).

Non-eclipsis

There is common, but 'incorrect', lenition following rhetorical *nach*, e.g. *nach shíltheá* (8.24); similarly concessive *mara bhíodh* (8.28).

Conjunction *shula^N*, *shul^L*, *shul is^L*

shula^N regularly eclipses (8.130 ff.). Obsolete, leniting *shul^L* and *hols^L shul is* have been recorded only from 852S and 899D respectively, e.g.

SHUL D'FHÁCTHAINN a' tír 852S2,

¹ The text in square brackets is provided by the editor. Ó Duilearga (1962–4: 124).

SHUL IS THÁINIC aon cheann ariamh acub ann. 899D6171.

The rare variant *shul má* can lenite consistently (as *má* or relative *a^L*) or eclipse, as in:

<i>shul má dhíonann</i>	}	<i>shul má rinne</i>
<i>shul má dhíonthas</i>		
<i>shul má ndíona</i>		

Particle *cé^N*

Regular: *cé ngothaidh muid?* There is a slip of the tongue in:

k'e wækəs ə ɲa:l ə mid' S CÉ BHFÁGTHAS i nGaillimh muid?
 'who will take us to Galway?',

presumably owing to confusion of *cé^L* 'who' and *cé^N* 'where'.

9.142 Irregular verbs *bí, déan, faigh, feic*

bí in the general present following *mara^N* sometimes has regular eclipsis, i.e. **marə wíl' mara bhfuil**, but it is more commonly anomalous, i.e. **marə bíl' marab fhuil**. (This resembles a form of *mara* combined with the copula **marəb**(') *marab*.)

déan sometimes takes eclipsis in the impersonal past, e.g.

fɛɲ xɪ ə n'ɑ:ɾnu: p'æti: ... 20Mlt sé an chaoi a NDEARNADH peataí ...

More commonly *sé an chaoi ar dearnadh*.

faigh: eclipsed forms in initial *ń-*, based on stems **jof-**, **jeh-** (minority **g'eh-**), are not common, although used consistently by some speakers, e.g.

gə n'ofa: 899N GO NGEOFÁ; gə n'ofən' 899N GO NGEOFAINN;
marə n'ehə fɛ ma:x ... 01J MARA NGEITHIDH sé amach i nGaillimh é;
gə n'ehə m'ij' əg obər' ɛ 79S GO NGEITHIDH mise ag obair é.

(The conventional spelling *ngeo-* is misleading. A more accurate spelling would be *ngheo-*; **j**, and not **g'**, is the consonant which is eclipsed here.) Far more common are **gə wi:**, **marə wi:** *go / mara bhfuighidh*, etc.

Speaker **899N** (Ros Dugáin, mother from Leitir Calaidh) is the only speaker attested with *ń-* both in *dhá ngeo-* and in the subjunctive:

ogəs jofən' baun'ti: æ:s gə n'ain' ɛ 899N
agus gheofainn babhaintí [< bounty] as *DHÁ NGEIGHINN é*,

for more common **gə: wi:n' dhá bhfuighinn** (conditional) or **gə: wa:n' dhá bhfaighinn** (subjunctive).

Some younger speakers have non-eclipsis:

l'ehi: g [sic] jehəɟ fɛ ... gə jehəɟ fɛ ... 78Rb
le haghaidh go gheitheadh sé ... DHÁ GHEITHEADH sé ... ;
da jofən' 79P DÁ GHEOFAINN.

Two stems, past (categorically) and future (generally), are eclipsed following *ní*:

fuair > *ní bhfuair*,
gheoflthaidh > *ní bhfuighidh* (sometimes *ní gheoflthaidh*).

feic: past impersonal undergoes a different mutational pattern in **fakəs ~ bakəs** *fachtas ~ b'fhacthas* from the past personal dependent *ní fhaca, nach bhfaca, an bhfaca, go bhfaca*. Máire has the following pattern (examples from Máire's con-

versation unless otherwise indicated):

<i>(b'f(h)acthas</i>	<i>níor, ní</i>	<i>nar</i>	<i>ar, an</i> (interrogative)	<i>go</i>
fakəs ε / do'	ń'ir fakəs do'	nar fakəs ε'	ər fa'kəs an ε Mq	
bakəs do:				gə ma:kəs do' Mq
fakəs ε / do'	ń' i a'kəs (an ε) Mq		ə wa'kəs an ε Mq	gə wa:kəs do' Mq

(Source M, Mq.)

It is evident from her examples that the lexical meaning 'see', e.g. *facthas é, ní fhacthas é* 'he was (not) seen', is closer to personal usage than the meaning 'seem to one', i.e. copula *b'*, *go mb'* in *b'fhacthas dó, go mb'fhacthas dó*. The absence of *gur facthas* in Máire's material is noteworthy. The absence of copula forms in the negative in the meaning 'seem' is also noteworthy, e.g. **níorbh fhacthas dó*. Cf. 'Funcctors' 9.137.

9.143 'Double' eclipsis of *c* and *t*

'Double' eclipsis occurs very often with *ceap*, i.e. $k' \rightarrow g' \rightarrow \eta'$, in the innovative speaker 66N's usage, e.g.

ə η' æ'pa: 66N (perhaps also **ń' æ'pa: 66N**) *an (n)gceaphá?* (also regular **g' æ'pa: 66N** *an gceaphá?*);

ir' ən do: η' æ'pa: nax ... 66N 'even though' *go (n)gceaphá nach ...* .

Speaker 66N also has $\eta' g'$ with *ceap* ($\eta' =$ syllabic η'):

η' g' æ:pəx tus ε vrain' 66N *an gceaphadh tusa é, a Bhraidhin?*

This speaker's doubly eclipsed form of *ceap* is sometimes found in a non-eclipsing context:

tá m' ε η' æ:pə nax ... 66N *tá mé ag (ng)ceapadh nach ...* .

Double eclipsis is found in other verbs, including tokens of nonpalatal $k \rightarrow g \rightarrow \eta$:

... gə ŋaha: ... 66N ... *go (n)gcáitheá ...* ;

... ŋa'f'ər ... ka'f'ər 66N ... *(n)gcáithfear ... cáithfear;*

gə ń' e:rhəx f'i' η' æ:no:x f'i' 66N *dhá ndéarthadh sí go (n)gceannódh sí;*

| ŋa ŋir' a: 66N *dhá (n)gcuirtheá.*

The examples from 66N occur following *an* (interrogative), *go* and *dhá*. She has no recorded examples in other contexts, e.g. following *nach* or in nouns. Her anomalous $\eta(\acute{c})$ for $g(\acute{c})$ may be an extension of the nasalisation of complementiser *go* which is found in the dialect especially before *ngoth-* (8.8), e.g.

b' e:d' ə' ŋə ŋoha: p' i:sə 66N *b'fhéidir go ngothá píosa.*

Her realisation of traditional **gə g' æ'pa:** *go gceaphá* as **η' æ'pa: 66N** cited above may be influenced by nasalised **ŋə go**. Extension of nasalisation and velar place of articulation to the vowel of the interrogative particle would also explain her η for traditional $\ə$ in **η' g' æ:pəx 66N** *an gceaphadh?* The influence of the spelling *an* may, however, be a main or contributory factor. Her realisation of conditional **ŋa ŋir' a:** *dhá (n)gcuirtheá* may represent an extension of this nasalisation to both the functor and the verb. She has nasalised reflexes of three functors: *go*, *an* and *dhá*. In **ə η' æ'pa:** *an (n)gceaphá*, **η' æ'pa:** *go (n)gceaphá* and **η' æ:no:x go (n)gceannódh** the reflex of the functor has apparently coalesced with the initial consonant of the verb. The coalescence of the nasalised consonants in *go gc- > η*, is also seen in the usage of an older speaker:

η ηæ:əf fe 11C go gcaitheadh [cond] sé.

This provides a further instance of the source for speaker 66N's extension of ηa- for traditional gcaith-. Speaker 66N has a tendency, comparable to her other nasalised functors, to pronounce sa(n) (preposition i + article) before hesitation as sən for traditional sə (9.176, 7.59).

A similar example of double eclipsis involving η occurs in a phrase following a word-initial n and preceding a word-internal η in an apparent slip of the tongue in SID.46 (s.v. loiseac):

nai: ə η aηlo:fə: ə snū:də an áit a (n)gceanglófar an snúda.

There are examples of t' → d' → n' in dhá dtiocthadh from 66N and a rare example in rapid speech from 892M with go dtiocthadh:

ga n' ukəx ... ga d' ukəx ... 66N dhá (n)dtiocthadh ... dhá dtiocthadh;

sul's ə n' ukəx xū:nə b' ih ori: oη 'g' r' ūk | 892Mtn

súil is go (n)dtiocthadh chúnamh ar bith oraibh ón genoc.

Cp. g' æ:pə: gə mil' S an gceaphá go mbuil? (for go bhfuil) heard only once.

Minor mutations

n + Vowel

9.144 General

Morphophonological linking n occurs before possessive ə a (all persons); optionally before a^L used with abstract comparative, and (a) chéile, and cataphoric relative a^N; following the prepositions faoi, frae, i, le, ó ~ uaidh, thrí, less categorically with go dtí, also dhe; also following tigh; less regularly in verbal noun syntax preceding é (í, iad), a (verbal noun particle) following dhe, dho, (go), le. There is also a regular preposed n before vowel-initial verbal nouns following le 'to'. For the realisations of n before front vowels: n', n', n, see 'Sandhi' (2.73 ff.). Recall the realisation as n >> r (possibly in dissimilation) in the common aside beannacht Dé lena anam, generally ... l'e na'nəm but ... l'e' ra'nəm 05J. For a similar linking device, -án-, see 9.167.

9.145 Prepositions; go dtí

Linking n is found with dho, e.g. dho-n-a bheith; go is perhaps related to the gan in ní ól gan é Clad17, n' i gr'im' gən e; Mperm ní greim go-n é; speakers are unsure whether to interpret the form gən as an instance of dhe or gan (the historical usage) in, for example, ná déan dearmad dhe n-é a lasadh or ... dearmad gan é a lasadh (query). See Prepositions (7.18, 7.28). Also wa'stu gənə x'e:l'ə 69S1 i bhfastú dhena chéile, for traditional dhá chéile. Forms without n only are found with ar feadh, le haghaidh:

er' f' æ' hi:l' M ar feadh a shaoil,

l'ehi: wa:hər' 43M le haghaidh a mháthair.

go dtí

go dtína go dtína shála 869P2, | gə d' i:ə | nə ha:lə | 869PSgbf go dtína shála.

xur fe gə d' i:nə wa:st ə | 869PSgbf chuir sé go dtína bhásta é;

| s ə v̄ã:n ə̃ | ə'mū gə d'í:¹ | nə bɑ:stə | 869PSgbf
is a bhean amuigh go dtína básta;
 ,o:nə 'gluəsə gə d'í: nə 'mín'ɑ:l, SID.46 (s.v. *muineál*)
óna gcluasa go dtína muineál;
suas go dtína chuid oibre 892M2022.

See also obsolescent *go dtíana* (9.167).

9.146 *le*

le + *a* (possessive) > *lena*, e.g. *lena athair / hathair / n-athair*.

le + *a*^L particle + verbal noun > *lena* (rare) ~ *le* generally:

réiti sé é héin lena dhoil gon Ghréig 875T1;

le ghoil is the norm, so also *le bheith 875T1*.

le + *a*^L cataphoric possessive > *le*:

Γ ε Γ ε h ə d' ə g ə r u d M q *le a leithide dhe rud.*

Cp. *dho* (> *dho* (*a*) 7.27), *faoi* (9.147).

le + *a*^L + abstract comparative > *le* ~ *lena*:

le 'fheous agus ... 875T1;

Is níl maith a' bith in mo ráite le fheabhas mar bhí sí ag cáitheadh !10B;

n ə b ə k Γ ε ə v r' ɑ: x' ə s ... M q, Γ ε n ə M q *ná bac le(n)a bhreáichte is*

Compare cataphoric *a*^N (directly below and 9.149).

le + *a*^L / *é* (verbal noun object) > *le* rare ~ *lena* generally:

le 'fháil amach [= le é] 875T1, lena fháil amach generally.

le + *a*^N (cataphoric relative 'all that') > *le* (also *lena* LL):

le a bhfuil in Éirinn 866ESc63.39, also Sc157.10, 14;

lé bhfuair mé 875T1, le ru 875T1;

Ní raibh loch ó Shraith Salach isteach nach raibh blas sáile ar an uisce le ar fuadaíodh den tsáile isteach. 876JDT97;

b' æ n ə x Γ e r u r t' j e: r' i ə w 14M *beannacht ler dhúirt sé ariamh;*

b' æ n ə x Γ e ə r u r t' j i ə d ə r' i ə w S *beannacht le ar dhúirt siad ariamh,*

b' æ n ə x t Γ e n' ɑ: r n ə t u: r' i ə w S *beannacht le a ndearna tú ariamh;*

chomh crua le bhfaca tú ariamh; Tá se bodhar in éineacht le bhfuil air M.

There is an instance of non-elision of ə *a*^N in the slow delivery of recitation:

s g ə n' a i r' i: n' l a: g' æ l' Γ e: ə w i l' p a: r t' ə x ... 11C

is go n-éirí an lá geal le a bhfuil páirteach

An example of cataphoric *lena* is found in:

bhain sé an t-amharc as súile an rí lenar chaith sé air de shalachar 875TLL.

le + vowel-initial verbal noun > *le n-*:

níl tada le n-ól, níl blas le n-íoc, an bhfuil siad le n-imeacht?

Exception: *le imeacht*. In transcriptions in Roinn Bhéaloideas Éireann speaker 869P generally has *n-* before verbal nouns (e.g. *greím le n-ithe ... deoch le n-ól 869P4*) but examples without *n-* occur with *imeacht* only:

réidh le imeacht 869P4.436, réitithe le imeacht 869P4.461;

also *an bhfuil tú réidh le imeacht? S.*

This verbal noun also has facultative *le n-* in the example in GCF §548.

Examples of the absence of *n-* with other verbal nouns are:

an cleite, is fearr, i scitheán na hÉireann, le éirí, agus árdú, go, honórach, as cíonn, tíortha, agus ríochtaí, ar fud na hEoróibhe 869Pt;

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Tá deich bpunt fhichead le íoc aige (Seán (tailor in Carna), recorded by Séamas Mac Aonghusa).

9.147 faoi; ó, uaidh; tigh, thrí

faoi

Regularly **fi:nə** *faoina*, but 3m cataphoric in subject of subordinate infinitive clause:

an-bhród orthub faoi a leithide | **fi:** 'Í **ehəd'ə** dh'fhear a theacht **866E**.

ó, uaidh

3m **ó** **o:nə wə:hər'** óna mháthair, **ɑ:nə wɪ:n't'ər'** óna mhuintir, **o:n əhər'** óna athair;

uaidh **wainə wɪ:n't'ər'** Mq *uaidhna mhuintir*;
wai nə 'Í **ehəd'ə** 'fin' **20C** *uaidhna leithide sin*;
wainə 'N' **æ:d'ə**: (Bairbre, daughter of **27J**) *uaidhna nDeaideo*.

tigh

3m **t'i:nə wā:k ə v'í:** m'e S *tigh-n-a mhac a bhí mé*, **t'i:nə v'ik'** *tigh-n-a mhic*.
2pl **t'i:nə m'ik'** M *tigh-n-a mic*.

thrí

3m **ə kak hri:n æ:snəxi** | **35E7411** *ag cac thrína easnacháí*.

9.148 (a) chéile

Preceding the reciprocal pronoun (*a*) *chéile* linking **n** is optional (but categorical in *ina chéile*), no doubt collocationally conditioned.

	-n-	-Ø-
<i>faoi</i>		<i>bhuail sí a dhá ga:</i> bois faoi chéile 869P ; wuəl' je 'yū: 'wos fi: 'x'e:l'ə 11C <i>bhuail sé a dhá bhos faoi chéile.</i>
<i>frae</i>	'altogether': fre:nə x'e:l'ə 881J, 886ESc63, 01J, h're:nə x'e:l'ə 872P	'altogether': <i>an Ridire Uaine agus a chuid fear fré chéile</i> LL106, <i>Mo ghrua frae chéile las dhe léim</i> (Aln) 11C .
<i>le</i>	<i>i ngrá lena chéile 04B</i>	46.955, 894Cs, 881J ; <i>go dlúth, dlúth le chéile</i> (Asp) 11C ; <i>chomh maith le chéile 11C, 12S; <i>ag coinneál chainte le chéile</i> M.</i>
<i>ó</i>	<i>má scaipeann sib óna chéile 866ESc301</i> ; <i>tharrainn sé an cut óna</i> ɑ:nə chéile 04B	<i>tá sé héin is í héin imí ó chéile.</i> M.
<i>thrí</i>	875P, 894Cs (x4), 'altogether'; Mq, <i>ag rich thráina chéile 894C</i> ; <i>bhí sé curtha anonn is anall thrína chéile aici 11C</i> ; <i>bhí sé ag cuir an tsaoil thrína chéile 11C</i> ; <i>bhí an rud ag goil thrína chéile 11C</i> ; <i>Thrína chéile a chlann!</i> !12S ; <i>measchaí thrína chéile</i> P.	hri: x'e:l'ə Mq.

It seems -Ø- is most common with *faoi* and *le*, probably also dominant with *ó*; and *n* is prevalent with *thrí*. In the long folk tale *Eochair, Mac Rí in Éirinn* (Semr) speaker **866E** shows a distinction between prepositions:

	-n-		-Ø-
<i>fréna chéile</i> (x11) ‘altogether’ <i>thrína chéile</i> (x1)		<i>le chéile</i> (x8) <i>faoi chéile</i> (x1) <i>ó chéile</i> (x1)	
also fre:nə x'e:l'ə 886ESc63 <i>fréna chéile</i> 866EB16.109.			

Some phrases typically vary primary stress placement:

	-n-		-Ø-
<i>faoi</i> <i>frae</i> <i>le</i> <i>ó</i> <i>thrí</i>	'fre:nə x'e:l'ə (j)l'e:(j)nə x'e:l'ə o:nə x'e:l'ə 'hri:nə x'e:l'ə ~ 'hri:nə x'e:l'ə	,fi: x'e:l'ə ,fre: x'e:l'ə ~ 'fre: x'e:l'ə (j)l'e:(j) x'e:l'ə o: x'e:l'ə	

At least in the case of *thrí*, the variant with primary stress on *chéile* will typically have a more literal meaning, and the variant with primary stress on the preposition will typically have a more idiomatic meaning. I.e. 'hri:nə x'e:l'ə has the meaning ‘altogether’ more (often) than ,hri:nə x'e:l'ə which (more) often means ‘through each other’. There is a possible contrast with the verb *cuir* in, for example, *curtha thrína chéile* between *kurhə 'hri:nə x'e:l'ə* ‘completely sown’ and *kurhə ,hri:nə x'e:l'ə* ‘confused’. It is not possible to tell from my small number of examples if there is any interaction between stress placement on *chéile* and use of linking *n*. Cp. *a ghoil ag cuartaíocht agána chéile* 05Mt (9.168).

9.149 Cataphoric a^N

Linking *n* is optional with the cataphoric relative pronoun *a*^N (in contrast, for example, with the possessive pronouns *a* where *n* is all but categorical), including following eclipsing preposition *i*^N. Most examples with {*le* + cataphoric *a*^N} have *le* (9.146). Other prepositions are (source Mq):

	-n-		-Ø-	
<i>go dtí</i> <i>i</i> ^N	gə d'í: nə rə a:n xur ʃe ʃtʲiŋ ənə rə a:n	gə d'í: ə rə a:n xur ʃe ʃtʲiŋ ə rə a:n		<i>go dtí(n)a raibh ann</i> <i>chuir sé sting i(n)a raibh ann</i>
<i>ó</i> <i>uaidh</i> <i>tigh</i>	o:nə rə a:n wai nə rə a:n t'í: nə rə a:n (permitted)	o: ə rə a:n wai ə rə a:n t'í: ə rə a:n (preferred)		<i>ó(n)a raibh ann</i> <i>uaidh(n)a raibh ann</i> <i>tigh(n)a raibh ann</i>

Máire (Mq) was perfectly happy with each alternant, which she herself offered, except with the form *tighna* where she noted ‘*ach ní hé is fhearr*’. With the preposition *i*^N, both expected *ina*, as well as another conjunctive form, *insa*, resembling a variant with the article, were noted in:

- ‘*Níl aon dochar ann — ina bhfuil déanta.*’ 866ESc155.34;
- Níor chuir mé suím ina ra’ siad a’ rá liom* !894C CABI §183(d) v. 2;
- Níl insa n-abraíonn siad ...* !894C9.

With *thrí* in a local song:

- Nach mór tá mo ghean ort, thrína bhfuil dhe mná* [sic] *beo, faoin saol.*
 !!(Abtm)881J (preceded by *ina bhfaca tú raibh scéim na mban*).

h + Vowel, Aspiration**9.150 General**

Aspiration functions within the system of mutations as an indication of non-lenition before vowels. Lenition is the marked status for initial consonants whereas aspiration (which occurs in nonleniting contexts), is the marked status for vowels: vowels cannot be lenited. In the verbal system, however, preverbal *d'* acts as a leniting particle on vowels yielding a triple system: V-, *d'*V-, *h*V-.

h is preposed to a vowel initial when immediately preceded by:

- (1) Nonverbal functors: *na* (genitive feminine and nominative plural article), *go* (preposition), *a* (3f possessive), *a* (numeral particle), *chomh* (adjectival), *go* (adverbial), rarely *le* (preposition), *Dé* (in days of the week), (*Ó* in surnames, examples from speakers born since the 1940s), (example of disjunctive *ná* from higher register).
- (2) Verbal functor: *ná* (negative imperative). Also in the impersonal verb where the personal verb has lenition, i.e. past, past habitual and conditional, also following *ní*, *má*, *ó*, *a* (direct relative), *cé* 'who' (basically *cé a*), following past marker of functors *-r* and in marginal use of past rhetorical *nach*.
- (3) Copula forms (optionally): present *ní*, *ar*, *nach*, *gur*, *cé*; past *ba*, *níor*; jussive *gur*, *go mba*, *nár ba*. Possibly following *péibrí*.
- (4) Nominals: following feminine genitive noun in one place-name.
- (5) Numerals: cardinals *trí*, *cheithre* (less often *chúig*), *sé* with plural noun; ordinals in final vowel (i.e. all except *an chéad* which lenites).

For possible *h* use following *agus* and *Loch*, see 9.158 (speaker **892M**).

The optional use of *h* following the preposition *ó* (examples with *áit* and *am*) is conditioned by the presence of a following *go h*. There may be some such parallelism involved in copula forms in that one form in *h* may tend to be followed (or preceded) by another. For examples of multiple aspiration, see Copula past 1i.d (5.350), 4i.d (5.364).

Most triggers of aspiration end in vowels, the second biggest class contains final *-r* (with verbal functors and copula), leaving only two other items, i.e. *nach* (verbal and copula) and rarely numeral *chúig*.

Hiatus-filling *h* was noted twice following innovative *mo* (leniting 1sg possessive, traditionally *m'* before vowels):

ná tabhair mo hordóigsa anis leat! S84;

... **mə hæn'əm sə** | **56B** ... *mo hainmsa*.

One wonders whether the preceding *ná^H* is of any relevance in the former example.

Absence of h

Haplology seems to influence the optional absence of *h*. For example, note Máire's difficulty in a list pronunciation with *chomh hádhúil*:

xə hu:l, xə hɑ:rd, xə hu:fɑ:səx, xə hɑ' - hɑ:hu:l' Mq

chomh humhal, chomh hard, chomh huafásach, chomh hádhúil.

This haplology is regular for Seán and Máire with *cé*, see 'Copula' (9.155). Pre-

posed *h* is optional following the copula in many cases, also following the preposition *go*.

Preposed *h* is regularly absent in 66N's speech in the set phrase *lena anam* (for traditional 3f *lena hanam*). Cp. one example of 3m *lena hanam* (< *le hanam*) below (9.152).

9.151 Nonverbal functors

- na* Genitive feminine, e.g. *teach na hiníne*.
Plural, e.g. *na hiníneachaí*, *na hiascaí*.
Before numeral in *na hocht* (... *déag*), rarely *na ocht* ... *déag*.
h- is preposed to a grammatically singular form *aon* ... *déag* in:
gə nə 'hē:n' 'x'ā:n' 'd'e:g 852SbTS127 *dhe na haon cheann déag* 'of the eleven (women)';
na haon bhean déag 866ESemr46 'the eleven women'.
- a* (3f possessive), e.g.
hug ə | ən 'a:x | ?ə hai' | er' ə 'warəg' ə | (Suda)894Cs
thug an each a haghaidh ar an bhfarraige;
Bhuel bhead sí sin, 'na huisce istigh sa mballa, ... bhíd sí chomh bog sin. 896P (of kelp).
- a* *bus a haon*; see numeral particle (8.2).
- chomh* **xə hæ:ft' əx** *chomh haisteach*.
h is absent before the unstressed preposition *i*^N in a rare instance of the phrase *i gceist* in predicative adjective use; the more regular adverbial qualification is used in the second phrase:
Tá sé sin anis chomh i gceist, xə g' eft' | an-mhór i gceist sa tír. 03C.
(Cp. *ceist*, *rigeist*, *rucust* FFG24, etc.)
- go* Adverbial: **gə hi:ntəx** *go hiontach*, **gə hælən'** *go hálainn*.
- Ó In surnames examples without *h* only were noted from older speakers:
Séamas Ó Uaithnín SÓC1.82 (note initial *Ua-* > *we-* in this surname);
Risteard Ó Eidhin (Ata)03C; **ʃən o: ain'** (Ams)04B *Seán Ó Eidhin*;
Risteard Ó Eidhin 32J, *Máirtín Ó Éinniú*, *Máirtín Éinniú*; *Maidhc Ó Iarla* 11C, 27Mdq, *Vail Ó Iarnáin* 866ESc25.32, *Pádraic Ó Iarnáin* SM. In this use Ó is identical to prevocalic *Ní*, e.g. *Máire Ní Éinniú*.
h is heard from speakers born since the 1940s:
Pádraic Ó hIarnáin 45P, *Seán Ó hEidhin* (Ams)49J.
- ná* There is one example with *h*, in higher register, preceding *é héin*:
ə wɑ:rk nɑ he he:n' 04B1 *a bhárc ná hé héin*.

9.152 Prepositions

- go* *go dteighidís go hOileán Aimhréidh* **gə hi:l' ə:n æv̥r' ə** 18JARN.
But *h* often absent, e.g.
ag goil go aonach **gī:nəx** *an Chaisil* ARN3598;
gə 'gɑ:l' ə nɑ' g' 'ā:t' ə 'b'u | ARN6655 *go Gaillimh ná go áit ar bith*;
g' ə'ləbən' 20Mlt *go Albain*.
- ó **o' hɑ:m gə hɑ:m** (Suda)04B, 06C *ó ham go ham*;
bhídís ag imeacht ó háit go háit. 11C.

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Contrast, for example, more usual:

ó áit go háit 892M, ó orlach go horlach 06C,
cp. with consonants *ó shlinneán go slinneán 06C.*

le Generally there is no *h* following *le*, e.g.

Í e ail'in' M le Eibhlín, Í e enin'ə le aon-nduine.

The simple preposition is contained in the compound preposition *Í ehi*, *Í e hi*, *Í e hai*, *Í e ai le haghaidh*. In set blessings, *le hanam* does occur, e.g.

Beannacht Dé le hanam do chinnire! FFG cinnire;
... le hanam na muintire / na seacht sínsir / a gcaradaí gaoil 869P2.

There is an instance of *lena hanam*, through analogy with *le hanam*, with male reference (perhaps once-off):

-Bhuel beannacht Dé le hanam an fhir a d'fhága an teach seo ... 05M
- ... agus Marcas beannacht Dé lena hanam. 45N.

Cp. a younger speaker's *Í e hæfr'ən' 60M le hAifrin*.

Another set phrase with obsolescent *le h-* is found in:

timpeall agus le héirí na gréine 869Pt.

There are other examples of *le h-* in transcriptions in Roinn Bhéaloideas Éireann. Speaker *869P*'s transcriptions mostly have no *h* (e.g. *le uisce 869P4*, (final conjunction) *le iad a chur air*, *le é héin gá shá 869P4*) but *le hiad* is also found, e.g.

cén t-údar atá le hiad a bheith ... 869P4.

So also in *869P*'s recording and from another older speaker:

go raibh na daoine maith, i ndan greim a fháil orthub, ... le hiad a thabhairt as | Í e 'hiəd ə 'ho:rt' | "ʔæs | 869P;
deir siad go mbíonn siad níos teocha le hiad Í e hiəd a fhágáil taobh amuich. 03S.

For *le^N + VN*, see 9.146.

9.153 Verbal functors; Impersonal verb

Examples of imperative *ná* with the personal verb are:

aspiration	na ha'rhí' ... 00T ná hathraí ... ! nā hãvdə ʔo:b' e 11C ná hamhdaigh dhóib é! na' ha'bər tæ:də S ná habair tada!
non-aspiration	na ix' en x'a:n ... P ná ith aon cheann ... !

For impersonal verb use, see discussion of verbal *d'* in 'Functors' (8.40 ff.). In the examples in that section cited from Máire it would appear that *h* is more common following a vowel than following *r*, i.e. there may be a facultative, perhaps hiatus-filling, opposition *ə hV-* vs. *ər V-* in Máire's speech. On the other hand, speaker *55S*'s examples show facultative *h* following *r* only, i.e. a possible opposition *-r h-* vs. *-V V-*. Other impersonal examples are:

Imperative **na holtər pørtər Sq ná holtar pórtar!**

Past **| 'hair'i:'w 'æ:s | 01P hÉiríodh as.**
agus an béilí caite, mar bhí acub, agus eile, húradh leis go raibh sé in am aige éirí as. 11C;

agus hínsíobh an scéal dó. 11C;
Se chaoi hiumprú anuas e S85;
 - ... , *hAthraíodh harrhiu amach ó shoin é 35E*
-hAthraíodh é. harrhiu e. 18J7558;
Ach húradh é agus hardaíodh ar ghuailí é, agus caoineadh é, agus
hiompraíodh amach é ... hArdaíodh ar ghuailí ... hArdaíodh suas
... 35E9244–8,–63.

- nach* **nax huru: e jin' gəb' in' e jehəd je**
nach húradh é sin gob in é a gheithheadh sé!
nax hix' u: n'jin' iəd S *nach hitheadh ansin iad!*
- ní* **N'i: huru: 64M** *ní húradh.*
- Absent | **'in'ji:v er' ... 892M5104** *insíodh ar ... ;*
 | **ar:di:y ə korp er' ə yriim' | 11C** *Ardaíodh an corp ar a dhroim.*
- Future **N'i' he:r-f'ər 11C** *ní héarfear (< abair);*
hæn' of' ə r m'ijə S *haithneofear mise (context not noted).*

9.154 Copula

Aspiration occurs following present *ní, ar, nach, gur, cé*; past *ba, níor*; and jussive *gur, go mba, nár ba*. It must be borne in mind, with preposed *h* especially, that many usages probably occur, perhaps less frequently, or are permitted or occurred until recently, but have not been attested.¹ This leaves many lacunae in the following description and perhaps deceptive irregularities. As a result of these gaps in my information the description must be empirical rather than a systemic synopsis. For relevant examples, see 5.337 ff..

The major use of *h* before vowels with the copula can be divided into three categories according to their regularity or frequency of occurrence and the nominal classes which they precede (a fourth category includes less regular use):

	I	II		III	Nominal classes	IV
present	<i>ní</i>	<i>ar</i>	present	<i>nach</i>	Pronoun	<i>péibrí</i>
	<i>cé</i>	<i>gur</i>	past	<i>(m)ba</i>	Adjective, Adverb	<i>níor</i>
jussive	<i>(m)ba</i>		jussive	<i>gur, nár</i>	Adverb	
Nominal classes	Pronoun, Adverb Adjective, Noun	Adjective, Adverb				

These can be set out in greater detail as follows:

I Form	Nominal classes and lexemes				
-V		Obligatory ^a	Regular	Optional	Other
present <i>ní, cé</i>	<i>ní</i>	simple pron's <i>é, í</i> and pro-form <i>ea</i> , demon's <i>eod, iud, in</i>	simple pron <i>iad</i> , adj <i>ionann</i>		
	<i>cé</i>	simple pron's <i>é, í</i>	simple pron <i>iad</i> , noun <i>ainm, iontas</i>	<i>eile</i>	Few exx: comp. adj's
jussive <i>(m)ba</i>		simple pron's <i>é, í</i> , adverb <i>amhlaidh</i>			

^a Except in dissimilatory contexts such as *ní / cé é héin ...* .

¹ For example, the following phrases strike me as possibly permissible and worthy of further enquiry:

**go mba hóg an fear thú, *go mba hann, *nach hálainn iad, *marar hálainn,*
**fear dhár hainn, *cér hiontas duit sin! *bean ar hálainn uaithi amhrán a rá,*
**gur hann, *gur hé dhuit!*

Also with lenition, e.g. **ar chuide dhe, *marar chol ceathar, *gurbh fhear.*

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		Form	Nominal classes and lexemes	
II		-C	Common	
present		-r: <i>ar, gur</i>	adj's (noted: <i>aisteach, álainn, (ard), éasca, iontach, iomú</i>); the noun <i>iontas</i>	
III		<i>nach</i>		
jussive		<i>gur, nár</i>	adverb <i>amhlaidh</i>	
		-V	Minority (e.g. 892M, 06C)	
past	<i>ba</i>	decl	adj's (noted: <i>ábalta, álainn, ard, íseal, óg</i> ; comparative: <i>airde</i>)	
		rel	adj's (noted: <i>ard, íseal</i> ; comp: <i>aeraí, áille, airde, anróití, éasca, óige, uaighní</i>)	
		<i>nach mba</i>	adj (noted: <i>aisteach</i>)	

IV Aberrant past *níor hea* in:

v' i: fa:t' iəs gə rə k' æ:n' sər orhə ax n' i:r hæ: M
bhí faitíos go raibh ceainsar uirthi ach níor hea.

Máire regularly has the general dialectal *níorbh ea* here (she was not heard using minority *níor dh'ea*). Her noted instance of *níor hea* is perhaps a rare or once-off composite of past *níorbh ea* and present *ní hea*.

The indefinite adjective *péibrí* takes facultative *h* (it is syntactically similar to *cé*) in:

Péibrí húdar e S84, M84; Héibrí húdar é. 27Mdperm,
Héibí údar é. 27Mdq;
*Héibrí amadán 27Mdq (*Héibrí hamadán 27MdØperm).*

9.155 Examples

Recall that *cé hé*, etc., can be used with past meaning (past **8.a, d**). Seán and Máire generally avoid *h-* when another initial **h** follows immediately, e.g.

cé é héin SM, ní é héin a ghearr an mhúin SM; contrast:
cé hé sin, cé hé an t-úinéara SM, ní hé sin a ghearr an mhúin SM,
cé heile bhí ann S.

Speaker **11C** has both *cé é héin* and *cé hé héin*, the latter in ARN5664–5.

Examples of all copula forms which cause aspiration (including their nonmutating by-forms, when attested) can be found in the 'Copula' (5.337 ff.) under the following sections:

Examples of	<i>h</i> before vowel		no mutation before vowel	
present	N' i: h n^H	1ii.d	N' i: n[∅]	1ii.a-b
	ər h ar^H	2i.j	ər ar[∅]	2i.i, 2iii.i, 4iii.i
	nax h nach^H	2ii.d, 3ii.d	nax nach[∅]	2ii.a-b, 3ii.a-b
	gər h gur^H	3i.j	gər gur[∅]	3i.i, 4iii.i
	k' e: h ce^H	8.d	k' e: ce[∅]	8.a-b
jussive	nɑ:r bə h nár ba^H	13ii.cc		
	gə mə h mba^H	13i.m; 13i.y-z		
	gər h gur^H	13i.bb		
	nɑ:r h nár^H	13ii.bb		

Examples of	<i>h</i> before vowel		no mutation before vowel	
past	bə h ba^H	1i.d, 4i.d	bə ba[∅]	1i.a-b
	N' i:r h n'or^H	1ii.bb	N' i:r n'or[∅]	1ii.aa
	nax mə h nach mba^H	2ii.m	nax m nach mb[∅]	2ii.o
	gə mə h go mba^H	3i.m	gə mə go mba[∅]	3i.m
			gə m go mb[∅]	3i.n-o

There is a striking example of aspiration with zero copula in:

agus gá mbeadh an mhuic istigh, nó hiondúil nū hūndu:l' go mbíodh corchráin i gcorrtheach, agus nuair ... agus iondúil əgəs ūndu:l' go mb'fhéidir go gcuireann an páiste go minic amach, taoisc dhe. 06C.

Historically *nó* was also followed by *h* but syntactically the zero copula causes aspiration here. One can also compare instances of possible weakening of copula *s* to *h*, e.g.

ogəs he' hisə x'i:n' m'e ra: 05M *Agus sé thusa a chinn mé a rá.*

9.156 Nouns; Cardinal numerals

Aspiration is optional (obsolescent) in the genitive of the place-name ə(n) **wənt' rəx ə:rd** *An Bhanrach Ard > na Banraí (h)Airde*:¹

nə bə:nt' ri: hə:rd' ə S, **nə bə:nt' ri: haid' ə S,** **nə baint' ri: haid' ə S;**
nə bə:nt' ri: ə:rd' ə 881J, 27Cb, **nə bə:nt' ri: aird' ə 21J.**

For *h* before borrowed initial *j* in *Ghiúróib* attested as **ho:-, hu:-, x'u:-**, see 9.13 and 'Borrowings' (11.184).

Cardinal numerals

Cardinals *trí, cheithre, sé* (i.e. vowel-final cardinals which lenite singular nouns) prepose *h* to plural nouns, e.g.

trí hoileáin, trí huibhe, cheithre huairé fíchead, sé horlaí.

Generally *chúig* does not prepose *h*, e.g.

chúig orlaí, chúig uaire, chúig uibhe;
cheire huairé déag nú chúig uaire déag ARN4233;
**chúig huibhe MØperm.*

It was noted, however, in:

xu:g' huə: ə 35E7674,-78,-91 *chúig huairé*, also *chúig uaire 7691.*

An example without *h* may be dissimilatory (with **h** in *thrí*) or it may echo the preceding *uair*:

aon uair de thrí [i.e. hr'i:] uaire 866ESc133.34.

Nouns which are less commonly in the plural following numerals, i.e. nouns other than *orlach, uair, ubh*, seem more likely to lack preposed *h*, e.g.

trí asaíl 137M, cheithre eiteachaí S.

There is an example of a noun, *orlach*, with preposed *h* in the singular (from its regular use with the plural):

chuiridís ... , trí horlach tr'i: haurləx, láin, agus gá gcuirtheá cheithre horlaí láin leob, ... 01P.

¹ This fossilised example is the only instance of what can be analysed on an abstract level as serial or continued aspiration, i.e. surface nonlenition followed by aspiration, in the dialect (cp. 9.3).

9.157 Ordinals

darna **dɑ:rnə hɑ:t'** *an darna háit.*
tríú **n' tr' i:wə hin' i:n' 889P** *an tríú hinín.*

Quite common without aspiration, e.g.

dar(n)a **n dɑ:rnə in' i:n' ... n dɑ:rnə hin' i:n' 889P** *an darna (h)inín;*
dɑ:rə / tr' i:u' hɑ:t', dɑ:r i:hə 79M1
an dara / tríú háit, an dara oíche.
dɑ:r ā:t' d' e:g 17Md *an dara áit déag.*
dóú **v' i ən dɔ:u: hi:hə / i:hə d' e:g kɑ:t' eK' ə** Mtrans
bhí an dóú (h)oíche déag caite aici.
tríú *an tríú oíche 852Sb6.71, 866ESc200.4.*
cúigiú **ku:g' u: i:f 11C3795** *cúigiú aois.*
séú **ʃe:u: i:f 21Pg3795** *séú aois.*
seachtú **ə ʃaxtu: i:f 'd' e:g 03C** *an seachtú aois déag;*
ʃaxtu: i:f [x2] 35E7628 *an seachtú aois.*
deichiú **d' ehu: ā:t' 17Md** *deichiú áit.*

There is possible dissimilation with **h** of **i:hə oíche** in *dara / tríú oíche* and with **h** of **d' ehu:** *deichiú* in *deichiú áit.*¹

9.158 Speaker 892M, Mícheál Ó Coirbín, Dumhaigh Ithir

Examples from speaker 892M are anomalous, with *h* sometimes occurring following *agus* and perhaps *loch*. The examples are, phonetically speaking, difficult to clearly distinguish. Phonologically they can be interpreted either as surface sandhi phenomena or as genuine *h*-preposing.

agus h-

eɔ' ər' | ən mɑ:s | k' a:n 'mɑ:š̩ | ũgʊs hɪl' a:n' v' ik' 'dɑ:rə | 892M1571 *eidir An Más,*
Ceann Mása, agus Oileán Mhic Dara, also ARN1562;

gʊs hɑrnū: | 892M1589 *agus ar ndóigh;*

Agus tabhair leat do bhean ... agus abair, abair go gʊs hɑ'bər' | a'bər' ... 892M2030.

There are many examples of *agus* without following *h*:

Agus ar -s eɔ' ər' maidin 892M2088; eidir tuí agus arbhar -s aru:r 892M2101;

gʊs ærnū: 892M11102 *agus ar ndóigh.*

loch h-

The relevant example is not very distinct (it is perhaps **lɔx eɔ' u:ləx**):

lɔx heɔ' u:ləx 892M1536 *Loch Oiriúlach.*

go dtí an h-

A further anomalous example was noted from speaker 892M. It may be an actual slip of the tongue or his genuine usage:

o: hi:w | o: e:dəŋ gə d' i: n he:dən eɔ' ə 892M1516

ó thaobh — ó éadan go dtí an héadan eile.

The *h* can be explained through influence of the semantically and formally similar preposition *go h-*, e.g. *ó éadan go héadan*. The spread of *h* here is comparable with rare unhistorical correlative *h* following *ó* in conjunction with *go h*, noted in *ó ham go ham, ó háit go*

¹ Compare the lack of aspiration in: *an deichiú oíche* GCD §147 'presumably because of the two *hs* already present' [my translation].

háit (9.152). We can also compare the correlative use of eclipsis following *go dtí* found in *ón gceann thoir ... go dtí an gceann thiar*, **866E**Semr70 (9.139).

t + s

9.159 General

Functionally speaking, preposed *t-* before word-initial *s-* is part of the system of lenition. It occurs in leniting position following *n* in specific circumstances (more restricted following *d*, and rarely following *l*).¹ On the other hand, *t-* preposed to vowels following the article belongs to the category of nonlenition which therefore resembles preposed *h* (termed aspiration).

Preposed *t-* elides the *s-*, e.g. (ə(n)) **tæ'ɪ** *an tsail*. *s*-clusters which do not undergo lenition do not take preposed *t-*: *sp-*, *st-*, *sc-*, *sm-*, borrowed *sv-*. Palatal *tsl-* can be realised as **tʃ'** - or, in more innovative use with unlenited *l* as **tl'** -. This *tsl-* cluster generally retains palatal **tʃ'** before alveolar **ɪ** (and of course before **ɪ'**). Speaker **21J** was noted with a different realisation. It may be that he has both consonants as alveolars, i.e. **tʃ'**, but the auditory impression is that his **t** is in fact broad (perhaps dental; the clear sound, usual for alveolar and typical for palatal articulation, is absent), i.e. **tʃ'**.²

9.160 Phonology of *tsn-*

Initial consonant clusters in historical *Cn-*, apart from those with initial sibilants, have generally become *Cr-* in the dialect (1.146). When *t-* is preposed to **sn-/ʃn'-sn-** there are four realisations of the resulting cluster *tsn-*. These range as follows (ignoring quality):

1. the 'conservative' **tn**;

two variants which reduce the oral stop:

2. **tⁿn** (nasal released stop);³ and
3. **hn** (also **nh**);

the phonologically expected 'historical' variant, which reduces the nasal:

4. **tr** (including unhistorical **tr**).

Variants 1–3 (containing **n**) retain paradigmatic consistency with the radical **sn-/ʃn'-sn-** at the cost of producing the phonologically aberrant *Cn-* initial cluster.

Seán (speaker **12S**), for example, has all four realisations of *tsn-* in his speech:

1. **tn** ən tⁿā:həd' *an tsnáthaid*.
2. **tⁿn** lɑ: xra:skərə tⁿn' æxtə lá chrascartha *an tsneachta*,
 ən tⁿni:m' *an tsnaidhm*.
3. **hn** lɑ: xra:skərə n' hn' æxtə lá chrascartha *an tsneachta*,
 ən hni:m' *an tsnaidhm*, ə nhā:həd' *an tsnáthaid*.
4. **tr** n trā:həd' *an tsnáthaid* generally.

¹ Cp. verbal *d'* before vowels in leniting position.

² In the phonetic transcription the superscript *l*, i.e. ^l, represents lateral release; superscript ⁿ indicates nasal release.

³ Transcribed in my original notes as **thn**.

When the nasal stop **n** precedes *tsn-* it is common for there to be no audible oral stop and no nasal release. This is a regular sandhi cluster simplification **n tn > n hn** (cf. 2.35) and represents a realisation of type 3. Further examples are:

3. **hn** 'mā:k γai: n 'hn'æxtə | 04B_{tn} *Mac Dháithí an tSneachta, aon tsnámh acub ēn 'hnā:w̃ ākəb go minic* 35E7280;
4. **tr** contrast: 'mā:k γai: n' 'tr'æxt ... 04B_{tn} *Mac Dháithí an tSneachta ar ball, ní raibh aon tsnámh e'n 'trā:w̃ i dtír a'd* 18J7932.

Máire (16M, most examples Mq) has been recorded with realisations 1, 3 and 4:

1. **tn** lɑ:r ə tN'æxtə lár an tsneachta.
3. **hn** ə lɑ:r ənh nɑ:hə i lár an tsnáithe, lɑ:r ə hN'æxtə lár an tsneachta, ə lɑ:r ən hnu:də i lár an tsnúda.
4. **tr** ən trɪ:m' an tsnaidhm, ən trā:həd' an tsnáthaid, lɑ:r ə tr'æxtə lár an tsneachta, 'a'n'trā'həd' i' an-tsnáthaid í.

The contrast between simple initial clusters and morphophonologically complex *tsn-* is evident in folklore transcriptions from speaker 875T1 in Roinn Bhéaloidéas Éireann. There, historical *Cn-* is overwhelmingly transcribed as *Cr-*, but *tsn-* was noted only as such (3 tokens): *an tsnáthad*, *an tsnáu* (x2) (for *an tsnámh*); indicating **tn** (or perhaps **tⁿn** or **hn**). His token *an tsnáthad* and 01C's *sa tsnáthad* quoted below, are perhaps significant, indicating a distinction from the older speaker 852Sb and slightly younger speakers 12S (Seán) and 16M (Máire) who have general **tr** following, at least, the article with the lexeme *snátha(i)d*. Examples from other speakers are listed here.

- 852Sb **tr** trā:həd 852Sb *tsnáthad* (often).
- 869P **tn** dʲɑ:n ɛr x'ǰ:n ə tNū:də 46.1119 *dubhán ar cheann an tsnúda, ,ta: f'i: 'kasə n 'tnā:hə, 46.222 tá sí ag casadh an tsnáithe, ə muskə n t̪i:ʃi:n' i mbosca an tsnaoisín.*
- ~ **tr**
- 894Cs **tn ~ tr** tnā:h̃ə >> trā:h̃ə *tsnáithe*. This speaker regularly has initial consonant clusters in *Cn-* so that his **tr-** is striking here.
- 892M **tn** ēn tnā:h̃ə wā:n' ARN1029 *aon tsnáithe amháin, lehəni: n' tn'æxtə 892Mt laethannaí an tsneachta; gən trā:ə ʃin' ARN1336 dhen tsnáithe sin.*
- ~ **tr**
- 892Mg **tn** l'ig'ən ə tNū:də ... snū:də *ag ligean an tsnúda ... snúda;*
- ~ **tr** lu:b' ə trā: hɪ:s lúib *an tsnáithe thíos, bhí tú ag coinneál an tsnáithe ansin k̪i'n'ɑ:l ən trā:h̃ə n'ʃin'.*
- 01C **tn** sə tnā:həd ARN6037 *sa tsnáthad.*
- 04B **tn** ... γai: n' 'hn'æxtə [x1], ... γai: n' tn'æxtə [x1];
- ~ **tr** ... γai: n' tr'æxtə [x2], ... γai: n' tr'æxtə [x1];
... *Dháithí an tSneachta* (final -ə of *sneachta*, when lost in sandhi, has been restored in my transcription).
- 05M **tr** ə trā:hə *an tsnáithe* (gen), e'n trā:hə *aon tsnáithe* (often).

9.161 Feminine nominative

The article *an* with a feminine noun in *s-* generally takes *t-*, e.g.

ə t'f'i: *an tslí; er' ə 't'æ'n,á:t' u:ʷ | 894Cs ar an tseanáitiú.*

But sometimes *t-* is not preposed, e.g.

nach mbáthfaidh sí leis an séideog iad 866E_{Sc}53.38,
an slighe mhaireachtála 894C6,

hug ma:r'i:n' braun suas ə fupədo:r'əxt 08B
thug Máirín Brabhn suas an siopadóireacht.

Common *an siopadóireacht*, without *t-*, contrasts, for example, with common *an tseoltóireacht*. (Both are derived nouns from masculine bases: *an siopa*, *an seol*.) There is an instance of the initial token in the discourse without *t-* followed by three tokens with *t-*:

ach ní chuile fhear a bhí i ndan AN SLEAGH chur sa liamán, ... leihí AN TSLEAGH chuir ann. Ní raibh aon mhaith AN TSLEAGH chur sa liamán, mara gcuirte AN TSLEAGH, san áit a raibh an stróc gheal, siar faoina thaobh. 892M.

It is tempting to speculate that the initial absence of mutation was clarificatory, to present the lexical base *sleagh*, and to speculate further that the repetition of the form containing preposed *t-*, in preference to pronominal reference, was self-corrective, to present gender *an tsleagh*.

The feminine noun *sine* was heard as *an sine* only, presumably to avoid homophony with *an tine* (also feminine). (Cp. *aon tsine* GCF §392, gsg *an tsine* FFG20 s.v. *dallán*.) The feminine noun *scológ*, with male natural-gender reference, does not take *t-* in accordance with its nonmutating initial cluster *sc-*; neither does *sean-* take *t-* when prefixed to *scológ* in (cp. 3.6):

a deir a' seanscológ 866E_{Semr}122, B16.109, *ag a' seanscológ* Semr78.

Cp. *do chlann mhac bocht* (9.54).

Speaker **01P** has two completely independent instances of anomalous *t-* with feminine nouns, unqualified by the article or any other *t-*-preposing element:

le tsluasad tluəsəd; ag goil aníos tsráid trəd' an bhaile mhóir.

There may be a connection between this speaker's apparent expansion of preposed *t-* in the context of feminine nouns, evidenced by *tsluasad* and *tsráid*, and his expansion of spirantisation and therefore lenition of feminine nouns in initial *c-* (1.405).

9.162 Masculine genitive; Prepositions

The article *an* with a masculine genitive noun in *s-* generally takes *t-*, e.g.

kolhə n ta'gərt' S culaith an tsagairt;
vr' i fe kos ə 't' æ'n,xun' i:n' 899N *bhris sé cos an tseanchoinín.*

Genitive without *t-* also occurs, e.g.

fr' i:al' ə sagərt' P *ag friotháil an sagairt.*

dhen (ar an, (in)sa, ón)

With *t-*, e.g.

gən ta:ləxər P *dhen tsalachar, dhen tsean-am 21J,*
kid' ə gən' 't' æ'n' dr' ā:m 894Cs *cuide dhen tseandream.*

Use of *t-* is consistent in the indefinite-adjective phrase **gən 'to:rt' jin' dhen tsórt sin** (cp. 'xən to:rt chaon tsórt).

Without *t-*, e.g.

gon sionnach 894C2.

Exceptionally *t-* occurs following other prepositions with the article: *ar an*, *(in)sa*, *ón*. The prefix *sean-* is prevalent in these examples. It was noted in the following

1828 Initial mutations

instances only (also in other instances from secondary sources):

ar an: *ar a' tseanfhear*. 866ESemr, *ar a' tsaol seo* 894C2;

(in)sa: *sa tseol* 893P, *insa tseandream* 11C4239,
(auditorily unclear) *sa tseanreacht* 21Jc.

ón: *ón tseanfhear* 866ESemr172.

Cp. examples of lenition for more common eclipsis following *(in)sa* (9.139).

gan

The preposition *gan* is followed by *t*- in an obsolescent use in the malediction:

bás gan ta:gərt hugəd 05M *Bás gan tsagart chugad!*

9.163 Ordinal *an chéad*; Cardinal, indefinite adjective *aon*

an chéad ə x' e:d tra'nə 892M *an chéad tsrannadh*.

əŋ' x' e:d t'nɑ:hə nu əŋ' x' e:d snɑ:hə s do:hi: Sq
'*an chéad tsnáithe*' nó '*an chéad snáithe*' is dóichí.

əŋ' x' e:d ta:gərt Sq, 47Pq *an chéad tsagart*.¹

əŋ' x' e:d snɑ:hə 47Pq *an chéad snáithe*,

əŋ' x' e:d sa:gərt 47Pq *an chéad sagart*.

aon indefinite adjective:

e:n' t' u:krə S *aon tsiúcra*; e:n' t' i:su:r 11C *aon tsiosúr*;

ēn' h̄nɑ:w̄ 35E7280, e:n' t' r̄ɑ:w̄ 18J7932 *aon tsnámh*;

en' t' e: v' i: ... 20My *aon tsé mhí* ... ;

ní raibh sé aon tseacht gcéad ən' t' æ:xt g' e:d;

fuaireadar seantSeán Ó Conaill ... Thosaíodar ag tóraíocht Sheán agus ní raibh aon tSeán le fáil acu. 866ESc278.15–7.

Consistent in indefinite pronoun 'x̄e:n tɔ:rt *chaon tsórt*.

9.164 Prefixes

See also 9.40 ff., and 'Prefixes' (3.85 ff.). Further examples of compound *-n-ts-* are:

an- 'æ:n' t' u:ra:l't ə S *an-tsiúráilte*.

in- ən' snɑ:v't ə ən' h̄nɑ:v't ə Mq *in(t)snáimhte*; *insnáfa* Clad233.

lán- *lántsraith* FFG.

cion- the initial element in the lexeme *cionsiocair* (*cionsiocair* FGB, *cinn-tsiocair* Dinn), with equal double stress, is not transparent, e.g.

ba cionsiocair leis bə 'k' i'n' t' u:kər l' e:f 11C1243.

sean- 'ʃæ:n, ta:gərt M *seantsagart*, 'ʃæ:n' t' a:n' i:n' M *Sean-tSeáinín*,

'ʃæ:n, t' æ:k' e:d M *seantseaicéad*.

With double *sean-*:

sean-tseanathaireacha 866ESc49.36;

æs ə t' æn' t' æn' æmʃər' 24N *as an tsean-tseanaimsir fadó*.

Note *-l-ts-* in 'ku:l, tru 35E *cúltsruth* and in nonvernacular usage following *caol-* and *aol-*:

¹ The realisation of *t* is often clearly audible following *an chéad*. Speakers, when asked to articulate slowly, will pronounce two separate dental stops -d | t-.

bainthe mise 'n caíol-tslaitín seo **894C**; *aol-tsúil* (Asc) **19S**.

9.165 Phrases

fi: lɑ:n' t' u:l' (Lam, prose) **04B** *faoi lán tsíúil*; **fi: lɑ:n' t' o:l'** *faoi lán tseoil*.

fil' tru:n'ə **66N** *fuil tsróine*, **fil' hru:n'ə** **66N** *fuil shróine*.

bean tsíúil **869PDT38** (also GCF §546(b)) but *bean síúil* generally, e.g. (x3+) **894C2**, SM.

oíche fhéil tSain Seáin i:l' t'in' fɑ:n'.

m'i: v'ɑ:n' tɑ:ŋrə 46.904 *Mí Mheáin tSamhradh*, perhaps with elision of the article from *Mí Mheáin an tSamhradh* **!894C** CABI §189(b) v. 3. The place-name sometimes spelt with *tS-*, e.g. *Inis tSruth thiar* **894C9**, *Innis tSruth* ARN1523, is pronounced *in'əs tro* **892M1523** which is reflected in the alternate spelling *Inis Troigh* Rob95. Cp. **k'i:n tɑ:l'ə** *Cionn tSáile*.

9.166 Speakers

Some speakers apparently use less *ts-* than others. For example, sisters **04Br** and **15W**, show frequent *s-*, e.g. *an-suim* **04Br**, *an-sean* **04Br**, *ag an sochraide* **15W**. It may be significant that both are returned migrants (from the United States). Their father has many examples of *ts-*, typical for most older speakers, e.g. *aon tseanmóir* 46.791, *an-tsásta* 46 s.v., **è:n 'tu:ntəs** 46 (s.v. *deara*) *aon tsuntas*, *aon tsoitheach* **869P2**. Speaker **04B** also has noteworthy *s-* for more common *ts-* in:

an sochairde ... thug sé un an sagairt t. (Sdás) **04B**.

Various conditioning possibilities would be worth further investigation; for example, whether speakers have grammatical gender constraints outside the article, such as a tendency to use *ts-* with feminine nouns more than masculine nouns, e.g. *aon tsúil* ~ *aon sagart*. (The non-application of *t-* rules becomes increasingly common among younger speakers (9.179).)

-án- (-an-, -á-)

9.167 General

Infix or linking **ɑ:n -án-** is obsolescent. (Cp. linking *-n-*, 9.144.) It follows the prepositions *ag*, *as*, *chuig*, *roimh(e)*, *go dtí*, before possessive pronouns *a* (3m, 3f, 1, 2, 3 pl):

eg' ɑ:nə *agána*; *asána*; **heg' ɑ:nə** *chuigána*; *roimhána*;

gə d'i: ɑ:nə *go dtána*.

asána and *roimhána* were noted from secondary sources only (cp. also *roimhána* GCF §551). Use with *ag* seems to be most common; use with *as* was noted from speaker **866E** only. A by-form **ən -an-** was recorded from speakers **892M**, **17M**. It is perhaps a phonetic reduction and occurs in a series containing *ag* in both instances, although *aige+na* is a possibility:

eg' ə he:n' əgəs eg' ənə 'hr'ur 'mā:k | **892Mt**

aige héin agus agana thriúr mac;

eg' ənə hæ:r' g's eg' ə nə mā:hər **17M**

agána hathair agus agana máthair.

A linking *-á-* element is attested following *ag* before 1sg possessive *m'* in:

agá m'iníon **866ESc184.24**.

The function of *-án-* can be taken as one of disambiguation of homophonous 3m prepositional pronouns **eg'ə aige**, **heg'ə chuige** and **riv'ə roimhe** with the corresponding forms of the simple preposition plus possessive, i.e. **eg'ə ag a**, **heg'ə chuig a** and **riv'ə roimh(e) a** respectively. No other preposition has such ambiguity. This, however, does not explain the use of *-án-* with *as* (rare) or *go dtí*. There is indeed disambiguation (by *go dtíána*) of possessive *go dtína* and use with the article *go dtí na* (also, before vowels, *go dtí an*) but one might then also expect, for example, unattested **faoi-án-a*. The verbal origin of the preposition *go dtí* may be a factor here. Perhaps *go dtige*, an obsolescent equivalent of *go dtí*, was originally combined with *-án-* through analogy with *ag* and *chuig* (owing to the shared palatal **g'** in all three prepositions). Linking *-án-* may then have spread to cognate *go dtí*. I have, however, no example of *go dtige* with *-án-*. Alternatively, *go dtíána* (perhaps via *go dtíá*) may reflect older *á* in the preposition *go* in possessive use, considering that *go dtí* now replaces *go* with possessives (e.g. *go dtí(á)na dteach* vs. **go a dteach*).¹

9.168 Individual speakers

852S Examples are not frequent: *a bhí agána scata fhéin, agána hathair* **852S2**, 3.

866E Regular *-án-* with *ag*. In the published tale *Eochair, Mac Rí in Éirinn* (Semr), *agá n-* occurs exclusively, i.e. in all 7 tokens.

asána occurs in: *le a raibh de spóirt acu asána chuid ceoil* Sc50.37.

roimhána noted in: *bhí bean ... réitiithe roimh ána fear* Sc154.31.

With *go dtí*: **gə d'í: ɑ:nə 866E** *go dtíána*. In *Eochair, Mac Rí in Éirinn* (Semr), *go dtí á na* is found in equal proportion to *go dtí na*. Both have five noted tokens. The transcription *go dtí na* is formally ambiguous with the article *na* but the contexts are clear. The transcription *go dtí á na* indicates the separate prosodic status of *-án-*. In another tale a transcribed *go dtí na* is actually **gə d'í: ɑ:nə 866Et** (Sc185.27) *go dtíána* in the audio recording, although spoken so rapidly that **-ɑ:-** could easily be overlooked. This implies that the *-án-* variant (with *go dtí*) is underrepresented in the folklore transcription.

869P RBÉ2, 4, and recordings: regular *ag a* and *go dtína*, e.g. *ag a mháthair* 2, 4; for *go dtí(n)a*, see 9.145 above. There are two tokens of *-án-* noted, one each with *ag* and *chuig*:

Bhí fear fadó ánn 7 bhí páiste mic agá n-a bhean, 4 (formal context initiating a tale); *abhaile chaigána mháthair* 4.

872P *go dtíána taobh* **872Pt** (1/1).

894C One example with *ag* only: *aigána bhean* **894C2**.

875T1 No examples of *-án-* noted. Cp. his brother **869P** who has a low rate of *-án-* use.

04B Two examples (in Smbb**04B**) with *go dtí*, the first in a run:

ən dɑ:r'nə kər | gə d'í: ɑ:n ə wɑ:stə 04B *an darna cor go dtíána bhásta*;
gə d'í: ɑ:nə hæhər' 04B *go dtíána hathair*.

¹ Following the disambiguation argument, *arána*, attested in GCF §551 (also *ag, chuig, roimh*), might be related to historical 3m *airi* (which is attested in ITM §441 and is homophonous with *ar a*). The function of disambiguation may at least account for the higher incidence of *-án-* found with *ag* (*chuig*), both in Iorras Aithneach and Cois Fharraige. The form *á* of the possessive with *ag*, however, goes back to the Middle Irish period (L. Breatnach 1994: §13.21) through analogy in particular with forms of *go* (< *co*). This *á* has been re-expanded to *-ána* in our dialect. The frequent use of *-án-* with *ag* (*chuig*) may also be explained synchronically in terms of the phonetic salience of *agána: ag* (*chuig*) being the only simple preposition ending in a stop. Cp. *ag á* (without analogous *-n-*) in West Munster, *ag* being the most common preposition with possessive *á*, apart from *dá* (*de, do*); and the more limited extent of *go dtí á*, confined to Múscraí (Ua Súilleabháin 1994 §§6.3, 6.13; also *ag á, Ó Buachalla* 2003: §6.2.7).

But also *go dtína athair* **04B**.

05M Rare, noted in: *a ghoil ag cuartaíocht agána chéile* **05Mt**.

11C With *ag* only, e.g.

fáilte mhór agána aint eg' a:n 'æ:n' t' roimhe **11Cst**;
bráillín gheal, agána chosa, agus ceann agána chloigeann. ... chuir sé bráillín
agána chosa, agus ceann ag a chloigeann, ... síos díreach agána chosa. ...
agána chosa agus ... **11C**;
agána mháthair **11C3553**.

He probably has *ag a* more frequently, e.g. *ag a athair agus ag a mháthair* **11C**.

17M This is my youngest speaker noted with *-án-* following *go dtí* (*go dtíána*). Also *agána* (example above, 9.167).

23P With very frequent if not consistent *-án-*.

50N6 This is by far my youngest speaker with *-án-*. It occurs with *ag* only. She has consistent *agána* in conversation and query, e.g. *agána muintir* **50N6**, *agána athair* **50N6q**. She has *go dtína mhuineál*, etc., in reply to query and claims she does not use *go dtína*. She does not have the simple preposition *chuig* in query and claims not to use it, but uses simple *ag* instead.

A form *gə d'í: ənə* from the innovative speaker **66N** is triply ambiguous. It could be interpreted as *go dtína* with a phonetic glide following *-í* or as *go dtí-ana* with linking *-ana* or as *go dtí ina* with the preposition *i* and meaning 'as far as in':

ə:nə ... gə d'í: ənə ɣlu:n' 66N óna ... go dtí ina [?] ghlúin.

Variation

Variation in the application of mutation rules has been discussed where appropriate throughout this chapter. Here we will be concerned with clear change in progress: regularisation in the past verb with the replacement of eclipsis by lenition (9.169 ff.), and change, particularly depletion in the use of lenition, in young people's dialect (9.172 ff.).

9.169 Irregular verbs: *gur chuala* ~ *go gcuala*, etc.

Apart from direct negative *níor*, most irregular verbs take eclipsis where regular verbs have lenition in past personal dependent position. That is to say: where functors (particles and conjunctions) have eclipsis in the regular present these eclipsing variants are generally used in the irregular personal past. (To be precise following the interrogative particles *an* and *cé / cá*, relative *a* (indirect and cataphoric), *mara*, *nach* (relative and interrogative), and conjunctions *go* and *shula*.) The impersonal of both regular and irregular verbs is generally preceded by *-r* and unlenited (in conservative use). For example, contrast regular past *feann* with irregular past *feic*:

	personal	impersonal
regular	<i>ar / cé / nar</i> , etc., fh eann	<i>ar / cé / nar</i> , etc., fe annadh
irregular	<i>an / cé / nach</i> , etc., bh faca	<i>ar / cé / nar</i> , etc., f acthas

(The irregular verb **d'ín déan** has a past independent form *rinne* and a past dependent form *dhearna, ndearna*; the dependent form is, however, infrequently replaced by *rinne*.)

Three irregular verbs, *clois*, *tabhair*, and *teara*, in the personal past alternate eclipsis with lenition, i.e.

<i>an / cé / cá / a / go / mara / nach / shula</i>	}	<i>gcuala dtug dtáinig</i>	} alternates with	<i>ar / cér / cár / ar / gur / marar / nar / shular</i>	}	<i>chuala thug tháinig</i>
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Eclipsis occurs with these verbs most frequently in the oldest speakers. It is clear, for example, from Seán's (12S) conversation that eclipsis is for him overall most common. Alternation is frequently heard with *gcuala* ~ *chuala* in a favourite saying of his:

Choinic mé gá bhfaca mé agus chuala mé GÁ GCUALA / GÁR CHUALA mé agus shiúil mé gár shiúil mé ach níor casadh do leithide ariamh orm. 12S.

That there are patterns within the variation is suggested by recorded passages such as the following (*go gcuala* [x2]; *ar chuala* [x2] ~ *an gcuala* [x1]):

-AR CHUALA tú ... ?

-Muisse, m'anam GO GCUALAS

- ... nó AN GCUALA tú aon chaint air, AR CHUALA tú ariamh ... ?

-M'anam GO GCUALAS go minic, ... 11C2649–54.

9.170 Apparent time 1892–1935; Airneán II

In Airneán II (44–5) Ó hUiginn supplies statistics relevant to this alternation. These statistics are reproduced in Table 9.7 (the reading *sul* (*ar*) *tháinig* Airneán II p. 45 has been corrected from the audio recording to *sálá dtáinig* 11C3088.)¹ Percentages have been calculated for the eclipsed alternants according to the preceding functor as well as individual functor percentages.

Table 9.7 *chuala* ~ *gcuala*, etc., Airneán II

Percentage %	<i>an</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>go</i>	<i>nach</i>	<i>dá</i>	<i>shula</i>	Total	
<i>gcuala</i>	40%	40%	70%	100%	50%		58%	
<i>dtug</i>	100%	25%	47%	100%			63%	
<i>dtáinig</i>		98%	96%	85.7%	100%	100%	97%	
Overall	57%	82%	82%	95%	60%	100%	81%	
Actual tokens	<i>an</i> : <i>ar</i>	<i>a</i> : <i>ar</i>	<i>go</i> : <i>gur</i>	<i>nach</i> : <i>nar</i>	<i>dá</i> : <i>dár</i>	<i>shula</i> : <i>-r</i>	Total	Totals
<i>gcuala</i> : <i>chuala</i>	4:6	4:6	19:8	2:0	2:2	0:0	31:22	53
<i>dtug</i> : <i>thug</i>	4:0	2:6	7:8	11:0	0:0	0:0	24:14	38
<i>dtáinig</i> : <i>tháinig</i>	0:0	53:1	55:2	6:1	1:0	5:0	120:4	124
Overall	8:6	59:13	81:18	19:1	3:2	5:0	175:40	215
Total	14	72	99	20	5	5		

The number of tokens in Table 9.7 is too small in many cases for any firm conclusions; this is so regarding the functors *dá(r)* and *shula(r)* which cannot be further analysed here. It is very clear, however, (from the top right-hand column of percentages) that *dtáinig* is almost categorical² while *dtug* and *gcuala* appear in

¹ There is an unresolved complication in the statistics. Examples of what is transcribed as ' *chuala tú é?* ARN4278 may well be formally declarative *chuala tú é* with interrogative function. It is not clear whether, for example, ' *chuala* has been classified with *ar chuala* or not in Airneán II 44.

² As stated in Airneán II 44: 'forms without *-r* are most prominent with the verb *tar*'.

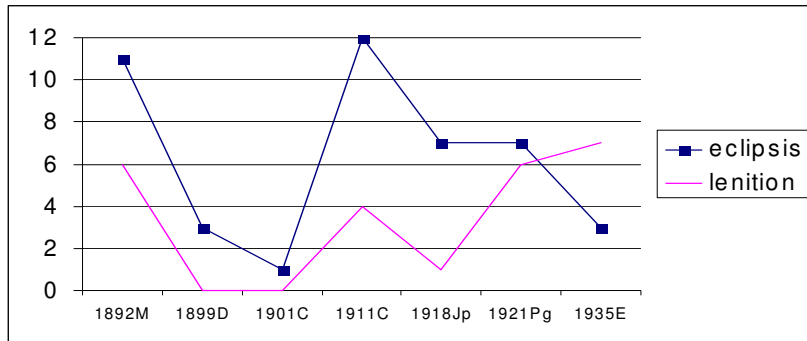
almost two thirds of overall use. It is also clear that the past form of *teara* (*dtáinig / tháinig*) occurs more than twice as frequently, in these positions, as the other two verbs. The data suggest that the various functors have different proportional usage: *nach* is overall less common than *a* and *go*. We can reproduce the least frequent eclipsing combinations of functor and verb in a possible implicational scale:

$$\begin{array}{c}
 an / a \qquad \qquad \qquad \ll \qquad \qquad \qquad go \\
 a dtug 25\% \ll an / a gcuala 40\% \mid \ll go dtug 47\% \ll go gcuala 70\%
 \end{array}$$

This scale, if significant, highlights the aberrance of *an dtug* 100% (although there are only four tokens).¹ It is this combination which causes *dtug* to be overall slightly more frequent than *gcuala*. Without it, *gcuala* would be overall more frequent than *dtug*; as it is within the two separate stages of the implicational scale. In fact the past form of *clois* (*gcuala / chuala*) occurs slightly more frequently than that of *tabhair* (*dtug / thug*), as is clear from the bottom right-hand column in Table 9.7. Therefore, apart from *an dtug*, the frequency of eclipsis is in direct proportion to textual frequency.

Although one cannot calculate the exact figures of individual speakers' usage from Ó hUiginn's presentation, one can calculate for individual speakers the number of functor-verb combinations which take eclipsis and the number which take lenition. These are shown in Figure 9.1; they give a rough guide to individuals' overall usage.

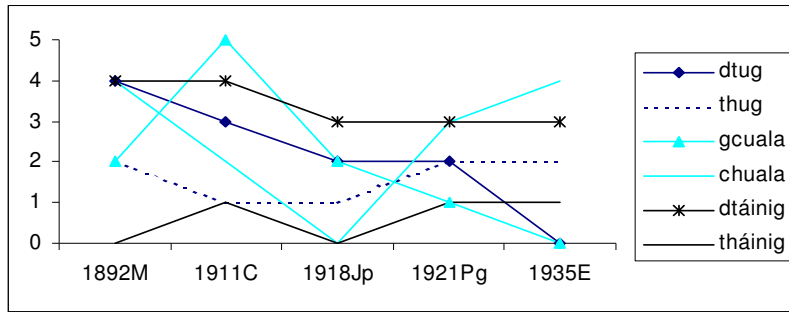
Figure 9.1 *chuala ~ gcuala*, etc., proportion of functor-verb combinations per speaker, Airneán II



There is a clear generational divide in the functor-verb combinations: all five older speakers born before 1920 have dominant eclipsis, whereas the youngest speaker, born in 1935, has prevalent lenition. The speaker born in the 1920s (21Pg) represents an intermediary or transitional stage with almost equal proportions of both eclipsis and lenition. This pattern is consistent for specific verbs as one would expect from Table 9.7. In Figure 9.2 the specific verbal usage of those individuals who have a sufficient number of examples is presented.

¹ It may be that *dhá gcuala* belongs between these two stages, i.e. (very tentatively) *an / a* << *dhá* << *go* << *nach*. See the discussion further below and Figure 9.2.

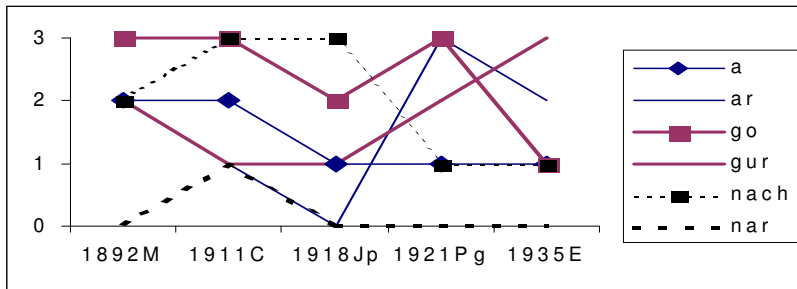
Figure 9.2 *chuala* ~ *gcuala*, etc., proportion of functor-verb combinations per speaker per verb, Airneán II



In the older subgroup, for all three speakers, eclipsed variants of all three verbs are dominant. With one exception: speaker **892M** has *gcuala* in two functor-verb combinations, but *chuala* in four. In the younger subgroup the only dominant eclipsed variant is *dtáinig*: speaker **21Pg** has *dtug* equal to *thug* and dominant *dtáinig*; for speaker **35E** the only eclipsed form is *dtáinig*, he is further the only speaker noted with *gur tháinig* (2 tokens out of a total for all speakers of 57 *go / gur (d)h(á)inig*; speaker **35E** also has *go dtáinig*).

The intergenerational development across functors is consistent with what one would expect from Table 9.7 and Figure 9.1. The number of functor-verb combinations per distinct functor is plotted in Figure 9.3.

Figure 9.3 Intergenerational use of eclipsing and leniting functors with three irregular verbs, Airneán II



Although the numbers are small, there is a clear rise to dominant *ar* for the two youngest speakers, i.e. post 1920; whereas the crossover to dominant *gur* is later: found only in the youngest speaker, i.e. post 1930. Interrogative *an / ar* is not included in Figure 9.3, the numbers being slightly less than *a / ar*, but both are very similar. The *an / ar* examples noted from Airneán II are:

	1892M	1911C	1918Jp	1921Pg	1935E
<i>an</i>	2	2	1	1	0
<i>ar</i>	1	1	0	1	1

nach remains dominant for all age-groups. Speaker **892M**'s equal proportion of *a* to *ar* (2:2) may be significant given his aberrantly high *chuala* count. He may represent a fore-runner with regard to loss of eclipsis in this variable. Recall that his high use of <i:> in the 1 Conjugation verbal adjective (p. 1068, Figure 5.22) resembles the usage of speakers twenty five years his junior rather than many of his peers.

In conclusion, the statistics on usage compiled by Ó hUiginn indicate a loss of eclipsis in these verbs since the 1920s. There is both functor and verbal lexical conditioning of the relatively stable older usage and of the rapid regression within only two decades in the younger generation. One can surmise that functor conditioning of eclipsis is in direct proportion to phonological weight, i.e. eclipsis retention *nach* >> *go* >> *a* / *an*. The verbal conditioning of eclipsis is possibly in direct proportion to lexical frequency. Further investigation is necessary to determine to what extent, if any, syntactic features influence functor and mutation choice, such as interrogative *nach* / *nar* as opposed to relative *nach* / *nar*, and the mechanisms of change in other functors, such as *shula(r)* and *dá* (*dhá*).

9.171 Other speakers and other dialects

Given these conclusions (based on the relatively substantial material of seven male speakers from West Iorras Aithneach born between 1892 and 1935), it is possible to place other speakers in context; many will have far less relevant evidence available. Some additional speakers' tokens are presented in Table 9.8. In fact one older male from East Iorras Aithneach, **897P**, and two generations of clann Mhacaí 'ac Con Iomaire from An Coillín, **869P** and his daughters **04Br** and **15W**, show greater use of lenition than in Airneán II, my base of comparison. In fact with further research the evidence of Airneán II may prove to be skewed, in the context of the speech community, by speakers **11C** and **18Jp** (not to mention **21Pg** and **35E**) who may actually be conservative or even reactionary regarding eclipsis, as they are regarding other features (e.g. (2Conj) verbal adjective <i:hə>).

Table 9.8 *chuala* ~ *gcuala*, etc., other speakers

	<i>gcuala</i>	<i>dtug</i>	<i>dtáinig</i>	<i>chuala</i>	<i>thug</i>	<i>tháinig</i>
866E Semr (tokens)	0 ¹	8	31	1 ('ár)	1 (<i>dár</i>)	1 (<i>gur</i>)
869P An Coillín, RBÉ	<i>nach</i> , <i>go</i> reg		<i>go</i> , <i>nach</i> ²		<i>cár</i>	
SID.46		<i>an</i> ³	<i>a</i> , <i>nach</i> ⁴	<i>ar</i> (x2) ⁵		
875T An Coillín, RBÉ	<i>nach</i>		<i>sul á</i>			
894C Glinsce			<i>gho</i>		<i>ghur</i>	
897P Loch Con Aortha						<i>gur</i> , <i>nar</i>
04B An Aird Thoir	<i>dhá</i>					

¹ The verb *airigh* is more common than *c(h)uala* in **866E**Semr. Cp. *nar chuala* **866EB**16.108, 113, *nar chualthas* 114. In a separate published collection of this speaker's folklore, **866E**Sc (P. Ó Ceannabháin 1983: 23–301), the single token of *gur tháinig* noted by the editor is indicated in a footnote (**866E**Sc92 footnote 1).

² *gə dān' ək' dər'* | **869P**Sgbf *go dtáinicdar*, *nach dtáinig* Mp 242.

³ ... *an dtug sé leis é* 46 s.v. *bheirim*.

⁴ Indrel a 941; *nach* Mp 242, 46.947, 989.

⁵ 46.387 (also Mp 118), s.v. *cluínim*. Cp. *chuala* **892M**, Figure 9.2.

	<i>gcuala</i>	<i>dtug</i>	<i>dtáinig</i>	<i>chuala</i>	<i>thug</i>	<i>tháinig</i>
04Br An Coillín					<i>ar, gur</i>	
15W An Coillín				<i>ar ... ?</i>		<i>nar</i>
43Mt An Aird Mhóir			<i>go, nach</i>	<i>gur</i>		

Although the number of examples is miniscule, the figures are internally consistent. We can furthermore tell from the greater sample that attestation of *nar tháinig* (**897P** and **15W**) in particular is very significant combining the two least frequent variants found in older usage, thus implying that these two speakers are likely to use lenition overall more frequently than eclipsis.

Within this description can be placed the aberrant examples of $-r^N$ (slips of the tongue):

| *insən ˈɑːm ər d̪ɑːnˈəkˈ nə ˈprɑːtəstʉːŋ ɡən ɑːt̪ ʃo ɡəs ə xirˈədər fuːhəb*
 ... **11C** *insan am AR DTÁINIG na prastáúin dhon áit seo agus a chuireadar fúthub ...*

ən wɑːdˈənˈ ər ʃiəlˈ ʃe i ɡəs ər dʉː ʃe ɾˈeʃ ... (AnB)**21Pt**
an mhaidin ar dhíol sé í agus AR DTUG sé leis í.

As noted previously for the immediately preceding example (8.68), ar^N may perhaps be triggered by the preceding ar^L . An example which has a clear pause between **-r** and **d-**, followed by the regular realisation, occurs in:

agus, ní mórán achair GUR, DTÁINICEADAR ɡər | d̪ɑːnˈəkˈədər go dtige
ríocht an-aísteach. ... GO DTÁINICDAR go dtí cúirt an rí. 11Ctn.

SID Maps 118 *ar chuala*, 242 *nár tháinig*

We can broaden the field of investigation to two relevant maps of SID (118, 242). Data from these maps are cited above for speaker **869P**. His responses are *ar chuala* Mp 118 and *nach dtáinig* Mp 242 which follow the implicational scaling of Iorras Aithneach as set out above. This proportionally higher use of eclipsis with *dtáinig* evidenced in Iorras Aithneach is reflected in the two relevant maps: *an gcuala* is a minority variant in all three western provinces and absent in Leinster; in contrast *nach dtáinig* is the exclusive variant in West Ulster and the main variant in West Connacht. It is finally worth noting that there may be two pockets with greater prevalence of *an gcuala* in Connacht: an area in the eastern-most part of Co. Galway (points 31 and 32) and an area in West Co. Galway around points 44 and 49. This implies that the West Conamara area has a high, i.e. conservative, use of eclipsis in these three verbs. Both maps suggest that lenition is spreading from the south and east.

9.172 Generational change since the 1960s

Eclipsis is well maintained in the Irish of full speakers born before the 1970s (in contrast with semi-speakers). On the other hand, lack of lenition is becoming more and more common in the speech of the younger generation, especially among those born since c. 1960. There are also some instances of extension of lenition to nontraditional contexts. There are instances of aberrant nonlenition, especially in feminine noun contexts, in speakers born before 1960 (9.32).

9.173 Nominal feminine

Marking of feminine nouns with lenition is becoming facultative. Examples:

- 66N** xur fe ki: br'a: er' chuir sé caoi BREÁ air;
 i:hə mo:r oíche MÓR; ... tine MÓR thíos ...;
 troxri:d'ə d'æ:s trochraíde DEAS (for common sochraíde);
 nolək mah æd Nollaig MAITH a'd! often;
 an oíche CÉANNA, trá GAINÉAMH .. trá DEAS í;
 go dtí an FUIÑNEOG [x2], ə b'i:n' an BINN.
- 66L** an láimh CÉANNA; an láimh DEAS ('right hand').
- 71D** áit BEAG CUNG; olann FADA, sin ceist CRUA [x3].
- 72C** ... x'ɛʃt' d'ɛr' nəx an cheist DEIREANACH; but an oíche CHÉANNA;
 ə ɣrɑ:n' ~ ə ɡrɑ:n' an G(H)RÁIN;
 n^y i:hə d'ɛrn' əx an oíche DEIREANACH, eochair BEAG.
- 77C** san áit CÉANNA; but beilt BHREÁ.
- 78B** obair CRUA.
- 79MI** Cp. p'eɪ' ɡe:ləx peil GAELACH from post-revival Irish.
- 79S** a:t' br'a: ə wak áit BREÁ, a mhac!
- 80S** fin' o:g b'og [x2] fuinneog BEAG.

Nonlenition following the feminine article is found in examples above and especially in some speakers born since the 1970s, e.g.

an MÚIN réidh **78Pb**; ag cuir e-, an FEAMAINN ar ... **80A**.

9.174 Plural

Examples of plural nonlenition:

nə k'i:m' mo:rə **66N** na cinn MÓRA often, sometimes cinn MHÓRA **66N**,
 cinn BUÍ **66N**, nə k'i:m' b'ogə **66N** na cinn BEAGA often;
 cinn PÁIPÉIR **77C**, báid BEAGA **77C**, but bháid MHÓRA [perhaps mbáid] **77C**;
 k'i:n' ... k'i:n' ə mah ... k'i:n' ə | **79MI** cinn ... cinn MAITH ... cinn;
 ... mʉri:l' ɡrɑ:n' ən [x2] **66N** ... múraíl GRÁNNA ann,
 mʉri:l' ʃa:fod' əx ta ɡ' a:lt' eg' ə **66N** múraíl SEAFÓIDEACH tá geallta aige.

Contrast regular:

cinn BHEAGA **72N**; srutháin BHEAGA ... 'projects' MHAITH **78Pb**.

Example of variation:

-b'ín o:rɑ:n' wa'h er' **66N** Bíonn amhráin MHAITH(E) air.

-ha M Ha?

-b'ín o:rɑ:m' mahə er' **66N** Bíonn amhráin MAITHE air.

With nə k'i:m' mo:rə **66N** na cinn MÓRA, etc., contrast:

v' i trəʃ v' ogə ... fɑ:k'i' æ:n' ə **66N** bhí trais BHEAGA ... fágthaí a'inne.

9.175 Other

Nonlenition of definite nouns is by now very common, e.g.

Seán TAIDHG [x1] ... Seán THAIDHG [x2] **77C**;

bóthar DOIRE Rois **78Pb**.

Contrast **66N**'s ag bualadh PÁRAIC with her traditional le haghaidh SHEÁIN.

Following verbal noun: ag fáil BAIS **79Sq** (in translation query).

Indefinite adjective: chuile DHOMHNACH, chuile SATHARAINN 'I mean' **66N**.

Numerals

Facultative lenition following numerals is exemplified in:

chúig DEOCH nú sé DEOCH **66N**; an chéad BHLAIN [x2] **78Pb**;

x' e:d' bo:hər ... , ... x' e:d' wo:hər **79MI** an chéad B(H)ÓTHAR;

dhá BEAN is fear **79P**; trí POÍNTE ... dhá PHOÍNTE **79P**;

dhá DREOFÚR ... dhá DHUINE dhéag 80A, chúig BLIANA 80A.

Cp. nontraditional use of *faoi* in *faoi trí 66N* (for traditional *trí huairé*).

Compare *trí sheachtaine* [sic] **79S**, an apparent blend between traditional *trí seachtainí* and innovative *trí sheachtain*. Speaker **79S** does not seem to be influenced by external types of Irish and it is unlikely that standard plural *seachtaine* with numerals affected his *trí sheachtaine*. For younger speakers' innovations in adjectives governed by the numeral *dhá*, see 9.99.

Possessive

1sg *mo DREOFÚR 80A.*

2sg *do SAOL a bheith 72A.*

3m *' Bhfuil a BOLG laghdá? 66N, ... dath atá air ach a DATH héin 66N.*

Prepositions

Unlenited nouns were noted following the prepositions *thar(a)*, *dho*, *faoi*, *ar*:

chuaigh tusa thara [sic] *PÁRAIC 66N*;

gar dho CRUAICH na Caoile 71D; *ar FEILM 71D*;

ag feoghlaim faoi SEOLTÓIREACHT [x2] **72A**;

faoi SÉ déag 78Pb, *faoi FEAMAINN 78Pb*; *faoi CLOCH 79P*;

ar TAOBH m'athair 78Rb.

With borrowed noun in *er t'ijm'əhər' 52P ar TUISMITHEOIR*; cp. *faoi TRÍ 66N*.

Verb

The nonlenition of the *tr* cluster may indicate English influence or interference, given the alveolar articulation in:

tʰi:ɑ:lʲ tʰiəd e [x3] **66N** *TRÁÁIL siad é* 'they tried him (in court of law)'.
There may also be English interference in the nonlenition in:

t'æ:rɑ:lʲ mid' i 84P *TEARÁIL muid í* (past).

Copula

There is nonlenition following *ba* in:

bə f'ɑ:r it' iəd ə xurt' ... 79S *ba FEARR dhuit iad a chuirt thoir ansin.*

9.176 Extension of lenition: intensive, homorganic, for eclipsis

Some of speaker **66N**'s many examples of nonlenition in leniting feminine singular contexts are cited above. Conversely, this speaker has unhistorical lenition of some emphatic or intensive adjectives following masculine singular nouns, as well as one example of a lenited noun in a similar intensive context:

fiabhras DHEARG ar ... ! and *fiabhras MHAILÍSEACH ar ... !* (both maledictions

she claims to have heard from an older speaker or speakers),

spíd [< speed] *CHÉADTACH*,

scréachadh THÍNTÍ báisteach, *ag scréachadh BHÁISTEACH.*

The most likely source of such lenition is the traditional dative use (9.52) as found, for example, in the common phrase *ina scréachadh thintí* (*báistí / ag báisteach*). Her lenition with some borrowings may also be related to intensive semantics:

an CHRABHAID [< crowd] **66N**, *crabhaidín DHEAS 66N*;

fuair mé lift BHREÁ inniubh 66N;

but one can note the alveolar finals of borrowed *spíd*, *crabhaid*, *lift*, palatalised finals favouring feminine gender in both native and borrowed nouns. An even younger speaker, **84P**, has extended lenition of the intensive adjective *millteach* in singular and plural contexts:

i:ask mo:ɹ v̥ i:l̥t̥ əx 84Pt *iasc mór MHILLTEACH*;

su:l̥ ə mo:ɹ [perhaps **mo:ɹə**] **v̥ i:l̥t̥ əx 84Pt** *súile mór(a) MHILLTEACH*.

Speaker **66N** has extended the use of traditional lenition in another environment. Her lenition in *píosa chraic 66N* ‘a bit of fun’ may be related (a) to nominative lenition in *an chraic* and common (genitive) *le haghaidh an chraic* or (b) common lenition and preposition elision in, for example, *píosa cháca* (< *píosa dhe cháca*) or both factors may be involved.

A possible other extension of traditional lenition to unhistorical masculine contexts appears in nominative *an mhilleán 72N*. Lenition here is perhaps generalised from traditional genitive *ag cuir an mhilleáin* and common *a mhilleán*. (Speaker **72N** followed my own *an milleán* with *an milleán* later in our conversation.) Speaker **78Rb** has extended lenition in the place-name *Leitir Mhór 78Rb* (for traditional *Leitir Móir*) through analogy with the feminine common noun *leitir* (cp. 11.125; this is the basis of the pun *Leitir Móir* “nach léitear” Clad170, also 23). Speaker **77C** has *an chraiceann [x2] 77C*, perhaps influenced by *an chraic*.

Speaker **77C** has an instance of extension of singular feminine lenition to the plural context in:

... k̥a:r̥o:gi: ɣla:sə ʃin' 77C ... *carógaí GHLASA sin*

(unless influenced by the lenition which follows palatalised plurals).

Copula

The lenition of a coronal following the past copula *ba*, an environment unlenited in traditional dialect, is striking in **66N**'s relative examples:

K'e a:kəb bə jefə 66N *cé acub ba DHEISE?*

dúirt siad go b'é an teach ba DHEISE e, ... 66N.

Homorganic clusters

Younger speakers sometimes lenite coronals following *aon* (numeral and indefinite pronoun), thus transgressing the coronal homorganic rule of nonlenition, e.g.

en hi:mr'əs 66N *aon SHUIMREAS*;

er' xe:n hi:w ... [perhaps **hi:v**] **79Ml** *ar chaon THAOBH ...* ;

eŋ ɣin'ə je:g 80C *aon DHUINE dhéag*.

Following *an-* from a relatively old speaker:

... 'a:ŋ'ɣunə | 52P *an-DHONA*.

Following the genitive article *an* in:

er' xu:l ə ɣorəs 79S *ar chúil an DHORAS*.

Lenition of *d*, a coronal, is heard from speaker **64M** following *an chéad* in:

x'e:d ɣin'ə 64M *an chéad DHUINE*.

Cp. **ʃeŋ x̥a' frin' d̥ ... 64M** *sé an DHÁ fruind* [< friend] ... (9.95).¹

¹ I have heard similar overgeneralisations from my sons: masculine genitive *an sh-* (Dara, Brian) and *an th-* (Dara); *aon dh-* (Brian), aged 3.8 and 2.6 respectively; compound *seandhroichead* (Dara, aged 3.11); feminine *an sheanchailleach* (Brian, aged 3.11). There is a masculine genitive instance (*an dhá[n]*) in a selfcorrected slip of the tongue from an older speaker:

Possessive

Speaker **66N** has extended lenition in the intensifying prefix *sean-* (< *sain-*), presumably mainly from 3m *a^L* but also perhaps from 2sg *do^L*, to feminine reference in:

... *maɾ'ə* ... ə 'hɑm.f'ɪnf ə wɑnt' ... **66N**
 ... *Máire* ... *a* [3f] *SHEANPHINS* [< pinch] *a bhaint*

Prepositional *san^L* for *sa^N*

Speaker **66N** has an innovative use in hesitant speech of *sən(:)* *san* (*i^N* + article) where traditional speakers, in hesitation, have *sə(:)* *sa*. She has an instance of lenited masculine *f-* following this hesitation-filler usage of *san*:

ta *ʃib' sən:* 'uəxt ən'ʃo **66N** *tá sib san FHUACHT anseo,*

as well as regular eclipsis:

... *v' i: sən | sən v' æ:r ə v' i: ek' ə* **66N** ... *bhí san — san BHFEAR a bhí aici.*

In response to query Máire produced an equivalent lenition following a conjunct form of the article with innovative *uaidh*, i.e. *uaidh an fhear sin* Mq (p. 1809 n. 2), cp. lack of mutation in *uaidh an fear* **66Nq** but regular eclipsis in *uaidh an mbean / gcailín* **66Nq**.

9.177 Eclipsis

Non-eclipsis following the article:

with **o:** *əm' vl' iən' rɪv' ə* **69S** *ó an BHLIAIN roimhe* (note noncoalescence);
 preposition cence);

er' ə *pa:ɪ-k'* **78Pb** *ar an PÁIRC; sa CLUB óige* **80A;**

genitive ... *leihí na CUILEOGAÍ sin* **66N;**

plural *ag caitheamh na HOÍCHEANTAÍ* **73P;**

but *i ngarraí na GCLOTHARTAIGH* **73P;**

seid na TAIDHGÍNÍ **77C;**

ag cuir na FATAÍ, ... ainmneachaí na GARRANTAÍ, **78Rb.**

Non-eclipsis following the plural possessive pronoun (cp. 9.138 [24], [25]):

v' i: *ʃiəd ənə d' iə b' og ek' ə* **66N** *bhí siad ina DIA beag aici.*

Extension of eclipsis

Speaker **66N** has frequent anomalous eclipsis in:

er' e:n m' æ'ləx **66N** *ar aon MBEALACH* ('anyway').

Cp. **ə ŋ' æ:pɑ'** **66N** *an (N)GCEAPTHÁ?* (9.143).

Semi-speaker **70S** has anomalous *síos an MBÓTHAR* and *go dtí an MBALLA*.

Speaker **78Pb** has anomalous *chúig MBLIANA déag* [x2].

Speaker **84P** has anomalous **ə gud' d' ix' ə** **84Pq** *a gcuid DTITHE*.

9.178 h + Vowel, aspiration

Possessive feminine *a^H* without *h*:

... **ʃi:** *he:n' ogəs æ'hər'* **80A** ... *sí héin agus a ATHAIR*.

It is regularly absent in **66N**'s speech in the set phrase *lena anam* (for traditional 3f *lena hanam*):

-A! ní hea, a deir Fiacna, ní raibh na Fianna góil an dhá-, dán seo ariamh, ach le bhei' i drioblóid. **892Mtn.**

br'íd'ín' | b'æ'nəxt d'e: l'en a'nəm [x2+] 66N

Bridín, beannacht Dé lena ANAM.

Article *na*^H without *h*, or with weakened *h*:

nə^he:di' 66N *na HÉADAÍ*;

ta ŋ i:ənti' fə:l' ... 66N *tá na OÍCHEANTAÍ ag fáil ...* ;

nə umrəxi ~ n umrəxi 72C *na IOMRACHAÍ*;

na HORDÓGAÍ, na HÉANACHAÍ [x2], na HEANGACHAÍ [x3], na EANGACHAÍ [x2]

nə^a æŋgəxi 77Ct;

na OINNIÚIN [x2] 79P.

Numeral:

tr'i: uə'ə [x4] 66N *trí UAIRE, cheithre / sé UAIRE 66Nq*;

x'ɛ'ə uə'ə ɛ ... tr'i: uə'ə ɛ ... tr'i: huə'ə 77C

cheithre UAIRE é ... trí UAIRE é ... trí HUAIRE;

xul'ə da:rə [sic -ə] i:hə 66N *chuile dara OÍCHE*;

da:rn a:t' 79P *darna ÁIT.*

Adjectival particle *chomh*^H and adverbial particle *go*^H without *h*:

ta n xahir [sic -ir] fo xə[?]ard [x2] 66N *tá an chathaoir seo chomh ARD*;

gə a:lən' 79P *go ÁLAINN.*

For **nax rh** in **d'im'ə ... nax rhim'ə 79S** *d'imigh ... nachr HIMIGH?* see 8.21.

9.179 Article *an t-*

Although traditional use of *t* before vowels with the article is dealt with in the description of the article (6.83 ff.), as well as in the discussion of developments in use of the article (6.95), it is convenient to present instances of change in young people's use of *t* here.¹

Masc nom *a chuireas AN OLC ar dhuine 60M* (anomalous *an* is unusual for this V-speaker, cp. his *an uisce fíor* for *an fíoruisce*);

AN AIRGEAD, AN UISCE 70S (semi-speaker);

Sé AN EOLAS, fe no:ləs atá faighte a'm 72A;

AN ATHRÚ ... an máthair nú AN ATHAIR 78Rb.

Masc gen V- *go raibh sí ag tóraíocht AN T-ÍM [x2] 66N*;

Ag ithe AN T-IASC 72N;

an tAifreann ... ag léabh AN TAIFRINN. 77C;

ag fiuchadh AN T-UISCE, ... ag iarraidh AN T-UISCE, 78Rb.

Masc gen *s-* In a conversation in 2005 I noted much (perhaps productively categorical) use of masculine genitive *an s-* from **64M** (for traditional *an ts-*). I noted only one instance of *an ts-*: *geata an tsagairt 64M*, referring to the parish priest's gate in Carna, which arguably has place-name status.

Fem nom V- *AN T-EANGACH ... é ... í 77C.*

Fem nom *s-* *AN SÁIL 66N*; *AN SÚIL [x2] 77C.*

9.180 Two younger speakers: **66M, 66Ma**

Sisters **66M** and **66Ma** (CS) differ greatly in their speech from traditional dialect. In fact Máire (**16M**) actually thought their home language might not be Irish, but they reassured her it is. Their variances with traditional speech may be partly explained by the dominance of English in their local peer group. East Iorras

¹ For generational change in *t-* of the article in a dialect of Donegal, see Ó Siadhail (1979: 144–5).

1842 Initial mutations

Aithneach, where the townland of Coill Sáile is situated, is approximately thirty years ahead of Central and West Iorras Aithneach in terms of language death. From conversation during a short visit I noted the following features (not all directly related to initial mutations):

Absence of lenition:

corrfochal; corrruine; anois a Seán (vocative); cé tá sí pósadh?;

Absence of lenition as well as nontraditional lenition:

ag coinneál Máire ina shuí [sic].

Absence of eclipsis: *sa carr* (both speakers), *as an carr* (one speaker).

cuid omitted in **brin dā dā wa:n ə braon dhe do bhainne**.

They have other features which are common in the younger generation:

dhá ‘two’ > **ɑ:**, e.g. **l e hi: ɑ: lɑ:** *le haghaidh dhá lá;*

bíonn mé; 3 plural *siad* in conditional (as well as present *tá / níl siad*);

thusa for *tusa* in **ka:l hisə gol’** *Cá bhfuil thusa ag goil?*

Loss of dialect for standard in functors: **ga:n gan, da: dá** ‘if’, **də dhe** ‘of’.

10 Higher register

This chapter outlines some of the main characteristics in the segmental phonology, morphology and morphosyntax found in the higher register of the rich folklore material which has been recorded, mostly by the folklore collectors of Roinn Bhéaloideas Éireann, from Iorras Aithneach speakers. The description is based on a fairly small selection from this material, principally from speakers **894C**, **04B** and **11C** and limited mainly to verse (comprising mostly song, but also rhyme and prayer). Higher-register prose is also covered, in particular that found in tale runs, the rhythmic alliterative passages which are common in hero tales (e.g. 5.6, 13.14(a)). The various sections in this chapter devoted to higher register are directly related to, and comparable with, the material and structure of the main chapters of this work (which is, of course, primarily concerned with the vernacular). Most folklore delivery is linguistically identical or very similar to the vernacular. Statements in this chapter such as ‘*ao* > *e*:’ are to be read as ‘*ao* is realised sometimes in higher register as *e*:’. There are of course formal distinctions within the higher register itself. A recently composed jocose song, for example, will contrast considerably in language with an old Fenian lay. In fact Seán (**12S**) once told me that he could not understand such a lay as recited by Beairtle Ó Con Fhaola (speaker **04B**).¹ These differences will, however, not be explored here. The investigation of register in Irish dialects has been previously neglected: no single dialect has been analysed, neither have systematic comparisons been made between dialects, nor have isoglosses been drawn for features of the higher register.² This chapter presents an initial illustration of the rewards which a more comprehensive investigation of this topic can provide.

10.1 General

The written word

The question of the influence of written and published material, in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in particular, will not be discussed but it is certain that some lore and song was acquired by my speakers from such sources. For instance, *An Mharthainn Phádraig* was often transmitted in written form (An Seabhad, 1934); speaker **852S** retold tales which had been read aloud from books (e.g. Mac Giollarnáth 1940: 98); speaker **10B** learned her version of the song *An*

¹ Cp. de hÍde’s discussion of *cruaidh-Ghaedhilg* (1933: vii–ix) and underdifferentiation in the contrastive term *gnáth-chaint na ndaoine*.

² Ó Cuív (1979) discusses ‘metrics and Irish phonology’. MacAulay (1982) is a very general but incisive overview of the range of register in Scottish Gaelic and includes relevant bibliography. Cp. Shaw (2000: especially 34–5; also 1992–3 on the ecology of the linguistic and musical strands of Gaelic culture) regarding Cape Breton, Canada. Types and versions of folk tales and songs have of course been more widely studied. Geographical dispersion, divergence and regionalism are central themes in the study of Irish folklore, e.g. D. Ó hÓgáin (1999, especially pp. 248–53). Important distributional studies include Lysaght (1986), Ó Danachair (1957–9, 1965–7, 1974–6; cf. 1977–9), O’Dowd (1981), D. Ó hÓgáin [n.d.], and Partridge (1983); also Evans (1992³), Smyth and Whelan (1988). S. Ó Catháin (1974–76, 1977–79, [n.d.]) discusses the dialectal basis and distribution of some humorous anecdotes concerning misunderstandings either between speakers of different dialects of Irish or between Irish and English-speaking monoglots.

tSailchuach from a *leabhar scoile* ‘school book’ (perhaps M. and T. Ó Máille, 1905). For the purpose of this study I have generally avoided material that seems heavily influenced by spelling or ‘school learning’. Cp. 11.123 ff.

Dialectal origin(al)

Awareness of the dialectal origin of, or dialectal dimension to, the language of songs is evident from the following statement, recorded from Colm Ó Caoidheáin:

Níl aon bhlas údar agam leis an órán. Déarfainn gur caint Mhuímhneach atá ánn 7 gur as Condae an Chláir a tháinic sé 894C9.

This perceived connection between language and place of origin of the song, made by Colm, very often holds true. The two verses of the particular song referred to by Colm, however, show no obvious Munsterisms. The chief internal evidence for its place of origin is the occurrence in the song of place-names from North Clare and South-East Galway: *Gleánn Eidhneach*, *Cínn Mhara*, etc.

Dialect humour

The following sentence is used (probably humorously) as an example of dialectal differences by Colm:

‘Cuir an sciath ar a’ scodaire tá ’n corcán a’ dodaireacht’ 894C.

Séamas Mac Aonghusa, who faithfully transcribed so much from Colm, noted: *caint Mhuímhneach, deir Colm*. The actual meaning of the saying is not clear for an Iorras Aithneach speaker; all four nouns are extraneous or uncommon. The noun *sciath* presumably refers to the basket for straining potatoes (or potato teemer), known in Iorras Aithneach as *ciseog*, and in East Galway as *sciathóg* (cp. also Cois Fharráige FFG s.v. *sciathóg*). In J. Hogan (2001: 67–74, especially 72–4) these three terms are differentiated and the *sciath* (type) is associated with the southern counties of Waterford, Cork, Kerry and Clare. The word *scodaire* appears to correspond to North Clare *scoitire* which is found in the folklore of Stiofán Ó hEalaoire.¹ From the present context and Ó hEalaoire’s example it appears the word refers to some type of vessel (used in straining). The spelling *scoitire* is given as a variant of *scartaire* ‘half-barrel, tub’ in FGB. The word *scartaire* is of West Kerry provenance in Dinn. The form *scodaire* used by Colm may have been influenced by following *dodaireacht*. One of the most obvious Munsterisms in the sentence is the use of *corcán* for Connacht and Ulster *pota*: the isogloss is clear-cut in SIDI.78 where *corcán* is found in all Munster points and on the Galway-Clare border (point 26). Both **dodər’əxt** *dodaireacht* and a variant **daudər’əxt** *damhdairacht* are, however, attested for Ros Muc, Conamara in LFRM. Among the examples cited are *tá an pota ag dodaireacht* and significantly *tá an corcán ag damhdairacht*. The use of *corcán* in this citation in LFRM seems to imply the item is a quotative type similar to Colm’s example under discussion. We can therefore translate this ‘Munster speech’ as:

‘Put the straining basket on the tub, the pot is spluttering’.

Cp. **brim** S *broim* (10.31), **traum** P *trom* (10.32), **k’iŋt’i**: **892M** *cinnte* (10.67).

¹ *agus casag dairí linn ... agus ghabhamar isteach go n-ólamuist deoch. ... thainig cailín óg a’ tí orainn ... d’fhág mise trí ribe as lár mo riubaill istig insa scoitire, agus d’ól sí féin é sin.* (10. Rí na gCat LSE113).

10.2 Lower register; Elicitation

There is far less evidence for a distinctive lower register, which would contrast with normal vernacular and higher register, but it may be present in humorous contexts. A mock keen, several of which are known, is cited here as transcribed by Séamas Mac Aonghusa.

Fear a bhí i nGailli, agus a bhean, agus Dia eidir sinn agus a' t-olc! cailliú an fear agus thosa 'n bhean ghá chaoineadh agus é as cíonn chláir agus duairt sí:

*Muise ' STOUR ó 7 a STOUR eile, agus tú ansin agam.
D'fhága tú 'n bád beag agam agus d'fhága tú 'n bád mór agam!
D'fhága tú 'n pota beag agam agus d'fhága tú 'n pota mór agam!
D'fhága tú 'n t-airgead agam 7 d'fhága tú 'n t-ór agam,
Agus a STOUR ó 7 a STOUR eile!
Sén focal deirionnach a duairt do bhéal liom
'A STOUR POUS fear!'
Ní PHOUSA mise aoinfhear,
Agus ní PHOUSACH aoinfhear mé
Agus ghá BPOUSACH fhéin na'r mhaith na groithe dhó é!
Agus a STOUR ó 7 a STOUR eile! 894C9.*

The use of spellings *stour* and *pous* for *stór* and *pós* indicates a diphthongising phenomenon presumably similar to that termed *barróg* (1.377). There are also examples of retained *ó*, i.e. *mór*, *ór*, *dhó*, *ó*. It is difficult to know in the context of this keen whether the humour of **ou** (or the like) for **o:** is based on the geographical or stylistic or social effect of this particular diphthongisation.¹

Elicitation

In answering queries, apart from obvious literacy influence such as spelling pronunciations (particularly important in some younger speakers), speakers often produce more conservative forms than their actual conversational usage. For instance, verbal first and second conjugational oppositions, which may be syncretised in conversational style, can be retained in query. For examples, see 10.66 below, and examples from SID.46 discussed in 1.420 ff. The focus of this chapter, however, is on folkloric register rather than any usage produced in the more obviously self-monitoring context of linguistic query and which may digress from the vernacular. For some remarks on stylistic use of modern Irish words and other borrowed features, see 11.123 ff.

Notation

In citations from verse, colon ':' indicates assonance, e.g. the *á* vowel in *áit : lá*.

¹ For examples of *ou* for *ó* and *ú* sounds, see also CABI §193(a) v. 4, (b) v. 1, v. 2; and cp. §128(b) v. 4.

Phonology

Vowels

10.3 *ao* > *ai*

The transcription seems to indicate *ao* > *ai* before second-syllable *á* in *Caorán* (element of place-name):

Dá mbeinnse ar CHADHRÁN Chárna ... !04B CABI §45(b) v. 5 (transcribed by 35E) ⇒ **kairɑ:n*.

This is vernacular *ki:ra:n xa:rnə* *Caorán Charna* (and so transcribed in the corresponding line in !869P CABI §45(c) v. 2).

ao > *ai* in *braonach*: *an bhruinneall BHRAIGHEANACH. : ai (droigheanaí) !894C9*; ⇒ **brainəx*.

10.4 *ao(i)* > *e:*

ao > *e:*. Examples are listed here for individual speakers.

869P Note the consistent alternation between *i:* in *taobh* (a vernacular lexeme) and *e:* in *taobhaí* (not found in the vernacular) in the phrase:

ar THAOBH na tulaí talaí TAEBHAÍ ~ ar THAOBH na tulaí talaí TAÉWUÍ **869P**2.7, 330
⇒ *e: hi:w nə toli: tali: te:wi:*.

The *i:* vocalism may reflect an original dative form, *ar thaoibh*, which is in fact the realisation in speaker **04B**'s corresponding phrase:

e: hi:v nə toli: t'æ:nə t'e:nwər (Smré)**04B**
ar THAOIBH na tulaí teanna tréanmhar.

894Cs ... *agus an Mhic, agus an Spiorad NAOMH nē:f Áiméan* **894Cs**;

... *agus an Mhic, agus an Spiorad NAOMH nī:v Áiméan* **894Cs**;

nī:v / nē:w pa:rək' (Suda)**894Cs** *NAOMH Pádraig.*

04B *kuna:n me:l : fe:d : x'e:l' 04B1 Conán MAOL : Séad : chéill.*

Contrast *mə xle:w !04B3 mo CHLÓÍOBH* with *mə xli:* (Asc_n)**19J**.45, *mə xli:w* (Asc_n)**19S**, (Asc_n)**04B** *mo chlóíodh.*

11C The following are examples found in assonance:

re:lfi: réaltaí : te:v TAOBH (Aln)**11C**;
g'e:r géar : mə he:v mo THAOBH : L'e:stə léasta (Aln)**11C**.

The fort and related tale known in literature as *Craobh Chaorthainn* is pronounced variously by speaker **892M** in *Pálás na COILL Chaorthainn*:

pa:l@s ə ki:l' xi:rhən'; pa:l@s ə kai'l' xi:rhən';
pa:l@s nə kai'l' xi:rhən' **892M**tn.

The by-form *ki:l'* may be related (in its vocalism) to *Craobh*, or the Munster pronunciation of *coill*. The vocalic *i:* ~ *ai* variation can be compared with the similar development postulated for *Caol Sáile* > *Coill Sáile* (1.14).

aoi > *e:*, e.g. *BLAÉIDHTEAR !894C9* for *blaoitear*.

11C The following example is found in assonance:

n te:l' : ga re:r' : də v'e:l' : n te:l'
an TSAOIL : dhá réir : do bhéil : an TSAOIL (Abtm)**11C**.

Preposition *faoi* > *fe:* in *FAÉna bhun* **894C2** (in the punch-line of a story).

10.5 éi in éirí

éi > ? *i*: It is unclear whether the note *éirighe* > ‘ighee-ree’ !894C9 (by Séamas Mac Aonghusa) is to be interpreted as *i:r’i*: (the Ulster form) or perhaps more likely (‘)aí:r’i: (vernacular vocalism with southern word accent).

10.6 ío > e:

*í*o is realised as *e*: in assonance in one noted instance (by local poet Tomás Sheonac):

- 894C** *Jí: p’eg’i: N’i: kə:ní:l ūgə:s nū:rē vř’æ:nhēx əs in’i:n’^ā v’æ:ɹ’l’i:n’^ə xə:nə: |*
Sí Peigí Ní Con Fhaola agus Nóra Bhreatnach is inín Bheairtlín Chaena
Jíe:d ə tr’u:r ə b’u:r iəd ə jeha: ma: l’e ma:lə bakə l’e:nə |
Siad an triúr ab fhearr iad a gheothá i mbaile le mála bacaiigh a LÍONADH
: rə:se:v’ə:r : (l’i:n ...) ə m’e:d jín’ !! 894C
: rasaebhear (< receiver) : (líon ...) an méid sin.

The poetic licence here may be an analogical extension of *ao(i) i: > e:* (10.3) perhaps sustained by the similar change *iə > e:*, found today in the vernacular in Gabhla, close to the locus of this song. Cp. *a > a:* in assonance (from the same speaker), 10.11.

10.7 ó > ō:, o: in nasal contexts; ós

Historical *ó* (and lengthened *o*) is retained as *o:* (*ō:*) in nasal contexts. Some examples from individual speakers are listed here (RBÉ *ô*, *û* = *ō:*, *ū:*).

- 894C** has examples of *ó* in song for usual *ú*, *û*, or less often *ô* in his vernacular:
ós mo CHÓIR [for *chomhair*] : *mhóir* ! 894C9; *RÓT* !894C;
STRÓINSE : *góil* 894C9 (in a *rann* or rhyme).
 Examples of *ô* in song (for vernacular *û*) occur in:
RÓT !894C6.722; *CÓIRLE* !894C9.

On the other hand, *ú* and *û* often occur even in assonance with *ó*:

- mo GHRÚ* [for *ghnó*] : *ó* : *mo CHÚIR* [for *chomhair*] : *ó* !894C9.
04B *ə mun ə ʃrə:n’ə ... ən trə:n’ d’ə 04B1 i mbun a SRÓINE ... an TSRÓN de.*
mə xə:n’f.ə (Ams)04B mo CHÓNRA.
gux i:hə də:nɪ: eɹ’ ... (Acb)04B gach oíche DOMHNAIGH ar ...
ro:ĩn’ | !!(Aár)04B ROMHAINN.

11C has the following in assonance:

- ə gō:nɪ: i GCÓNÁI: bpóigín : óigbhean;*
də xu:l do chúl : mū:n’ móin : də ‘hā:n,f’ æ:n’ t̪ə’lɔ:n do SHEANPHEAINTEALÓN : ən’
ir’ wɔ:r’ an Fhir Mhóir (Atb)11C, also, in another rendition, də
‘hā:n,f’ æ:n’ t̪ə’lɔ:n | do SHEANPHEAINTEALÓN : də hrō:ən | do SHRÓN (Atb)11C.

This verse can be compared with **19P**’s directly below.

19P has the following in assonance:

- də xu:l do chúl : mu:n’ móin : də ‘hæ:n,f’ æ:n’ t̪ə’lu:n do sheanpheaintarlón : də*
hrɔ:n do SHRÓN (Atb)P.
də ho:n’ do THÓIN : n’is mu: [sic] n̪os mó : ə t̪’o:l’ wɔ:r’ an tseoil mhóir : o:l ól
(Atb)P.
na:r wɔ:r nar mhór : æs ko:r nə as COMHAIR na (Acn)P.
o:g óg : gən o:wər dhon FHÓMHAR (Acn)P.

Cp. *ko:n’f.ə (Ams)04B, ku:n’f.ə (Atps)43Js cónra < comhra.*

ós is retained in *ós mo chóir* !894C9, for vernacular *as mo chúir* [*chomhair*].

10.8 ú in cúpla, búcla

ú is retained in borrowed indefinite adjective *cúpla* and borrowed *búcla* in:
gə k'ã:ŋ ku:plə m'í:³ | (SGuair)**11C** (also **!19J**) *go ceann CÚPLA mí;*
Ní bean síodú ná BÚCLAÍ ab fhearr liom péin !01S CABI §109(b) v. 14.

10.9 ia > e, i:

ia > e: in *dian* (*déan*) FGB:

rug gə d'e:ə n orhəb ənə ʋo:l' [x2] (Lam)**04B1**
rug go DÉAN orthub ina ghabháil.

ia > i: (as well as regular *iə*) apparently to aid assonance in (Atb)**11C**:

t'ukə 'tūmā:s o: 'b'í: gəs kir'hə fe 'sp'í:k'ə n'f'ín' 'fo:ʔs | ...
tiocthaidh Tomás Ó BIA agus cuirthidh sé spíce ansin fós, ...
 (cp. **sə 'hūmā:f i: 'v'íə d'er fe tər 'm'íəl ə ,wə'stər n də 'xu:əl** | ...
Is a Thomáis Uí BHIA, a deir sé, tá míol i bhfastú in do chúil, ...).

10.10 ua > uə beside nasals

There is evidence for retention of historical *ua* beside nasals. Speakers **10B** and **11C** have **kuən** *cuan* in song but vernacular **kū:n** *cuan*. (I recall speaker **10B**'s vernacular from memory.) Other speakers have **kuən** *cuan* in vernacular also.

10.11 a in cat, mar; a > ɑ:

The **a** in *cat* is often retained in set phrases and proverbs, e.g.

ar m(h)aithe leis héin a níonn an CAT kat crónán 46.VII.4;

s ɑ:r gr'í:m' gə xín'í:n' nɑ ʋɑ: ʋr'í:m' gə xɑ:t P (~ **xut** in first rendition
 of this proverb) *is fhearr greim dhe choinín ná dhá ghreim dhe CHAT.*

In the following rhyme, framed by a prose narrative, the vocative case **ə xit'** *a chait* is perhaps avoided in the last line to maintain the higher register **a** vowel although common case could be attributed to *Cat* being qualified (by *a' Chlamhsáin*):

Ínse scéal, a Shou [i.e. *Shadhbh*],

Ínse scéal, a Bh(i)rou (?),

Ínse scéal, a Rí na GCAT,

Ínse scéal, a CHAT a' Chlamhsáin. **894C9.**

(The transcriptions *gCat* and *Chat* indicate **gat** and **xat** here, in contrast with transcriptions of vernacular *gcut*, *chuit*.)

Similarly, **a** in diminutive *caitín* **ka:t'í:n'** (Acr)**05M**.

a > u in preposition *mar*: **mur** [x2] (Asc)**04B** *mar*.

a > ɑ: in 1pl possessive *ar ɑ:r*. Cp. possessive pronouns (10.75).

a /a/ > ɑ: sometimes (in assonance with *á /ɑ:l/*), e.g.

go'n SÁVRADH (: snámh : deálra !894C9; 'na n-ÁIGNE : ɑ: !894C9.

Cf. *a > ɑ:* in syncopated forms of *tarraing* (10.34).

10.12 ea > io; ei in bheinn

ea > io in *cearc* ~ *ciorc* in *tá'n CHIORC agus tá'n chearc fhraoí !894C9.*

ei > ei in *bheinn* (i.e. **v'eín'**, 1sg conditional of the verb *bí*) in song, where the

diphthong **ei** is more common than in vernacular (generally **v'ɛn'**, 10.69).

10.13 **o, io**

o > *ó* in the prefix *ró-* (10.54), for example, in the common run:

gən 'rɔ:vr'ijə **04B** *gan RÓ-bhriseadh.*

ai for vernacular *oi* in *glaine*, e.g.

a : *Loch Coirib a chuir i NGLAINE, ɲlā:n'ə !11C;*

Sin is GLAIN' uaire (MMrc)**894C9**.

io > *ea* in *diongbháilte* > *DEANGAMHÁILTÍ* !894C9 influenced by *teangamháil*, cp. *fear mo theangmhála* (Sgbf)**869P**, *fear a dhiongbhála* FGB s.v. *diongbháil*.

for- > **for-** ~ **fuər-** generally in vernacular but there is what appears to be a mixed variant containing **foər-** in:

'foər, f'k'e:l ~ for'f'k'e:l (Ascñ)**04B** *FORSCEÁL.*

10.14 **u(ɪ) ~ ú(ɪ)**

u > *ú* in *CÚIRTÍNÍ* !894C9 ('curtains'); note *curtínad[h]* (genitive plural) and *cúirtín* DIL, *cúirtín* (*cúirtín*) FGB. This word has not been recorded in conversation, where borrowed 'screen' or 'curtains' are used.

Cp. *i bhfus*: *Shiúil mise 'WUS agus táll* !894C9 (⇒ **wus**), whereas *ú-us* (⇒ (**w**)u:(ə)s) is the form noted in **894C**'s vernacular.

10.15 **Short post-tonic vowels; ə > Ø**

Note *-ean-* > *-ín(-)* with replacement of ending in *Eileanór* also *Eilíonóir* > *Eibhlínóir* ~ *Eibhlín Óir* **894C**6.704, also *Eidhleanór*. Cp. EModÍr borrowed proper names with double (i.e. phrasal) stress (e.g. McManus 1994: 344).

Elision of vernacular unstressed schwa occurs. There is an instance of *Páise* for expected *Páis* in *a' méadú ar a Pháise* ! CABI §379(a) v. 15 perhaps influenced by *méadú ar mo Pháis-se* v. 10 (the latter may synchronically also be interpreted as *Páise*; cp. common *crann na páise*).

Elision is common of unstressed **hə**, i.e. **-hə** > Ø (often avoiding an extra syllable in versification):

oíche: *oí* !894C9;

ko:ra: sunəntə | ə t'a:xt gən i: | (Acb)**04B**

comhrá sonanta ag teacht dhon OÍCHE;

ɽu:ms ən i: (Ams)**04B** *liomsa an OÍCHE;*

choíche: **g'i:l' gcill : p'el'ri:n's peilearaíns : hri:d' thríd : ma il'ən tu**
r'i:f xi: má fhilleann tú aríst CHOÍCHE !11Ct;

choíchín: *í* : *CHOÍN* !869P CABI §201 v. 4;

cp. *scáth(a)*: **... v'i: bræt er' ə skɑ:ʔəɑ : ā::n : ā:ā'ɽ : lɑ: !!**(FCúil)**894C**

... bhí brat ar a SCÁTH : ann : áit : lá;

Go bhfaighinn clai nó tom a dhéanfadh SCÁTH sga:,

... Dhruíd mé fúithi ag iarraidh SCÁTHA sga:hə, (sns)**869P**ZCP158;

snáithe: cp. *cheannaí SNÁTH*, !894C9.

Similarly, the nominative occurs in genitive environment in second declension nouns, e.g.

gur oscail croí na HEÁGLAIS' leis !894C9;

ar fud na TÍR' , : i: (monosyllable) !894C9.

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Cp. *Ag túin Sceighirde MÓIR' thiar ... , ... ; ~ ag túin Sceighirde MÓIRE, !894C9.*

Another example of schwa omission is *úll* for vernacular *úlla*:

UBHALL cúrtha !894C9, ÚLL geimhreadh (Abtm)11C5322; genitive plural gáirdín UBHALL !894C9, gairdín u:l !11C gáirdín ÚLL.

Cp. genitive plural *úlla* in *ar nós na n-ÚBHLA mílse !894C9.*

Agentive *-éar* occurs, for vernacular *-éara*, in *bainicéar* and *buitléar* in:

*v'i: ŋ ba:n'ək' e:r kl'ijf' ... (Abr)04B bhí an BAINICÉAR cliste ... ;
ə mə wit' əl' e:r !37J i mo BHUITLÉAR.*

Cp. agentive *-aire* > *-ər'* in:

ə f'æxtər' hi:r loxrən 04B1 an TEACHTAIRE Thír Lochrann.

A rare example of syncope (from a synchronic point of view) occurs in an over-long line in singing from *!(Abtm)881J:*

*əgəs 'luŋg' e:r' ə' wə:r-g' ə' l'e v'e' d'i:nə' pl'e:e;fur' yū:in' |
Agus long ar an BHFARRAIGE le bheith ag déanamh pléisiúr dhúinn.*

10.16 Unstressed final *-ə* > *-i:*; *-Ø* > *-ə*

Replacement of schwa by *-i:* occurs. Examples from **894C**:

adjective: *Chuir sé scéala DEANGAMHÁILTÍ ! 9.*

adjective, *Ba CÓRTHAÍ dhó ... ! 9, Ba CHÓRTHAÍ go do dhream ! 6,*

comparative: *na trí ní 's GASTAÍ fuair ! 9.*

VN genitive: *Rachainn i gcúntúirt mo CHAILLTÍ leat (Aer)6,*

contrast *i gcúntúirte mo cháillte ! 9.*

Cf. 'Sandhi' (10.44) and 'Verbal Adjective' (10.67).

Final schwa is added in:

*'Dar mo BHREITHE,' ráite Goull ! CABI §510 v. 32 (cf. breith Dinn);
i GCÚNTÚIRTE mo cháillte !894C9;*

cp. *dhá gcaitheá DÚTHRACHTA mhaith léi !894C9.* Cf. 'Epenthesis' (10.40).

Consonants

10.17 *b* > *m* (> *Ø*); *t* retained

b > *m* sometimes in *Bíobla*, e.g.

nach dtiúrthainnse an MBÍOBLA ən m' i:blə !05M,

Thiúrfainnse 'n MBÍOBLA !894C6,

Thóigfínnse suas an MBÍOBLA !869P CABI §45(a) v. 6.

It seems this use has spread from common eclipsed *doir / ar / sa mBíobla* (despite *doir a' Bíobla Naofa S*). Apparently > *núobla* in:

*Ach dúirt an sagart nuair a léigh sé AN BÍOBLA l'e: je ə 'nū:bələ nar ...
(Afl)03C,*

perhaps with initial *n-* from *naofa*.

Palatal *t* is retained in the genitive of *pít* in this rhyme:

Gur amúigh tigh Éamainn Chite x'itə

ag bualadh PITE p'it' ə

tá mo ghrá (Asór)P.

Cp. *an phit' !869P CABI §170(a) v. 6* corresponding to *ŋ f'ij* SID.46 II.5a.

10.18 bh (unstressed); mh > m

Palatal stressed final *bh* > *b'* in plural **f' iənəb' e:r' ən** ZCP152 *Fiannaibh Éireann* (more often **f' iənəv' e:r' ən** ZCP), *mnáibh mra:b'* (Msc)03V (10.50).

Unstressed palatal final *v'* is heard in:

Go saora tú sinn ó gach uile olc,

Ar a námhaid, AINIM, æ'n' ðv' | agus choirp. !05M (*æ'n' ðv'* is perhaps a corrupt form of *ainim* (older by-form of *anam*); there may be influence from the noun *ainimh*, but cp. *ainimh* > *ainm* Tomás Ó Máille (1927b: 177));

ru:n kr' ed' əv' (MP)894Cs *rún CREIDIMH*.

Unstressed palatal final *bh* > *v* in:

er' xu:ləv ən v' æ:ŋk' (Abr)04B *ar CHÚLAIBH an bheainc* (of a commercial bank).

So also presumably in *fearabh na Draoi* !852S.

bh in epenthetic clusters retains consonantal realisation in:

g' a:n ga:rəv eg' ə wil' | (Lam)04B1 *gleann GARBH ag an bhfuil*.

Note speaker 04B's ... *ga:rəw* ... in his explanation of this lay where he repeats some parts verbatim.

mh > *m* apparently in *cunhartha* > *CÚMRTHA* !894C9 (perhaps influenced by *cumtha*), also *cúrtha* !894C9.

10.19 Vowels before bh, mh

abhá Verbal noun *gabháil*, in vernacular **gol'**, is commonly **gol'** in higher register, e.g.

's iomú stróinse a' GÓIL a' tslighe 894C9 (in *rann*);

... ə ba:s do:b' ə ɣo:l' ə'n' i:s (Acn)39J

(*níor lig*) *an bás dóibh a GHABHÁIL aníos*.

Cp. *Ach beidh mé GÓIL lé mo stór* !894C9 (glossed as *a' réiteach go maith leis*).

Speaker 06C has both **dol** and **gaul'** in:

eg' dol ə'nun ... eg' ə gaul' hri: mə xri:sə ... (Atps)06C

ag DUL anonn ... , ... ag GABHÁIL thrí mo chroísa ...

amhC **au** in:

amhlaidh in ... *mé OULA' seal* !894C6;

samhradh in **fa:d saurə** (Alp)03V *fad SAMHRADH*.

omhr > **o:** in *comhra* > *cónra clár* !894C9; **mə xo:ŋ.ɾə** (Ams)04B *mo chónra*. Speaker 04B's form in a narrative text agrees with the more common vernacular realisation: **kunɾ.ɾə** 04B. Note **kun^d.ɾə 'xə'lər'** !!(Alp)39D *conra chláir*.

Also **er' xo:ɾən' [-N' ?] or'** !!39D *ar CHOMHRAINN óir*.

eimhr **g' i:v' ə** 04B (vernacular), but **g' i:v' ə** (Ams)04B *GEIMHREADH*.

oimhi By-form *doimhin*, general in Munster, occurs (for vernacular *domhain*) in:

go DOIMHIN-MHOCH Dé Dúna !869P CABI §138(b) v. 6;

go DOIMHINMHOCH gə 'dai'n' wox ar maidin (Anl)13P;

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DOIMHIN-MHOCH, DOIMHIN-CEO !01S CABI §158(a) v. 1, 4,
DOIMHIN-CHEO !00M (b) v. 3.¹

uimhn Note *Muimhnigh main'ə* (plural of *Muimhneach*, with the same vowel as *Laighnigh*) in:

Lain'ə or ʃeʃən oɡəs main'ə 04B1
'*Laighnigh, ar seisean, agus MUIMHNIGH*'.

Unstressed final palatal *-imh* > *i*: in *creidimh* (genitive, also *creidmhe* historically), for vernacular nominative and genitive *creide*, in a realisation in vernacular:
le díocas CREIDÍ. 894C9 (prose).

Presumably influenced by the higher-register connotations of *creideamh*, cp. *creidimh kr'ed'əv* (MP)894Cs (10.18).

10.20 *dh, gh* > *g, ch*

gh > *g* in *leoghanta* > *leogánta* !894C9. The form **gagər'i:n' gagairín** has been recorded in the following run (Smré):

04B **ʔe gu gair'i:n'i | ʔe ga:ɡər'i:n'i | ʔe f'æ:di:l' ən' æ:r ə'nor' oɡəs ʔe fun**
ə'n' æ:r ə'n' iər (*ag éisteacht*) *le guth gadhairíní, le GAGAIRÍNÍ, le feadaíl an fhear anoir agus le fonn an fhear aniar.*

Intervocalic **g** here may be an example of hardening of the velar fricative, i.e. from *gadhairín*. Such hardening (historical **ɣ** > **g**) is known from the higher register in late stressed verse tradition. Perhaps related to *gagairín* FFG; historically *gadhar, gaghar* < Old Norse 'gagar(r)' with medial [ɣ] (Marstrander 1915: 112; Schulze-Thulin 1996: 96, 105).

10.21 Vowels before *dh, gh*

Vowel *ui* before stressed final palatal *-gh* > *i*: in *amuigh*:
wɑ:m e:n ə'mi: [X ?] (Abr)04B *Mhám Éan AMUIGH*.

Vowels before (intervocalic) palatal *gh*

ai > **ɑ:** in *claidhmhthí* (plural of *claidheamh*) in (Aln)11C:

tɑ: 'lɔ:XRən' ʃi: ɑ:n ə d'ər ʃi: ər 'xlæf'i: 'L'i:n' | oɡəs laif' ə 'ti:l' eg' ə
m'ín' ə 'wɑ:r | Tá lóchrann sí ann, a deir sí, ar CHLAIDHMHTHÍ linn agus
laidhf [< life] *an tsaoil ag an mineabhár* [< men o' war];

also pronounced as vernacular in a separate rendition:

... ər 'xlæ:v'i: 'L'i:n' | (Aln)11C5367 ar CHLAIDHMHTHÍ linn.

Spelt *cláimhthí* and *cláimhí* in !869P CABI §240(d) v. 2 and (f) v. 3, the latter corresponding to **klɑ:v'i** !869PZCP155.

ai > **ai** in *faigh-*, e.g. **N'i wai** (Ab)03S *ní BHFUIGHIDH*.

ei > **e:** in *FEIDHME f'e:m'ə: chéile* (sns)ZCP161.

ui > **i:** in *luighe* (for vernacular *loighe lai*):

do LUÍGHE thú !894C6; *LUÍ: i:* !894C9;

f'ɛʃK'əs le: s li: v'l' iənə (run)895M *feisteas lae is LUÍ bhliana*.

¹ Corresponds to *déan-mhoch* in CABI §614 v. 2 transcribed by Liam Mac Coisteala. The same transcriber has '*dian-mhoch* pron[ounced] dyn-mhoch' in CABI §158(b) v. 1. One can take 'dyn' to be actually *doimhin*.

The sequence *uaidhe* is clearly disyllabic in:

tos nə L'e:m'ə br'ik'ə buə.i: (Ascn)**19S**
ag tomhas na léime brice BUAIDHE.

10.22 Vowels before nonpalatal *gh*

ogha > **auu** (which one can interpret as (reflecting) /**auə**/ but perhaps simply lengthening under stress (similar to *barróg*) common in **11C**'s speech) in:

'**tauu gox 'b'i: 'rauu gox 'd'i:** (run)**11C TOGHA** *gach bí, ROGHA* *gach dí.*

Unstressed *-adh* > **u:** before consonants (in the same phrase) or before pausa.

Noun: *codladh*, *ba mhian liom CODLÚ d'fháil* **!894C9**,
gan CHODLADH gən xolu: dá dhíona' ánn (Apme)**39Jt**;
deireadh, *tús 7 DEIRIÚ mo shaoil* **!00M CABI** §151(a) v. 2, cp.
d'er'u: in vernacular sandhi in *deireadh a shaoil / an tsaoil*.
ionadh, *cé HÍONÚ dhó* **!894C9**,
Cén T-IONADH na f'ínū: nə fír óga (FCúil)**11C5259**.

Verbal noun: **e 'xri:w,ski:l'u:** *S é a CHRAOBHSCAOILEADH*, a word from the religious register;
is mé ' FEISTIÚ mo bháid **!894C CABI** §549 v. 1 (cp. *feistiú aon chinn* **894C4**, 14 s.v. *aoncheann*), otherwise vernacular *feiste*, but FGB *feistiú*;
a' MOLÚ dhuit **!894C**;
er xrumu f'is do: (Lam, prose)**04B** *ar CHROMADH síos dó*;
'Gus lúng ar an bhfarráige leihí bheith ag SÚGRADH v'e su:gru' dhúinn (Abtm)**11C**.

Historically unstressed *-adh*, which in vernacular has become stressed and is realised as *-v*, is lost in *dligheadh* in:

ní bhéarthainn ort aon DLIGHEADH d'í: | **!06C**;
f'ukə d'í: gə he:r'ə (SGuair)**11C** *Tiochaidh DLIGHEADH go hÉire.*

Unstressed *-ghe* (in epenthesis from *-rghe*) > **əji:** in:

sər'əji: f'í:n | **04B1** *SUIRGHE Fíonn* (only example).

Historically one would expect **-r'əjə** here. Retention of **-əj-** may be an indication that these vowels which developed in epenthetic clusters, absent in EModIr orthography and prosody, were treated differently to other unstressed vowels. The attested **-r'əji:** may be a blend of vernacular **-r'í:** and historical **-r'əjə**.

10.23 Unstressed *-idh, -igh* > *-i:*

Some examples of *-idh, -igh* > *-i:* are:

852S *dadaidh:* *gun DADAÍ ánn* **!852S**.
894C *pheacaigh:* *in vocative Fill ... a PHEACAÍ' ghránna* **!894C9**.
04B *Domhnaigh:* **gux i:hə do:ni: er' fud ...** (Acb)**04B**
gach oíche DOMHNAIGH ar fud
d'impigh: **d'imp'í: | ən ...** (Lam, prose)**04B** *D'IMPIGH, an ...*.
 Vocative masculine:
fhathaigh: **ə:i: ɣrə:nə |** (Smbb)**04B** *a FHATHAIGH ghránna*.
chléirigh: **... x'l'er'i d'er'fə** **04B1** *'... a CHLÉIRIGH,' a deir sé.*

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ə xʲe:rʲi yu:rʲə nə sə:lʲəmʲ glʲikʲ 04B1

a CHLÉIRIGH dhúir na sailm glic.

Cp. *bhodaigh*: ə wodi: or ʃeʃən (Smbb)04B

'a BHODAIGH,' ar seisean; (as in vernacular).

Cp. *óglaigh*: o:gli: wo:rʲ 04B1 a ÓGLAIGH mhóir (cp. *óglaoch* FGB).

Variants of the common phrase *Éireannaigh bhréagaigh bhradaigh* (genitive) are:

-ə -ə -i: fə:mʃə bə:l'hə e:rʲə'nə br'e:gə vrəʲ:di: | (Smbb)04B

faighimse baladh Éireannaigh bréagaigh BHRADAIGH.

-i: -i: -i: ə'n e:rʲə'ni: vr'e:gi: vrəʲ:di: 35E (son of 04B).

-a' -a' -a' an Éireanna' bhréaga' bhrada' 852SbTS122, 124.

-ə -ə -ə ə'n e:rʲə'nə vr'e:gə vrəʲ:də 889P

an Éireannaigh bhréagaigh bhradaigh (i.e. vernacular rules).

-igh -ch -ch an Éireannaigh bhréagach bhradach 864MLL155.

-ə -əx -əx ə'n e:rʲə'nə vr'e:gəx əd'ər ʃe vrəʲ:dəx 889P

an Éireannaigh bhréagach, a deir sé, bhradach.

-ə -i: -əx ə'n e:rʲə'nə vr'e:gi: vrəʲ:dəx 889P *an Éireannaigh BHRÉAGAIGH bhradach.*

Cp. -i: -ə fə:m bə:l'hə nə he:rʲən ort ə vr'e:gi: vrəʲ:də | 11C

faighim baladh na hÉireann ort, a BHRÉAGAIGH bhradaigh!

10.24 *th* > f, xʲ

Intervocalic broad *th* > f in *srufa:n* (Asc)04B *sruthán*.

Initial palatal *thea-* > xʲa- in *a' xʲæ:ŋgəwa:lʲ 04B1 á theangamháil*, lenited form of *tʲæ:ŋgəwa:lʲ 04B1 teangamháil*. It appears that xʲ- may be used here to retain the higher-register palatal marking of the initial consonant and that in so doing the context of the rule which realises palatal *th-* as xʲ- before back vowels is extended to front æ.

Medial palatal *th* > xʲ in *gi:xʲ ə nʲæ:s* !(brother of 21J) *gaoithe aneas*.

There is, apparently, h-insertion in *Tír Lochlann* which seems to be the base for *tʲi:hər loxrən* in:

sər'hi f'un ə'r ʃeʃən gə tʲi:hər loxrən 04B1

'*Suirí Fionn*,' ar seisean, 'go Tír Lochlann',

gə tʲi:hər loxrən 04B1 go Tír Lochlann,

Li: a'mədə:n wə:rʲ(ʲ) tʲi:hər loxrən nə g'olʲ ʃi: (Lam)04B1

Laoi Amadáin Mhóir Tír Lochlann na gCeol Sí.

Contrast:

ə dʲi:r loxrən 04B1 p12 i DTír Lochlann,

ə tʲæxtərʲ hi:r loxrən [sic] 04B1 an teachtaire THÍR Lochlann.

There is perhaps some blending with *tíortha*, cp. *æʃ tʲi:rhə fa:lʲ* (Lam)04B *as tíortha Fáil*; and *críocha* (e.g. Co. Clare *Críocha Lochlainn* (LSE317 §146)), *críche*, e.g. *ə xri: xəʃəntə xr'i:hə fa:lʲ 04B1 a* (vocative) *chroí choiseanta Chríche Fáil*. The form *tʲi:hər* is the only example noted which may correspond to the hypercorrect intervocalic h-insertion noted in Cois Fharraige, 'when explaining words', e.g. *rohu:n* < *ru:n rón* ICF p. 105 n. 1.

10.25 *z* > z; *sh* > Ø

English *z* is realised as *z* in:

pauze: (Abul)03S *PABHZAE*; 'ro:z,v'e:lʲi:nʲ (Asc)04B *RÓZBHÉILÍN*.

Other speakers have **rois-** here, e.g. **roisə m'æ'lə** (Asc)11C *rósa meala*.

10.26 *n*

n > *m* in *Héilean: le HÉLUM* 7 *fearabh na Draoi* !852S; also **he:l'ən** SID.46.I.60.

Unlenited palatal *n* is lenited, i.e. **ŋ** > **n'**, following a higher-register long vowel in:

ə kid' p'ekd'u:r' 'jæ:sə tɑ:rn'i : gɑ:rdɑ:l' !11C1660
a cuid peictiúir dheasa TAIRNTHÍ is í ag gardáil béal an chuan.

Cp. palatal *ll* > *l* (10.30).

n is lost with diphthongisation in *canrán* > *mo CHOURÁN* !894C9.58, indicating ***kaura:n**.

n is replaced by *t* in *smaoiniú* in:

Ó rinníos SMAOITIÚ faoi do chúis !881J CABI §1 v. 2;
Nach aít na SMAOÍTÍGHTHE thaganns thríomsa !894C CABI §90 v. 1.

10.27 *Cn-* ~ *Cr-*

Historical *n* can be retained, for vernacular **r**.

894C has **Cr-** in vernacular but both **Cr-** and **Cn-** in song, e.g.

ə ɣnū:f !(FCúil) *a GHNÚIS*.

04B In **04B**'s usage *n* seems to be retained more often than in the vernacular. Examples:

Cn **gə ɡni:u:l' m'e** (Ams) *go GNAÍÚIL mé, t'i:n'ə knā:v' a:n* (Amit) *tinte CNÁIMH ann,*
xnɑ:wə | (Asp) *CHNÁMHA, knik'* (Asp) *CNOIC*.

pə:g ə vñɑ: ~ vñɑ: ~ vn(ə); (Lam) *póg a MHNÁ*.

Cr **kahər' mə vřɑ:** (Lam) *cathair mo MHNÁ*.

gə xahər' ə vřɑ: (Lam, prose) *dho chathair a MHNÁ*.

There is both higher-register article realisation and **Cn-** retention in:

er' hi:v' əŋ xnik' (Suda) *ar thaoibh an CHNOIC*.

11C has general **Cr-** in vernacular but both **Cr-** and **Cn-** in recited songs, and some **Cn-** in tale runs, e.g.

'mnā: ə 'jɪ:ñə 'kn'æ:stə ! mná a dhéanamh CNEASTA;

madraí agus eachraí mar bhí aige: CNOGAIRE, CNAGAIRE, krügər' ə krägər' ə >>

knūgər' ə knāgər' ə Sídín, Suaitín ... tn.

Cp. also **ɡnū:əxtɑ:l'** tn *GNÓTHACHTÁIL*, in conversation: **ɡnā:s GNÁS**.

19J has the following examples:

kn'æ:həxi (Aif) *CNEADHTHACHAÍ; 'm'i:n' xni'ij* (Asc)45 *MÍNCHNIS*.

Words, or certain meanings of words, connected with the higher register can retain *n* in clusters for expected vernacular *r*. For instance, forms of the word *gníomh* can show a semantic split. Speaker **875T** has general **Cn-** > **Cr-** (in transcriptions), but he has *n* in *gníomh* 'heroic deed'. For example:

chonnaic siad an GNÍÚ a bhí dianta ag Fíonn, na GNÍOMHANNAÍ seo 875T1,
 which contrasts with his *gríomh* '(turf) clamp'.

There is a possible example of hypercorrection involving *sr-* > *sn-* in *sreabh* > (*t*)*sneamh* !852S. Hypercorrection would be most likely to occur based on ambiguous surface *tsr-* being interpreted as derived from radical *tsn-*:

insa TSNEAMH, genitive plural na SNEAMH síor [with note *SNEAMH = loch*].

One can propose **tn-** in semantically, phonologically and mutationally similar high-register **sə tna:w** (Acn)39J *sa tsnámh* (10.105) as a possible basis of analogy:

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sa tsnámh sə tr̥a:w : sə t̥n̥a:w (preferred high register) :: *sa tsreabh sə tr̥'aw : y*
y (preferred high register) → *sə t̥n̥'aw*

10.28 *ng > ŋ*

ng is mostly realised as **ŋ**, before pausa, in speaker **11C**'s run as follows:

... *áit a dtáinig an chéad LOING, ə x̣'e:d l̥iŋ' | an chéad laoch, agus an chéad*
ghaiscíoch go hÉirinn an chéad lá ariamh. Anis bhí sé ar bhruach na
farraige is ní raibh sé i ndan a ghoil níos foide gan bád nú LONG. l̥uŋ |.

Also *ə 'x̣'e:d 'l̥iŋg' | 11C an chéad loing* (13.14, line 20).

10.29 *m- > m-, b-*

Initial *m* is retained in *móiméad* in a local song from (NUath)**11C**:

Níor thóig sí ach chúig MHÓIMÉAD wu:m'e:d ó d'fhága sí Cill Rónáin.

m > b in *Mumhan* (perhaps influenced by *bū:n buan*):

go Clár Geal BUMHAN [sic] !894C9 (noted twice).

In words with nasalised vowels, initial variation of *m ~ b* is perhaps more common (especially given the ambiguous initial in the lenited nominative *an Mhumhain*); furthermore genitive *na Mumhan* might be interpreted as genitive plural *na mBumhan* (cp. historical plural of other provinces). Cp. *Eoin > Búan* in *Naomh BÚAN [sic] Baiste* (MP)**894C9**.

10.30 *l, ll*

Nonpalatal *l > r* in *kor nə b'ín'* (Acb)**04B** *Cor na Binn < Col* [i.e. *coll* or *coill*]
na Binn, perhaps influenced by *Corr*, e.g. *Corr na Móna*.

Vernacular palatal nonlenited *l* (**l'**) is lenited (**l̥'**) in (EModIr by-form *buachail*)
buachail(l)ín in:

na'x um̥i: buəxəl'i:n' br'ɑ: lu:nfər sp'e:r'u:l' !!894C
nach iomú BUACHAILLÍN breá lúthmhar spéiriúil.

10.31 *Vowel + nn/ll > short or long vocoids*

The historical short vowel quantity may be retained. Examples from individual speakers are given here.

869P For *dorŋ dorn* in SID.46, see 1.422.

- 04B** *Fionn*, *ser'hi f'un* | *Suirí FIONN, f'un ma: ku:l'* | (x5) *FIONN mac Cúil*,
Finn: *ən' in ogəs ən' e:n'* | *an FHIONN agus an Fhéinn* (often; note the
short: prevocalic position, before *agus*),
in' wə ku:l' | *a FHINN mhac Cúil*,
ɛfj:n' wak f'in' | *a Oisín mhac FINN*;
long: *in' v'ə ku:l'* | *a Fhionn mhic Cúil*, *ser'əji: f'in* | | *suirghe Fionn*.
Note that the long vowel occurs in vocative and genitive contexts in
the (old nominative) form *F(h)ionn* for **04B**.
Other words: *gol mək mu:r'n'ə* [x2] | *GOLL Mac Moirne*,
orsə gol | (x1) *arsa GOLL*;
o:n m'in'ə ɣor'əv' | *ón MBINN Ghoirbh*;
hə:n' ʃe | *THEANN sé*; *kor nə b'ín'* (Acb) *Cor na BINN*;
t'in' TINN: əŋ' k'in' un CINN (Acb); *b'ín' BINN: k'in' CINN* (Acb).

Note the disyllabic form of *chaill* in:

nuər' ə xowəl' [xuwəl' ?] **fe a:n da: ɣlun' lu:d nə gos** (Lam)
nuair a chaill sé ón dá ghlúin lúd na gcos.

- 12S** *ea* (in proverb and school rhyme) **f'íl'ən ə f'á:l / f'æ:l er' ə v'æ:ləðor'**
Filleann an FEALL ar an bhfealladóir;
v'í: ŋ' kr'et:ur'i: m'á:lta / m'æ:lta l'e n'í:hə mar fin' əgəs
xuə f'i: f'æ:x *Bhí an créatúirín MEALLTA le níthe mar sin agus chuaigh sí isteach.*
- oi* **ər tu: rín' ə m brim'** *S ar tú a rinne an BROIM?* said humorously (to a child); a humorous anachronism or external dialect form.
- 19P** has the following in assonance: **bos bos : korp' coirp : k'íl' CILL : f'á:l feall** (Acn)P, the last two corresponding to possibly original *ceall : feall* (Ó Coighligh 1987: 134.14–16).

10.32 Lengthening and diphthongisation

Vowels can be lengthened or diphthongised in words or in contexts, or can undergo different types of lengthening or diphthongisation, other than those found in the vernacular.

- io* > **iə** *ghioll* > *mar GHIALL ort* !852S (now only *mar gheall ja:l ort*).¹
- io* > **u:** *Fionn: ən f'in' i:n' əx f'u:n* 04B1 *an Finíneach FIONN;*
liom often, e.g. *f'ums ən i:* (Ams)04B *LIOMSA an oíche;*
bə v'ín' ə l'ū:m tořən !!(Aár)04B *ba bhinne LIOM torann.*
- a* > **au** *ball* > *ina BHOULL-acra* !894C9;
canrán > *mo CHOURÁN* !894C9.58.
- o* > **au** *contráth* FGB > *ar a' GCOUNTRÁTH* !894C9.58, cp. **c(r)ón-tráth*
koun'tra:h IWM §294 n. 1;
go mo DHROUM [< *dhrom*] : *LOUM* [< *lom*] (: *deabhait* [< *doubt*] : *domhain*) !894C6.
 Cp. anecdote of dialect humour:
ka:d ə rín' ə traum b'iq !P *-Cad a rinne TROM Bid?*
- i* > **i:** **tə 'lɔ:XRən' 'f'i: ə'n ə d'er f'i' er 'xlá:f' i: 'l' i:n'** | (Aln)11C
Tá lóchrann sí ann, a deir sí, ar chlaidhmhthí LINN.
- oi:* for **ki:l' ~ kai:l' coill** (*craobh*) in *COILL Chaorthainn*, see 10.4.
- ui* > **ai** *uaighim* (< *uaim*) : *an chúil DAIGHNN* (< *doinn*) : *mo DHRAIGHM* (< *dhroim*) !894C9 indicating **dain'*, **yraim'*.
- uai* > **ai** *uaim* > **waim'**, e.g. *UAIDHIM* 894C6 (x3); not always in assonance with **ai**, e.g.
d'im' ə f'i waim' (Amit)04B *d'imigh sí UAIM.*
 This diphthongal realisation is notated in the 2sg with *y* indicating **wait'* in:
gurb é grá buan na hAilp' a bhí YT [< *uait*] !03V CABI §120 v. 3.

¹ Cp. **ə ŋ' iə:l er'**, **ə ŋ' u:l er'** *i ngioll air* GCF p. 227 §414.

10.33 *r* > *Ṛ*; *r* retained

Trilled *Ṛ* may be used in emphasis, perhaps also adding to higher register, e.g.

gə m' æ:nɪ:r ɪt' ɛr ʃɛʃən | ɪn' wə ku:l' | ə ri: nə v' iən gə l' ɛ:r' 04B1
 'go mbeannaíthe ar dhuit,' ar seisean, 'a Fhinn mhac Cúil, a Rí na bhFiann
 go léir!'

Speaker **11C** has *Ṛ* in both registers but tokens of *Ṛ* have been noted particularly common in his recitation at the beginning of songs. The following examples come from the first verse of two songs:

jə:rhətʃ ʃi: nə kloxə gla:sə xə re: ʃe bə'rən fa:tə (Asp)11C
ghearrthadh sí na clocha glasa chomh réidh le BARRANN fata.
əŋ' x' e:d,sko gən xrin'həxt s ... (Abtm)11C
an chéad scoth dhen CHRUIITHNEACHT is ...

Final *r* is retained in the 1 and 2 plural possessive pronouns, e.g. *ər bhur* (cf. 10.75).

rr > *rh* in *garrdha* ? > *nə garhi*: **19S** and (Asc) **19J** perhaps *na garrdhaí* (corresponds to *thrí ghartha* (M. and T. Ó Máille 1905: 94 §Ic)).

Palatal initial *r* in lenited position is indicated for *rún* (cp. *ruan*) in:

A RIÚN, A RIÚIN, gluas' an [i.e. un] siúil liom !03V CABI §102 v. 2.

10.34 Vowels before unlenited *rr*, before *dr*

ai > *ɑ:* in syncopated forms of *tarrainn*:

go DTÁIRNEÓIT sé !894C9; a THÁIRNÍONNS !894C9;
shráid : THÁIRNÍONNS !894C9;

ə kɪd' p' ekd' u:r' jæ'sə tɑ:r'n' i: : gɑ:rdɑ:l' !11C1660
a cuid peictiúir dheasa TAIRNTHÍ is í ag gardáil béal an chuan.

ai > *i:* in the comparative of *ard*, apparently indicated in:

Badh é 'n fear ba HAOIRD' é ... !894C9.

o > *o:* in *ar BÓRD* **894C** (vernacular *er' baurd ar bord*).

Vowels before voiced stop followed by *r*

The prepositional pronouns of the preposition *idir* were noted in the vernacular with short stressed *a* only; an example of *ɑ:* occurs in *eádrainn* **!894C6**.

10.35 Miscellaneous phonology**Palatality**

aipigid, apaigid DIL > *apa* in *Níor APA fós mo chiall !852S* (vernacular *aipigh*).

gluasid DIL, *gluais* FGB and **869P3** > *gluas* in:

A riún, a riúin, GLUAS' an [i.e. un] siúil liom !03V CABI §102 v. 2.

pípa, píp (píb, píba) DIL > *pípe* in:

Bhí a PÍPE p' i:p' ə mar an eala ... (Asc)11C.

Historical palatal quality is retained in **04B1**:

t' æŋgəwɑ:l' TEANGMHÁIL, and lenited **ɑ' x' æŋgəwɑ:l' dhá THEANGMHÁIL**.

trí preposition generally **hri:** including 1sg **hri:m**, but **tr' -** in:

xuə ɣɑ: hr' i:n ʃi:ʃ tr' i:m !S chuaigh dhá thrían síos TRÍOM.

Generally the verb *tosáim* has medial *s* but there is *ʃ* in a possible anticipatory slip of the tongue in:

teʃi:mʃ orhə ˈʃa:rkə (Asp)**11C** *TOSAÍMSE uirthi ag dearcadh*.
Also ' *dtoiseach* **894C6**.

Assimilation

Eoin > *Búan* before *b-* in *Naomh BÚAN* [sic] *Baiste* (MP)**894C9**.

Metathesis

malairt unmetathesised (for vernacular *malrait*, etc.), as verbal noun, in:

mɑ: n' i:n tu mə wəlɔrt' (Atsp)**06C** *má níonn tú mo MHALAIRT*.

ordlaí > *aulri*: (Ascen)**19J.45** (plural of *ordlach*) perhaps a once-off realisation.

Metanalysis

Eibhlínóir (often) ~ *EIBHLÍN ÓIR* [often] **894C6.704**.

10.36 Other developments

fáidh may be the base for *fáil* in *lé FÁIL* [sic] *ná file cur síos* **894C** (perhaps influenced by *file*).

kahəɾəxə nə f' e:n ə **!11C** *catharacha na Féinne* contrasts with, in the equivalent passage, *CARRACHAÍ NA FÉILE* **!894C9**.

oir retained, for vernacular *feil*, in *lé faitíos na HOIRIMISNE* [sic] *éirighe dhúinn*, **!894C9**.

Forms related to *fogas*, *foisce* and *meisde* may underlie various realisations, in the same passage from *Seachrán Chearúláin* (Ascen):

ju:n' ʃi:n' gort səkər nax m' eʃn ə ʏo: no:n' i:n' fri: 19S

dheamhan sin gort socair NACH MEISNE [?] *dhó nóinín fraoigh*;

ju:n' ʃi:n' gort səkər' nax fɔrʃn' ə o: [fɔrʃən' o: ?] ʃi:n' m' i:n' gən fri: 04B

dheamhan sin gort socair NACH FOIRSNE dhó sin mín dhen [gan ?] *fraoigh*;

corresponding to *Dheamhan sin gort socair nach i bhfogus dó tá móinín fraoigh* (M. and T. Ó Máille 1905: 96 §VIIIc). Contrast:

Dheamhan sin gort socair le go mbreactar ann an nóinín fraoigh **11C**;

Dhíún sin gort socair NACH ÚNDÚIL dhó nóinín fraoigh CABI §92(a) v. 5.

comhrac seems to be the base for:

Ag imirt lúb is gaisce, cruacharaíocht is ag COMHRAC, 'kruəχariəxt əs ə 'gɔ:rəx | (FCúil)**06C**.

faoi / *fó* / *fá dhéin* (generally *faoi dhéint*): **fo: mə je:nsə** (Abb)**43Js** *FÓ mo DHÉINSA* (neutral *n*); *ag éalú fá do DHÉIN fa: də je:n'* (Pádraig Breatnach).

modhúil may be the source of *mhodhain* (presumably indicating **waun'*) in ... *mhaiseach MHODHAIN* **!894C6**.

pian, dative *péin* (Dinn *péin(n)*) with eclipsis possibly applied twice, may be the appropriate word in:

ag sábháilt ... gach créatúr gá raibh i M(B)PÉINN mhór ná i ndeacair ro ə m' e:n' wɔ:r nɑ: ə n' æ:kər' **!05M**.

On the other hand the word may be *méinn*.

do sh- > *t-* in the phrase in *T'EILG* **!852S** (meaning *in do sheilg*) perhaps from *it sheilg* < *id sheilg* with devoicing of *d* before *sh*, it may therefore be transcribable as *int sheilg*. On the other hand *an tseilg* > *an t-eilg* and thus 2sg

possessive *in t'eilg* is also a possibility. There may, however, be influence from *eilig* < *eilít* (1.209).

Borrowings

'Bonaparte' > *ó CHÚNAPÁRT(E) ar fad* !894C9, perhaps analysed as *Cú na ...* .

10.37 Nasalisation

Nonvernacular use sometimes exhibits nasalised phones which are not nasalised in everyday speech. This has been exemplified for **aũ** and perhaps **aĩ** in **saũrə** 24Mr *samhradh* and **ʎaĩvʃə** 46.II.1d *dhaimhsigh* (1.328). One also finds **õ:** for vernacular **ũ:**, e.g.

ə gõ:mĩ *i GCÓNAÍ : bpóigín : óigbhean* !11C;

i gcóir : dhen tsórt sin : nə kõ:ʃ.əni: na COMHARSANAÍ (FCúil) !11C.

Also **o:** for vernacular **ũ:**, e.g.

wo:rə mhóra : no:ʔr' *an FHÓMHAIR (FCúil)* !11C.

Cp. *ó* and *ô* for *ú*, *û*, 10.7. In respect of assonance phonemic nasalisation is insignificant. Oral **a:** and nasal **ã:**, for instance, assonate perfectly, e.g.

táilliúr : clár as : chába : CHNÁMHA xrã:wã (Adn) 35E.

It is shown in Chapter 1 'Historical Phonology' that nasalisation has both linguistic and paralinguistic functions in the dialect, with complex interactions between both levels (1.269 ff., especially 1.292 ff.).¹ The paralinguistic use of nasalisation and its influence on phonemic nasalisation is further evidenced in singing. Some singers use the same amount of phonemic nasalisation in song as in speech but with added paralinguistic nasalisation. This, of course, gives an overall impression of added nasalisation. Other singers avoid paralinguistic nasalisation altogether in song and reduce the amount of linguistic nasalisation. It is likely that other types of singers will be discovered with further research; for instance, a third group who use the same degree of nasalisation in both speech and song. It seems that a general nasal setting, although common among singers, is, at least overtly, avoided by others. Schoolteachers and judges at singing competitions recommend a non-nasal style, according to Seán Chúláin (12S). He describes the nasal style of some singers, for example (according to Seán), *Deara Bán 'ac Dhonncha* (39D), whom he admires greatly as a singer, as *dhá scaoileadh amach thrína srón*, which is discouraged in competitions.² The general propensity to

¹ Mac Aodha (1996: 50–1) provides a valuable list of voice quality and stylistic features of singers, from Leitir Móir parish, West Cois Fharraige, in the songs provided on three cassettes, including perceived use of 'srónaíl', i.e. paralinguistic nasalisation. Four degrees are classifiable in Mac Aodha's schema: not nasal (–), a little nasal (•), fairly nasal (••), very nasal (•••). Most of the songs are described as having no or only little nasalisation, with one song classified as fairly nasal and none as very nasal. A desideratum, however, is comparison with the various singers' spoken vernacular. Seán Ó Clochartaigh (Taobh B, songs 1–5) has conspicuous paralinguistic nasalisation in his singing of four songs (which I would classify as fairly or very nasal, rather than Mac Aodha's 'beagán' (•) or a 'little' nasal). He has less, but nonetheless discernible, paralinguistic nasalisation (classified as 'none' (–) by Mac Aodha) in song 4 (*Amhrán an Phortaigh*, interestingly the singer's own composition). I agree with Mac Aodha that, in song 1.5, Seán Ó Clochartaigh's mother, Bridgie, from the Carna area, contrasts with her son in having no evident paralinguistic nasalisation, despite her clear phonemic nasalisation.

² Donald MacAulay tells me (personal communication) that non-nasal Scottish Gaelic singing is found in singers influenced by certain religious singing schools. Regarding Cape Breton, Canada: 'Lauchie's singing, and that of Inverness County in general, has a marked nasal quality not found in the Presbyterian areas of the North Shore, nor in Framboise, Richmond County' (Shaw 2000: 28). It may

nasalise during singing is based, partly at least, on the greater aerodynamic efficiency or ease of such singing. Nasal singers can do more with the same breath and hold notes longer. There are of course nasal versions of the vocalic fillers (such as *ó*) used by singers, i.e. *neó*, *neá*; as well as prepausa nasal labial and/or velar consonantal articulations.

Recitation of songs, verse and prayers does not follow the same constraints as actual singing. My impression, for example, from the accomplished *seanchaí* Cóilín Ó Cúláin (11C), who knew many local songs, is that nasalisation in his recitation of songs (he did not sing)¹ is the same as in his speech. Neither does speaker 894C nasalise recitations more than his everyday speech. The following discussion elaborates on two individual singers, 894C a ‘nasaliser’ of paralinguistic nasalisation, and 04B a ‘denasaliser’ of phonemic nasalisation but with extensive paralinguistic nasalisation.

10.38 Colm Ó Caoidheáin’s singing (894C)

The combination of spontaneous, incidental and phonemic nasalisation in Colm Ó Caoidheáin’s (894C) singing brings about an overall effect of increased nasalisation in comparison with his speech. Although nasalised stretches do occur in his speech, they appear to be more common in song. The impression is of the singer rhythmically moving in and out of a nasality once or twice in almost every line of the song. This can be exemplified from two verses of a local song *An Bháisteach Anuas* from my early notes (composed by Labhcás a’ Cúil; CABI §470):

fɑ:ɡɑ:l xroʃ d'ɛ:ɡ dʊm ə 'v' iər'jɛr' u: i:h̃ə
 ṽ'i: ja:ləx nə si: ɡʊs ṽ'i: bræt' ɛr' ə skɑ:ʔəɑ' |
 d'ɛr' ə n̄ə mi:ŋɡ' ə ə bɑ:n't' slɑ:m' i:n' k'i:i'b' ə
 x̣ir'h̃əx dʊm d'i:n' ɛr' ə f'a:x ə m'i:n' ā:n |
 heɡ' dʁohəd ros kəhəl wæn' spɑspəs ə ti:l' ? ɔrən' ?
 duəlɡəs nə n̄i:n' h̃ā:n mā'r ṽ'i: sən ā:ā't' |
 ɔr' ɛɡ' 'fæ:n̄i:n' ə xḷʊʃəŋʃə n tæfr' ən nɑr' wi:l' d̄it'
 əx ə kɔl' əx ə v'e bli:x ə ɡ'i:ən t̄ɑ:m̄əl̄ ʔən lɑ: |

s əs ɔxt ri: nə wlahəs fæ fkr'æd m'e: ɛr dʊs ɛr'
 fi: 'æ:f̄i:ək n̄ə h̄ū:nləxt s ən æn'ənm' v̄'ik' d'e:əe: |
 ən ə hiəxt n̄'i: bə ɡor' ə ɣum ʔəmə loxtwəɹ ɣum d'u:ltu:
 ʔə v'ek'i:n' ə ɣn̄u:f n̄u' ŋə m'əhəts a:ɡʊm k'e: he:ə^ə |
 hi fe' l'e: mā:f ən'f̄iŋ' ɡər [ʔər ?] xɑ' fe' j̄i hə bræəæt' ɡr̄u:mə: |
 əs v̄'æ:nhə fe ɣumsə mar' ʔi:n' a:ɡən' he:əm' |
 əx v̄'i: m'e: ɡɑ: hɑɡəs mar' ʔi:ər'hə fe' ku:ntəs
 ʔər [perhaps ɡər ?] im'ə: fe' ɛr fr̄u:l wem' ɡ'i:n taməl̄i:n' ɛ:n' |

In the following orthographic version of these two verses, what is interpreted as phonemic nasalisation is underlined; **spread** and possible **incidental** nasalisation are bold; SPONTANEOUS nasalisation is in small capitals.

be significant that our phonemic ‘denasaliser’ 04B was more literate than usual and probably had more high-register features of recent extraneous origin than usual.

¹ He actually disliked listening to singing (in the *Oireachtas* competition).

Ag fágáil Chrois Dreamhair¹ dom i bhfíordheireadh oíche
bhí an ghealach ina suí agus bhí brat ar a scáth,
 Deireadh **na** moinge ag baint sláimín Cíbe
 a chuirthEadh dom díon ar an teach a mbínn **ann**.
 Ag Droichead Ros Cathail ? **bhain** spaspas an tsaoil ? orainn
 dualgas na **ndaoine ann mar** a bhí san áit,
 Gur ag sean-ndaoine a chlOisinnse an tAifreann nar bhaol duit
 ach an coileach a bheith ag blaoch i gcionn **tamall** dhen lá.

Is as ucht Rí na bhflaitheas sea scread mé ar dtús air
 faoi aistoc **na hionlacht** is in **ainm Mhic Dé**,
 Gan **a** thíocht ní ba goire dhom go mba lochtmhar dhom diúltú
 go bhfeicinn a ghnúis nó go mbeadh fhios agam cé hé,
 Shuigh sé le m'ais ansin gur chaith sé dhe an brat gruama
 is bhreatnaigh sé dhomsa mar **dhuine** againn héin.
 Ach bhí mé dhá theagasc mar a d'fhiathraigh sé cuntas
 gur imigh sé ar siúl uaim i gcionn tamaillín² héin.

Recall his use of a nasal stretch in the introductory sentence of an anecdote (cited in 1.298):

wēl' ? | v' i' m' i' x' a: l' ðk sai' v' n' ð hæ: n' ð | ugəs ə' |
 Bhuel bhí Mícheál 'ac Suibhne cheana agus u-

Such a nasal stretch is found in the first line of a four line ditty, with the following three lines almost nasal free:

fj: p' eg' i: n' i: kə' ni: l' ũgəs nū: r' ð v' r' æ' n' h' ð x' əs i' n' i: n' ð v' æ' t' l' i: n' ð x' e: n' ð: |
 fj' e' d' ə tr' u: r' ə b' a: r' iə d' ə j' e' h' a: m' a: l' e' m' a: l' ə ə b' a' k' ə l' e' m' ə |
 m' a: l' ə n' t' i: r' m' a: l' ə n' s' o: p' | ə n' s' æ: t' f' ə l' s' ə r' ə' s' e: v' ə: r' |
 s' d' e' r' ə b' r' i: m' ə w' a: f' t' ə fj: p' eg' i: n' i: kə' ni: l' e' l' i: n' e' r' ə f' a' d' ə m' e' d' f' i' n' |

Sí Peigí Ní Con FhaoLA AgUs Nóra Bhreatnach is **inín Bheairtín Chaena**,
 Siad an triúr ab fhearr iad a gheothá i mbaile le mála bacaigh a líonadh.
 Mála an tsaoir, mála an tsóp (< soap), an saitseal is an rasaebhear (< receiver),
 Is doir brí **mo** bhaiste sí Peigí Ní Con FhaoLA a líon ar fad an méid sin.

It is in this context of spontaneous nasalisation that we can interpret an apparent example of nasalisation attested in *comhrá*, a word otherwise not nasalised in the dialect: *do chórú liúm* 894C6.716. The nasalisation here is likely to be an example of spontaneous nasalisation, otherwise ignored by the able folklore transcriber (Séamas Mac Aonghusa, who had a good ear for nasalisation and used it in his own acquired speech). The reason the transcriber noted, or was able to note, the nasal vowel here was perhaps because the spelling tradition supports nasalisation in this word.

In fact, the nasal setting in singing sometimes over-rides oral consonants producing nasal ones, e.g. $\gamma > \eta$:

γə v' ek' i: n' ə γnū: f' nū: ηð m' ehəts a: gu' m k' e: he: ð' |

¹ In CABI §470 v. 1 this is *crois dreamhair* (p. 257) and, more accurately, *Chrois Dreamhair* (p. 319).

² For the slip of the tongue **taməli' n' tamaillín**, see 1.267.

go bhfeicinn a ghnúis nó go mbeadh fhios agam cé hé (cited above),
and $d' > dN'$:

māf N'í:l' e:n yí:hə gər hē:dN' æ's er na: rə kur te:ru: or'ɔ̃m hri: nə
ba:l'i: | *Mar níl aon ghaoithe dhár SHÉID AS aer nar raibh ag cur taeurú
orm thrí na ballaí.*

10.39 Beairtle Ó Con Fhaola's singing (04B)

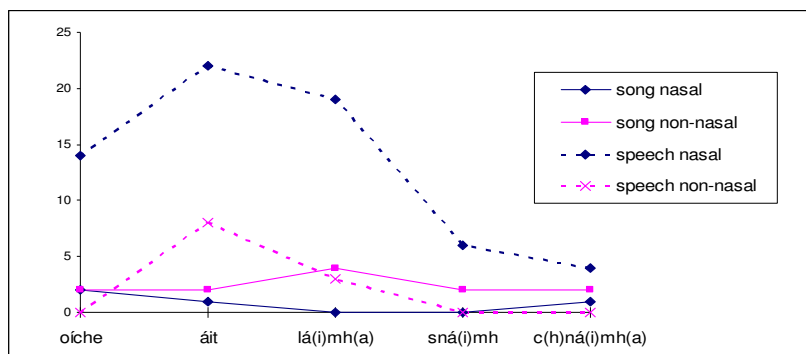
Nasalisation in song is far less frequent than in speech for Beairtle Ó Con Fhaola (04B). Spoken and sung texts are compared in Table 10.1 and Figure 10.1 (from my early notes; only a sufficient amount of examples of the long phonemically nasalised vowels \bar{i} : and \bar{a} : have been noted for the purpose of comparison). The example of *óiche* is quite striking with all tokens in speech nasalised but only one half of the tokens nasalised in song. This would imply that lexemes which have nasalisation in song have a high realisation of nasalisation generally. See, for example, his *claimhe* in 1.336 with nasalisation noted in all tokens including two in song.

Table 10.1 Speaker 04B's nasalisation in song

	Environment	Word	+ nas	- nas	Long Vowels
song	∅ nas context	<i>óiche</i>	2 (or 1)	2 (or 3)	\bar{i} :
speech		<i>óiche</i>	14		
song	∅ nas context	<i>áit</i>	1	2	\bar{a} :
speech		<i>áit</i>	22	8	
song	<i>mh</i>	<i>lá(i)mh(a)</i>		4	
speech		<i>lá(i)mh</i>	19	3	
song		<i>snámh</i>		2	
speech		<i>sná(i)mh</i>	6		
song	<i>cn-</i>	<i>c(h)ná(i)mh(a) n</i>	1	2	
speech		<i>c(h)náimh r</i>	4		
		Total song	4 (or 3)	12 (or 13)	25% in song
		Total speech	65	11	86% in speech

Figure 10.1 presents the same data in clearer contrast.

Figure 10.1 Speaker 04B's nasalisation in speech and song



We may conclude that phonemic nasalisation is a negatively marked variable in song register for Beairtle Ó Con Fhaola (**04B**) (occurring in only one third of cases which are nasalised in speech).

Epenthesis

10.40 Epenthetic vowel

In singing there is frequent use of intrusive schwa. This use is aerodynamic and no doubt also stylistic. It occurs both within words and across word boundaries, e.g.

rd' gɑ:rəd'i:n' !894C GAIRDÍN;
ʃ d' N'i: b'i N'i:fə d'efə !894C ní ar bith NÍOS DEISE;
xr un ACHARAINN !894C9 < achrainn;
st f'æ:sədə !05M FEASTA;
s t rt ə 'gól ə 'fu:ə'hó:b | əgəs ə 'tæ:rə,tó:b | !!05M
 ag goil fúthub AGUS TARTUB.

In fact some singers insert schwa in vocalic contexts, as well as overlengthening vowels, e.g.

skɑ:ʔəɹ !!05M FÚTHUB; 'fu:ə'hó:b | !!05M FÚTHUB.

Epenthesis is lacking in the cluster *rm* in *Cormac* in:

kormæk 'mā:k 'a:rt' (SGuair)11C CORMAC mac Airt;
 f'i:n' wa ku:l' və kormæk' mā:k 'a:rt' mak 'tr'e:n' 'wo:r' i: 'wi:fN'ə |
 (AscN)11C Fionn mhac Cúil mhac CORMAIC mac Airt mac Tréin Mhóir
 Uí Bhaoisne.

Epenthesis, however, is also found:

iər e: əs oxt 'f'i:n' wā' 'ku:l' wā'k 'korəmæk' mā:k 'a:rt' | 11Ctn
 iarr é as ucht Finn mhac Cúil mhac CORMAIC mac Airt.

Epenthesis may be lacking in *marbhach* in a possible interpretation of the spelling *rw* in:

... whitín ... go dtuga sé goin M HARWACH dó !894C9

(or *mharwach* might represent **warəwəx**).

Regular non-epenthesised *lg* in *Síolgaire*, *Míolgaire* (with preceding long vowel *-i-*) is followed in the traditional run in a parallelism with irregular lack of epenthesis in *Sealgaire* and *Balgaire* (both containing stressed low vowel *a*; for *Balgaire*, cp. *balcaire* FGB with regular non-epenthesis):

ə xid' mɑ'di: | kin' ogəs gair mɑ:r ə v'i: fin' egə | ʃiəlgər'ə |
 m'iolgər'ə | ʃæ'lgər'ə | bə'lgər'ə | gr'it'd'i:n' | ruəd'i:n' | b'u:d'i:n' |
 spɔ:rt'i:n' | ogəs mɑ'd'i:n' ru' ogəs 'ai'o: xɑ:pt'i:n' (Smré)04B
 a chuid madaí, coin agus gadhar, mar a bhí sin aige: Síolgaire, Míolgaire,
 SEALGAIRE, BALGAIRE, Grídín, Ruaidín, Biúidín, Spóirtín agus Maidín Rua
 agus Aidhe Ó Chaiptín.

The unstressed epenthetic vowel is retained in a by-form of *suirghe* in:

SUIRGHE Fionn ser'hi: f'un ... ~ ser'əji: f'in | 04B1.

There is mixing or fudging of EModIr *coimírghe* and *coimírce* in the retention of the epenthetic vowel of *coimírghe* with the medial *c* of *coimírce* in the by-forms

kim'ər'ək'ə and metathesised kir'əm'ək'ə from 04B1:

kolhə ogəs kim'ər'ək'ə ən d'er'əg' wə:r'
 culaith agus COIMIRCE an Deirg Mhóir,
 ə gur'əm'ək'ə ən d'er'əg' wə:r' i GCOIMIRCE an Deirg Mhóir,
 ə gir'əm'ik'ə ogəs ə golphə ... i GCOIMIRCE agus i gculaith

bl is epenthesised in sə m'ib:ələ (sns)869PZCP158 *sa mbíobla*, and in apparent *bíobla* > *nuíobla*: nuair a léigh sé an Bíobla nī:bələ (Afl)03C. Epenthesis is, however, also found in vernacular *bl*.

10.41 Epenthetic consonants

I have insufficient data on the occurrence of the epenthetic consonants (**t**, **d**, **h**), or of *lnr* in general. For *comhra*, I have noted:

CÓNRA clár !894C9;
 mə xon:ŋ.ɹə (Ams)04B *mo CHÓNRA*, which resembles this speaker's vernacular realisation with regard to *nr*, i.e. **kunŋrə** 04B;
 ə gun:ŋ.ɹə xlə:r' (Atps)43Js i GCÓNRA *chláir*;
 kun^d.ɹə 'xə:lə:r' !(Alp)39D CONRA *chláir*.

10.42 Stress

The rhythm of song or recited verse may shift the stress of simple words to a non-initial syllable. The stressed non-initial syllable (underlined in the transcription in this section) usually contains a long vowel.

-án in:

19P ə ʃk'ib' ə ʃk'æ:b' *A scib, a sceab,*
 s ə lɔrəgə vr'æ:k *Is a lorga bhreac,*
 ə xuər̩ti: nə mu'hə:n' *A chuartaí na mbotháin!*

Plural -í (< -idhe) in:

11C gə 'N'ĩntər 'fil' gən 'jæ:lə | *Go ndéantar fuil dhen ghealaigh*
 əgəs 'kĩ:nL' ɔ:r' 'i: gə 'xræ'nəv' *Agus coinnleoirí dhe chrannaibh (Msc)*
 04B 'stræ'nʃer:i: (Acb) *strainséaraí.*

In final assonance, stressed -án, -ás, -ín and -ón are found in:

11C gcéad le grá: chéile d'fháil: m'fhéileacán' m'e:l'əka:n (Abtm).
canbhás' kã'n'wə:ʔs: ghoil 'na n-áit (Aln),
 in fact trisyllabic 'kanəwəs would suit better.¹
 'g'i:il' gcill: 'rhr̩:ĩd' thr̩íd: p'el'ə'r̩:ĩn'z peilearáins: 'xi:ĩ choíche (Angt).
 19P də xul do chúl: mun' móin: də 'hæ:n'f'æ:n'tər'lun do sheanpheaintarlón: *do hron do shrón (Atb).*

A long posttonic *i:*, and a short posttonic vowel take the stress in a rhythmic iambic pattern in two separate lines of a local composition (Angt):

ˌv'ĩ mə 'xũmra:di:sə 'skarhə ˌl'ũm s nār ˌɣuf'ə'nəx ə ʃk'e:əl | 11C

¹ The trisyllable is shown in the spelling *canabhás* and indicated in the editors note on a version of this song in Denvir (1996: 86, 109).

Bhí mo chomrádaísa scartha liom is nar dhuifeanach an scéal!

ta 'buər' o'rumsə 'ruək'əx nə 'fruhá:n' ən ai 'naiərd'³ | 11C

tá buaireamh ormsa a ruaigtheadh na srutháin in aghaidh an aird;

although *orm* does sometimes take non-initial stress in the vernacular. The same speaker also recites **ta 'buər' 'orəm (a deir sé) ə 'ruək'əx 11C** (13.14, line 36).

Prepositions can be stressed, e.g.

əgəs mā 'h'æ:g'ən 'kruətən ə b'ix' ə d'er fe 'er' də 'xr'u: ta 'for'ən 'nū: l'e yol nə 'nā:t'^J | (Aln)11C *Agus má theaigeann cruatan ar bith, a deir sé, ar do chriú tá foireann nua le ghoil ina n-áit.*

10.43 Sandhi

Retention of schwa beside other vowels is a feature of higher register. For example:

m'e: ə xir' ə d'i:r' (Apad)21Pt *mé A chuir i dtír;*

ta m'e 'sə:st er' 'e: ə 'xir' i:m | (FCúil)894C

tá mé sásta ar é A chuir dhíom;

mə a:x əs mə xu: (Acrt)05M *MO each is mo chú.*

Following sandhi **-i:** (for vernacular **-ə**), the article *an* is regularly realised as **n**, which is to be expected following vowels (examples in 10.44). Exceptionally, the normal postconsonantal form of the article, **ə an**, occurs, e.g.

Agus is miste de an pobal, a deir sé, a ngothaidh AN cúpla thríd. ə ŋohi: ə ku:plə hri:d' !881J;

a rinní A' [with deleted n in MS] Gobán Saor !894C9.

In contrast, sandhi **-u:** (for vernacular **-ə**) with the following article regularly yields **-u:** **ə** (the regular postconsonantal form of the article), e.g. (also 10.46)

ag bogadh AN tsúisín ə bogu: ə tu:fi:n'.

The (morphophonemic) verbal sandhi which changes **-x > -ɸ** before pronominal **f** is not realised by many younger speakers. For example, speaker 76N has consistent verbal **-x f**-. Her younger sister's realisation of verbal **-x ɸe** 82B *-dh sé* in song may therefore be a higher-register usage (for the youngest generation).

10.44 **-ə > i: / u:; -ə > i: / _V, (i)-(iv)**

The prevocalic realisations of **-i:** and **-u:** for final vernacular **-ə** are the two most important sandhi rules in higher register. These are lexically conditioned prevocalic sandhi rules which are found to a more limited extent in vernacular. The rules are applied in the historically expected contexts, or, in the case of adjectives taking **-i:**, in the morphologically regular contexts, but **-u:** is extended from its historical context of unstressed final *-dh/bh* to a few nouns in historical unstressed final *-ale* (10.45). There are, however, some (less common) examples of **-i:** and **-u:** for final **-ə** before consonants (cf. 10.22, 10.57, 10.53, 10.67).

The sandhi rule, final **-ə > -i: / _V**, occurs in:

- (i) verbal adjective and similar adjective;
- (ii) nonpersonal verb in the past, future and present subjunctive;
- (iii) 3f prepositional pronouns *aisti* and *inti*;
- (iv) *fuisce*.

(i) Verbal adjective and similar adjective

Here **-i:** has been found, for vernacular **-ə**, preceding vowel-initial words. These are: (a) prepositions, (b) prepositional pronouns, (c) the pronoun *é*, (d) another adjective, (e) relative *a^l*.

- (a) *FUINTÍAS súgh* !894C9, !881J; *MOLTAÍAS a cliú* !894C9;
PÓSTAÍ Ó 'réir !894C9;
SCRÍOBHTHAÍ ' gclár éadain !894C9 vs. *SCRÍOBHTH' Ó* !894C9.
- (b) *Díonaí groithe GASTAÍ ANN 's ná fanaí ...* !894C9;
atá CÍNNTÍ A'AINN le fáil !894C9 (*ag* is not agent marker here).
- (c) *Insa líon a ghiufar GUBHTHAÍ É* !894C9.
- (d) *Bhí sí MÚINTÍ AIGEANTA ...* !894C9.
- (e) *Tá 'n mhuc úd BRÉANTAÍ A mharáí Éamann* !894C9.

(ii) Nonpersonal verb in -idh, -igh

(In the dialectally accurate folklore transcriptions upon which my sample is based, final schwa is transcribed as *-a/e/i*, while final **-i:** is sometimes transcribed as *-í*, sometimes as *-idh/-igh*.)

Past *aoinfhear ghá BHFACAÍ Í a' tóirt* !894C9; *THÁRLAÍ ORM an ainmir* !894C9.
NEARTAÍ AN sruth !894C9;

a RINNÍ A' [with deleted *n* in manuscript] *Gobán Saor* !894C9.

d̪a:rdi: ən a'rəg' ə s d̪'u:nsə nə kri:n't' ə k' o:l !04B3s

D'ARDAIGH an fharraige is d'ionsaigh na croinnte ag ceol;

d̪'i:mp'i: | ən ... ən f'æ:r ə'f't'ix' er' 04B8n(l)

D'IMPIGH an ... an fear istigh air.

xri:n' i: er' nə ga:rdi: gə gurt' i e' *CHRUINNIGH air na gardaí* [subject]

er' t̪u:ri: *go gcuirtí é ar júraí,*

xri:n' ə ma:r' ə ku:nə ... (Abó)21Pt *Chruinnigh Máire cúnamh ...*

fe' ri:n' i: əŋ 'glā'n'wə:d ... !10B *Sé RINNIDH an glanbhád ...*

Future *DUFAÍ an t-aer* !852S.

O'Connell ... go GCUIRTHÍ É 'un fáin !894C9.

'S ní baolach díbse choíchin go NGOTHAÍ A gcuid 'un fáin !894C9

in audio recording: **f' n' i: bi:ləx d̪'ibʃə xi:hən' gə ŋõhĩ ə gid' ən fa:n'.**

-Tá duine againn bacach, a deir sé, agus an ceann eile mantach caoch,

Agus is miste de an pobal, a deir sé, a NGOTHAIDH an cúpla thríd. ə ŋõhi:

ə ku:plə hri:d' !881J.

gə: l' e:hi: ən warhən' fo (MP)04B9 *dhá LÉITHIDH an Mharthainn seo.*

s marə stopi: ən v' æ:xlən' [sic] **i(ə)d ban' i ən wuəi wə:r ~ ban' hi:**

!04B3s *is mara stopaidh an Bhreachlainn iad BAINTHIDH an Bhuai Mhór.*

Pres **894C** *go BHFÓIRÍ ORM Íosa Críost* !9; *Nó go ... 's go DTAGAÍ AN bás* !9;

subj a. *Go DTAGAÍ AN ghaoith Mhártan ...*

b. *Go dtaga sneachta ...*

c. *Go dtaga chuile ...* !9;

Mura STOPAIDH AN Bhreachlainn iad !9.

01S *Go mbreaca mo ghrua 's mo mhala, 's go LÍÁI 'N aois mo cheann*

CABI §70(a) v. 8 (i.e. go liathaidh).

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04B *go MBEIRIDH an tonn m' er' i an tun ort dhe léim gə ɾem' 2l.*
s marə stopi' ən v' æ:xlə'n' [sic] i(əd) ... !04B3s
is mara STOPAIDH an Bhreachlainn iad

Note the example with verbal adjective and nonpersonal verb in:

Tá 'n mhuc úd BRÉANTAÍ A MHARAÍ ÉAMANN !894C9.

(iii) 3f prepositional pronouns: aisti, inti

Before a vowel-initial pronoun (é), the 3f prepositional pronoun has final -i: in the rhyming punch-line of a humorous tale:

bə wæ: ɾæ:t i:nt' i: e d' er fe 'Ba mhaith leat INTI é,' a deir sé,
s bə wæ: ɾæ:t æ:ft' i: e d' er fe 'Is ba mhaith leat AISTI é,' a deir sé,
ax xir' m' i' f' i: nt' i: e 'Ach chuir mise INTI é,
s kir' əd' f' i: he:n' æ:ft' i: e !11C Is cuireadh sí héin AISTI é.'

(iv) fuisce

The noun *fuisce* in *FUISCÍ AGUS FÍON !894C9* (vernacular *fuiscí* is found in dialects to the north).

10.45 -ə > u: /_V

The sandhi rule final -ə > -u: /_V (in *leanabh* also -əv) occurs as follows:

- (i) consistently with verbal nouns (but also before consonants, 10.68);
- (ii) sporadically with other nouns in historical *-abh/mh* and *-ela*.

It occurs in both contexts often as a means of avoiding syllable elision. The vowel which triggers the sandhi is mostly schwa (*an* article, *a* possessive, *a-* in *abhaile*) but also the preposition *ó*. The only two examples noted below which occur indisputably before the full vowel of an open-class word are *ag déanamh íontais* and the example of unhistorical *ealú aoibhinn* (meaning *eala* 'swan', cp. EModIr plural *ealadha* which would be pronounced **ealú* (hence plural *ealúcháí !866E*); *céiliú fháil* (cited below) has elided *a* (*dh'*), i.e. *céiliú a fháil*, or even *céiliú* (or *céile*) *a dh'fháil*).

(i) Verbal Noun

bogadh *le BOGÚ A' tsúisín !894C9; a BHOGÚ AN tsúisín !894C9.*
cíoradh **ugəs i: 'k'i:ru: ə 'k'i:n' ɾe 'k'i:r' o:r' !11Ctn**
agus í ag CÍORADH a cinn le cíor óir.
craitheadh 'S mé craithe mo smóil !894C9, in prose explanation of this song:
ra sé 'a' CRAITHIÚ A smóil';
in another song: CRAITHIÚ A smóil !894C9.
fillleadh **ə f' i: u: o: hɾ' ig' əx a FILLIÚ ó Shligeach (Abtm) !894C9;**
ar FILLIÚ 'BHAILE !894C9; ar FHILLIÚ ABHAILE !894C9.
gearradh *a' GEARRÚ A chuid feola (MMrc) !894C9.*
moladh **fe' ri:n' i: əŋ 'glä'n'wə:d ə fuər' mulu: er nə dā:n't ə !10B**
Sé rinnidh an glanbhád a fuair MOLADH AR na dáinte.
scóladh *a SCÓLÚ A chinn !894C9; sko:lu: ə 'x'i:n' | !06C, sko:lu: ə 'x'i:n' |*
!11C ag SCÓLADH A chinn.

Verbal Noun or Noun

deireadh **ə' hosəx gə d' er' u: ə liŋg' ə (run) !04B**
ó thosach go DEIREADH A loinge.

giolcadh lé GIOLCÚ 'N éin !894C9.
ionadh is a Dhia cé HÍONÚ É! CABI §199(c) v. 8.
súgradh nach SOUGRÚ É (Abtm)03V CABI §34(b) v. 2, i.e. saugru:.

(ii) Nouns and verbal nouns in historical -abh/mh

buaireamh 'S ó bhean a' tí ' bhfuil BUAIRIÚ ORT? !881J CABI §1 (chorus).
déanamh ə d' i:nu: i:ntəf !05M ag DÉANAMH IONTAIS.
fuinneamh lé FUINNIÚ A ghabhail !894C9.
leanabh LEANÚ A' tí leana' ní fhaca !894C6; LEANÚ I mraoi (run)875T1;
 ɫ̪ ænəv ə m̪i:n' (run)11C LEAN(A)BH i mbroinn.
 Cp. absence of this sandhi: an LEANA a ... 852S, ɫ̪ æ:n ə m̪i:n',
 (run)895M LEANABH i mbroinn.

Nouns in historical -e/a

bainne leana gan BAINNIÚ A mháithrín féin !894C9 (perhaps influenced by preceding *leana(bh)*).
céile Tá bean eil [= eile] agamsa 's caithfear a CÉILIÚ FHÁIL : íongúáil (x2) : útamáil 894C9,
 cp. codlú d'fháil !894C9, a chéile d'fháil (Abtm)11C (10.90).
eala Tá 'n EALÚ AOIBHINN ar a' gcuan 's í ' snáú, !894C9,
 cp. 'n eala 'r a' tuinn !894C9.

10.46 -adh/bh + an (article), a (possessive) > -u: ə

This -u: (for vernacular -ə) patterns like a consonant (reflecting earlier -əw) in sandhi preceding the article, yielding -u: ə (rather than synchronically unmarked -u: n). For example:

ag BOGADH AN tsúisín ə bogu: ə tu:fi:n'; le BOGÚ A' tsúisín !894C9;
 LEANÚ A' tí !894C6.

An example of retention of ə *an* is found in a past impersonal verb and article in -u: ə, historically -adh -əw ə, in:

kr' is ɫ̪ e:r g' in' u: ə kr' i:st (MP)04B Crios lér GINEADH AN Críost.

An example of the non-elision of the 3sg possessive *a* occurs in:

ə hɔsəx gə d' er' u: ə liŋg' ə (run)04B ó thosach go DEIREADH A loinge.

Nominals**10.47 Nouns dúthrachta, cabhaltach**

Note the nominative in -achta for *dúthracht*:

dhá gcaithteá DÚTHRACHTA mhaith léi !894C9.

The forms of *cabhaltach* recorded from speaker 04B are:

singular *cabhaltaí*:

gər ski:l' ʃe n xaulti ʃiər ɫ̪ eʃ ə mir' gə ɫ̪ e:r' 04B
 gur scaoil sé an CHABHALTAÍ siar leis an muir go léir;
 ə xaulti 04B1 an CHABHALTAÍ;

singular *cabhaltach*:

na' rɔ ʃe ən' t' o:ltə eɟ, eɟ ə gaultəx[t ?] 04B
 nar raibh sé intseolta ag, ag an GCABHALTACH(t ?);

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(probable) plural *cabhaltaí*:

ənə gaulti fo:l 04B1 *ina GCABHALTAÍ seoil.*

The anomalous singular *cabhaltaí* may be a historical plural reinterpreted as singular (or from a 2D dative in *-igh*). Singular and plural from other speakers are:

sg *bhí sé ag breathú ar CHABHALTACH xaultəx mhór na Féinne 11C*;

pl *CABHALTRACHAÍ Rí Seoirse !894C* (CABI §297(c) v. 3).

Cp. *CABHLACH long ... i lár an CHABHLAIGH ... san GCABHLACH LL14.*

10.48 Declension; 1D — 3D

First Declension, 1D

The form *cléibh* (corresponding to vernacular genitive) of *cliabh* is used as a dative of the second declension; noted in two corresponding passages of the same lay in assonance with *e*:¹

bhí ar gor sa CHLÉIBH : -é- 875T11,

ə v' i: er' gurⁿ nə 'k' l' e: v' | 875Tt a bhí ar gor ina CLÉIBH;

ʃk' e:l' scéil : m' e:l' mbéal : er gur nə k' l' e: v' 04B1 ar gor ina CLÉIBH.

Also genitive 2 Declension *cléibhe* (although synchronically analysable as some type of plural similar to *potáí gliomacha*):

ə xu:rsəni x' l' e: v' ə (Abb)03S a chomharsanaí CHLÉIBHE.

Second Declension, 2D

There are examples of nouns with nonpalatal nominatives in higher register which generally have palatal final consonants in the vernacular nominative.

cois > cos in *Fiathraigh héin dhe CHOS an mhionnáin ...* (rhyme)**11C**, and in tale introducing this rhyme: *séard a bhí acub gá mheascadh suas, COS mionnáin.*

gruaig > GRUAG !894C9 often.

mairg > marg (perhaps as genitive plural) in:

bə wə:r ma:rəg l' æt ... fi: mə 'hə'n, wā:hər' ə wə:ru 04B1

ba mhór MARG leat ... faoi mo sheanmháthair a mharú.

Historical dative is retained in a few nouns:

baintreach, 'na BAINTRI', !894C9; críoch > i GCRÍCH !894C9.

gealach, gən 'jæ:lə (Msc)11C dhen GHEALAI GH.

sciath, A chuir Micheál faoina SCÉITH (prayer)05M.

Cp. *Tháinic sé faoi mo scéith .i. tháinic sé faoi m'ordú, nó faoi mo scáth, agus mise breathnú 'na dhiaidh. CAR s.v. scéith.*

taobh, er' hi: v' nə toli: t' ænə t' r' e:nwər (Smré)04B

ar THAOIBH na tulaí teanna tréanmhar.

¹ Cp. lenited adjectives qualifying *cliabh*, perhaps influenced by following *tine*, in:

agus cliabh mhór mhóna a thabhairt isteach ... go raibh tine mhór mhilleach ... 866E-Sc310.12–3.

cliabh is 2D further south, e.g. gsg *cléibhe* GCD §206, IRW text l. 241. Note *cliabh k' l' iəw* also *k' l' e:w* ICF §404; and (*ins a'*) *gcléibh* in folklore from Innis Oírr (Aran Islands) in B. Ó Catháin (2001a: 248); a speaker (Tom Kelly, born 1913) from Baile an Phoill, An Caisleán Gearr (northern fringe of Galway city) has consistent *cliabhán k' l' e:wə:n* (where position before *-án* is of relevance), which is also given in a list of examples of the change *iə > e*: common in Mionlach (Ó Maolaithe: 1948 §30); similarly *k' l' e:wə:n* B[aile] C[hláir na Gaillimhe] LFRM. Cp. *sliabh*, old dative *sléibh*, genitive *sléibhe* (3.24).

Dual and dative of *cíoch* (> *k'i*) are retained:

do dhá CHÍCH !894C6, etc., *ar a CÍCH* (MMrc)894C9.

Genitive plural of *coill* (usual plural *coillte*) and *tom* (usual plural *tomachaí*) occur in:

gə 'va:rə nə 'gəiil' | (Angt)11C dhe bharra na GCOILL;
fəoi bhun na DTOM du:m (Abb)43Js.

Third Declension, 3D

Nonpalatal final (corresponding to vernacular *droim*) in: *go mo dhroum* !894C6. Cp. first, second (above) and fifth declensions (below), all of which involve palatalisation. Genitive plural in:

er' f'æ xur' ə ml'ian (Acdb)43Js *ar feadh chúig MBLIAN.*

10.49 4D; 5D; Irregular

Fourth Declension, 4D

Older dative and genitive forms are retained and sometimes used in nonhistorical contexts, e.g. *cú*. Cp. irregular noun *bó* below.

bearna, gen sg *i mbéal na BEÁRNAN* !894C6.
cú, dual *a dá CHON* [nongenitive] !852S;
gen sg *fiach na haonCHON* !894C6;
dat sg *ag a' GCUIN a bhíonns máll* !894C6;
nom pl *ə xid' mæ:di | kin' ogəs gair* (Smré)04B
(for gen) *a chuid madaí, COIN agus gadhar.*

Éirinn, t'ukə dl'i: gə he:r' ə (SGuair)11C *Tíochtáidh dligheadh go HÉIRE.*

eorna, gen sg *i stuca na HEORNAN* !894C6 (cf. 3.37).

mala 'hill', dat sg *Ar a' MALAINN* !894C6.

Compare gen sg *léime* in *ag tomhas na léime brice buaidhe* (Asc)19S with corresponding *ag tomhais na léimeanna brice* !852S3 where *léimeanna* may be an adjusted genitive or influenced by plural *-anna* (or both).

Fifth Declension, 5D

Nonpalatal final in *céibh*: *Tíochtáin lé gach CÉAW*, !894C6.

Irregular Nouns

bua, genitive retained in (Asc)19S:

tos nə l' e:m' ə br' ik' ə buə.i: *ag tomhas na léime brice BUAIDHE.*

deoch, genitive retained, e.g.

togha gach bí, rogha gach Dí (run); *ag síoról na Dí* (Abb)43Js.

dorna, genitive singular with internal palatalisation in:

tə 'læ:n daurn' ə 'dín' ə ... (Asc)11C

tá lán DOIRNE duine sa chuile bhuinne gá cuid dlaoithe geala breá.

bean, dative singular *mnaoi* is fairly common, also in compound, e.g.

gən 'o:g' ,vni: !06C dhon ÓIGMHNAOI;

ahistorical gen sg *mnaoi* in: *muintir a MHNAOI*: *Bhuí SeolG64.*

bó, dative retained in:

níor fhág sé lao i MBUIN, searrach i gcapall, iasc ar linn, ... (run)LL152;

leis a' MBUIN bhán, go'n MBUIN bháin !894C9.

lá, genitive for nominative in:

ní raibh aon bhí le feiceáilt an LAE sin a le: jin' ach ... 00Ttn.

10.50 Plurals; *-adha*; *-ibh*

Shorter historical plurals are preferred. Examples from speaker **04B** are:

- fód:* **fi: nə fɔ:d' ɛ 04B1** *faoi na FÓID é.*
rí: **klə:n nə ri:hə 04B1, klə:n ri:hə |** (Smbb) *clann (na) RÍTHE;*
klə:n ri:hí gəs pr' i:nsi' (Smds) *clann RÍTHÍ agus prionsaí.*
-ach: **lɔin'ə ... main'ə 04B1** 'LAIGNIGH,' *ar seisean, 'agus MUIMHNIGH'.*
clann: **gə xlanə ʃi:msə 04B1** *dho CHLAINNA siamsa.*

Other plurals also occur, e.g. (historical) *caiple* (cp. less complex *capaill*):

b'ei kir'ə kəpl'ə (Asp)**04B** *beithí, caoirigh, CAIPLE.*

Plural in *-u:* (for historical *-adh(a)* in some instances and *-ibh* in others) occurs in:

- cleite:* **klū:x kl'et' u' w'e:n | klū:x kl'et' u' e:n 04B1**
clúmhadh CLEITEADHA [or gen pl *CLEITEADH*] *éan.*
síoda: *Ní bean SÍODÚ ná búcláí ab fhearr liom péin !01S CABI §109(b) v. 14*
 (unless a mistranscription for *síodúil*; perhaps influenced by *ú* for vernacular *u* in *búcláí* (10.8)).
fear: **ogəs mə hruə je:r jæ'krəx gən i: eg' f'æ:ru: e:r'ən (MP)04B**
mó thrua ghéar dheacrach gan í ag FEARAIBH Éireann;
e'r'æ:ru: e:r'ən (MP)04B *ar FHEARAIBH Éireann;*
f'æ:ru: e:r'ən !39D *FEARAIBH Éireann.*

So also **f'ianəv'**, etc., *Fiannaibh*, in both higher register and the vernacular.

Historical dative plural suffix *-ibh* in dative syntax occurs but is limited:

- ibh:* **yo yə:ləv' (sns)869P** *dho GHAELAIBH : éadan; go BHÓIBH !894C9;*
'ki:nl'or'i: gə 'xræ:nəv' (Msc)11C *coinnleoirí dhe CHRANNAIBH;*
dhe GHEASAIBH: in **11C**'s usage this is **gə jæ:sə/jæ:si: >> jæ:səv'.**
-əv: **e'r'xu:ləv ən v'æ:ŋk' (Abr)04B** *ar CHÚLAIBH an bheainc;*
-abh: *le Hélum 7 FEARABH na Draoi !852S.*

Plural **-əv'** *-ibh* in nominative syntax in:

- bó:* **b'ei buəv' æ:n' əs ki:r'ə (Atsb)899N** *beidh BUAIBH a'inn is caoirigh;*
nár shanta ariamh caoire, BUAIBH ná gamhna !03V CABI §375(c) v. 5;
Cé ndeacha na BÓIBH a bhí dubh agus doun? !03V CABI §193(a) v. 5.
crann: **ki:nl'or'i: gə xra:nəv'ə | (Msc)03V** *coinnleoirí dhe CHRANNAIBH.*

The final schwa in this last example may be a prepausa vocalisation, i.e. phonetic rather than morphological, perhaps added here to retain friction and voicing in **-əv'**, cp. *-ibh* > **-b'** in this speaker in the following example. The *-ibh* plural is realised as **-b'** in:

- bean:* **mra:b' ə ji:nə kr'æ:stə (Msc)03V** *MNÁIBH a dhéanamh cneasta;*
Fiann: **f'ianəb' e:r'ən ZCP152** *FIANNAIBH Éireann.*

Perhaps also plural *-ibh* with *áit* in:

- e'r'ə | nə hū:t'əv' ə v'i: 'æ:n' ən' e:r'ən ... e'r'ə 'f'æ:n.ū:t' u:'w' | (Suda,**
 prose)**894Cs** *'ar na HÁITIBH a bhí a'inn in Éirinn' ... ar an tseanáitiú;*
 unless **ū:t'əv'** is a zero-ending plural of *áitiú*, or is perhaps to be interpreted as **ū:t'əvə**. There may be some influence from *áitreabh* (although the word is not

now current in the dialect) or it may be a slip of the tongue (cp. following *bh-* in *bhí*). Speaker **894Cs**'s brother, **881J**, has plural *á:t'ui:* **881J** *áitiúí*. For *-ibh* in dative plural contexts, see above.

10.51 **-(a)í; -acha(í)**

Plural **-i:** is more common (in certain songs) than in vernacular, i.e. **-i:** >> **-ə**. Examples from **!894C6** and **!894C9** are:

sheolfainn na GAMHNAÍ leat (x5), occurring in every verse of *Eidhleanór na Ruan*;
gan PÚNTAÍ ná; na CÉADTAÍ beannacht; as GLEÁNNTAÍ;
faoi SHLÉIBHTÍ liúm; na SLUAIGHTÍ marú.

Plural **-ə** is more usual in everyday usage in these words. Speaker **!894C** has of course many **-ə** plurals, e.g. *na SAORTHA* **!894C6**. Cp. *ríthí* **!04B** (10.50).

Plural **-i:** > **-ə** in humorous use in *b' ex' ə* for *b' ehi:* *S beithí*, cp. verbal noun **bramənə** for **braməni:** *S bramannaí*. These forms are types of morphological word-play based on the mis-substitution of **ə** for **i:**, both of which frequently alternant in many plurals.

The suffix **-əxə** may be used by speakers who generally have **-əxi:** in vernacular.

04B *nə liŋg' əfəxə* | *na LOINGISEACHA*.

nə p' i:ro:d' əxə mo:r | (Asp) *na PÍORÓIDEACHA mór*.

kijm' eg' əxə tolə nə ta' lhu:ŋ | (Smbb) *COISMÉIGEACHA ag tolladh na talúna*.

Contrast this speaker's vernacular (tetrasyllabic) plurals in **-əxi:** :

d' e gi:fm' eg' əxi wem' (Smds) *deich GCOISMÉIGEACHAÍ uaim*.

11C *kahəxə nə f' e:n' ə* (SGuair) *CATHARACHA na Féinne*.

Speaker **11C** has vernacular **-əxi:** (including tetrasyllables).

10.52 **-íl; Lexical; Numerals**

-íl is attested with *crann* 'mast' uniquely:

Gus fuaim a cuid CRANNAÍL go dtóigfit sé an ceo gom chroí **!894C6**.

Cp. *do chranna* **!894C9** also of a boat, and 'trees' *gə 'xræ:nəv'* (Msc)**11C** *dhe chrannaibh*.

Certain nouns have plural endings which, although found with other nouns in everyday speech, are not found with these specific lexemes outside of higher register. Examples:

céad gen pl in *Nach mise an trua Mhuire is mé ag cailliúint na GCÉAD le grá* (Abtm)**11C**.

crann *er' warə kra:nə* **!19J** *ar bharr CRANNA* (for historical **a ... a:**, i.e. ***er' warə kra:n** *ar bharr crann*);

'ki:nL' or' 'i: gə 'xræ:nəv' (Msc)**11C** *coinnleoirí dhe CHRANNAIBH*;

fuaim a cuid CRANNAÍL go dtóigfit sé an ceo gom chroí **!894C6**.

lá *bliain go LAETHE* **!894C6**, *deire ' LAETHE* **!894C9** (with elided *a* 'his').

múr gen pl *Fáilte na MÚR insa samhradh nuair a bhíonns uisce gann*. (MmS)**892M**.

This corresponds to *Fáilte na MÚRTHAÍL rót ... ! CABI §605*.

1874 Higher register

sruthán takes **-əxi**: in parallel with following adjectives in a tale run:
sruhə:nəxi k'ɛ:rʃə:nəxi kuərsənəxi [kuərsənəxi ?] 895M
SRUTHÁNACHAÍ ciarsánachaí cuarsánachaí.

úlla nom sg *UBHALL* ~ *úbhla* !894C9;
gen pl *gáirdín UBHALL* !894C9; *ar nós na n-ÚBHILA mílse* !894C9.

See also *cú* (4D, 10.49). For irregular **a > a:** in the plural stem of *claimhe*, see 10.21.

Plural forms occur with numerals more often than in vernacular, e.g.

ta x'ɛr'ə postí: ɛr' mə l'æ:bə Tá CHEITHRE POSTAÍ ar mo leaba,
gə rə x'ɛr'ə hæ:ŋg'ʲi: orhəb Go raibh CHEITHRE HAINGLÍ orthub
skə'rhə scartha !05M;

ghul ag iarra TRÍ BUIDÉIL g'Uisce Thobar Tintí 852Sb6.70;
SEACHT MBAILÍ caisleáin (run)11C;
nə tr'i: fə:d'ə !05M na TRÍ SEOIDE; ni: naif'i 04B1 NAOI NDAIBHCHÍ.

10.53 Adjective

Vocative feminine

Vocative feminine nouns with adjectives inflected by palatalisation (-C') are found in the usage of speakers **894C**, **01S**, **39D**. This is also present in (at least) speaker **894C**'s vernacular. Examples:

bocht Céad slán leat a Abhainn Mhóir BHOICHT !894C9, !!39Dt.
gléigeal A Mháire chúmrtha [sic] GHLÉIGIL !894C9.
uasal A bhean UASAIL, glac ... !894C6;
' *Chíúinbheainín UASAIL na gruaige breá buí 01S CABI §15(b) v. 5*
(corresponds to *A chíúinbheainín uasal na gruaige breá buí 866E*
(a) v. 3 and ' *Chailín chíúin uasail na gruaige breá buí 00M CABI*
§16(a) v. 5).

Dative feminine

Dative feminine *bán* > *báin* and *-ach* > *-aigh* in *craobhach*:

go'n MBUIN bháin !894C9 (also *leis a' MBUIN bhán, !894C9*);
faoin gcoill CHRAOBHA' !894C9,
fón gcoill CHRAÉBHA' liom !03V CABI §68(b) v. 3.

Genitive feminine

crua, f'æ:r nə kəfə ki:l'ə kruəi S fear na coise caoile CRUAÍ (in riddle).

Note the forms of *teann* and *tréanmhar* in:

ɛr' hi:v nə toli: t'æ:nə t'e:nwər (Smré)04B
ar thaoibh na tulaí TEANNA tréanmhar.

Plural

corr kaur, in plural (following dual in first example):

CORRA !894C6 (transcription indicating **korə**, i.e. not **courra*);
p'ɛ:rʃi: korə (run)11C péirsí CORRA.

te, N'i: fati: tor id'ər Je ax fati: t'ə: S 'ní fataí tora,' a deir sé 'ach fataí TEO.'
(punch-line and saying from story).

Aberrant forms

bocht: chua siad ... a' chruinniú Néigiors BHOICHT !894C9, as if *Néigiors* were singular genitive here, or palatalisation represented plural adjective. Cp. **894C**'s use of palatalisation in feminine vocative (above, in this section) and lenition following natural sex in *óigchailín bhreá !894C9*.

The adjectives are inflected with nominal plural ending **-i**; by some speakers in the common tale run, e.g.

fɔ:l̥tə mɔ:rə buko:d̥əxi bako:d̥əxi 04B

seolta móra BOCÓIDEACHAÍ BACÓIDEACHAÍ.

The adjectives have perhaps been reinterpreted as nouns. Similarly:

ə x'ɔ:l̥tə mɔ:rə buko:d̥əxi bako:d̥əxi gə n'air'i:x nə sruha:nəxi k'ɛ:rʃa:nəxi kuərsənəxi [kuərsənəxi ?] 05Md

... go n-éiríodh na sruthánachaí CIARSÁNACHAÍ CUARSÁNACHAÍ.

Comparative

Adjectives in *-ta, -tha, etc.*, take *-í*; especially perhaps in the comparative, e.g.

cóir, córtha Ba CÓRTHAÍ dhó ... !894C9,

Ba CHÓRTHAÍ go do dhreám !894C6 (CABI §150 v. 5, this line corresponds to *Ba dhóighí go mo dhreamsa* CABI §161 v. 2);

gasta na trí ní 's GASTAÍ fuair !894C9.

Cp. *'bīn'ī: 'b'ɛ:rə 'gasti: 'g'ɛ:rə* (run)**11Ct** *boinní béara, gastaí géara*. In this phrase (from a tale run) the stress pattern implies both *boinní* and *gastaí* are two separate plural nouns. Another interpretation is possible where *béara, gastaí, géara* are three adjectives.

Numerals

There is use of *trí ... seacht* '21' in a prayer:

Trí páidreachaí SEACHT, A chuir Muire gá Mac,

A chuir Bríd faoina brat, A chuir Micheál ... !05M.

Note also the plural noun following the numeral (further examples above, 10.52).

10.54 Derivation

Compounds are common, e.g. *' CHIÚINBHEAINÍN uasail 01S* CABI §15(b) v. 5.

Prefixes

aon- is noteworthy in the feminine genitive in:

leamhnacht na HAONBHÓ !894C9, fiach na HAONCHON !894C9.

ard- in *An té a sheasthas ar ARD-CHNOC an Chaisil 'ard,xruk ə xa:fəl tráth-nóna is an ghrían ag goil faoi ... (NUath)11C.*

comh-: eclipsed *comh-* is followed by eclipsis in:

a' fear is a' bhean in éanacht, iad i GCÓMH-MBANNAITHE lé chéile !894C9.

This may be a type of double eclipsis following *i*, perhaps through analogy with the common simplex *i mbannaí*.

leath- without coalescence but with lenited *thr-* as **hr-** in:

fi: f'æ:hrəm (Atsp)**06C** *faoi LEATH-THROM.*

1876 Higher register

ró- occurs in the common run:

gən 'rɔ:vr'ifə **04B** *gan RÓ-bhriseadh; gan RÓ-bhrise* **869P**2.354.

The audio-recorded version from **869P** has:

na ma:d'ə fã:wə | **gən ro: ə mr'ifə** | *ná maide rámhá gan RÓ a mbriseadh.*

Similarly, **ro:** *ró-* in religious song (with adverbial *go*):

nó go ndeachadar un an túmba go RÓ-mhoch 'ro::wox *ar maidin* (Aif)**05M**.

An adjective qualified by *ró-* is predicate of the copula in:

... **bə** 'ro:'wa: 'um (Adód)**03V** ... *ba RÓ-mhaith liom.*

The prefix occurs before a prefixed ordinal numeral in the compound noun *céadsearc* in:

Té nach n-ainthíonn tú fhéin mé RÓ-chéadsearc mo chroí thú **!00M** CABI §138(a) v. 2.

The attested high-register primary stress ('_ and '_) contrasts with normal lack of stress (_) of *ro-* in the vernacular.

Suffixes

-gach appears for more usual *-ach* in *nuallgach* **!894C9** < *uallach*.

-ín is added to the noun *mac* in:

vocs: **so: i:əə** v'ik'in' **nə** pərt'ə **!ZCP**153 *Is ó dhiara a MHCÍN na páirte!*

gens: *i ndiaidh mo MHCÍN bán ... i ndiaidh mo chéad mhic ... go mbeadh mo mhaicín múrneach* (Amm)**39D**,

where nonvernacular *micín*, if not simply higher register, may be attributable to the dependent case. Cp. vocative *a mhicín mhúrneach* **!19J**.

-ín has optional palatalisation of preceding *ch* in:

kuəhi'n' (Acgn)**30B** *CUAICHÍN*, but also **kuəxi'n'** (Ará)**30B** *CUACHAÍN*.

-thúil in *múinte measúil DÓTHÚIL* **!894C9** (FGB *dóighiúil*).

Verbs

10.55 Subjunctive

The irregular verb *bí* has present subjunctive with *go* (time) in **894C**'s examples: *go MBÍ fáth caointe* !6; *Nó go MBÍ agam* !9; *go MBÍ spraoi* !9.

A passage in **04B21** seems to contain *bí* in the present subjunctive in optative function, the initial copula seems to be a slip of the tongue:

na:r bə gə m'i: də xə'r'əb' xə:r' ə go:l' e:fk' **04B21**

(nár ba) go MBÍ do chairb cháir ag gabháil éisc

'may your jaw of (grinning) teeth be catching fish' i.e. may you drown.

Vernacular present subjunctive with *shula*^N is replaced by the future with *sul*^{L/Ø} in:

SUL CAITHFEAR a' fówar (NUath)**894C9**; *SUL TIÚRFAR* (SGuair)**894C9**.

10.56 Endings; *f*-future, 2sg *-t(e)á*, relative

Future *f* in personal

The future with *f'* occurs in *craith* (= *cnag* present subjunctive in other versions of this verse, e.g. *nó go gcnagáinn gřǣ:gəN'* **875T**, 13.5, line 25) and *chí-* (< *feic*):

ma:rə grǣ:f'əN' grüəm' [?] ə t'ín't:u:n' ə v'i: e:r gur nə kl'e:v' **04B21**

*mara GCRAITHFINN gruaim (?) an tintedáin a bhí ar gor ina cléibh;
is túisce CHÍFEAS x'if'əs !37J, Cé CHÍFINN x'if'in' !869PZCP156 (10.69).*

2sg past habitual / past subjunctive *-t(e)á*

Use of *-t(e)á* is more common than in the vernacular. Palatal *-teá* is not attested following a nonpalatal stem in vernacular use, although an example occurs in song (where *l* is palatalised by *-teá*):

ga no:l't' a: f'i:n (Abul)19S *dhá n-ÓLTEÁ fion.*

Relative

Four examples have been noted of the nonpersonal nonrelative form in relative environment (for vernacular *-s*):

NUAIR a thiocas a' t-earrach 'S THOSÓ 'n ghrian ag árdú !894C9 [1]

ax nur' ə hjukəs ə sã:vřð gəs v'ei ŋ' ɣr'iðn vr'a: g ardu: raxə [2]

m'ē n də x'ã:ŋ gə k'ã:ŋ ku:plə m'i:˦ | (SGuair)11C

Ach NUAIR a thiocthas an samhradh AGUS BHEIDH an ghrian bhreá ag

árdú rachaidh mé in do cheann go ceann cúpla mí

An rud a CHÍTHE leana 'sé níonnas a' leana 894C9 [3]

ax ə ɣaiL' xi:n' ə lɔr'əɣ' ən lu:n or ʃɛʃən 04B1.10 [4]

'Ach a Ghoill chaoin A LOIRGEANN lonn,' ar seisean

Examples [1] and [2] are lexically and syntactically similar: they have conjoined relatives where the first verb only has relative *-s*.

The present tense relative is regularly *-ns* as in vernacular, e.g.

m'ijə pã:rək' ʃi:v'e:lta ʔe:ns gax æn' ə (MP)04B

mise Pádraig síbhéalta LÉANNS gach aithne.

Present relative *-as* seems mixed with nonrelative *-ann* in:

nə he:n'im'i: air'i:səŋ gə hã:rd !19J *na héiníní ÉIRÍOS go hard.*

This form is found in the first line of a common verse transcribed from Iorras Aithneach speakers in CABI with both *éiríonnas* §§15(a) v. 8, 15(b) v. 6, 37(a) v. 5, 75 v. 3, 101(a) v. 3, 132(a) v. 10 and (by minor transcribers) *éiríos* §§77(e) v. 3, 82 v. 1.

10.57 *-idh / -igh*

The endings *-idh* and *-igh* are often realised as *-i:*, not merely in the prevocalic sandhi position (10.44). Sandhi may be involved in (*gardaí* = subject):

xri:n' i: er' nə ɣã:rdi: (Abó)21Pt *CHRUINNIGH air na gardaí.*

Speaker 852S has even more *-í* in higher register than in the vernacular. The various tenses and persons are exemplified below.

Imperative 2sg *-igh*

DEASAÍ' go deas ort !894C9.

kün' i: də hu:n' asnə d'rifəxi: 46.972 *COINNIGH do thóin as na driseachaí.*

Although given in a questionnaire response, this is a line from a song, verses of which are transcribed in SID.46.II, presumably in humorous use here (cf. 1.423).

Past 3sg *-igh*, Future 3sg *-idh*

894C *TRÉIGFÍ mise !9*, with emphatic subject pronoun.

03V **d'íari: ʃe mæn'əm'** (Agdí) *D'FHIATHRAIGH sé m'ainm*, with subject pronoun.

1878 Higher register

12S *Míle buíochas le Mac na ngrást is an té a CHRUTHAÍ thú is an mháthair a rug thú.* Used in conversation; note the religious context.

Most common is -ə (as in vernacular), e.g.

ən'ʃu:d ə xrin' ən' in | **04B2l** *ansiúd a CHRUINNIGH an Fhionn.*

Present subjunctive

With subject pronoun:

Go neartaí sí ... is go LAGAÍ sí !894C9 (perhaps list effect has influenced *lagaí* here or *lag* may be taken to be in the second conjugation, i.e. *lagaigh*).

Without subject pronoun:

... go dtuga do ghé [object] ... go DTUGAÍ thú héin leis (rhyme)**870B**.

10.58 Synthetic forms reserved for Echo in vernacular

In Echo contexts Echo forms are more commonly used in higher register, e.g.

... əgəs tɑ: su:l' əgəm ə vɾɑ:hər' gə gu:ðo: tu' kahər' mə v̥f̥ɑ: ɔgəs ə
kid' o:r' | ku:ðo:d gə d'iv'ən' ɔrʃə n tɑ:mədə:n mo:r **04B8l**

'... Agus tá súil agam a bhráthair go gcumhdóidh tú cathair mo mhná agus a cuid óir.' 'CUMHDÓD go deimhin,' arsa an tAmadán Mór.

In citation in traditional narrative the form *tá* is common in responses to information questions where it usually precedes the main exposition or theme of the response. E.g.

-Céard atá ort? a deir Loinnir.

-TÁ, a deir sé, fathach mór na gcúig meall agus na gcúig muinéal a tháinig anseo as an Domhan Thoir ... LL10;

D'fhiafraigh sé céard a bhí uaidh.

-TÁ, seacht gcéad romham, seacht gcéad i mo dhiaidh, ... sin nó fear mo theangbhála, a deir Loinnir. LL11;

-ə wil'əs æt'sə ... A An bhfuil fhios a'dsa ... ?

-n' i:l'əs ... B Níl fhios ...

-tɑ: d'ər ʃe, in' i:n' ri: nə kahər' ə d' er' əg' ə ... **11Ct**

-TÁ, a deir sé, iníon Rí na Cathaire Deirge ...;

-Céard é seo, a deir an sagart, nó cén sórt caoi é seo ar a bhfuil sa teach?

-Bhuel TÁ, a deir sé seo, a deir sé, tháinig mise trí huair anseo ... **11C**.

In examples such as the following, it is obvious that *tá* is not Echoing a preceding verb:

-Céard a chas ann thú? a deir Loinnir leis.

-TÁ, soitheach agus fiche atá curtha chun fairrge ag Drúcht Uaine... LL26.

-Céard é seo? adeir a' fathach, adeir sé.

-Ó, TÁ mise! adeir sé. **852Sb**TS123.

An example in indirect past speech is:

- ... agus nuair a chonaic sí an chaoi a bhí ar mo ghruaigsa, d'fhiafraigh sí díom cén fáth an chaoi sin a bheith orm. Dúirt mé léi, a deir sí, GO RAIBH

— *gurb in é an chaoi a bhí ar gach uile bhean dá raibh sa ríocht seo.*
866ESc167.1.

This use of responsive *tá* is not found in unmarked vernacular. A similar, but essentially verbal use, is exemplified in conversation. For example:

-v' ek' an tu: n taurlar: eg' a gortá

An bhfeiceann tú an t-urlár ag an gcóta?

-o: ta:, v' i: je jin' ja:n ... M Ó! Tá, bhí sé sin sean ... ,

where the *tá* is elliptically used for *tá* (*droch-chaoi ar an urlár*).

10.59 Complement

Vernacular Echo forms occur in non-Echo environments in higher register.

Present

1sg *bí táim* *Tá an ceaptró 'k'æptə:ro: díonta TÁIM cínnte ó mhac ... (Atb)P;*
Bronnam m'anam dhuitse, a Dhia,
Ní dhá iarraidh ar ais ATÁIM, !05M;

bhfuilim **nax boxt ə kəs ə wil'əm' a:n ə'noxt 04B8l**
nach bocht an cás a BHFUILIM ann anocht.

2sg *-r' with má:* **ma: hair' har farəg' ə !19J má THEIR thar farraige.**

Past

1sg *-as -as*, e.g. *Níor AIRÍOS, a leoin, thú 852S4* (quote in story).

There is an example of 2 Conjugation *-as* in a song composed by speaker **21J**:

Céad slán le portáí Shíodúch nach iomú lá a D'OIBREAS daibr'əs ann, !21J,

where the disyllabic synthetic verb scans better than trisyllabic vernacular *d'oibrigh mé*. Used stylistically by speaker **04B** while relating *seanchas* in a radio interview:

mar | xuələs trəxt ɛr' 04B *mar CHUALAS trácht air.*

2sg *-əf -is* **gər hit' əf l' e gaul 04B2l** *gur THITIS le Goll;*
k' eŋ' gl' a:n na rau.əf a:n 04B8l *cén gleann nar RABHAIS ann;*
faoi gach grásta gá NDEARNAIS N' a:rnəf orainn. !05M.

-i:f -ís **Ó RINNÍS mé mhealladh, le bhladar is le glór ... !(Abtm)881J.**

1sg and 2sg **ax xuələs ɛrs ɛʃən gə xir' əf kl' æ:vnəs ɛr' ə v' e:n' 04B2l**
'ach CHUALAS, 'arsa eisean, 'go CHUIRIS cleamhnas ar an bhFéinn';
 (actually pronounced more like *xir'əd* (?) **kl'æ:vnəf** but this is probably best taken as a slip of the tongue).

Future

1sg *-thad, -ód*, e.g.

-Ní ghabhfad, ... -FANFAD anseo, a deir sé. 864MLL163;

Ó! 'gus u- GOTHAD u- go Gaillimh, 'gus u- CEANNÓD dhuit gáirdín úll
!!(Abtm)881J;

raxəd gə gal' ə RACHAD go Gaillimh;

Is ní CHÚNÓD faoi bhealach go MBLAISTHEAD dhe phóg mo stór (Abtm)11C.

2sg *-ir*, e.g.

Ná síl ... go GCUIRTHIR gur' ər' mé le fána! (Anl)03V;

seas romham is ní BHEIDHIR buíoch !39D.

10.60 Present subjunctive

- 1sg **-ad** *ná ROUD* [⇒ **raud**] *níos féarr i maoin ná 'n áras* !03V §408 v. 4;
-ad *Tabhair dom spás ... go ceann naoi lá,*
Is go DTÉAD d'aid gach ceáird dhá bhfuil mo ghaol,
Is go bhfaighe wa: mé fáirnéis ar an dream sin,
ar chaith mé leothub seal dhen tsaol. (Aln)11C. (Also ARN5364.)

In the example cited monosyllabic *diéad* and disyllabic *bhfaighe mé* both scan well, both being identical in person and mood.

- 2sg **-ir** e.g. in blessing: *As do chodla' go DTUGAIR do shláinte,*
As do sheasa do leas go NDÍONAIR !894C9.
-ír *nár fhaighe tú na grástaí mara n-ÉALAÍR liom!* **marə N'e:li:r** ʔum
 (Acdb)43Js.
-ís **stop stop orsə gil'ən o:g na hoi ə jox ogəs nɑ: bla:f ə v' iə**
gə v' erfj:f ɣu:n k' eŋ' gl'a:n na rau.əf a:n ri v' ə r' iəw 04B8l
 'Stop, stop,' arsa Guilean Óg, 'ná hól a dheoch agus ná blais a bhia,
 Go BHFÉIRSÍS dhúinn cén gleann nar rabhais ann roimhe 'riamh.'

Note the prose explanation of this section:

nu: gə N' | v' erfj:f | gə N' i:ŋʃi: tu ɣum ... 04B8n
nó go n- [hesitation] *BHFÉIRSÍS, go n-insí tú dhom ...*

10.61 Synthetic forms not found in vernacular

The following high-register, for the most part historically synthetic, verbal personal markers occur:

- | | | |
|-------|---------------|---|
| 1pl | imperative | -əm' i:d' |
| | past | -əmər, -əmur, -mur, əmur, -i: mər, mur |
| | past habitual | <i>-amuís</i> |
| | conditional | <i>-imis, -thaimís; -theadh muist, -ódh muis(t)</i> |
| 2pl | past | <i>-úir, -úabhair</i> |
| 3pl | imperative | -idíst |
| Imprs | present | -hər |
| | pres subj | -i:r, -i:hər |

It is important to note the unhistorical, nonclitic nature of some of the 1 plural past by-forms: **əmur, mər, mur**. The last form is also attested as an object pronoun.

10.62 1 Plural imperative -imíd; Past -amar**1 Plural Imperative -imíd**

- əm' i:d'** **ogəs kir' əm' i:d' ə ri: n° du:n eɾ' ə ga:rdɑ:l'** (Acs)04B7s
-imíd *agus CUIRIMÍD Rí an Domhnaigh ar a gardáil!*

1pl Past -amar, -a mar, -mur, mur

- amar** 1 Conj *níor locamar* !852S.
 Speaker !894C6 and 9, has seven examples:
chathamár, bhogamar, ní fhacamar, nach ndéarnamar, etc.
-əmər *-Tá ceathrú bhreá dh'amhrán díontaí a'd ó D'FHÁGAMAR*
dɑ:gəmər *an Clochán inniubh, a dúirt an Suibhneach.* 11Ctn.
 2 Conj **ɣr' əməmər** 04B1 *GHREAMAMAR.*

- i: mār 2 Conj d'ūnsi: mār ə x'e:l'ə (FCúil)11C D'IONSAÍOMAR a chéile.
 -mur 1 Conj 'S níor THUG'MUR a' lá !894C9.
 mur 1 Conj D'íodhlaic MUR sa tumb' é [1pl pst] (Aif, perhaps 04B) CABI §386(a) v. 2

Speaker 04B's audio-recorded examples cover a range of past tense forms:

clitic -əmə̃r, -mur;

nonclitic (-)ə mur, mur, including one token of mur as an object (preceding a vowel).

This use can be categorised as the 1 plural higher-register variable (-amar). Speaker 04B's examples are presented in Table 10.2 (from traditional narrative, Fenian lay, and song).¹

Table 10.2 Variable (-amar), Beairtle Beag Ó Con Fhaola, 04B

-əmə̃r (x1)	
nur' ə ɣr' əməmər or' e:n nuair a GHREAMAMAR ar aon	
(-)ə mur (x3)	-mur (x1) / mur (x3)
gə dā:n' ək' ə mur b' o: !! go DTÁINIGEAMAR beo	gə ro mūr ən ən æ̃l' ən' !! go RAIBHEAMAR in aislinn
ʃæ: xīr' ə mūr ə tr' i: ʃo:l'tə l'e' krā:n !! sea CHUIREAMAR trí seolta le crann ²	ho:g' mūr ə ⁹ gur:f' ā:n' [sic] !! THÓIGEAMAR a gcúrsa ó
gə ə dā:n' ək' əmūr b' o: ən !! go DTÁINIGEAMAR beo	nūər' ə hā:n' ək' mūr əʃt' æ̃x !! nuair a THÁINIGEAMAR isteach l'æg' mur ə d'er ʃe ... dæg' mid' [?] nə ... xuə mid' əʃt' æ̃x 'leag MUR,' a deir sé ... , 'd'fhág muid na ... chuaigh muid isteach'
As object	mur (x1)
hūk ʃe: mūr əʃt' æ̃x ən' d'a:x o:l' !! thug sé MUR isteach i dteach óil	

1pl Past -a muid

A form intermediate between synthetic -amar and the analogical past with muid is found in a verb of the CAITH class:

ax go div' in' s l'e: brō:d ə xahə mīd' n i:x' ə ʃn' (sns)869PZCP159

Ach go deimhin is le bród a CHAITH MUID an oíche sin.

¹ Mahon (1993) discusses the use of 1pl -(a)mar, etc., in nineteenth and twentieth century Connacht Irish. He supplies examples of the use of mar outside of the past tense which we have not found in Iorras Aithneach (present, future, conditional; the last two from a singer from Ros Muc, to the east of our area). He does not note any instance of mar in object position. It is obvious from his discussion that 1pl -(a)mar is a higher-register marker in other Conamara lects and that certain speakers use it frequently. In fact 'another informant, from Carna, has told me that his grandfather was nicknamed 'Muirne' because of the frequency with which he used that form in his storytelling' (Mahon 1993: 87–8). It would be of interest for us to know precisely who this grandfather was, whether he is one of the speakers in my survey or whether material was recorded from him.

² This song (sung here !(Aár)04B, 13.11), Amhrán Pheaits Pheige Búrc or Páidín na hÁirde as transcribed from 04B by his son 35E is found in RBÉ volume 1311. It is listed in CABI §545(c) where the first line of the fourth verse (corresponding to the line containing chuireamar in the audiorecording, Table 10.2) reads Ar an gceathrú lá fíthead de Mháirta sea chuir muid trí seolta le crann (possibly an instance of loss of the specific high-register form in transmission between the singer 04B and the younger transcriber 35E).

1882 Higher register

10.63 1 Plural conditional and past habitual (-)muist

Forms which occur, mostly in secondary sources, are (10.74):

synthetic *-imis*, *-thaimís*, *-amuís*;
analytic *-theadh muist*, *-o:x mif(t')* *-ódh muis(t)*.

<i>-imis</i>	<i>lé faitíos na HOIRIMISNE</i> [sic] <i>eírighe</i> ('pron[ounced] ighee-ree') <i>dhúinn</i> , !894C9.
<i>-amuís</i>	In past habitual <i>Ní CHANAMUISNE</i> !852S.
<i>-thaimís</i>	<i>go DTIÚRTHAIMÍS</i> !852S.
<i>-theadh muist</i>	<i>ina BHFUÍGHEADH MUIST ánn</i> !894C9; <i>go GCUIRFEADH MUIST na ...</i> !894C9.
<i>-ódh muis(t)</i>	<i>smachtódh MUIS(T) na mif nə Státaí</i> !892M5086.

10.64 Other endings

2 Plural Past *-úir*, *-úabhair*

2 plural *-úir* in: *Nó 'chúrsanaí GCUALÚIR gur báthú mo stór?* !894C9.

2 plural *-úabhair* in: *A' GCUALÚABHAIR slí Fóthuinn chuir an tsleagh nimhe ...*
(Ascr)03V CABI §375c.7.

3 Plural Imperative *-idíst*

3 plural imperative in *-idíst* in: *gəs b'í:d'í:ft' a:n* (run)04B10 *agus bídíst ann*.

Impersonal *-thar*, *-úthear*; *-adh*, *-fir*

Pres, cp. *-hər* *gli:hər suən f'íəł f'æ:rt æ'n'hə* (MP)04B

< *Claoidhtear sond feart fial Éithne* (An Seabhac 1934: 273);

< *Claittir lib fert fiail-Eithne* (Meyer 1921: 17).

Present subj *gə m'æ:ni:r íf'* 04B21 *go MBEANNAÍTHEAR dhuit*.

in *-ir* *gə m'æ:ni:r yuf' M go MBEANNAÍTHEAR dhuit* ('Salve Regina',
school prayer).

in *-ihər* *gə m'æ:ni:hər 'ut'* 11Ctn *go mbeannaíthear dhuit*.

Past *mū:xu: ɽe 'pə:g e s bə:hu: ɽe 'd'ə:r e f tr'ūmū:xu: ɽe 'bratəxi:*
m'í:n'ə fí:d e (run)894C *múchadh le póga é is báitheadh le*
deora é is TRIOMÚCHADH le bratacháí míne síoda é.

The most obvious explanation for the form *tr'ūmū:xu:* here, for
expected *tr'umi:w/u:* *triomaíodh*, is a serial effect from *múchadh*.

Future *-fir* *ní ÉISTFIR comhrá* (MP)894C9, perhaps (confused with) 2sg here.

10.65 Subject pronoun omission

Omission of a 'given' pronoun subject is more common in higher register, e.g.

ən'ʃu:d ə wuəl tə:rt ən tɑ:mədə:n mɔ:r | əgəs xru:m fe ʃi:s gə nɔ:lhəx
d'ox 04B81 *ansiúd a bhuaíl tart an tAmadán Mór agus chrom sé síos go*
N-ÓLTHADH deoch.

Contrast the prose explanation of this lay given by the speaker:

əgəs er xrum' ʃi:s dɔ: gə nɔ:ləx | ʃe' d'ox 04B8n
agus ar chromadh síos dó go N-ÓLADH, SÉ deoch,

where the speaker was presumably falling into a repetition rather than explanation
of the lay, when he first intended to omit the pronoun, but then reverted to prose
or vernacular use by adding the pronoun common in vernacular.

10.66 Verb classes and conjugations

GEARR class

There is absence of expected lengthening in the GEARR-class verb *teann* in:

ən'ʃu:d ə hæ:n' ʃe | gə d' iə rəməd' ... 04B21
ansiúd a THEANN sé go Diarmaid ... (Cp. 10.31.)

Conjugation

There is 1 Conjugation inflection of vernacular *dúisigh* in present impersonal:

DÚISTEAR linne fia mór beannach !04B CABI §536 v. 2.

Conjugational syncretism; Elicitation: loss of *-íodar* and 2 Conjugation

There is an example of what may be serial effect of the 2 Conjugation verb *éirigh* on the 1 Conjugation verb *dearc* in:

... air' imfə ... jærki:m' mæ:x ... (Atps)06C
 ... éirímse ... DHEARCAÍM amach ar an gcnoc úd thall.

1 Conjugation endings with 2 Conjugation verbs occurs in past tense:

1sg *-as* nach iomú lá a D' OIBREAS daibr' əs ann, !21J;
 1pl *-amar* yr' æməmər 04B1 GHREAMAMAR.

In conversation Máire has common 3pl past *-ədər* with 2 Conjugation verbs. This is in contrast with query or translating contexts where Máire (Mq) consistently uses 2 Conjugation past *-idər*. Cf. 5.86. Speaker 66N shows regular 1 Conjugation inflection of *séalaigh* in conversation but in query has 2 Conjugation forms. Cf. 5.416.

10.67 Verbal adjective

Verbal adjectives and similar adjectives have *-ə > -i:*, e.g. (from !894C9)

Tá mé bruite, DÓITÍ, gearrtha;
PÓSTAÍ lé Miostar 'Joyce' (lé replaces ag deleted in manuscript);
SÍNTÍ síos liom.

In a quotation of a Mayo speaker in a local story, *-i:* occurs (which corresponds to Mayo usage):

-Bhuel, a deir, a deir fear Chondae Mhuigh Eo, a deir sé, tá mé CINNTE,
k'ĩnt' i: a deir sé, nach ... 892M4136.

There is otherwise no trace of 'dialect colour' in the anecdote, nor does the speaker show any hint of emphasis of, or amusement at, the form. Cf. 'Sandhi' (10.44).

10.68 Verbal Noun

-ə > -u:

Regular in 2 Conjugation, as in vernacular, in *smaoinigh*, VN *smi:n' u:* !04B7s *smaoineamh* or *smaoiniú*. Vernacular *-ə > -u:* is common:

ga m' æ:lu: riv' air' i: n le: dhá MEALLADH roimh éirí an lae (female speaker on tape IA6–8);
is nach bhféadthainn é a ÁIREAMH go deo e: | æ:r' u: gə d' o: | !!(Aár)04B;
er xrumu: ji:s do: 04B8n ar CHROMADH síos dó;

v'e kahu: mə hi:l' l'æt gən saugrə nɑ: gr'ɑ:n !05M

a bheith ag CAITHEAMH mo shaoil leat gan súgradh ná greann.

The final example cited from speaker **04B** is from the prose explanation of the lay. In the prose explanation, however, **04B** often uses higher-register forms. Cf. 'Sandhi' (10.45).

Verbal Noun not found in vernacular

The ending **-u:n't** was not noted in vernacular with *fill* (in query **f'il'u:n't** 'returning' 46.1148); example from higher register:

s er' il'u:n't du:n't (Asp)**04B** is ar FHILLIÚINT dúinn.

Final **-v** is absent in *cloíodh*, *crá* and *lé*:

cloíodh: mə xli: (Asc) **19J.45** mo CHLOÍODH, vs. mə xli:w **19S**, (Asc)**04B**
mə xle:w !**04B3s** mo chloíobh;

crá: mo chreach agus mo CHRÁ' !**894C9** (**894C** has *crábh* in prose);

lé: Dhá leanainn a' seanchas is na húdair a LÉ' dhíob ! CABI §404 v. 7.

bleáint (rare in vernacular): a BLEÁINT na bó (Actb)**894C9**.

climirt Vernacular generally *ghá climseáil*, but *ghá CLIMIRT* !**894C6**.

dáraíocht (perhaps also in vernacular, cp. *dáiríocht*, 5.213):

'na tharú 's é DÁRAÍOCHT bó !**894C9**.

dórtadh B'aít liom DÓRTADH thíocht ar phórtar !**870C** CABI §52(b) v. 2.

láfa' lámhthadh (perhaps *lámhthach*, with loss of *-ch* in sandhi):

a' LÁFA' gunnaí !**894C9**.

ráite rá > ráite in:

m'e: f'on ma' ku:l' ga: ra:t'ə l'æt **04B2l**

mé Fionn mac Cúil dhá RÁITE leat [ráite x4].

Compare quotative use:

'Dar mo bhreithe, ' RÁITE Goull ! CABI §510 v. 32,

as if past tense *ráitigh. Thus 1sg past ráitios:

ar'his smwi:t'is mar fə ra:t'is (sns)**869PZCP158**

Aithrí a smaoitios (is) mar seo a RÁITIOS,

which can be read as [Ar] aithrí a smaoitios ... corresponding to:

Smaoinigh mé ar aithrí mar siúd go cráifeach: ... gach ní dá bhfuil

mé a ráite, (Ó Coigligh 1987: 46.41–51; also 11.5 VN ráite).

tabhairtean le solas a THÓIRTEAN díbse, le sláinte thóirtean ób !**894C9**,
a bhean a THÓIRTEAN slán (MP)**894C9**.

tíochtain a' TÍOCHTAIN 'un mo thighe, (MMrc)**894C**, a' TÍOCHTAIN ar cuairt
go'n Áird [verse of Abr with IA place-names] **894C9**, a' TÍOCHTAIN
'un a' tí !**894C**, TÍOCHTAIN lé gach céaw !**894C6** and 9, lé
THÍOCHTAIN ar cuairt !**894C9**.

tomhas tos in: huə tos nə l'e:m'ə (Asc)**19S** chuaigh ag TOMHAS na léime.

Verbal Noun genitive not noted in vernacular, including **-t'i:(hə)**

comhairteamh nuər ə haimf ənə xɔ:r'hə !**37J**

nuair a theighimse un a CHOMHAIRTHE.

crú cailín deas CRÚITE na mbó !**894C9**.

díbirt cp. DODHÍBEARTHA !**894C6**.

Genitive **-t'ə** (vernacular) > **-t'i:** and **-t'i:hə** in:

Rachainn i gcúntúirt mo CHAILLTÍ leat !**894C6**;

lucht LÉIGHTIGHTHE leabhar !**894C9**.

10.69 Irregular verbs; *abair* — *ith*

abair: verbal noun

Verbal noun *raíṫṫ* in: *ga: raíṫṫ ɪ ʔæt 04B1 dhá RÁITE leat* (x4) (arguably VN of **ráitigh*, 10.68).

bí: *táim*; *e/o* ~ *ei* in future and conditional; *au* in *raibh*

For *táim*, *bhfuilim* with complements, see 10.59.

Intrusive *h* following (the short vowel of) *beidh* is attested uniquely in:

Beidh b'ei sé sin a'd, a deir sé, ' bhfuil anois agus a MBEIDH a'msa. wil' n'if ogas ə m'ə 'ha'msə ... Leath a bhfuil anois agus a MBEIDH a'm, 'L'æ wil' n'if ogas ə m'ə 'ha'm a deir sé, le mo bheo, dh'ór agus dh'airgead ... agus a bhfuil a'm ... thréis mo bháis 889P (context of king promising royal possessions to hero).

The diphthong *ei* appears to be more common in the higher register. For example, *ga: m'eiṫ dhá mbeinn* was noted in *Amhrán Mhaínse* from two speakers (899N and 04B) who in their conversation (and elsewhere in higher register) use *v/m'eiṫ*. Speaker 04B has *ga: m'eiṫ* and *nax m'eiṫ* in separate verses of *Amhrán Mhaínse* but *v'eiṫ* and *v'enjə* in a Fenian lay. Similarly, speaker 889P has *ga: m'eiṫə ... n'i: v'eiṫ ... ga: m'eiṫ ... v'eiṫ* in the well-known introductory tale run.

au in *raibh* (subjunctive) before a vowel in one token in a verse recited by 11C:

'K'æl na: rau eg' də 'ɪ æ'nə Ciall nár RAIBH ag do leana!
ogas 'lu:d' na: r eg' ə 'dæ:di: Agus lúid nár raibh ag an deaidí!

Also before a consonant-initial pronoun in:

gə rau ʔ ʃi slə:n | (Acá)03V go RAIBH sí slán.

1sg present subjunctive *raud* indicated in:

ná ROUD [⇒ raibhead raud] níos fearr i maoin ná 'n áras !03V §408 v. 4.

déan: stems *déan-* vs. *ní-*

Speaker 894C has consistent *díon-*, lenited *dhíon-*, in vernacular, but he has one noted example in higher register of the stem *ní*; in past habitual: *níteá !894C9*.

faigh: future stem *faigh-*

Examples of *-ai-* occur:

n'í wai (Ab1)03S ní BHFUIGHIDH, waid !S BHFUIGHEAD;
wi:dsə ... gə wainjə (Abb)03S bhfuigheadsə ... go BHFUIGHINNSE;
gə waiħə (Abul)03S go BHFUIGHTHEÁ;
k'ɛ wainjə (Adód)03V cé BHFUIGHINNSE.

Similarly, examples of *-au-* occur:

jofəṫ ... jauṫ buəṫ ... jauṫ ə kolə fa:d saurə (Alp)03V
gheofainn ... GHEOBHAINN buaibh ... GHEOBHAINN codladh fad samhradh.

feic: future *chíf-*

There are examples of the stem *chíth-*, *chíf-* found in direct relative position:

An rud a CHÍTHE leana 'sé níonn a' leana 894C9;
... is túisce CHÍFEAS x'if'əs a maireann dhe mo mhuintir !37J;
Cé CHÍFINN x'if'in' ach mo chéad searc ... !869PZCP156.

1886 Higher register

ith: past -r 'ua-

Nonpersonal past in *gur ruad sí béile* ! CABI §619(b) v. 2 (slightly corrupt, perhaps one should read *gur RUADH* < *gur uaidh* < *duaidh*). This corresponds to (apparently corrupt) *gur nac sí a béilé* [sic] ! (a) v. 2.

10.70 tabhair — teighre

tabhair: stem bheir-, bhéar-

bheir- is found for vernacular *tugaim*:

BHEIRIM buíochas duit faoi gach grásta gá ndearnais orainn. !05M.

bhéar- is found for vernacular *thiúr-*:

ní BHÉARTHAINN ort aon dligheadh dl'i ! !06C;

maĵə v' erid' i: f' i:n əmax sə əfi:n' (sns)869PZCP163

'*Maise BHÉARTHADÍS Fionn amach,*' *su Oisín.*

teara: stem tig-

There are examples from 894C in higher register of the stem *tig-* in contrast with *tag-* in his vernacular:

gach a DTIGEANN (proverb), *nach / go DTIGEANN* [x3] !9;

Dhá DTIGTÁ [x3] !(x1, composed by 894C)9 vs. *Ghá dtagtá* [x2] !894C9.

teighre

Past 3 plural *luidear* in rhyme: *LUIDEAR don Spidéal ...* FFG s.v. *luidear*.

Speaker 892M has the usual form *chuaigh* in his past vernacular but *ghabh* in:

Is nach iomú cúntúirt ar GHABH ʏə sé thríd. (FCúil)892M5270.

Future *rach-* occurs more often than in vernacular. *ragh-* occurs in higher register and is unattested in vernacular.

Fut *rach-*: *RACHA mé* [x3] !894C9; *RACHAMUID* [x2] !894C9; *n' i ra:xə ʃiəd* 04B21 *ní RACHAIDH siad.*

Fut *ragh-* in: *RAGHA mé* [x1] (MMrc)894C9; *RAGHAD* [x1] !894C9.

Cond *rach-*: *RACHAINN* [x8] !894C6 and 9; *raxəd ʃe'* (MP) 04B *RACHADH sé.*

Cond *ragh-* in: *RAGHAINN* [x1] !894C6.

Note (x >) **h**, > Ø, in:

future *ra:d ə kuərtu:* !!19J *RACHAD ag cuartú;*

conditional *gə rahəx f' ir' ...* (run)04B10tn *go RACHADH fir ...* ;

gə ɲo:n' ɽæ't (Asdd)13P *dhá NGABHTHAINN leat.*

Verbal noun *go:l'* is common, e.g.

knik' ə go:l' ənsnə gl'antə | b'ei ki:r'ə kæpl'ə ə rix' ə go:l' ə ɲæltə
!04B3s *cnoic ag GABHÁIL insna gleannta, beidh caoirigh caiple ag rith*
ag GABHÁIL i ngealta;

is bhí mise lá breá ag GABHÁIL thrí Árainn go:l' hri: a:rə'n' | (Aár)04B3s.

dol in: *gən dol fə:nə si:hər* (MP)04B *gan DUL fóna saothar.*

gaul' beside **dol** in:

eg' dol ənu:n ... eg' ə gaul' hri: mə xri:sə ... (Atps)06C

ag DUL anonn ... , ... ag GABHÁIL thrí mo chroísa

10.71 Minor irregular verbs; Defective or rare verbs

- ceidigh* 1sg conditional form of *ceadaigh* meaning ‘wish’ is palatalised before *-óinn* in CABI §70:
Ní CHEIDEOINN ar mo chapall ... (e) v. 4;
Ní CHREIDEAMHAIN ar mo chapall ... (d) v. 2, the spelling seems to indicate *chreideoinn* (cp. Connacht forms *chreidmheochainn*, *chreidneochainn* Dinn s.v. *ceaduighim*);
 also *ní: x'ed'o:n' !39D ní CHEIDEOINN*;
Ní CHEIDEÓNAINN ar mo chapall ... !01S (a) v. 3, also *!03C* (b) v. 2, *!869P* (c) v. 3; cp. *ní cheideonainn* FFG20 s.v. *ceadaigh*.
 Cp. *Ní chainteochainn ar mo chapall ar mo dhiallaid ná ar mo shrian !04B* CABI §79 v. 3 (transcribed by Mairéad Ní Chon Fhaola).
- gabh(áil)* Imperative *gaul'* meaning ‘take’ in:
o:rə gaul' də x'ial ə g'æ:rt ugəd ... (FCúil)*06C Óra GABHÁIL do chiall i gceart chugad is ná maslaigh mé ar an nós sin!*
 This corresponds to *gov də x'ial* (FCúil)*11C GABH do chiall*.
- feadar* *bo: ʎrim'ə'n' d'æ:ræg s n'i: ædər ka waid i: !S* (~ *drim'ən ...*)
bó dhroimeann dearg is ní FHEADAR cá bhfuighead í.
 Explained as:
n'i:l' s am k'e wi: m'e i: S níl fhios a'm cé bhfuighidh mé í.
- fóir* 2sg impv: *fuər' er' ə m'æ:n ə wir'ə* (MP)*04B*
(fuair) *FÓIR ar an mbean, a Mhuire.*
 VN: *le FÓIREAMH for' orm* (Aúb)*39D* (interpretable as *le fóir orm*).
- taistil* VN: *e: tæ:ft' əl', ɪ ɛf' ə ma'nə:nən* *04B!*
é ag TAISTEAL — leis an Manannán.

10.72 Copula; Present

Use of *əf* *is* before pronouns (for general vernacular *f*) is perhaps more common in higher register. For example, in two consecutive lines of local song ((Asp) *11C*), the first token of *is* is *f*, and the second token is *əf* (transcribed *ə f*):

Bail ó Dhia orm péin ... is ar mo speal mar sí tá géar, mār fji: tæ: 'g' e:r |
Is í is deise a ə fji: f d'əfə gheárrthadh féar amuigh sa ngáirdín.

Speaker *21Pt* has present interrogative *ər* (but *marən maran*) in his vernacular but *ən* in:

ən tusə ən f'il'ə ... !21Pt AN tusa an file ... ?

Prevoalcalic conjunctive *-rb* occurs for more common vernacular *-r* in:

Ná síligí GURB íseal, is nach uasal, mé !01S CABI §17(a) v. 3.

Compare the corresponding line in:

Ná sílidh GURAS íseal ach gur huasal mé !04B CABI §17(b) v. 2,

where *gur as* perhaps represents *gər əs gur is* (similar to vernacular *gur is iomú*, or perhaps *as* (< *ós*) *íseal*). A similar apparent use of anomalous *is* occurs in *!01S* CABI §158(a) v. 7:

AN STÓACH a' tú 'n chaoibhean an fhaoileann nó 'n óige?

which can be transcribed *an 's dóch a' tú*, i.e. present interrogative *ən s an is*.

Speaker *01S*'s neighbour's version (*!00M*) of the same line is more regular:

AN DÓCH' an tú an Chríonbhean, an Aoileann ná an óigbhean? (b) v. 6.

10.73 Past

In slow rhythmic rendition **b'ə j** occurs for vernacular **b'** in:

b'ə ju:d i: æ'n'ər'i:n nə ... (Ascñ)11C

BADH iúd ainnirín na rósa meala agus na ngealchrobh lámh.

In another rendition **b'u:d i: æ'n'ər'i:n nə ... (Ascñ)11C**.

lérb occurs in:

Té LÉR Bu leis é, racha mé an ród seo siar !866E CABI §109(a) v. 16 (i.e. lérb oth leis);

An té LÉRB oth leis é, go ngotha mé an ród seo siar !01S CABI §109(b) v. 10 (spelt lérb b'oth leis), similarly (03C's father) (d) v. 4.

cérb occurs in (FCúil)06C:

... fiathraigh héin dhe Neóra,

CÉRB ainm k'er ba:n'əm' dhon óigmhnaoi bhí ag scóladh a chinn.

cérbh in: *A Thiarna an domhain CÉRBH ionadh é, kx'erə 'wi:n e:ə | !!(Abf)03C.*

Note the use of *bí* with *cuimhneach* by **21Pt** in a text learned at school (from *Íosagán*, Mac Piarais: 99):

gasúr NAR RAIBH CUIMHNEACH LEIS an na ro ki:vr'əx l'ɪf ə sagart a fheiceál ariamh roimhe !21Pt.

Pronominals, prepositions, particles, functors**10.74 Personal pronouns****1 plural sinn**

1 plural *sinn* occurs as verbal subject in the conditional, e.g.

nax ɲōhəð jɪn' ə xū:nə gə nə 'spā:n'ə | (Asp)892M5085

Nach ngothadh SINN a chúnaimh dho na Spáinnigh!

gɑ: m'ox jɪn' a:n ən uər jun' | n'i: v'ex mid' a:n ə'n'ɪf | ax gɑ: m'ex mid' ə'n'ɪf ... (Smré)04B

dhá mbeadh SINN ann an uair sin, ní bheadh muid ann anois, ach dhá mbeadh muid anois

As copula subject, e.g.

ba gearr le dhá tharbh SINN jɪn' ag foirseadh sa ngleann sléibhe (Atm)11C.

As object, e.g. emphatic: *nár dhearmad SINNE 894C9* (in rhyme).

As object of verbal noun in anomalous use with 1 plural possessive *ár*:

Lucht briste na hAoine siad a shíl SINN ár ndíbirt hi:l' jɪn' ar n'i:b'ərt'

Ach céad glóir le Íosa Críost ní raibh aon rən maith [sic] dhóib ann. !10B.

1 plural muist

Note the conditional conjunctive subject pronoun *muist* in:

ina BHFUÍGHEADH MUIST ánn !894C9; go GCUIRFEADH MUIST na ... !894C9.

An audio-recorded example has **mɪf**, perhaps with loss of final *t* in sandhi:

'smā:xtə:x mɪf nə 'stɑ:ti: 892M5086 SMACHTÓDH MUIS(T) na Státaí.

1 plural mur

Recall the example of *mur* as object pronoun (preceding a vowel, 10.62):

hūk je: mūr əft' æx ən' d'əx o:l' | !!04B thug sé MUR isteach i dteach óil.

10.75 Possessive pronouns

1sg possessive *mo* has its vowel elided following preposition *dhe / dho* in:

GOM' stóirín !894C9; GOM' chroí !894C6.

Note retention of vowel in initial token of *mo ... mo ...* (10.43):

mə a:x əs mə xu: (Acrt)05M MO each is mo chú.

2sg preceding a vowel generally written *t'* in **894C** but *d'* noted once:

roimhe D'athair !894C9.

Note also *INT'EILG !852S* meaning *in do sheilg* (10.36).

Plural possessive pronouns occur with final *-r*.

1pl **a:r** *ár*, e.g.

ma:r bo:ki: (Acgn)30Bt INÁR bpócaí;

a:r [sic] *m'əhə a:r n'i:lʃəxt əgəs a:r no:xəs M*

ÁR mbeatha ÁR ndílseacht agus ÁR ndóchas, ('Salve Regina', prayer learnt by Máire at school; the context is, strictly speaking, one of invocation).

Also **a:r** in prose in a recording of speaker **06C**:

ə gól | ən a:r ŋrūh̃ə | n̩ə | ən a:r gid' aibr'ə |

ag goil INÁR ngnótha ná INÁR gcuid oibre,

go b'é obair na farraige is mú creidim a thóig, ÁR a:r sean-, -athaireachaí agus ÁR a:r seansínsear a tháinic romhainn.

The recording session no doubt had a stylistic influence on **06C**'s choice of **a:r** here. The speaker, in the same recording, uses the well-known modern Irish *an t-inneall* for vernacular *an t-injin* (< engine), *difiríocht mór* for *difear mór*, *leictreachais* for *leictar* and selfcorrects to *Cloch na Róin* for 'Roundstone'. In this context it is worth noting that speaker **43M** in query produced 1 plural possessive **a:r** and was in fact confused when I told her that her actual vernacular usage is plural possessive *ə*.

2pl **ər** '*ur* (rare), noted in:

fliuchaí 'UR mbéal, ... théis 'UR mbáis, (Abb)894C6;

faoi dhéint 'UR mbáis fi: je:nʔ ər ma:ʃ... a tháinic sib 04B1.

With *dho* + verbal noun > (*dhár*) *gár*:

'S a chúrsa naí 'n bhaile tá mise 'GÁR dteagas [sic] !894C6.

A singer, who is far more literate than usual, has **wər** / **wur** :

fliuchaigí BHUR wər mbéil ... i ndiaidh BHUR wur mbáis (Abb)03S.

Note the cataphoric use of preposition with third person possessive pronoun followed by noun in genitive relationship:

g'æ:si ə xir' ənə g'a:n gax f'ær ... gən ... 04B1 geasaí a chuir INA gceann gach fear ... gan ..., (unless **ənə** represents *ann i* here, 10.86);

n'i ra:xə ʃiəd ʏa: ʏri:m' ən ta:l'ə gə bra:x 04B1

ní rachaidh siad DHÁ dhroim an tsáile go brách.

10.76 Other pronominals: *dhá*; Emphatic clitics; *sea*

dhá with verbal noun

Vernacular pronunciation **gɑ:** *dhá* can contrast with higher register **ʏɑ:** *dhá*. The more conservative fricative realisation is required in a story told by **12S** where **ʏɑ:** **ʏo:** *dhá dhó* 'two 'two's'' occurs as a pun on **ʏɑ:** **ʏo:** *dhá dhó* 'being burnt':

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-*Tá an cáca DHÁ dhó!*
-*DHÁ dhó, sin a ceathair.*

On the other hand, speaker **894C** has vernacular **ya**: . The only phrase-medial **ga**: tokens that were noted from him, occur (perhaps coincidentally) in song. Cp. *dhá* ‘if’ and *dhá* (*dhe* + *a*^N) (10.91).

Emphatic personal enclitics

There is an example of 2sg *-se* following 2sg past *-is* (10.58, probably from **04B**, transcribed by his daughter) in:

Do GHEALLAIS-SE fhéin dom ! CABI §113 v. 2.

sea in relative copula

Use of *sea* following fronted elements is common in higher register, e.g. (in past context)

Is as ucht Rí na bhflaitheas SEA scread mé ar dtús air !!(LCúil)894C;
Agus le saighead glan géar SEA loit sí mo thaobh agus d’fhág sí léasta lár mo chroí (Aln)11C.

10.77 Reflexive féin

f’ e:n’ féin is fairly common, e.g.

ax fa:nəxt Í in’ f’ e:n’ gə d’ o: 46 Text V *ach fanacht linn FÉIN go deo;*
mu:fə d’ər je ya: ‘wa:nʃə f’ e:n ‘kol hə ‘e:də | !!(Ascr)881J
-Muide, a deir sé, dhá bhfaighinnse FÉIN culaith éadaigh;
annis molaimse an barr, leat FÉIN, f’ e:n’ (Abtm)881J;
ʃā:m f’ ē:n’ | !!(Aár)04B Team FÉIN (f’ not audibly clear);
muləm’ f’ e:n’ (Acs)04B molaim FÉIN.

There are instances of unhistorical **p’ e:n’** in:

gom’ stóirín PÉIN !894C9;
ga wa:n’ m’ e p’ e:n’ ski:l’ ə !10B dhá bhfaighinn mé FÉIN scaoilte.

The latter example may be genuine higher register unhistorical **p’ e:n’** or may be caused by phonetic delentation of **f’ -**, which I have heard in this speaker, cp. **p’ uká: 10B** for *phiocthá*.

In the following passage sung by **!05M** there is a curious form which may represent a truncation or metanalysis of **yu(:)m’ p’ e:n’ dhom héin**:

ə to:r d’ i:d’ ən: ə fo: də ʃk’ e:ə yu:mp’ | gus ya:re:g gəŋ | nə hæ:spə:l’:
ag tabhairt dídean fó do scéith DHOM agus dháréag dhe na haspail.

10.78 Demonstratives

For cataphoric use of demonstrative pronoun *sin*, see 6.75 and note further:

Mar bhí SIN ann fuisce go fairsinn;
bhí ‘brandy’ ann, rum agus beoir. !!(Aár)04B (13.11 I).

A citation in 10.40 combines anaphora and cataphoric use:

a chuid madaí ... mar a bhí SIN aige: Stolgair, Míolgair

The demonstrative adjective *údaí* occurs in a line of song attributed to the local poet Mícheál Mharcais a Cúláin (MMrc) recited by (Atb)11C:

an lá ÚDAÍ | ən ‘la: u:di: i Maínis is rídheas mar d’athraigh sé an scód.

Demonstrative *údan* occurs pronominally in:

Cé HÚDAN siar a bhfuil a gruaig le fána CABI §379(a) 1.
 Speaker **05M** has *Cé hí siúd thiar a bhfuil a gruaig le fánadh* CABI §379(b) 1.

10.79 Article

Phonology

ən (əŋ, etc., in sandhi) occurs between consonants, where ə is usual in the vernacular.

- 875T** nuər' ə 'hær:ən' o:s 'm'ij' 'ort ən 'tuə | !! nuair a tharrainneós mise ort AN tua.
04B er' ən' g'f'er'əx | ar AN gcléireach.
ní rachaidh siad dhá dhroim AN tsáile yrim' ən ta:l'ə go brách | p11.
 er' xu:ləv ən v'æ:ŋk' (Abr) ar chúlaibh AN bheainc (of commercial bank).
 ə v'i: er' ən mæ:d (Acs) a bhí ar AN mbád.
 er' ə yrim' ə xur fe' ən f'ia | ogəs ə græ:nog nə f'k'i:hə fæ xur fe' ən v'æ:n |
 (Lam) ar a dhroim a chuir sé AN fia, agus i gcrannóg na scíthe sea chuir sé AN bhean.
 ho:g' efi:n' ə⁰ xa:rəg' | ... ənuəs əŋ xa:rəg' ə'r'i:f' (Suda)
thóig Oisín AN charraig, ... anuas AN charraig aríst.
 er' hi:v' əŋ xni:k' (Suda) ar thaoibh AN chnoic.
 ogəs ən 're:wad'ə ... | sən á:t' ə dæ:n'ək' əŋ' x'ed liŋg' əgəs əŋ x'ed li:x əs ən
 x'e:d yafk' iəx ... (AscN) agus AN rémhaide ... , san áit a dtáinig AN chéad loing
 agus AN chéad laoch is AN chéad ghaiscíoch Cp. 13.14.
05M nuair a chuala na mrá eile caint ar AN gcoileach er' əŋ g'ol'əx | ... ar AN tuamba, er' ən
 tū:mbə | ... (Aif).
11C bhí sé ag cuir AN ghaineamh mín kir' əŋ 'yæ'n'ə 'm'i:n' in íochtar (run).

In the following example the article may have been reinterpreted (hypercorrectly) from the 3pl possessive *ina bhfianaise* or *as a bhfianaise*:

Nar tháinig an t-aingeal, agus réitigh sé an bealach, agus thóig sé an leac
 AS AN BHFIANAISE L'æ:k' a:s ən v'i:n'ə:f' | !!(Aif)**05M**.

The article is absent (postvocally) before *domhan*, perhaps historically so, in:
Go lá 'léibhe ' Domhain (MP)**894C9**.

With definite nouns

Use of the article with proper names and titles is common, e.g.

gō vru:ntənəs heg'ě ri: nə tri: 46.1.47
dhe bhronntanas chuig AN rí na Traí (recte).
kr'is f'er g'in'u: ə kr'i:st (MP)**04B** *Crios lér gineadh AN Críost.*
orsə ən ma'nəna:n **04B** *arsa AN Manannán.*
ə gorəx ə wa'nəna:n' **04B** *i gcorach AN Mhanannáin.*

See discussion of the double article (6.96 ff.).

10.80 Prepositions

Prepositions can indicate agents or actors of impersonal (or passive) verbs in various tenses. This is exemplified under the separate prepositions, which can govern personal nouns or pronouns: *ag* (quotation in Fenian prose tale), *le* (lays and songs) and *ó* (song and recited verse know as *Seachrán Chearúláin* (AscN), stylistically archaic).

10.81 ag

The preposition *ag* indicates the agent of an impersonal verb in:

-Nach bhfuil fhios agad go maith go marbhóchaidhe na Fianna uile AG an mbeirt ghaisgidheach, LL158.

In the prepositional pronouns of the preposition *ag*, the by-forms with internal **g**, i.e. **agəm agəd agən'**, in 1 and 2sg and 1pl, are marked in contrast with those without **g**, i.e. **am ad ən'** (7.5). Speaker **03V**, noted with **am ad ən'** and stressed **a'gən ə** in conversation, has **a'gəm a'gəd** in song. There are two tokens of **agən'** in the same line of song from speaker (Atm)**11C** corresponding to *a'inn* from **!!(Atm)39D**:

agus ní raibh fhios AGAINN 'na dhéidh sin cé AGAINN fear ab fhearr 11C;
agus dúlán [dúshlán] fearú Éireann, fáil amach u- cé A'INN ab fhearr. 39D.

Speaker **04B** was noted in vernacular with regular forms **am ad ən'**; in his higher register **ag-** forms are common, e.g. (from Fenian lays)

mah a'gəd in' maith AGAD, a Fhinn;
gl'e:stə suəs a:gəmsə gl'éasta suas AGAMSA;
der' mokəl ut' er sefən ə ɣair' wən' | b'ei tu: a:gəms ə d'i:nə spə:rt'
'Doir m'fhocal dhuit,' ar seisean, 'a ghadhair bháin, beidh tú AGAMSA ag déanamh spóirt ...'

followed later in the text where the hero now possesses the hound:

... ta fjad ən'jo'w a'm | ... tá siad anseo A'M;
tá súil AGAM, a bhráthair, ta: su:l' agəm ə vrə:hər', go gcumhdóidh tú

10.82 un, chun

Examples of **xən chun** occur, e.g.

guibhe CHUN Dé xən' 'd'e: 46.793a (cp. conjunctive *chun* in religious context from same speaker below);

ə gol' ən ə xən ən æ:fr'ən dum l'e til' ən 'a:rd,ri: !!(Abul)881J
[with selfcorrection] *Ag goil CHUN an Aifrinn dom le toil an Ard-Rí.*

Use of *un* is more widespread than in vernacular, e.g. (in run, **11C**)

fi:vər əŋ kurhə fi:vər əm ba:n't ə fi:vər əŋ' g'arhə fi:vər əm b'arhə
faobhar UN curtha, faobhar UN bainte, faobhar UN gearrtha, faobhar UN bearrtha;

mar d'ek'ə: fru gol' əŋ' gl'ən k'ə: gol' ən a:rd' ... (run)19P
mar d'fheictheá sruth ag goil UN gleann, ceo ag goil UN aird

The related preposition (*ch*)*uig* is used with genitive, in place of *un*, in:

ghá dtóirt UIG A MBLIGHTE !894C6 (in assonance with short *i*, i.e. **bl'it' ə**).

There is an example of conjunctive *chun* in:

A Rí d'ísli' tú héin CHUN bás na Croiche fhuilint ar a' son !869P6.

10.83 dar

In vernacular *i nDomhnach* only was heard but *dar nDomhnach* occurs, e.g.

's DAR ndónach ba ... !894C9; 's DAR núnach !894C9.

10.84 dhe

dhe > ə perhaps in **l'ig' ə də vrom** (Lam)**04B1 lig DHE do bhrón.**

dhe > Ø in stroy run:

gə muəfət [muəf hət ?] fɛ ha:l ə wuətəf i 895M
go mbuaileadh [mbuailtheadh ?] sé DHE sháil a bhuaiais í.

There is nonvernacular use of *dh'* in an old saying:

Cé DH'ainm nó shloinne thú, ...

Cé dhár ...

Cé dhíob na deireachaí, 894C9.

There is use of *dhá* for the simple preposition *dhe* in (perhaps cataphoric, cf. 10.75):

ní ra:xə fjad ɣa: ɣri:m ən ta:l ə gə bra:x 04B1

ní rachaidh siad DHÁ dhroim an tsáile go brách.

10.85 *faoi, fó, fá, fae*

fo: *fó* is quite common as simple preposition, e.g.

fo: nə kailt i: l æt !899N *FÓ na coilltí leat.*

gən dol fo:nə si:hər (MP)04B *gan dul FÓNA saothar.*

Tá mé tinn FÓ mo chroí is ligí dhom loighe! !105M.

Also in *fó seach*, e.g.

(ju:n klef ə) gə ɣa: xlef ə je:g fo: fəx nɑ:r buə: l e kua:n me:l 04B1

dheamhan cluiche dhe dhá chluiche dhéag FÓ SEACH nár buadh le Conán Maol.

Cp. place-name in tales *Tír-fó-Thoinn 866ESemr98, Rí Thír Fó Thoinn 866ESc103* (with note, Sc84, of the alternant *Tír Faoi Thoinn*).

fa: occurs in:

ag éalú FÁ do dhéin fa: də je:n' (Pádraig Breatnach);

'S a Róisín ná bíodh brón ort FÁNAR éirí' dhuit !19J CABI §88 v. 2;

fa: mə x ə:n (Lam)04B *FÁ mo cheann.*

(Speaker **04B** has regular **a:** for the preposition *ó*.) Cp. school usage: **(tr'i) fa k æhər ə do:je:g 16St** (*trí) fá (a) ceathair a dó dhéag* 'three by four is twelve'.

Also **fe:** *faoi* in *FAÉNA bhun 894C2* (in the punch-line of a story).

10.86 *i*

The simple preposition *i* is replaced by *ann i* in:

eg' ən arə'n ə ta: ən ə mə la:r (Ascñ) *ag an arrainn atá ANN I mo lár.*

Conjunctive *is* before *gach*, obsolescent or obsolete in the vernacular, is found in:

Mar gheithe tú amach IS gach ma:x s ga:x seanchas gur mac le Dearg Mór mé, (Atm)11C.

This *is* is reinterpreted as formally equivalent to coordinator *agus* in:

v'ix fe ta:rənt' 'a:xrən agəs gə'xil' 'a:t' ga: 'd' aiəx fjad | 875T

bhíodh sé ag tarraint achrann AGUS gach uile áit dhá dtéadh siad.

Conjunctive forms in *ins-*, with the article, seem to be more common. A high proportional use of *ins-* was noted from speaker **04B**, for example, in a Fenian lay and the local song *Amhrán na Speile*:

tra: ga: ra a:məda: mo:r t'i:hər loxrən nə g'oi:l fji: | insə ŋl'a:n |

xon'ək' fe' heg'ə | ənsə t'i:i: | f'ia b' æ:nəx borəb | (Lam)04B1

Tráth dhá raibh Amadán Mór Tír Lochrann na gCeol Sí, INSA ngleann, choinic sé chuige INSA tslí fia beannach borb;

gə da:n'ək' fe: 'f' a:x ənsə du:n | si: er fəfən ənsə ro:d ... (Lam)04B

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go dtáinig sé isteach INSA dún, 'Suigh,' ar seisean, 'INSA ród ...';
ənsə ŋ^a:rd' i:n' | ənsən a:t nar (Asp)**04B** *INSA ngairdín, INSAN áit nar ...;*
ənsnə gl' a:ntə v4(Asp)**04B** *INSNA gleannta.*

In some prose stories this speaker has fewer *ins-* forms. In the tale *Scéal Mhac Dháithí an tSneachta* (Smds) told by **04B**, for example, **sə** and **sən** are the more frequent by-forms. On the other hand, in the tale *Scéal an dá Shochairde* (Sdás), **04B** has a higher proportion of *ins-*.

The longer form can be convenient in scanning verse. For example, in:

B'fhearr liomsa an sioscadh bhionns aici ag tíoicht v'ins ek'ə ə t'iaxt le
cóir,

Ná éinín druideoige amuigh INSNA mix' ənsnə coillte ag ceol. (NUath)**11C**,
where the two unstressed syllables are supplied by lack of schwa elision in the first line and by *insna* in the second. Similarly (CABI §164(a), (c) v. 2):

Chuir mé mo shean-nduine isteach INSA gcórtha (Asdd)**869P**.

10.87 *le*

The initial consonant of the 1 plural prepositional pronoun is unlenited (**l'**) in:

er 'xlā:f' i: 'L' i:n' [also:] **er 'xlæ:v' i: 'L' i:i:n'** (Aln)**11C** *ar chlainmhí LINN.*

The preposition *le* indicates the agent of an impersonal verb:

nar buəu' ɣe kua:n me:l 04B *nár buadh LE Conán Maol;*

Dúistear [present] *LINNE fia mór beannach* !**04B** CABI §536 v. 2;

mar ɣe: in' i:n wi:l' faxlin' / faxnəs / mari:w trə'g'e:ʃəs (sns)**869P**ZCP161
mar LE in'fon Mhaoilseachlainn maraíodh Tuirgéseas [poem by Raftery].

Cp. *Cailliú le Déirdre triúr clann Uisní' nár stríoc* !**869P** CABI §134(b) v. 4.

In fact the relative pronoun *le*, etc. (10.94–10.97), as well as evolving from unmarked prepositional use and double prepositional use, e.g. *an té lérb oth leis*, may have expanded from higher-register use of agentive *le*, especially in the impersonal relative. The higher-register connotation of agentive *le*, which is more archaic than the alternative agentive markers *ag* and *ó* (e.g. Müller 1999: 141, Table 3.20; 203; FFG s.v. *ó* 1(a)–(d)), may have influenced the choice of *le* as higher-register relative pronoun. Indeed, a search for the form *ler* in Raftery's songs (Connacht poet, 1779–1835; Ó Coigligh 1987) in the CFNG database yields seven tokens in all of *le+r*, four of which contain agentive *le* with the impersonal:

is dá labhraim ar Héilin LER scriosadh an Traí (1.48), [1]

an fear LER scriosadh an Traí (12.28),

is dá n-abrainn Héilin LER scriosadh an Traí (21.6),

agus Ió an bhean LER dalladh Árgas (25.34); and, compare:

Crios LÉR gineadh an Críost (MP)**04B**. [2]

In all seven examples from Raftery the context of *le+r* is that of heroic Greek tales. This includes the four agentive examples cited in [1] and the two examples of causal or instrumental use in [3] (*ler thit* (x2); the only personal examples) as well as one example of the basic prepositional use [4]:

Dá mairfeadh Héilin LER thit na céadta, ... an Traí (24.53–4), [3]

Scríos na Traí ... siúd é an 'siege' LER thit na feara (36.129–30);

Dejanira an ógmhnaoi, ar ndóigh, LER casadh Heirciléas (45.17). [4]

Thus relative pronoun *le*, rather than reflecting older vernacular relative use now preserved in song, might have its main origin within the higher register in the reanalysis of agentive and instrumental uses. One can therefore conjecture the following analogical development, for example,

Héilin ler scriosadh an Traí ~ Héilin ler thit an Traí
 > *Héilin le* [relative pronoun] *scrios an Traí*.¹

Similarly, for *le go*; compare causal *le go* followed by agentive *ó* in a composition from the North-East of Ireland (cp. *le go ... ó* 10.96 [1]):

Ise go bhfuigheadh an dearg-ubhall ríoghdha, [5]
LE GUR sgríosadh an Traoi, Ó Pháris, with alternative reading:
 ... *LE'R sgríosadh ...* (Laoide 1914: 42 n. 15, cp. *le'r ~ le gur* 127).

The context which I conjecture for the development of *le* as relative pronoun is typical of higher register: complex sentence type, in this instance prepositional relative, and impersonal expression of the verbal agent.² I am aware of one attestation of *le* as a relative pronoun, in indirect prepositional use, in a source which seems to be vernacular or near vernacular. It comes from a stylistically unadorned tale transcribed from a speaker from Rinn Mhaoile in North-West Conamara. It is, however, noteworthy that causal *le* follows relative *le* in the narrative (Larminie 1893: 240, which I have transliterated from the phonetics):

'An tríobha bean LÉR iarr mé uirthí an dinnéar a fháil faoi réir, d'fhéad sí sin chuile chionál dhá fheabhas thabhairt dúinn.' 'Cén fáth lér fhéad sí sin thabhairt dúinn agus nár fhéad an bheirt eile é a dhéanamh?' dúirt an fear.

10.88 Other prepositions, prepositional pronouns

ar

The simple preposition *ar* is heard in **er' noi**; **!10B AR ndóigh**.

nó go

The single noted example of *nó go* (a regular conjunction), apparently for the vernacular preposition *go*, occurs in a line of Raftery's *Baile Uí Lí*:

agus thug muid an lá linn, NÚ GO túin an tí. !!(Abul)881J.

It might be interpreted as an ellipsed version of *nó go ndeachaigh muid go túin an tí*. The corresponding line in Ó Coigligh's edition (1987: 85 line 36) is:

agus thug an lá sinn GO tóin an tí.

¹ *le* functions as indirect relative pronoun in a line of Art Mac Cumhaigh's (Co.'s Louth and Armagh) lament for Art Óg Ó Néill (who died in 1769):

An chroidhe le'r thuit fuil cheart Uí Néill ann

'the heart that contained the best blood of O'Neill' (Ó Muirgheasa 1926: 27 xlii, 62),

An croí ler thuit fuil cheart Uí Néill ann (Ó Fiaich 1973: 126, line 256).

The lexical correspondence to Raftery's two instances of personal instrumental *ler*, i.e. *ler thit*, is striking here. A further possible source of relative *le* is the possessive construction exemplified in *Bean le mbíonn a dhá croidhe 'na cliabh* (O'Rahilly 1921: 18 §88), cited in CGT p. 129 (second footnote).

² Compare Ó Buachalla (1962–4: 113 [for n. 7 read n. 6], cp. 109–10 n. 16) who provides separate high register examples of both historical relative particle *do* and historical relative verbal suffix *-s* used in nonrelative contexts from Cléire (Munster). Cp. *do* in *An tOileánach* (Seán Ó Coileáin 2002: xxxv–xxxvi).

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ó

The preposition *ó* indicates the actor of an impersonal verb in:

Agus a seangmhalai le go searctar í Ó gach síorleannán (Ascú)852S.

roimh(e)

Speaker **19J**, recorded with simple *roimhe* in conversation and song, has two tokens of *roimh* in (religious song):

... ríʋ lɑ: ... ríʋ wæ:dʔənʔ | !19J ... ROIMH lá ... ROIMH mhaidin.

thar

The initial of the 3pl prepositional pronoun is unlenited following *-s* in:

ag goil fúthub AGUS TARTUB !05M.

thri

Note *trʔ* - in: *xuə ʋɑ: hrʔ in fi:f trʔ i:m* !S *chuaigh dhá thrian síos TRÍOM.*

Note *hri:dʔ* with plural article *na* in:

nā:x wilʔ kurʔ tɛ:ruʔ oɾəmʔ hri:d nəʔ baʔliʔ (FCúil)11C
nach bhfuil ag cuir taerú orm THRÍD NA ballaí.

3 feminine prepositional pronoun

Recall third feminine ending *-i*: before vowels in (10.44(iii)):

i:nʔ i: e | ... *æ:ftʔ i: e* !11C *INTI é, ... AISTI é.*

10.89 Compound and nominal prepositions

faoi dhéint occurs more often than in vernacular, e.g.

fi:nə je:nʔ | *faoina dhéint*; *fiʔ je:nʔ* | *xiʔlʔ a:n* ... *FAOI DHÉINT chaisleán* ... ;

fi: je:nʔ xunaʔnʔ *FAOI DHÉIN Chonáin* absence of *-t* perhaps through sandhi;

fi: je:nʔ ri: loxrən *FAOI DHÉINT rí Lochrann*;

fi: je:nʔ ənʔ e:nʔ *FAOI DHÉINT an Fhéinn* (all 04B1).

Also *faoi dhéin*: *ag éalú FÁ DO DHÉIN fa: də je:nʔ* (Pádraig Breatnach); also *seolthaidh mé soir le cóir* ... *FAOI DHÉIN an Torcaigh Mhóir fi: je:n ə torkə* 'wo:ərʔ'!(Asp)11C.

ina dhéidh (for *ina dhiaidh*), e.g.

tá an breac ann dhá rathú is an brudán ag snámh INA DHÉIDH : an fhéir :

gan spré (Abtm)11C;

agus ní raibh fhios againn 'NA DHÉIDH sin cé againn fear ab fhearr. (FCúil)-11C.

in inid(e)

le sása a bhaint go Shasana IN INID an chaoi a bhí curtha aige ar na Caitiligeachaí (TarCC)869P5; ... *IN INIDE an chaoi* ... (TarCC)869P5.

tar éis (for *thar éis*)

tar e:f ə ɔʔor-nʔ i: ʔigʔ | 11Ctn *TAR ÉIS an jorní uilig*

(perhaps a rarer vernacular by-form for 11C).

Verbal particles

10.90 Past *do*; Verbal Noun *ag*, *d'*, *dh'*, *a*, *dhá*; Past *-r*

Verbal *do*, past

Speaker **04B** has two examples of *do bhí* (one relative):

agəs | də v'i: fɛ fkr'i:v f'i:s ga:x f'k'e:l wai 04B1

agus DO bhí sé ag scríobh síos gach scéal uaidh;

f'ær də v'i: ɛr ə ga:fəl | ə v'i: nə ju:f't'i:f dar bæ'n'əm' dər fɑ:n o:

loxra:n' 04B7n *Fear DO bhí ar an gCaiseal a bhí ina ghiúistís darb ainm dó Seán Ó Lochráin.*

These two examples are from the introductory section of the tale or narrative.

There is a further example of past *do* in song (probably from **04B**):

DO gheallais-se fhéin dom ! CABI §113 v. 2.

do bhí is also attested in the relative in:

fear lúth DO bhí teann !852S.

Past relative *do* is rhythmically correct in:

Allas locht an tsaothair is bheith go daor leis na boicht,

Ach sé féarach na gcúig chaora DO chaolaigh mo chos. !11C.

Speaker **04B** (CABI §17(b) v. 3) also has past habitual relative *do bhínn*:

I gCalath Mhuighinse seadh DO bhínnse go suaimhneach sámh.

Verbal Noun *ag*

Sometimes pronounced **eg' ag**, e.g.

eg' dol ə'nu:n ... eg' ə gaul' hri: mə xri:sə ... (Atps)06C

AG dul anonn ... , ... AG gabháil thrí mo chroísa ... ;

an chuach AG seinm eg' f'in'əm' ó! agus na ... (Ams)899N;

bhíodar ar feadh na hoíche, AG seinm cheolta, eg' f'in'əm' x'oltə dhon

Mhaighdean Bheannaíthe. !05M.

Verbal Noun *d'*, *a dh'*

Particle *d'* before vowel is attested with the verbal noun *fáil*, following words in final vowels, in:

ba mhian liom codlú D'fháil !894C9;

nach bhféadthaidh muid a chéile D'fháil ə x'e:l ə da:l' (Abtm)11C.

In the last example *d'* clearly aids the metre preventing the possible elision of schwa. In the first example, *codladh d'fháil*, possible schwa elision is also relevant.

Cp. *a dh'* with verbal noun in: *leath mo scéil A DH'insean !Clad224.*

Verbal Noun *a^L*

The verb of motion *teighre* is followed by *a^L* (for vernacular *ag*) in:

CHUA siad ... A' CHRUINIÚ Néigíors ... !894C9;

Is shoraigh dhíot, a thorracháin, ó CHUAIDH tú MHOLADH an Speedwell, !Sóc1.83.

10.91 Other particles: *dhá*; *-r*

Verbal *d(h)á* 'if' and *d(h)á < dhe + a^N*, **da:**

Verbal *d(h)á(-) da:(-)*, for vernacular **ga:(-)**, occurs in:

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s d̪ɑː v̪ ɛk̪ɑː (brother of 21J) is *DÁ bhfeictheá* (in local song);
mar f̪iː m̪ 'bɑːd̪ i f̪ ,d̪ ɛf̪ə 'm̪iːnlə d̪ɑːr d̪ ɑːrnu | !10B
mar sí an bád í is deise múnla DÁR dearnadh.

Verbal -r

There is an unhistorical use of -r in *hlɑːr shulár* (if accurately transcribed in the source) in:

v̪ ɛd̪ f̪eː r̪iːn̪ t̪ ɪg̪ ɛ hlɑːr wuər̪ f̪eː bɑːs !869PZCP
bheadh sé roinnte aige SHULÁR bhfuair sé bás.

There is a similar unhistorical example of -r in *gɑːr dhár* (*dhe + a^N*) in a religious song:

ag sábháilt ar gach peacach, ag sábháilt ar gach créatúr DHÁR [i.e. dhá]
mbeidh NÓ'R ná [i.e. dhá] ndeachaigh, gɑːrə m̪ ɛi nuː.uː r̪ nɑː
n̪ ɛːx̪əːn̪ | !105M.

The second token, *r̪ nɑː*, seems corrupt, perhaps for *gɑːr*. The occurrence of -r in historical eclipsing position with irregular verbs is apparently based on use with the past regular verb. It is perhaps hypercorrective given the tendency in the vernacular to elide historical -r. Cp. -r, also following *ɑː*, in: *n̪ trɑː r̪ h̪ig̪ f̪iː* !10B *an tráth ar thig sí*, cited in the next section; and anomalous -r in *nach ciúin ... ler mheall tú mé* !869P (10.94).

10.92 Indirect and prepositional relative

There is an example of *ar^L*, formally indirect relative past, preceding obsolete irregular verb *thig* in present meaning in:

s̪ tɑː n̪ 's̪iːn̪əs ɛr̪ n̪ə 'sluət̪ ə n̪ trɑː r̪ h̪ig̪ f̪iː ɛr̪ n̪ə 'kuəntə | !10B
Is tá an sonas ar na sluaite an tráth AR thig sí ar na cuanta.

There are examples of indirect relative *a^N* in locative use functioning as historical *i^N* (for most common vernacular *a^N ... ann*, etc., but cf. 8.77 ff.). The relative can follow a prepositional [1] or nonprepositional [2] phrase:

Téiri' agus cuir fál ar a' bpáirc A ra' tú 'réir !869P CABI §119 v. 2 [1]
(8.77 type (a))
an fhad uaim 's tá 'n baile ' bhfuil tú !01S CABI §137(e) v. 3 [2i]
Agus níl aon chailín óg ... nach mbeadh ag fiathraí gá máthair cén [2ii]
cábán A raibh Teaimín. !11C5672

Similarly, relative *a^N* occurs for vernacular prepositional relative *a^N ... air* or final *go^N* in:

's níl stóilín a'am A suidhfinn síos (Abl) CABI §8(d) v. 3.

Possibly an instance of *ə*, transcribed as *a*, for *go*. Other versions of this song recorded from Iorras Aithneach speakers (CABI §8(f), (h), (i)) have this phrase as *níl (a') stól a(ga)m le go suidhfinn síos* (cf. 10.96).

Examples occur of prepositional relatives with the prepositions *i* and *le* in conjunction with the relative 'pronoun' meaning respectively 'in which (where); with whom, with which'.

ina + verb: Gá mbeach fhios ag u- daoiní an u- ríocht INA mbímse
!!(Asr)43Js.

le + copula past: Ar maidin Dóna' go cé LÉR mhiste !894C6.

le + verb: *Sí an Bheanín* [i.e. *bheainín*] *tSeód í LÉ n-óltar an fionn !*
 CABI §616 v. 1;
 ' *Chríost nár bhocht a' galra LÉR fhága tu mé !894C9* (or
 perhaps relative of place, equivalent to *inar fhága*).

Double prepositional use occurs with *ar* and *i*, i.e. *ar a^N ... air* and *ina^N ... ann*:

tá: kra:n ə la:r nə pa:rk'ə er' a wa:sən er' bla: f' iəl !37J
tá crann i lár na páirce AR A bhfásann AIR bláth fial (similarly CABI
 §134(d) v. 9);

Ach u- tíúrtha mé cuairt is u- céad ar an taobh dhíom INA ənə mbíonn sí
ÁNN !!(Acgf)43Js.

Similarly, *ina ... ann* is a possible analysis of:

k'eŋ' gl'a:n na rau.əf a:n ríw'ə r' iəw 04B8I
cén gleann INA rabhais ANN roimhe ariamh,

the **a** in **na** may well be an example of vowel harmony from /nə/ in the **a:n ... ra-**
 environment, but the most satisfactory reading might be **gl'a:n ə rau.əf a:n**
gleann a rabhais ann.

(See also relative pronoun use of prepositions *dá*, *le*, *le go* and *lena* in indirect
 prepositional relative clauses in the following sections.)

Note the apparent example of *a^N* in indirect relative with undeclined preposition
 with plural reference, in *a^N ... air* (for *a^N ... orthub*):

v' i: gruə mar nə garhi: ə m'r'aktər er' ə ti:l mar vlə: (AscN)19S
bhí a grua mar na garrthaí A mbreactar AIR an t-aol mar bhláth.

The possible meaning of this line is 'her cheek was like a flower, as the walls
 which are decorated with lime.' In this line *a^N* corresponds to *le go* of speakers
19J and **04B** (10.96 [3]).

10.93 Relative pronouns; *go* (and *d(h)á*)

There are at least two relative pronouns exclusive to high register, *go* and *le*. The
 latter, *le*, which is the historical prepositional relative of the preposition *le*, has
 three by-forms and is by far the more common and has widest usage, including
 innovative direct relative *le^L*. (For derivation from a preposition, compare indirect
 relative *a^N*, equal to *i^N* prepositional relative in *áit i^N > áit a^N*, 8.76.) Nonetheless
 in high register contexts use of the relative is mostly as in the vernacular.
 Instances of variation in equivalent lines of songs are not uncommon: *a^N ~ go^N ~*
le go^N; *a^N ~ le^N ~ le go^N ~ lena^N* (e.g. *an oíche a / le / le go bhfuighinn* (Ams)); *a^L*
~ le^L. There is one instance of *d(h)á* which is interpretable as a relative pronoun
 in a composition from a contemporary speaker.

go

In indirect relative with preposition:

Tá gáirdín ... ag mo Bhideog taíó' tháill gon chuan,
GO bhfásann úbhall cúrtha AIR a baintear faoi dhó 'nsa mbliain !894C9.

In indirect relative with resumptive subject pronoun, in address or invocation:

Is é Rí na hAoine a céasadh ar an gcrois,¹

¹ *Is a* [vocative] *Rí na hAoine ...* would make better sense, although *Is é Rí na hAoine ... Gur fhoilim sé ...* is found in another version of this prayer from **05M** (13.13, lines 38–9); *go*, i.e. *gur* here, might be argued to have consecutive function. Stiofán Ó hEalaioire, Co. Clare, has vocative:

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*GUR fhoilinn TÚ na mílte lot,
Go saora tú sinn ó gach uile olc. !05M.*

Cp. *go* in indirect copula relative in *a' té GURB AIR a mbíonn sé !894C6*.

d(h)á

d(h)á can be interpreted as a relative pronoun in prepositional relative in a composition by Seán Cheoinín, **18S**:

*'Gus narbh onóir [n. 1: sic leg for bhun óir] do chlainne Conghaile,
Is gon chontae DÁ dtáinig siad AS SeolG44.¹*

(High register relative *lena* is more common in **18S**'s compositions, 10.97.) The use of *d(h)á* here, however, is similar to that in vernacular *an doras dá dtáinig sé isteach ann* (8.73). Cp. *an doras le dtáinig tú isteach* **04B** (10.94).

10.94 Relative pronoun *le*

Relative pronouns *le*, *lena*, and *le go* occur in various relative clauses. The frequency of the three by-forms of the relative pronoun containing *le* (in my notes) is: *le go* >> *le* >> *lena* (rare). I shall first describe the relative pronoun *le*, which is the only high register relative pronoun which can have either direct or indirect functions.

le occurs as direct subject relative:

*x'u:l' me b'æræxær' ə d'er fe ya: vruæx lox e:rn'ə mā'n'əjt'ər' [1]
vr'a: l'e tɑ: g'i:l' xi: (Acsb, SGuair)11C*

*Shiúil mé Bearchair, a deir sé, dhá bhruach Loch Éirne, mainistir
bhreá LE tá i gCill Chaoi.*

Is i gCaisleán Uí Néill atá 'n té LÉ bhain díom mo shruadh !894C9 [2]

Functionally anomalous *-r* in direct relative of clefted adverbial of manner in:

*Nach ciúin fáilthí ar chúl an gháirdín LER mheall tú mé !869P CABI [3]
§109(e) v. 3.*

Other versions of this song have direct relative *a^L* in this line:

... gháirdín TÁ mo mhúirnín féin CABI §109(d) v. 5, [4]

*... gháirdín A mheall tú mé CABI §109(c) v. 12 (speaker from Rinn [5]
Mhaoile, North-West Conamara).*

Direct relative *le* is quite rare, [1–3] and *Críost léir gineadh* (10.95) are the only examples I have. It is worth noting, however, that its use is not idiolectal as each example comes from separate speakers. With the relative past in [3] one might expect *nach ciúin ... le mheall* if the relative pronoun were to distinguish between direct and indirect relative. The use of *ler* here, if indeed the transcription is accurate and was intended as direct relative (and not as 'corrupt' *le* + cataphoric *a^N*), may reflect the importance of one of the analogical bases for the development of relative pronoun *le*, i.e. the frequent past tense prepositional use of *ler* (10.87).

*A Rí na hAoine a síneag ar a' gceois,
Ar fhulaínn tu féin na mílte lot,
Bronnaim m'anam ort ... (LSE320).*

There is a similar use with the subject pronoun following a vocative in (locative) *a chailíní ... Lena mbeidh sibh ...* (10.97). Compare vocative followed by prepositional relative in *a chailíní ... , le go bhfuil mo chroí i ngean oraibh le fada ...* (Ascen)**19J.45** (10.96).

¹ Another printed version has: *Is nach mba onóir do chlainne Chonfhaola, is don chontae dhá dtáinig siad as (M. Ó Conghaile 1986: 66)*. One might perhaps read ... *Con Fhaola í [boat], ... or ... Con Fhaola iad, ...*

The example of [3] from **869P** can be compared with the same speaker's unhistorical *-r* in *shulár* (10.91) and the example of *Críost léir gineadh* **04B** (10.95). Past direct *ler mheall* [3] with *-r* retains the prepositional origin; the lack of formal distinction between direct and indirect use thus resembles negative past relative use. On the other hand, direct past *le bhain* [2] without *-r* represents further innovation from the prepositional origin and allows contrast with indirect past *ler*, consistent with vernacular relative *a* vs. *ar*. To add to the complexity, there is an instance of indirect past *le bhuaich* **11C** [6] which may represent an extension, or overextension, of innovative direct past *le* (compare this speaker's *le tá* **11C** [1] implying his system also has direct past *le*).

Indirect object relative *le*:

ɛʃi:n wak f'in ʃ'ɛr hɛl'ʊ hu ə gru:mlən nə ʃ'e:d **04B1**
a Oisín mhac Finn LER hoileadh thú i gCromlainn na Séad.

Indirect relative of manner, with *caoi* *le*:

ɛɡ ən 'a:rd'ri: ta: f'a:r'n'ɛʃ k'ɛ'ŋ xi: ʃ'e m'i:n mə xri:
 (Angt)**11Ct50'2'** *ag an Ard-Rí tá fairnéis cén chaoi LE mbíonn mo chroí,*
 cp. the same line in a different recording ... 'xi: ə 'm'i:n mō 'xri:ə |
 (Angt)**11Ctr447.29** ... *chaoi A mbíonn mo chroí.*

Indirect relative of place with (s)*an áit*:

Tóir m'ainimsa go Connachta san áit LÉ mbíonn a' greánn **!01S** CABI
 §70(a) v. 10;

ba dh'é 'n áit é LÉ labhraíodh an chuach !894C9;

Nach trua gan mé ins an áit LÉR tógú mé arú !866E CABI §15(a) v. 1.

Other nouns of place governed by prepositions:

cuairt a thóirt, / ar an oileán uaigneach LÉ bhfuil mo ghrá !894C9;
san gceáird LÉR shíorla' m'athair !894C9.

Locative *le* for expected *ler* in (NUath)**11C**:

bhí daoíní uaisle na m(b)arúntacht ag tíocht ina 'jaunting car', [6]
le spóirt as bád Janaí sa gcalthadh LE bhuaich ʃ'e wuəx sí an geáll.

Other nouns of place not governed by prepositions:

Thóigfinn siúmra dhuit LÉ súitheá síos !894C9;

ən dorəs ʃ'e: dɑ:n'ək' tu: ʃt'a:x | n'i raxə / ɣohə tu' ma:x gə brɑ:x gə
 d'æ:gə gruəgəx ɣu:n ən o:r' | ... (Lam)**04B** (x3)

an doras LE dtáinig tú isteach ní rachaidh / ghabhthaidh tú amach go brách
go dteaga Gruagach Dhún an Óir ... (cp. d(h)á 8.73, 10.93).

Indirect relative of time with *am*, *oíche*:

sən ɑ:m ʃ'e ro nə loxrəni' | (Anl)**03V** *san am LE raibh na Lochrannaí;*

ən i:ə ʃ'e: wi:n' he:n' bɑ:s | (Ams)**04B** *an oíche LE bhfuighinn héin bás.*

10.95 Prepositional and other

Indirect relative with prepositional pronoun, i.e. double *le* in:

Té LÉR bu LEIS é, racha mé an ród seo siar !866E CABI §109(a) v. 16 (i.e. *lérb oth leis*),

An té LÉRB oth LEIS é, go ngotha mé an ród seo siar !01S CABI §109(b) v. 10 (spelt *lérb oth leis*), similarly (**03C**'s father) (d) v. 4.

With other prepositional pronouns, *dhi* and *am*, in:

Ní bróga bhí ar mo bhídeógín LE 1 dtug mé DHI mo spéis ! CABI §128(e) v. 3 (transcribed by Seán Éinniú (An Aird Thoir), the spelling might indicate an analysis *le* + (relative particle) *a^N*; corresponds to *mo bhídeog LÉ*

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GO dtug mo chroí DHI spéis !894C (d) v. 5);
ins na bóirthíní LÉ dtéigheann sí ÁNN !894C9.

Use also occurs in subordinate causal clauses following *ábhar, fáth*:

síod é a' t-ábhar LÉ dtug mo chroí grá dhuit !894C9.
's iomú fáth LÉ'R thuíll tú masla !894C9.

Note the prepositional, possibly agentive (10.87), use in the initial token, and direct relative use or cataphoric use in the second token of *lér* in:

bə kr'is wir ə i: mə xr'is	<i>Ba crios Mhuire í mo chrios,</i>
kr'is nə g'er ə gros	<i>Crios na gceithre gcros,</i>
kr'is l'er g'in u: ə kr'ist	<i>Crios LÉR gineadh an Críost,</i>
ogəs kr'ist l'er g'in u: əs (MP)04B	<i>Agus Críost LÉR gineadh as.</i>

If it is correct to interpret *Críost lér gineadh as* as a direct relative, equivalent to *Críost a gineadh as*, which seems the more logical reading, use of logically anomalous *-r* in the second token may be a transfer from the initial one just as it seems the use of relative *le* in general is a partial transfer from prepositional *le* common in past *ler* (10.87). Cp. *ler mheall* for expected *le mheall* (10.94).

10.96 Indirect relative pronoun *le go*

In vernacular *le go* is used as both final (8.140) and resultative and adjectival conjunction (8.14). In higher register *le go* is of course also found in these functions, e.g. as a resultative conjunction in:

'S ní shin é a' t-ábhar LÉ GUR thosa' mé 'n dán ! (894C)894C9;
Dheamhan a gceilthe mé achoíchin cén fáth LE GO bhfuil mé faoi bhrón
(Abfr)43Js.

In higher register *le go* is furthermore common as an indirect relative pronoun.

In relative of time, examples of *le go* are:

Ach ghá dtagadh a' lá LÉ GO ndíolfainn an bád !894C6;
Tioga 'n lá go fóill LÉ GO suidhthe mé 'r a' seol !894C9;
Dá mbeadh mo chlann sa mbaile agam an oíche LE GO bh[f]uinn fhéin bás
!04B CABI §241(a) v. 5;

Ní wor' m'e ēn' t'a'nəxəs or nə ma:d'i: gř'ē:n'ē gə d'i: ən wa:d'ən'
x'ənə fə l'e: yə dən'ək m'ə:hə'j' | !!(FCúil)894C
ní bhfuair mé aon tseanchas ar na maidí gréine go dtí an mhaidín chéanna
seo LE GO dtáinig m'athair.

Contrast the corresponding line in:

go dtí an mhaidín chéanna dtáinic m'athair. (FCúil)11C.

It is conceivable that *l'e: yə le go* could have been another source of relative *le* through phonetic loss of *y* and vocalic coalescence. To be explicit, the origins of relative *le go* seem to be (a) the conjunctive use of *le go*, (b) prepositional relative use of *le go* 'with which', (c) relative *le* and (d) relative *go*.

In relative of place with nouns other than *áit* (894C):

'S tá gáirdín mín milis, ag mo Bhideog tao' thall dhen chuan,
LE GO l'e gə bhfásann úll cumhartha i gcoillte faoi dhó sa mbliain. (Abtm);
'S ní hanann é 's a' tír LÉ GO dteigheann na ba ó dháir !894C9,
corresponding to this speaker's audio recording:
Ní hanann é 's na tíortha, LE GO l'e gə dteigheann na ba ó dháir. !894Ct.

In relative of place with a noun which is not a place noun:

Badh é 'n fear ba haoird' é ...
S nach iomú cúntúirt LÉ GUR sheas sé greím !894C9.

As prepositional relative meaning ‘with / through which’ (cp. *le go ... ó* 10.87 [5]):

Agus a seangmhalai LE GO searctar í ó gach síorleannán (Asc)852S. [1]

Cp. *cosa ... LE GO ngreamaíonn sí í féin d’fheamainn ...* Clad51.

As prepositional relative meaning ‘on which’ or ‘where’ in (Asc)852S:

Bhí a gruadh mar na ballai LE GO mbreactar an t-aol mar bhláth.

In prepositional relative with inflected preposition:

claidhe beag íseal léna thaobh LÉ GO leagfai sé AIR a lámh !894C9;

Tá crann insa ngáirdín LE GO bhfásann EIR, an bláth buí !852S CABI §134(a) v. 5;

ə xal’i:n’i: ... | ʎ e gə wil’ mə xri: ŋ’an ori: ʎ e fadə ... (Asc)19J.45

a chailíní ... , LE GO bhfuil mo chroí i ngean ORAIBH le fada ... ;

ach an buinneán buí bocht LE GO dtug mé gnaoi DHÓ is go mba cosúil liom péin é, a shnua is a dhath (Abb)43Js;

mo bhídeog LÉ GO dtug mo chroí DHI spéis !894C9 (CABI §128(d) v. 5);

’n aoileann LÉ GO dtug mé graoí DHI !894C9;

mo chúilín óg deas LE GO ʎ e gə dtug mo chroí DHUIT gean !05M;

Ba dh’é rules na tíre é LÉ GO ra mé ÁNN !894C9;

Gur sa gclúid LE GO mbeadh mo ghrá ÁNN ab áile liom péin suidhe !894C9

(corresponding to *Ach an chluíd A mbeadh mo stórsa ANN, sé an áit ab áil liom suí* !(Abcl)43Js).

In indirect relative, *le go ...* correlates with the uninflected or 3m following preposition *air* for more usual *le go ... orthub*. The four examples are from two equivalent lines of verse in *Seachrán Chearúláin*.

... wali: farkə ʎ e gə dugtər er’ ən ‘i:l’tu:l’ vr’ a: (Asc)19S [2i]

-mhalai searca LE GO dtugtar air an aol-tsúil bhreá.

... wal’i: farkə ʎ e gə ŋli:t’ər er’ ən ‘i:l’tu:l’ vr’ a: (Asc)19J.45 [2ii]

-mhailí searca LE GO nglaoitear air an aol-tsúil bhreá.

mar nə garhi: ʎ e gə mr’aktər er’ ə ti:l mar vlə: (Asc)19J.45 [3i]

mar na garrthai LE GO mbreactar air an t-aol mar bhláth.

mur nə garhi: ʎ e gə mli:t’ər er’ | ən ti:l mur vr’ a: [sic] (Asc)04B [3ii]

mar na garrthai LE GO mblaoitear air an t-aol mar bhreá.

Cp. *mar na garrthai A mbreactar air an t-aol mar bhláth.* (Asc)19S. [4]

Line [2] is arguably ambiguous. There one might interpret the function of the preposition *a(i)r*, in example [2ii] especially, as nonreferential and as simply governing the following phrase, thus translating [2ii], for example, as ‘loving brows which call / are called upon the fine lime[-white] eye’. The presence of *an t-* disambiguates [3]. The lack of prepositional concord may reflect a direct extraction, as it were, from historical use such as **mar na garrthai ar a mbreactar an t-aol > mar na garrthai a l le go mbreactar air an t-aol* (perhaps via double prepositional use **ar an mbreactar air*).

10.97 Indirect relative pronoun *lena*

In indirect relative of place:

Is a chailíní deasa Chinn Mhara,

Feicfidh muid sibh aríst,

Ní i nGaillimh ach i lár Chonamara,

LENA mbeidh sibh i gcionn ár dtí(the), SeolG36;

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*Is tá cosán draíochta ó Chrua na Caoile suas go Barr a' Chuain,
LENA dtéann na mílte atá faoi dhraíocht Dé Domhnaigh agus Dé Luain,
SeolG52.*

In indirect relative with inflected preposition:

is tú mo mhúirnín LENA dtug mé DUIT grá !37J.

In causal subordination following *reasún*:

cén reasún LENA dtug mé duit grá !37J.

In purpose subordination (and possible relative of place, similar to ... *le suítheá síos*, 10.94):

níl stól agam LENA suíhinn síos (Abl)03S.

10.98 Interrogatives and particles

cá, cad, go cé, interrogative

cá is possibly higher register (for more common *cé* in vernacular) in:

bó dhroimeann dearg is ní fheadar CÁ bhfuighead í ka waid i: !S.

cad occurs in an anecdote of dialect humour:

ka:d ə ri:n ə tra:um b'ɪd !P -CAD a rinne trom Bid?

Proclitic **gə** occurs in the interrogative from speakers who have not been heard using this **gə** in their vernacular. It is probably used more often in higher register than in vernacular by some speakers. Examples:

go cé Ar maidin Dóna' GO CÉ lér mhiste !894C6.

gə d'ɛ:rd gə d'ɛ:rd e' f'is da fa: də horəf 04B1
GOIDÉARD é fios ná fáth do thurais?

gək'en -Bhuel a Mheicheáil 'ac Suibhne, a deir an sagart, a deir sé, GO CÉN
sórt, a deir sé, seafóid atá ort inniubh? 892MtnARN5172.

gə'tig ə U- neá 'gus, a deir sí, tuige nach u- dteagann tusa ghrá bán, is mise
fháil ó, mo, mhúintir héin?
Nú GO TUIGE nach u- dteagann tú amáireach, is an cás údain, a
fheiceál, réidh? !881Jt.

comh^H, a chomh^H, adjectival particle

kə comh occurs in:

*Ach glac misneach is beidh an saol fós a'inn,
COMH kə spóirtúil, le aon, bheirt sa tír. !881Jt.*

This speaker has vernacular **xə chomh**, although his brother also has **kə** in vernacular usage.

əxə chomh occurs in a recitation from speaker **11C**, who does not insert higher-register phrasal schwa:

gə d'ainfə gə gr'ɪnd'əl əxə fa:də gəs hain's ə ɣr'ɪən | !11C
Dhá dteighinnse go grinneall A CHOMH fada agus théanns an ghrian.

nach > na^H, negative subordinator

nach > na h- before vowel in:

lé faitíos NA Hoirimisne [sic] éirighe dhúinn !894C9.

10.99 Conjunctions *chun* — *dh'fhonn*

chun

For conjunction *chun* in nonfinite clause, see 10.82.

mar a^N, locative conjunction

Ó! níl tom cíbe ná tolán títpeall ná gleánntán aoibhinn *MAR A mbíonn mar a^N m'í:n* mo ghrá nach bhfuil ceol gá sheinm ann ... (Acdb)43Js.

shula, temporal conjunction

Six speakers were noted with distinctive higher-register usage of the conjunction *shula*. We find the following higher-register variants:

sul^L !852S, 03C;

shul 's má 889P;

sul^L (*sul^H* with impersonal), less frequently *shul^L*, *shul g(h)á^N* 894C;

sul á^N 13P;

sura^N 21Pt.

852S *SUL chaitheach muid* !852S.

889P This speaker has vernacular *xol a*: *shul á* but *hols ma*: *shul 's má* in a tale run:

Bhéarthad sí seacht n-uaire ar an ngaoth Mhárta bhí roimpi, SHUL 'S MÁ bhéarthadh an ghaoth Mhárta bhí ina diaidh aon uair amháin ortha.

894C This speaker has *shul á* and *shula* in both lower and higher registers, but *sul*, *shul* and *shul g(h)á* in higher register only.

sul^L: *SUL chaithfeadh* !6; *SUL gho' sé ánn* !9.

sul^H: *SUL maraíú* !9; *SUL caithfear a' fówar* (NUath)9;
SUL tíúrfar (SGuair)9.

shul^L: *SHUL thug mé* !9.

shul ghá, *SHUL GHÁ gcaith sé* !6; *shul ghá* !6; *shul ghá ndeárna* (rhyme)9;

shul gá: *SHUL GÁR* (changed from *dhár* in manuscript) !6.

03C Vernacular *sul a*: *sul á*, but *sul | hukəʃ ji*: (Aebi) *SUL thiocthadh sí*.

13P Vernacular *xul' a*: *shul á*, *xul'ə shula* but *sul a*: (Anl) and (Aslf) *SUL Á*.

21Pt This speaker has *ha:l nax shál nach^N* in vernacular; in higher register *sura^N*.

sura^N: *surə 'ru fe ...* (Acgn) *SURA raibh sé*.

surə ɲohə fe æs e:r'ə'n' (Abó) *SURA ngothaidh sé as Éirinn*.

Also noted as *serə*.

ar eagla is go, final conjunction

ach dheamhan deoir gá bhfuighidh mé nach scaoilthe mé siar é, AR EAGLA IS GO er' a:glə əs gə bhfuighinnse bás le tart (Abb)43Js.

dh'fhonn, final subordinator

There is an example of *dh'fhonn* as a nonfinite final subordinator in a composition by the local poet Mícheál Mharcais a Cúláin:

*Mar gá bhfuightheá scéala ar fheabhas mo thréartha,
Nach siúiltheá Éire DH'FHONN gū:n mé fháil!* 11C5337.

10.100 Indefinite adjectives

gach

gach is much more common in higher register.

- 04B** gox br'í: gox f'k'e:l l brí GACH scéil.
 gux ə ma:r gux e:n ... (Amit) i mbarr GACH aon
 gux i:'ə do:ni: er' fud (Acb) GACH oíche Domhnaigh ar fud
 ən ai gux le: (Smbb) in aghaidh GACH lae.
 gəx na:r l'e: də l'i:n' ə ha:n'ək' er' gəx kra:n bla: ogəs m'æ:s l
 nar le do linn a tháinig ar GACH crann bláth agus meas.
11C gax cp. chuireadh slacht ar GACH a ngabhthá thríd er' gəx ə ŋoħə hri:d' | (Angt).
 gox 'tauu gox 'b'i: 'rauu gox 'd'i: ta' | [slip] 'bla:s nə 'm'æ:l er' ə'xil'ə ɣr'ím' ...
 (run) togha GACH bí rogha GACH dí, blas na meala ar 'ach uile ghreim

Also *gach uile*, e.g.

gə 'sirə tur 'fín' ð: gox il' 'olk | !05M Go saora tú sinn ó GACH UILE olc.

gach aon tsórt is found for vernacular *chuile chionál* in (NUath)**11C** (of boat):
í lochtaí le braindí le fuisce is GACH AON TSÓRT bí s gox 'en tɔ:rt 'b'i:'.⁹

go léir

go léir is not common in the vernacular, except in combination with *uilig*. It occurs, for example, in a quotation in a Fenian tale:

a Finn mhac Cúil, a Ard-Rí Seamhrach agus a Rí na Féinne GO LÉIR 11C.

An example from a verse composed by **11C** is:

'f'ia:sko 'ge:l iəð fə gə 'L'er' | ə hr'ial er' ə'n' e:ʃgl'ə gə ho:əs
 'æ'n'həx | !11C

Fíorscoth Gael iad seo GO LÉIR a thríal ar an éigse go hIorras Aithneach.

péibrí

There is a possible example of higher-register pronunciation of the indefinite adjective *péibrí* in speaker **06C**'s singing:

ʃə | x'e:b'i: ka'l'i:n' (Atps)**06Ct** Is CHÉIBÍ cailín óg a bhéarthas uaim thú.

I have noted **he:b'ə 06Ct** in his conversation.

10.101 Adverbs

Place

In vernacular *ar ais* is usual without a possessive pronoun, but 1sg possessive occurs in *ar m'ais* in:

Is ní fhaca mé mo mháistir, nó go dtáinic, mé, AR u- M' AIS aríst. !!881Jt.

Compass adverbs

Note *thoir / thiar an domhan* in:

e:n' e:n | her' ə daun na: hiər ə daun | nar xur. fe: | er' xuna:n **04B1**
 aon éan THOIR AN DOMHAN ná THIAR AN DOMHAN nar chuir sé ar Chonán;
 ənsə nax m'et fe her' ə daun na hiər ə daun | na er'ə ɣri:m' ə daun'
 | e:ŋ ɣa:sk'iax ə v' ex əŋ'xurhə l'ef (Smbb)**04B**
insa nach mbeadh sé THOIR AN DOMHAN ná THIAR AN DOMHAN, ná ar dhroim
an domhain, aon ghaiscíoch a bheadh inchurtha leis.

Cp. *ó thuar an domhain go thiar an domhain* ‘from one end of the world to the other’ Dinn s.v. *tuar*.

Time adverbs

Vernacular *xi:hənʰ* *choíchin* is often *xi: choíche* in higher register (e.g. (Abf)03C, 11C, 10.15), also *choín* (10.15).

Manner adverbs

The adverbial particle *go* is found before the prefix *ró-*:

ní:íʰ mǎ xuərtʰ gǎ 'rǎ:a:dǎ (Aos)03V *Níl mo chuairt GO rófhada;*
nó go ndeachadar ... GO ró-mhoch 'rǎ:wox ar maidin !!(Aif)05M.

Sentence adverbs

erʰ nǎi:! 10B *AR NDÓIGH*.

cheana meaning ‘indeed’ is common in quotations in tales, e.g.

-*Sea CHEANA, a deir sé.* 11C.

Initial mutations

10.102 Lenition

Noun and adjective

The normally masculine noun *carbata* takes lenition, perhaps feminine lenition or continued lenition following possessive *a^L*, in:

Bhí a CHARABHATA GHLÉIGIOL air !894C9.

(Cp. *do láimhíní gheala ghléigiola* !894C9 below.)

There is variable realisation of feminine lenition in a line from the song *An Caisideach Bán* (containing homorganic *-n d-*):

Siúd í siar (í) an EALA BHÁN DHEAS (Acdb) CABI §12(a) v. 8, (c) v. 6;
Is siúd í tharam í an EALA BÁN DEAS (Acdb)43Js.

Vocative masculine nouns regularly lenite adjectives, e.g.

Fill ... a PHEACAÍ' ghránna !894C9.

Variants of the genitive phrase *Éireannaigh bhréagaigh bhradaigh* occur in a common run (cf. 10.23):

ǎʰ erʰǎnǎ vrʰe:gǎ vrǎ:dǎ ... ǎʰ erʰǎnǎ vrʰe:gǎx ǎdʰǎr ʃe vrǎ:dǎx ...
ǎʰ erʰǎnǎ vrʰe:gi: vrǎ:dǎx 889P *an Éireannaigh BHRÉAGAIGH*
BHRADAIGH ... an Éireannaigh BHRÉAGACH, a deir sé, BHRADACH ... an
Éireannaigh BHRÉAGAIGH BHRADACH;

fǎmʃǎ bǎ:lhǎ erʰǎnǎ brʰe:gǎ vrǎ^ǎ:dǎ | (Smbb)04B
faighimse baladh Éireannaigh BRÉAGAIGH BHRADAIGH.

Similarly in the vocative:

fǎm bǎ:lhǎ nǎ he:ʰǎn ǎrt ǎ vrʰe:gi: vrǎ:dǎ | 11C
faighim baladh na hÉireann ǎrt, a bhréagaigh BHRADAIGH!

Lenition in dative masculine is more common than in vernacular, particularly with the preposition *dhe(n)*, e.g.

gǎn ǎrʰǎgʰǎd wǎ:n 04B1 *dhen airgead BHÁN;*

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gən ɔ:r wi | (Amit)**04B** *dhen ór BHÚÍ*;
gən taivr'əs 'vr'a | (Aln)**11C** *dhen tsaibhreas BHREÁ*;
go chórá chéillithe !894C9;
-Ó! a deir mac rí in Éirinn, níor iarr mise cúnamh ar do leithide dhe dhuine
DHONA ariamh! 11Ctn.

In the song *An Seanfhear / Sean(-n)duine Cam*, speaker **05M** consistently lenites the vocative *a shean-nduine cham* but also the dative *ag do shean-nduine cham* **!05M**.

Anomalous lenition following noun plurals in *-í* occurs in:

ar CHLADAÍ GHÉARA 'n talth' ó thua !894C9;
do LÁIMHÍNÍ GHEALA GHLÉIGIOLA !894C9.

Cp. *ba bána* **894C9** (rhyme); as in vernacular: *caoirigh bána* **!894C9** (i.e. *caoire bána*).

Lenition following the genitive plural occurs in:

adjective *'sí cránn NA N-UBHALL CHÚRTH' í !894C9*;
noun **ə ʔa:ʃk' iəx a:lən' nə n'uməd ʔe:l 04B1**
a ghaiscíoch álainn NA N-IOMAD GHAEAL.

Note the lack of mutation on the adjective *glic*, synchronically a lack of lenition, in:

ə x'í e:r'í ʔu:r'ə nə sæ:l'əm' gl'ik' 04B1 *a chléirigh dhúir NA SAILM GLIC*,

where conservative eclipsis is not applied in genitive plural position, nor productive lenition following (1D) plural form in palatal final.

Compounds

Nonlenition occurs in:

TLÁTHDEAS !894C9;
gə d'iv'ín' ʔe də ʔa: d'ɑ: m'ē:n' (Abtm)894Ct
go deimhin le do dheá-DEÁ-MÉIN.

10.103 Prepositions

ar with nonlenition occurs in:

AR TÓRRTHAIN Inis Niadh !894C9;
lé ceannabháin AR MUÍNG !894C9;
nu: ʔa: hɑ:r'u: e'r' fɑ:səx | (Smbb)**04B** *nó dhá tharbh AR FÁSACH*;
nar séideadh ariamh AR BIÚIGIL ná AR CLÁIRSEACH. (Asp)05Mt (contrast
dhár seinníodh ariamh AR BHIÚIGIL !(Asp)04B);
AR BOIS AGUS AR BARR agus ar lonna a mhaide rámhā rā'v aige (run)11C.

idir, in place function, lenites a following noun in:

EIDIR BHÁRRA do mhéaracháí !894C9; *EIDIR CHEÁNN Gúlam !894C9*.

gan lenites some following nouns in *b-* and *c-*, e.g.

gən vrid' 04B1 *GAN BHROID*; **gən v'æ:nu: 04B1** *GAN BHEANNÚ*;
gən vr'e:g' (Abr)04B *GAN BHRÉIG*;
gə ki: ... gəŋ xɑ:r' !10B *gan caoi ar ndóí ... GAN CHÓIR*;
GAN CHODLADH gən xolu: dá dhíona' ánn (Apme)39Jt.

thar has an unlenited initial *t-* in the 3pl prepositional pronoun following *-s* in:
ag goil fúthub AGUS TARTUB. !!05M.

Nonlenition following other prepositions

Nonlenition of *f*- in *ar filleadh* is common, e.g.

AR FILLEADH f' i' u: ó Shligeach, agus leide beag fháil dhen chóir, !!(Abtm)-881J.

There is nonlenition following *dhe* in:

Nach mór tá mo ghean ort, thrína bhfuil DHE MNÁ gə mnā: beo, faoin saol. !!(Abtm)881J.

(This speaker has regular vernacular Cn-.)

Preposition with the article

There is lenition following *ar an*, (*in*)*sa*, *ón*, *in*:

tə: ən t'ILRƏX ə:n ɣ' r' ə:g' q:n 46 Text IV.1b

tá an t-iolrach óN GHRÉIG ann;

ÓN CHRAICEANN go dtí an feoil, ón feoil ... 866ESc310-3.4(c) (10.104);

ARA' / 'NSA MHÉIDHBHIN !894C9;

A! muise, a deir sí, gheithidh sí ceirt SA PHUS sə fus agus deabhal blas ach sin. !894Ct;

SA CHLÉIBH (lay)875T1.

10.104 Exceptional

There is consistent nonvernacular lenition (following *ón*, historical), nonlenition (following feminine *an*, anomalous) and non-eclipsis (following *ón*, anomalous) in the tale run:

ÓN CHRAICEANN go dtí AN FEOIL, ÓN FEOIL go dtí an cnáimh, ÓN CNÁIMH go dtí an smior agus ón smior go dtí an smiortán 866ESc310-3.4(c);

ÓN CHRAICEANN go dtí AN FEOIL, ÓN FEOIL go dtí an cnámh, ÓN CHNÁMH go dtí an smior, agus ón smior go dtí an smiortán 866EB16.114.

In the case of *feoil* and *cnáimh* the avoidance of mutation may be to enhance the initial consonance. Cp. *ón gceann ... go dtí an gceann 866ESemr70 (9.139)*. Nonmutation may have been triggered by presence of lenition for vernacular eclipsis.

Speaker **881J** has anomalous lenition, following the preposition *le*, and in predication in:

Ó rinnís mé mhealladh, le bhladar ɣ'e: vlə:dər is le glór do chinn, ...

Is tá an siúcra donn chraite ar, daun xræt' er' an áit a leagann Bríd Bhán, a béal. !!(Abtm)881J.

sh- is lost in *Go lá 'LÉIBHE' Domhain (MP)894C9*.

Homorganic delentation follows the *s* of *agus* and *síos* before prepositional pronouns of *thar* and *thrí* in:

ag goil fúthub AGUS TARTUB !05M;

xuə ɣə: hr' i:n f'i:f tr' i:m !S chuaigh dhá thrían síOS TRÍOM.

10.105 Other mutations: eclipsis, aspiration, *ts-*, *-n-*

Eclipsis

Genitive plural eclipsis is absent in:

æs l'ergəs xla:n nə gal !10B as léargas CHLANN NA GALL,

f' iər'uəɟl' ə xla: nə ge:l !10B fíoruaisle CHLANN NA GAEL,

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presumably from the plural noun without the article *clanna Gall* and *clanna Gael*. (Cp. **klanə** ~ **klənə bwi:fn̩ ə** ZCP150 *Clanna Baoiscne*.) There may also be some dissimilation between *-nn* and *nG* -> *-nn ... G*-.

Genitive plural nouns, both with and without genitive inflection, are followed by eclipsis of the adjective in:

go loch NA MBREAC GCAOCH (rhyme)**894C9** (cp. *Loch na mBreac Caoch* Rob.28 'frequently occurring lake-name in Connemara');
a bhean NA STOCAÍ MBÁNA **!894C9**.

The numeral may be eclipsed by the genitive plural article and may be followed by eclipsis:

na^NNum *na*^NNoun **kr'is nə g'er ə gros** (MP)**04B** *Crios NA GCEITHRE GCROS*;
na^LNum *na*^NNoun *crios NA CHEITHRE GCROS* **!869P2**;
na^NNum *na*^LNoun *Ach sé féarach NA GCÚIG CHAORA do chaolaigh mo chos.* **!11C**;
na^LNum *na*^NNoun **er' f æ xu:g ə ml' iən** (Acdb)**43Js** *ar feadh CHÚIG MBLIAN*.

Prefix *comh-* is followed by eclipsis in:

a' fear is a' bhean in éanacht, iad i GCÓMH-MBANNAITHE lé chéile **!894C9**.

Preposition *dar* takes eclipsis in *dar nDomhnach* (< *i nDomhnach*, cp. *ar ndóigh*), e.g.

's DAR NDÓNACH ba ... **!894C9**; *'s DAR NÚNACH* **!894C9**.

dhon (*dho* + article) is followed by eclipsis following vernacular-type eclipsis with *leis an* in:

leis a' mhuin bhán ... go'n mhuin bháin **!894C9** CABI §520(d) v. 2, 4.

For copula *A' gcuímhín leatsa* **!01S**, see 9.128.

h before vowel, aspiration

Aspiration occurs following the preposition *le*.

le h- with *anam*: e.g. *é guive LÉ HANAM a shínsir* **!894C6**;
with other noun: *seanachas LÉ HINGHEAN do mháthar* **!894C9**;
with (verbal) noun: *LE HÉIGHRI lae* (FCúil)**894C9**,
LE HÉIRÍ an lae isteach ar fud mo leaba. (FCúil)**11C**.

Present copula *ní h-* is found before adjectives and nouns:

Is NÍ HÁIN liom é. NÍ HÁIN liom é. **869Pt** (rhyme);
Ní eolas go haontigheachas, Agus NÍ HAONTIGHEACHAS gan pluid! **894C9**
(proverb) vs. *gan aont- ... ní aont-* **894Ct** (1.252).

t preposed to s-

The mutation *t* is preposed to a dependent adjective or noun in *s-* following a feminine noun in final *-n* in:

Bean doracha ... Bean TSOLASACH ... **!894C9**;
Sí an Bheanín [i.e. *bheainín*] *TSEÓD í lé n-óltar an fionn* ! CABI §616 v. 1.

sa (*i* + article) takes *t* in:

insa TSNEAMH [with note *sneamh = loch*] **!852S**;
bean ar bith sa TSAÍOL [*tsaol*] **!894C9**; *sə tna:w* (Acn)**39J** *sa TSNÁMH*.

In compounds *t-s-* follows *-l* in:

'n CAÍOL-TSLAITÍN **!894C9**; *'i:l'tu:l'* (Ascen)**19S** *AOL-TSÚIL*.

Linking *n*

For by-forms of the preposition *faoi* with *n*, ie. *fóna*, *fánar*, *faéna*, see 10.85.

10.106 Modern borrowings

English borrowings found in higher register reflect, in some instances, various obsolete or obsolescent pronunciations. For example, (i) in vernacular Italians resembles spoken (nonstandard) English: **ai/i:tæl'ənz**, but in song: *na* Italians **nə 'Ítʃl' i:n'z** [sic] (SGuair)11C; (ii) English ea > e:: 'Her yellow locks and milk-white breast, that left my heart so wake' !869P CABI §128 v. 7 (i.e. 'so weak'). Cf. English *z* (10.25). The forms of these English words are given in Chapter 11, appropriately marked with '!' for higher register. Modern Irish borrowings in modern songs are not dealt with.

11 Borrowings and language contact

General

The primary aim of the following description is to cover the more conservative forms of borrowed English words used in Irish conversation. The range of pronunciations is by now so large that a complete description of the Hiberno-English of the area would be needed in order to incorporate the many possibilities; bearing in mind that social differentiation such as level of education, travel and work experience, attitudes, and access to standard varieties are more important in use of English, especially in less traditional borrowing, than in the use of traditional Irish.¹ Palatalisation, for example, is not always realised in the manner described below, e.g. speaker **60M** uses *crack-áilte* ‘mad’ as **kræk’ a:l’ə** but was noted with *crack-áil* **kræk’ a:l’** meaning ‘cracking’ (the borrowing *crack-áilte* ‘mad’ is longer established than *crack-áil*). A further example is English dental fricative **θ** realised as **t** in most Hiberno-English lects but **θ** has been heard in: in *Athlone* **n æ:θ’lɔ:n** **43M** (**θ** followed by neutral **l**). The use by the female speaker of the **θ** variant relates this form to the sociolinguistic features or values which are associated with **θ** pronunciation both in Iorras Aithneach Irish (in borrowings), in Hiberno-English and in other varieties of English. As a final example one can note the greater use of velarised **l** in the speech of some people who have lived in the United States and have been influenced by the velarised **l** found in varieties of American English (cf. 11.74).

The derivational base used in the description is that of standard English. This has been chosen basically to facilitate presentation and in no way implies that words have actually developed from these standard forms (cp. the derivation of Irish words in Chapter 1 ‘Historical Phonology’ from Early Modern Irish).

11.1 Synchrony

This chapter sets out the synchronic phonological, morphological and mutational rules which borrowings undergo in traditional Iorras Aithneach dialect. Other borrowings predate the general system used in the present period, but postdate older systems or the system used in Early Modern Irish. These post-Early Modern Irish borrowings, which do not follow synchronic rules, are not recorded, for example, in the ‘Dictionary of the Irish Language’ (DIL), and are often classified, for want of diachronically finer classification, as exceptions in this analysis.²

¹ In less traditional dialect, English phonemes can replace Irish phonemes in Irish speech, a salient example being English **ɹ** especially in those born since the 1970s. Features of the supraregionalisation now evident in Irish English (cf. R. Hickey 1999, 2005) are influencing the Irish of many of the youngest speakers, e.g. fronting of **u(i)** > **u(i)** in *cúig* **kuɪg’** **73N**. For borrowings or adoptions from post-revival Irish, see 11.122 ff.

² Cp. NIGCF §1. As mentioned in my Introduction (I.XIII), this chapter is much indebted to NIGCF (de Bhaldraithe 1953–5a; 1956–7b). A more recent analysis of borrowings in the Irish of Innis Meáin (one of the Aran Islands) is found in R. Hickey (1982), which in particular does not deal satisfactorily with consonant quality, as a comparison with the present chapter will show. Neither is Stenson (1993, e.g. 358–62) fully accurate. Stenson (1993: 355, 357 n. 5) finds a discrepancy concerning alveolar and dental place of articulation between R. Hickey (1982) and Ó Siadhail (1978). In my opinion Ó

Examples include *mood-in* **mu:d'in**, *skew* **ʃk'au**, *barrack(s)* **b'ær'æk**, *licence* **laifəns**, many of which have, among other features, 'anomalous' palatality. Following synchronic traditional rules these are or would be: **mu:ɟ'in**, ***ʃk'u**, ***b'æræk**, **laisəns**. Similarly, lexical items can have several by-forms from previous borrowing systems, the present system and even mixed forms, e.g.

bricklayer(-acht): **br'ik'əl'ērə** S, **br'ik'əl'ērə** S, **brik'əl'ērə** M, **brik'l'ērə** [?] 43M, **br'ikl'ērə** 43Mp, **br'ik'ērəxt** 47Ps;
transom: **trānsəm**, **træ'n'səm** 892M;
úsáide **uəzɑ:d'ə** [x1] **uəsɑ:d'ə** (often) 01P, influenced by *use-áil*, which, in the by-form **juəsɑ:l'** 20C, is influenced by **uə** of *úsáide*.

Clearly, many long-established forms do not correspond to present-day standard English, e.g. *conceit* **kən'se:ɟ** (*consaeit* FGB), *blackguard* **bl'eg'ɑ:rd** **bl'ig'ɑ:rd** (*bligeard* FGB), *kag* (standard *keg*) **k'ag'** (*ceaig* FGB), *waggon* **wɑ:g'in** **wæ:g'in** (*vaigín* FGB), *pouch* **pu:ɟə** (*púitse* FGB), *satin* (cp. *sateen*) **sæf'in** (*saitín* FGB), *jacket* **ʃæk'ed** (*seaicéad* FGB), *trough* **trɑ:x** (*trach* FGB), *must* **mu:ɟt** (*muist* FGB), *bully-acht* **buliəxt** (*bulaíocht* FGB), *Switin* **swi:ɟin** (*Súitín* Dinn), *murder-óir* **mordəror'** (*murdaróir* FGB), *stray* **stre:** (*strae* FGB), *pewter* **p'etər** (*péatar* FGB), *stress* **stros** (*strus* FGB), *fuchsia* **f'u:ɟ** (*fíúise* FGB), *an whhip* **ən ip'** (i.e. *an fhuip*, cp. *fuiip* FGB), *champion* **ʃæmp'in** (*seaimpín* FGB). Other words are difficult to classify in the current system of borrowing, e.g. *loaf-áil* **lɔ:fɑ:l'**, which has nonpalatal initial **l** (which is less common in this position than palatal initial **l'**). Nonpalatal initial **l** before **ɔ:** is an older rule but it might also be a synchronic variable. For consonant quality, see 11.50 ff.¹

As an example of the change in phonological borrowing strategies, one can tentatively order the change in rules for adaptation of English **ʃ tch** and **a a** diachronically in relation to other rules as follows:

	English	→	Irish		
1	ʃ	→	ʃt'		
2	a	→	a		
3	ʃ	→	ʃ	↓	termed synchronic in this study
(4)	-C##	→	-Cə##		
5	ɟ	→	ɟ		
6	a	→	æ		
7	i:## (unstressed)	→	ə##		
8	i:## (unstressed)	→	i:##		

That the rule **ʃ** → **ʃ** predates **a** → **æ** can be seen in:

Siadhail (1978) is correct in transcribing what are regularly alveolar stops in Iorras Aithneach as alveolar in Innis Meáin. Similarly, alveolar place of articulation and palatality are inaccurate in Wehr (2001: 256): for *mBoston* **ma:stən**, *mbicycle* **majsəkəl**, read **ma:stən**, **majsək'əl'**. Cp. MacAulay (1978–81: 90–3; 1982: 27–38) for brief but valuable analyses of borrowing and code-switching in Scottish Gaelic which has many phenomena in common with Iorras Aithneach.

¹ It is also worth mentioning the tendency, by some speakers, described in ICF §217, to use a variant of nonpalatal *l* in borrowings which is closer to the English sound.

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- 1, 2 and 4 patch **paʃt̪ə**
2 and 3 Patch **paʃt̪**, Patch-achai **paʃt̪əxi**;
3 and 6 patch **pʰæʃt̪**, Patch **pʰæʃt̪**

That the rule **a** → **æ** postdates **t̪** → **t̪** can be seen in:¹

- 2, 5 and 7 Matty **maʃt̪ə**
5, 6 and 7 Matty **mʰæʃt̪ə**
cp. 5, 6 and 8 Matty **mʰæʃt̪i**

That the optional rule **-C##** → **-Cə##** is found with **t̪f** → **t̪f** can be seen in:

- 3 and 4 bitch **bʰit̪fə**, cp. ou > **u**: (after rule 1) in pouch **pu:t̪fə**

11.2 Dialectal variation

Some words vary dialectally within Conamara concerning the use of borrowed English consonants, e.g. jacket **d̪æʃkʰe:d** NIGCF vs. **ʃæʃkʰe:d** only in Iorras Aithneach (speaker **27Cb** informs me that a neighbour of his (**853P**, An Aird Thiar) used the form **d̪æʃkʰe:d**; cp. bonnet **bʰinʰe:d** S, **bānʰē:d** **881J**); shelf **ʃelpʰ t̪elpʰ** in Iorras Aithneach contrasts with **t̪elpʰ** NIGCF, FFG20; téiléarach FFG **t̪e:l̪e:rəxt̪** Iorras Aithneach vs. **t̪e:l̪e:rəxt̪** FFG20; die-die (OED die sb¹ 7. Sc[otch]) **d̪e:d̪ai** FFG20 (s.v. *deideighe*) vs. **d̪e:d̪ai** Iorras Aithneach. Cp. caddie OED and EDD with codai FFG20, 24 but **ko:d̪i**: Iorras Aithneach, **ku:d̪i**: LFRM s.v. *codai*. The final **t̪** in bowsprit (boltsprit) varies between **t̪** and **t̪** intra-dialectally, e.g. **bauspəʃt̪** SM, **bauls-pʰit** **01C**. Irish words which may adopt English alveolar **t̪** and **d̪**, generally with some affective semantic connotations, may also differ interdialectally, e.g. *buaidhreán* > *boighdeán* **baidʰa:n** ‘mix, mess’ IA, **baid̪a:n** ‘anal sphincter’ IA, **baid̪a:n baidʰa:n** ICF §§412, 609 ‘mess’, *boighdeán* [= **baidʰa:n** ?] ‘mix, mess’ FFG20; *táirim* **ta:rʰəmʰ** IA, **t̪a:rʰəmʰ** FFG20.

11.3 Types of borrowing

Many borrowings of course reflect a wide range of English: standard, obsolete, dialectal, colloquial or slang usage. For example, in OED the verb starve is noted with causes other than hunger, thus *starve-áilte leis an tart*; and EDD nine 2. (3) ‘to the uttermost’ corresponds to *cuireadh go dtí na nines nain’s é, ceisníodh go dtí na nines é* M. In OED ‘plumb’ from ‘plumber’ is given as colloquial with the transitive example cited from a ‘Mod. Newspaper’, cp. *Ní sí sin plumb-áilte ceart* M. Cp. highlander **hai:lʰinʰdər** SM, **hi:lʰæ:ndər** **49J** (old pronunciation according to **49J**).

Speaker **01P**, in a recording made by Professor Hartmann in 1964, explains his use of the borrowing gypsies with a practical perception, well-known in dialectology, of the importance of urban areas as centres of innovation of speech habits: *níobh fhada a bhí sé ann go dtáinic fear go dtí é. Sé an t-ainm a thuganns muid orth- — a thugtaí fadó orthub, loch(t), u-, fir síúil. Ach sé an t-ainm a thuganns muid anis orthub, gypsies, agus ’s dóichí liom gur Béarla gypsies ach gur faisean leothub, é thabhairt orthub thál gob é thuganns, insna, bailte móra orthub. 01P.*

¹ In Pen Mhatty **pʰinʰ wa:ʃt̪ə** S, Matty Mór **mʰæʃt̪ə mo:r**, Matty now generally **mʰæʃt̪i**.

Massive relexification is taking place. Many younger speakers have a very limited Irish vocabulary, almost all non-every-day words being English (11.11). Even older speakers may show a huge depletion in native vocabulary. Examples occur in conversation of uncommon words being forgotten and replaced by English, e.g.

an t-arán, dough mar deir siad u- — timpeall ar an leicín ...

n træn | ɔ: mar d'er fiad ə | t'impəl er ə l'ek'in' ... S.

In querying Seán and Máire many words once known in the dialect and found, for instance, in *Foirisiún Focal as Gaillimh* (FFG19), are unknown to them and a huge amount is unknown to their children. Questionnaires made out for morphological purposes are more and more restricted as the age group lowers, younger speakers claiming not to know or use many of the words.¹ Many relatively recent American borrowings are in the process of being lost. For example, Máire's early 1980s diaper **ɔaɪp'ər** and pocketbook **'pɑ:kət.buk** have been generally replaced in her speech by nappy **n'æ:p'i:** M and purse **pɔrs** M since the early 1990s. Cp. bobby pin > *babaí pin* (14). I have noticed certain speakers increase their use of borrowing and code-switching over time. For example, my clear impression from speaker **43M**'s conversations with me in 2005 is that she uses far more borrowing (e.g. accept-áil, admit-áil, die-áil, realise-áil, still, honestly, you know, beautiful, strict, gadhairín ... *ag imeacht wild*, *for a shompla*) than five or ten years previously (when her parents, who lived nearby, were still alive). In fact, because, but, so, even seem more common in her conversation in 2005 than the corresponding Irish functions of *mar* (*gheall*), *ach*, *agus*, *fiú* (*amháin*). Cp. **43M**'s adoption (and loss) of <*dar*> (5.406).

11.4 Semantics and syntax

The meanings of many borrowings are specialised in comparison with the corresponding Irish words, e.g.

beach is used in sense of 'beach for pleasure (e.g. for sun-bathing, swimming)', e.g. *ag imeacht ar na beach-annaí g' im'əxt er' nə b'i:ʃəni:* M, *lá breá ar an mbeach* **60S**. This can contrast with *trá* 'beach (for work), low-tide'.

beard is used often in place of the Irish word, *féasóg*, e.g.

bhí beard anois air mar atá ortsa v'i: b'i:rɔ ə'n'if' er' mar ə ta: ortsə **01J**,

but note the differentiation with *féasóg* meaning any facial hair growth in:

Ó! ní maith léithi féasógaí go háirthid beard

o: n'i: ma: f'ehə f'i:sɔ:gi: gə hɑ:r'əd' b'i:rɔ **56N**.

Many 'tautological' phrases are used, e.g.

black-in beag dubh **bl'æk'i:n' b'og di** P.

Pairs of synonyms, combined (by conjunctions), are common, e.g.

tiochta tú around ə'raund thimpeall air ... **894Cst** (rare);

bíonn siad round-áilte cruinn b'i:n' fiad rauna:l'ə kri:n' **02J**;

bhíodh gníomh ann is actions go leor

v'i:x gr'i:v an əs ækfəns gə l'ɔ:r !P;

Tá an bhó marú dead acub M, P;

¹ The accelerated loss of dialect vocabulary is commonly reported worldwide, e.g. Hofer (1997: 197–204) for Basel German in Switzerland, Trudgill (1988: 38) for Norwich English, and J. Milroy (1992: 190), Zwickl (2001: 157–9) and Séamus Ó Coileáin (2003) for Hiberno-English.

Ó uise tá mé fag-áilte amach tuirseach
o: ɔfə ta m'e f'æg'ɑ:ɫ'ə ma:x toɾfəx S;
Bhíodar ag smell-áil agus ag balóireacht
v'i:dər ə sm'el'ɑ:l' əgəs ə ba:lho:r'əxt P;
sure-áilte cinnte fura:ɫ'ə k'i:n't'ə.

The borrowing is followed by a related Irish term in dependent (genitive) position in:

bhí smile gáirí air v'i: smail' ga:r'i: er' 02J, tá smile gháirí air M;
Tá siad sin ag cuir dose-áil codladh air
ta f'iəd'jin' ə kir' d'ɔ:səl kol er' 18Pc;
breeze deas gaoithe bris d'æs gi:hə S,
breeze maith gála briz ma ga:lə 02J;
life an tsaoil !11C, FFG s.v. laidhf.

11.5 Emotions

Many borrowings are related to thoughts, emotions and affections.

<u>bear</u>	<i>Níl mé i ndan iad a bhear-áil n'i:l' m'e na:n iəd ə v'e:ra:l' M.</i>
<u>beautiful</u>	<i>Tá baladh beautiful ann ta balhə b'ɑ:ʃi'fəl a:n 43M.</i>
<u>belief</u>	<i>níl belief a bith a'msa iontu sin n'i:l' bl'i:v' ə b'ih a'ms i:ntu: jin' M.</i>
<u>believe</u>	<i>tá mé héin ag believe-áil ann ta m'e he:n' ə bəl'i:v' a:l' a:n M.</i>
<u>blame</u>	<i>Chuir mé blame ar an deabhal dhe bhradán sin</i> xir' m'e bl'e:m' er' ə d'aul gə vrudə'n' jin' M.
<u>great</u>	<i>tá, cupla comhairseanaí dó héin iad i gcúnaí is bhíodar an-ghreat le</i> 'āŋ'γre:t' γ'e chéile ariamh. 01P (only example noted). Cp. <u>great</u> (Dolan 1998 s.v.).
<u>decide</u>	<i>Céard decide-áil sé a chuir? M; Decide-áil Máire Mhíicil leis S</i> 'Máire Mhíicil decided to agree with him' or 'M. M. agreed with him'; so also <i>Cé leis ar decide-áil tú? S.</i>
<u>feel</u>	<i>Cén chaoi an bhfuil tú ag feel-áil?;</i> <i>M'anam má feel-álann tú like it go scarthaidh mise iomaire dhuit</i> manəm ma f'i:l'ɑ:lən tu laik' it' gə ska:r'hə m'ij' umər'ə ɣit' M.
<u>fair, foul</u>	<i>Mara mbeadh sé fair-áilte bheadh sé foul-áilte S.</i>
<u>nonsense</u>	<i>Níl ann ach nonsense dearg n'i:l' a:n ax na:nsəns d'ærəg M.</i>
<u>wise</u>	<i>faighte wise-áilte dhó ar deireadh.</i>

11.6 Interjections

The general category of emotions can include greetings, interjections and swear words.

Bye sib! bai jib' 18Pc.

Cripes anocht! kraip's ə'noxt M.

Ná bac leis, a chunt!; Is úthásach [i.e. uafásach] a' chunt é [nonpersonal e]; Sé díol a' chunt an aimsir seo; Tá siad 'na gcunt; Chunt! (nonvocative as expletive).

Sé a bhíodh ag damn-eáil M 'cursing'.

Flip iad sin ar chuma ar bith fl'ip' iəd'jin' ə xumər r b'i M.

Frig an purse má tá tada thíos ann!

frig' əm pɔrs ma ta tæ:də hi:s a:n M (of empty purse).

Frig siar thú agus an bád a thug aniar thú! S; Frig soir é agus frig siar é! S.

Frig-áil leat! **frig' a:l' ɾæ:t** (daughter of 37M).

Uise fuck suas san aer 'úl; Fuck-áil sa ngarraí beag thú!,

Fuck-áil about ar thtractor; A fuckeir!

Cá chuir mé mo shean- fucking-seaicéad?

ka xur' m'e mə 'ha:n'fukən'ɟæ:k'e:d.

Hell! **hel' S.**

Hello Peadar P, Hello Babe S, Hello Páraic M;

Hello sib 14M; Hello sib, cé chaoi an bhfuil sib?

In Maínis the general, unmarked greeting *Dia dhuit / dhúb*, used, for example, when people meet on the road, has begun to be rapidly replaced by Hello since about the late 1980s.

By Herrings tá sí géar! 10C.

Hó holy naofa anocht! **ho: ho:l'i: ni:fə noxt** M (rare); Ó! holy God anocht! o'

ho:l'i: ga:ɟ ənoxt S, Ó! holy heavens! o: ho:l'i: hev'əns S, Ó! well holy

Moses! o: wel' ho:li: mo:səs M.

Jesus anocht tá an t-airgead acub sin!; Jesus, Mary an' Joseph! M.

Mother mo chroí, a deir sé! **modər mə xri: id'ər ʃe** S.

an sórt shit dhe bhblind atá ansin tá mé caochta aige

n so:rt ʃi:t gə vlain'ɟ ta n'ɟin' ta m'e ki:xt eg'ə.

Caitheann siad an fhad ag an mbord ag shit-áil is ag shite-áil **kahən ʃiəd ən æ:d**

eg'ə maurd ə ʃi:təl' əs ə ʃai:təl'; ag shit-áil *Bhéarla* **ʃi:təl' v'ɛrlə**; *bhí sí*

ag shit-áil agus ag goil in aer, “saying ‘shit’”.

shit-amas **ʃi:təməs** M (cp. *cacamas*).

Ag shoot-áil bull faoi *Mheireacá* M.

Sugar! M; Sugar ort! **ʃugər ort** M; *i leaba bheith ag imeacht thart ag* sugar-áil

ɾ'æ:bə v'e ɡ' im'əxt hæ:rt ə ʃugə:ɾəl' M, as euphemism for shit-áil.

11.7 Body functions

Also lexemes related to body functions, etc., tend to be borrowed (see also replacement of periphrasis in 11.8).

body: nerve eicínt atá i do bhody atá gá *dhíonamh* M.

breast: breast geal uirthi **broʃt ɡ'æ:l orhə** P.

faint: *B'fhéidir go faint-álthá dhá bhfeictheá ...* **b'e:d'ər' gə f'en'ta:lə: ga**

v'ek'ɑ: ... 60M. Cp. the older nominal construction with the borrowing

slack, e.g. *tháinig slack orm* **ha:n'ək' ʃɾæ:k' orəm** M.

spit: *Nar chaith sé spit síos ann!* M.

starve-áil: *tá sí dhá starve-áil héin ta ʃi: ga ʃta:r-v'ɑ:l' he:n' P.*

sweat-áil: *tá mé ag sweat-áil anois ta m'e swe:təl' ə'n'ij 60M.*

typhus: *tá typhus timpeall uirthi sin ta ʃaif'əs t'i:mpəl orhə ʃin' S* (of dirty woman).

11.8 Replacing periphrasis

Many words are borrowed replacing Irish periphrastic constructions, or more general meanings.

Bhog-áil an tractor **wa:ɡəl' ə træk'dər 79A97**, ‘the tractor got bogged down’

for traditional *chuaigh an tractor dhá báthadh*.

Help-áil é help-aíl e 10B; Tá Joe i ndan a bheith dhá help-áil 10B; Help-álthaidh sib héin sib héin M (at table).

Bhí mé ag hope-áil go mbeadh dáir uirthi

v'i: m'e hɔ:pə:l' gə m'ex dər' oɾhə M.

ice is used by older speakers referring to refrigerated ice (cubes), but by the young speaker 78A of ice on the road, replacing traditional *leac oighre*.

píicí dhá lift-áil p'i:k'i: gə: l'if'ʔa:l' S (of tractors transporting cocks of hay), commonly *píicí dhá dtabhairt leothub*.

An bhfuil Máire i ndan a bheith ag limp-áil thart?

wil' mər' ə nɑ:n ə v' e l'imp' a:l' hɑ:rt P.

Lock-áil mé amuigh mé héin, ... bíonn sí lock-áilte amuigh ... lɑ:kə:l' ... M, bhí muid lock-áilte istigh M.

Ní dheachaigh no n'i: jə:xə n' o: 37M; tá yeah tɑ: je.

-[Ar] maith leatsa tea láidir a Bhabe? mɑ: l'æ:tsə ʔe: lɑ:d' ə r' ə v' e:b' M

-Not too láidir n' a:ʔ ʔu: lɑ:d' ə r' 23B.

níor realise-áil mé n' i:r rə'laisə:l' m' e 52J.

bheadh sé — remind-álthadh sé an iomarca é v' eʔ ʔe, rə'main' dɑ:lət ʔe n' umərk e S; Remind-áil aríst mé rə'main' dɑ:l' ə r' i:ʔt' m' e S.

tá talamh ren — [hesitation] ar cíos acub ann, rent-áilte

tɑ talhə rin', e r' k'is a:kəb ə n | rin' ʔa:l' ə M.

... just í a sharpen-áil 56N.

le haghaidh shave-áil is mó a bhíonn sí a'm 29P.

Tá sé ag smoke-áil, tá down-draught ann tɑ ʔe smɔ:kə:l' | tɑ 'dɑun,dɾɑʔt ə n M (of chimney), the form smoke-áil made speaker 66N laugh.

The main context in which start-áil is used is when speaking of mechanisms, e.g. ní start-álthadh an carr dhó, but it may be used in wider contexts, e.g. Cé start-álthaidh muid anois? k' e: ʔæ:r'ʔa:lə mid' ə n' iʃ [middle-aged female, Máinis] 'where will we begin now'.

Meas tú sa deabhal cén chaoi a bhfuil siad i ndan é stomach-áil an méid a ólann siad? ... e: ʔtʊməkə:l' m' e:d' o:lən' ʃiəd S.

The English hesitation filler is used generally by speakers born in the 1960s and later, e.g.

agus m' əgus ʔem' 69P.

11.9 Modification

In the older speakers' speech especially, Irish idiomatic use is conserved in the choice of Irish verb in nominal constructions, or in modifying in some way the English construction, rather than direct calques.

Dhá mbeadh aon bhatter ar aon phota gə: m'ex e'n' v' æ:tər e r' e:n fɔ:tə 21Pt, 'if any of the (lobster-)pots were in any way damaged (or battered)'.

Na [sic] chuir se black eye ar mac J. B. M; Cuir black eye bl' a' k' ai air! 64M.

Tá an blind ar an bhfuinneog 23B, 33M 'the blind is drawn'.

Tá sé ag baint boot aisti tɑ: ʔe bɑ:n't' bu:ʔ əʃt' ə [young male Máinis 1985] (of driving a car fast).

... a chuireann mé héin browned-off dhen tsaol ar chaoi ar bith S.

Ní chuirtheadh sé chase ann n' i xir' həx ʔe ʔe:is ə n 66N 'he (cat) wouldn't chase (or drive) it (magpie) away'.

- Níl aon easpa cheek air n'í:l' ən 'a:spə 'tʃi:k' 'er' 33T* 'he is quite cheeky'.
come-hither in cum hodar a bhualadh ar dhuine FFG 'to seduce a person (to come along)'.
Ní bheidh sé ag doubt-áil ort n'í: v' e fe ɔaʊtəl' ort 08B 'he will be in no doubt about you' (i.e. about your illness, of good doctor).
Bhain sé fame f' e:m' amach dó héin S.
Gheothá píosa gas ar M. joha: p' i:sə g' æ:s er' ... M 'a bit of a laugh out of'.
Bhíod se ag scaoileadh faoi is ag fáil gas air S.
Nuair a bhuaíl heart attack é. 27Md.
Go hIsle of Wight ... thall in Isle of Wight
gə hail' ə wait' ... ha:l ən ail' ə wait' P.
Buaíl kick air; ligeadh sí an kick orm 05M (13.13, line 55).
Tá mistake ort; Tá tú ag mistake-áil ta tu: m' i'ʃte:k' a:l' M 'you're mistaken'.
Ar an navy a chuaigh sé S (as sailor).
Tá sí ag díonamh operation ... ap'ə:re:ʃən 10B, 60M 'having an operation'; also *chuaigh, cuireadh operation ortha.*
Chuala mé fear ag tabhairt parable uaidh ansin
xuələ m' e f' æ:r ə to:rt' p' æ:rəb' il' wai ən' 'ʃin' S '... telling a parable'.
Cuirfí pitch amach insa mbréidín 894Cs 'the homespun cloth would be thrown out' (into a lake).
Bhí sí chomh play-áilte sin v' i: ʃi: xə pl' e:ɑ:l' ə ʃin' M 'exhausted'.
Nach íontach an phlug-áil atá air! M 'he is continuously putting plugs in (sockets)' (of child).
Bhí sé ina phound-áil inné v' i fe nə faundəl' ə n' e: 60M (of hot weather).
Powder perfume a chuaigh ort paudər p' er-f' u:m ə xu: ort M (i.e. talc).
Ní mórán present é abhus anseo n' i mo:ra:n prusin' t' e ə wus ən' 'ʃo M 'he's not treated with much deference here', cp. *féirín* (e.g. FGB 2(b)).
Chuir sé push inti S 'he pushed her'; *Sé an chaoi a bpush-áilthaidh sé mise cuirthidh sé push ionam ʃeŋ xi: bu:ʃa:lə ʃe m' i'ʃə kir' hə ʃe 'puʃ unəm M.*
Tá sé sanction-áilte ansin ta ʃe sæ:ŋkʃənə:l' ən' 'ʃin' M (of money in secure place).
Ó! dheabhail tá se chomh maith dhomsa bheith ag shape-áil ... v' e ʃe:p' a:l' M '... preparing myself'.
Míle buíochas le Mac Dé ach breathaigh na bróga, breathaigh an shine atá íontú! S '... how shiny they are!'
Ní fhaca mé sight air S.
Cuireann dinnéir dheirneach slant ormsa S.
Bhuaíl me slash ar an ngadhar S; Bhuaíl se slash-áil eicint air ... slash-áil bhuaílte le slat S.
Spell-áil se seo amach i Maínis air gur ... , an rud a rinne se S 'he informed on ...'.
Thug sé speed an deabhail di 21Pt 'he drove it [tractor] very fast'.
D'éirigh se dhe spring S.
Tá me ag cheapadh anois go ndíontha' mé cáicín ar an gcéad start ʃt'æ:rt' M 'first of all', cp. *ar an gcéad iarraidh.*
Rinne sí an-stick is fanacht leis sin rin' ə ʃi: 'a:n'ʃtik' əs fa:nəx l' e ʃin' 23M 'she was very persevering to stay with him'; *Deabhailtaí an stick-áil a bhaineann tú as na wellingtons 52J* 'you can stick wellingtons for a long time'; *fear cruu oibre e, by dad tá stick-áil ann 52J.*

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Tá ga sa lá, tá sting ann S.

Dhá gcuirthinn an strain orm héin ga gur hán ə stre:n orəm he:n 60M ‘if I forced myself’, ‘if I went to the trouble’.

Ní raibh taste ar bith ann n’i’ rə ʃe:ʃt ə b’ih an P ‘he had no [aesthetic] taste’.

Cuir tea-bag ar mhug dhuit héin ... ‘ti:b’æ:g ... M ‘put a tea-bag in a mug ...’.

Baineadh toss asam b’æ:n’u: ʃa:s æsəm S ‘I was tripped / tossed’.

Mar a deireadh an fear fadó bainthidh mé turn as, tá sé all right 03C ‘... I will make do for a while ...’.

There is idiomatic use of Irish adverbials in:

Caitheadh muid fanacht go gcool-álthaidh sé anuas

kahə mid’ fanəx gə gu:lə:lə ʃe nuəs S (of angered person);

Tá an teach furnish-áilte amach acub M;

Tá mé ag iarraidh nourish-áil suas chomh maith is a fhéadthas mé

ta m’e g’ iərə n’orəʃa:l’ suəs xə ma: s e:təs m’e M;

Well, um, poison-áil paizən’a:l’ sé amach gach a raibh chuir sé dhen tsaol gach a raibh dhe bhric ann 892Mg;

Tá an dó dhéag sweep-áilte amach aige S ‘it is past twelve’.

11.10 Calques

Calques and phrasal borrowings are numerous.¹

Tá sé ag fáil along ta ʃe ʃa:l’ ə’la:ŋ P < get along.

Fuair chuile dhuine along fuər xul’ə ʃūn’ ā’l’əŋ | 76Mt < get along (with each other).

Fataí bruite ina seaicéid 43M < jackets.

Potaí slat, díonta baile 24M < home-made.

Céard tá muid isteach lena aghaidh Y e nai an tseachtain seo chugainn? 66N < we are in for ‘is in store for us’.

The verb *oscail* is used for open in card-playing (e.g. poker): *Cé d’oscail? 52M*.

Ach ’s dóichí an dtigeann tú, nar raibh an stuf ceart ag tíocht as an gcloich mar a bhí ag tíocht as an gceilp, gurb in é an áit a raibh an, tarraint siar as. 06C < drawback.

Nuair a bhíodh an tine oscailte ann S < open-fire.

Is íontach go deo an t-iumpú suas a deárnaú [i.e. dearnadh] dhó S85 < turn-up (at a funeral).

Ach sílim gur fear é, bhí ag chance-áil a arm go minic. ... v’i’ ʃæn’sa:l’ ‘ærəm gə m’ín’ək’ | 892M.

Caitheadh mé an ball a fháil rolling kahə m’e əm ba:l ə:l rəliŋ 43M < get the ball rolling.

Is gearr nach dtiúrthaidh daoine damn faoi na rudaí sin

ʃ g’ær nax d’urhə di:n’ə ʃæ:m’ fi: nə rudi: ʃin’ 60M < give a damn.

Ó muise tá tú dead i do chodladh M < dead asleep.

Chuaigh sé suas ar fire xuə ʃe suəs er fair M < go up in / on fire.

Ní thóigeann mise thusa for sean, a Mhary

n’i: ho:g’ən m’iʃə hi:sə far ʃæn’ə v’eri: 43M < take for.

¹ Stenson (1990a) discusses and exemplifies code-switching in Ráth Cairn (transplanted Conamara lect).

An bhfuil sí sin ar an ngo i gcónaí? wíl' fí: fín' er' ə ɲo: gu:ni: 47P on the go.

Ach choinnigh sí going on and on and on

ax xín' ə fí: go:ɲ a:n æn' d̪ a:n æn' d̪ a:n 66N.

Le haghaidh iad a choinneáil as mo hair-sa

l'e hi: iəd ə xín' a:l' æs mə he:ɹsə 43M < keep out of one's hair.

Bhí an phone hang-áilte suas a'm v'i: m fo:n hæ:ɲɟ' a:l't' ə suəs am M < hang up.

Níl sé an-hundred per cent ar chor ar bith

n' i:l' fe 'a:n'hundərd̪ pər sɪn' t̪ xər ə b' i M.

Khíck-áil sé an buicéad S, D'fhéadthat se an buicéad a khíck-áil 43M < kick the bucket.

Anois tá sé dhá lash-áil anuas, ... anois tá sé lash-áil báistí ... l'æ:fal' M < lashing rain.

Tá life Reilly anois aige ag imeacht M < the life of Reilly 'a great time'.

Bhí sé ag moan-áil is ag groan-áil v'i: fe mɔ:nal' s ə grɔ:nal' M.

Pass-álann sé an t-am níos fearr p'æ:sələn' fe n tɑ:m n'is f'ar 08B < pass the time (of television).

Níor tháithnigh the looks of it liom n'ir hæ'n'hə də luks ə 'w'it' l'um 66N.

Ná díon dearmad air nó beidh tú sa soup 47P < in the soup 'in trouble'.

Is i gCarna a wind-áil siad suas S < wind up 'finish up'.

11.11 Interference

The tape recording of speaker **78E** (from Maoras, recorded in 1994) has two instances of interference where a single English equivalent exerts pressure on the distinction between two separate fields in Irish: *beirt* ~ *dhá* (English two); *siar* ~ *ar ais* (local English back). In one instance the speaker selfcorrected incorrect *beirt* to the appropriate *dhá uair*, in another she used *siar* for *ar ais* in hypercorrection. The youngest speakers, especially those born since 1980, often show extensive English use, some of which is complicated by incomplete acquisition of Irish. As well as occurring in the familiar borrowing and code-switching, many English words are used when an Irish equivalent is not known or cannot be remembered. A typical instance is:

... is e seo a thóigeál instead ... cén uair a bhí se sin born? ... an raibh tú born? ... I wish nach raibh se bodhar 86R (aged eight in 1994).

The speaker in this instance also had full sentences in English. In another instance (2004) I have heard a three-year-old from Ros Muc, whose home language is Irish, say *ní, ní raibh sé dead* (note the disfluency) where the morphologically more complex *níor maraíodh é* would be appropriate. Her brother, born c. 1995, has consistent *dead* for *marbh*, e.g. *tá tusa dead* (playing game). He consistently responded to *Dia dhuit* (spoken by me) with *Hello* (until aged eleven) as do other children his age and their mothers in Ros Muc. A neighbour of his, born c. 1985, responds to *Bail ó Dhia ort* (spoken by me) with *Dia is Muire dhuit*. In 2006 I heard a female shop assistant (born c. 1988) in Ros Muc respond to an older male's (born c. 1930) *Dia dhuit ar maidin* and to my own separate *Dia dhuit* with apparently reluctant *Hello*.

Examples of English syntax with borrowing are relatively rare for older speakers. Compounds may be preserved, e.g.

se:n' ə t̪e: senna-tea;

Síos an t-alley-way a chuaigh sé fhis ə tæ:l'i: we: xuə fe P.

English order is retained in:

ní raibh electric weld-áil ar bith ann

n'í ro l'ek'dər wɛl'da:l ə b'í ha:n 06M.

Compare down **ḍaun** in *Is gearr go ndíona sí down bínn* S (of turf-stack about to cave in) with *chaith Beairtle down arms ḍaun a'rəmz a dhíonamh 18J8609*. The indefinite adjective only preserves its prenominal position consistently, agreeing with English only and Irish *aon*:

badh iad an t-only royal crowd a bhí ... , ... an t-only aistir ...

bə jiəd ə to:n'l'i: rai'l' kraud ə v'i: ... | ... ə to:n'l'i: æ:ft'ər' 03C1a;

Sin é an t-only trí rud fin' e n to:n'i: tr'i: rud M;

Cp. *sin é an t-only one nar raibh mé aige*

fin' e n to:n(l)'i: wa:n nar ra m'e eg ə 18Bm.

Younger speakers are more influenced by English:

bíonn sórt stupid fear ... bhí sé organised acú

b'ín so:rt stju:pi:d f'ær ... v'í fe ɔrgənaizd a'ku' 56B.

Note the use of different with English syntax by younger speakers, e.g.

tá different bleep uilig aige ta difrəm bl'i:b' ə'l'ig' eg ə 52J.

Speaker 20Mlt, the last fluent speaker from Leithead and living in neighbouring Bun na hAbhann (which since c. 1950 is no longer a Gaeltacht area), seems to be influenced by English particularly in verbal noun syntax:

fur' m'e 'an'spri: æs gil' har t'i:mp'əl 8u fuair mé an-spraoi as ag goil thart timpeall,

for more usual (ə) *ɣol'* or (ə) *v'e(h) ə gəl'*;

rud ə b'í ma:r ga do:rt' eg' t'æx ... rud ar bith mar dhá dtabhairt ag teach ... ,

for more usual *iəd ə ho:rt'* or (ə) *v'e ga: do:rt'*;

ed'ər' kir' n er'əd fo ... ga vra'hə eidir ag cuir an oiread seo ... dhá bhraicheadh,

for more usual *an oiread seo a chuir*, but compare 8.105.

Morphs which are borrowed from English and used with native lexemes are limited in extent. For plural -s, cf. 4.68 ff. and 11.153 ff. There are some English-based nouns in -ər not found in English dictionaries, e.g. *stoup(er) *stju:pər* 'measure of drink', cp. *stoup* EDD and *stoup(y) (11.138). Cp. *schuig* ~ *schuigear*. English -ady is perhaps combined with native *pluc(a)* in *plukədi:* (?), *pugədi:*, *pukədi:* (?) Mq, cp. *pugaí, pugaidí, priocaidí eidhe* FFG20.

11.12 Set phrases

Set phrases can retain English order. Whole borrowed phrases are common.

All hours 'a:l 'aurs, e.g. *Gabh a chodladh nach bhfuil sé all hours* S.

Bhreachnaigh sé orm as much to say céard atá tusa a dhéanamh?

vr'æhə fe ɔrəm æs mu:f' tə se k'e:r ta tísə ji:nə S.

Sa ferry, carr and all sə f'eri: | kær ən a:l M.

Black lads (type of beetle).

Tá na fataí millte blast it! ... bl'æ:ft it M.

Tháinig sí isteach agus an cóta agus fur air agus na bootees to match the coat agus ...

hɑ:n'æk' jɪ: fɪ'æ:x gəs ə kɔ:tə gus for er' əgəs nə bu:ʃɪs tə m'æ:ʃ də kɔ:t əgəs
... M.

Ní déanfear bugger all n' i: d' i:n-f' ər bugər a:l S.

Níl mé ag iarraidh damn all d'æ:m' a:l S.

Bí damn sure a deirimse b' i: d'æ:m' ju:r ə d' er' əmʃə M.

Fuairéadar dog's life ann fuər' ədər d'ɑ:gs laif' ɑ:n M.

Tá tú dolled out bail ó Dhia ort, dolled out to go out

ta tu: dɑ:lɔd aʊt baɪl' a ji: ort dɑ:lɔd aʊt tə g aʊt S.

B'fhéidir go raibh aon electric blanket aige f'ek' trik' bl' æ:ŋk' əʃ eg' ə M.

Tá mé ag cheapadh go bhfuil sí fast asleep faoi seo an bhfuil?

ta m' x'æ:pə gə wɪl' jɪ: f' æ:sʃ ə'sl' i:p' fi: fə ə wɪl' 43M.

Flitter all níor chuir sé ann fl'itər a:l n' i:r xur fe an M.

Bhí aistir for nothing a'd v' i: æ:ʃt' ər' far natiŋ' æd M.

Amuigh sa bhfresh air ə'mu sə vref' e:r 43M.

Good job nar fhan tú leis.

High for hai for, haifər (14 haidh for, haidhfear); high sodars 'hai'sedərs (Vocabulary haighe sodar).

Bhí sé ina holy murder hɔli: mɔrdər 52P (havoc).

Dúirt sé go mbeadh sé in contact aríst M; Beidh mé in touch leat; Ní bhfuair sé in touch liom.

Nar raibh sé chomh maith dhuit lie down dog-in a dhéanamh?

na ra fe xə ma ʃi't' lai d'ɑun d'æ:g' i:n' ə ji:nə.

Níl faic aici, not a faic 43M.

Níor cheannaigh mé bit níor cheannaigh mé blas, not even naʃ e:v' ŋ an stoca héin M.

Chaiheadá trí cheist a bheith off by heart M; Bhíodar amui' ar out to play M (at school).

Ag tabhairt an once over tɔ:rt' ə ,wuns'ɔ:vər 02J.

Mar ní ghabhadh sé in ordinary envelope

mar n' i: ʃohət' fe n ɑ:rɔŋri: in'v' ə'l' ɔ:p 23B.

Tá tú curtha ó phost go pillar a'inne a Mháire

ta tu: kurh ɔ: fɔ:s(t) gə p' il' ər' æ:n' ə wɑ:r' ə M.

Caitheann siad pull the rag a dhéanamh S 'work harder'. Also caitheadh tú an rag a tharraint kahə tu n ræg' ə hæ:rənt' S; tharrainn sé an rag as a thóin harən' je n ræg' əs ə hu:n' S.

Tá sé ag déanamh sing dumb le scaitheamh

ta fe d' i:nə siŋ dʊm f'e skahə S (of sick calf).

Bíonn slack lads fuar i gcónaí b' i:n 'sl'æk' f'æ:ɔs fuar ə gu:ni: S.

Ón son of a gun ɔ:n sɑ:n əwə gun S, son of a bitch sɑ:n əwə b' iʃ' 37M, cp. *Á muis is gráma an son of a* [sic] *dh'áit é* S.

Sé Tigh X the last place on earth fe t' i: [personal name] də f' æ:sʃt' pl' eis an ert M.

Tá tóibháí up for sale i Maínis S.

Tá siad sin anois, a Bhraidhean, wash out ta f' iəɔd' jin' ə'n' iʃ' ə vrain | wɑ:f aʊt P.

B'fhéidir go raibh tú chomh well off. b' e:r' gə rə tu' xə wɛl' a:f 04Br, '... just as well off'.

An whole lot; cp. *beidh an lot caite aici*.

English interjections may be transferred with English syntax, e.g.

tá sé bloody in am aige sin a theacht ta fe blɔɔi: n ɑ:m eg' ə jin' ə hæ:xt M.

11.13 Conjunctions

Phrases can be conjoined by Irish conjunctions; for example, *ná*:

Ní fheileann sé black ná white di n' i: e'l' ən fe bl'æk' na wʌɪt' d' i M.

Dheamhan stop ná stay ju:n f'ta:p na: f'te: S; *ní rinne muid stop ná stay* S.

Níl aon mhaith dhuit ag caint leis ní athródh Saint Peter ná Saint Paul é ... sem'

p'itər nɑː sɛm' pɑːl e M; cp. *dhá mbeadh X beo is ní ghlantadh Saint Peter é ga m'ox ... b'ó: s n'í: ɣlɑːnhəx sɛn't p'itər e M.*

Clear ná light, e.g. *Is cuma clear ná light níl mé i ndan codladh 10C [s kumə] kl'iar nɑ laɪt [N'i:l' m'e: nan kolə].*

Ní raibh shape ná make uirthi n'í ro fe:p' nɑ m' e:k' orhə 43M.

Níor dhúirt sé there ná that n'í: ur't fe der nɑ dæ:t' M 'he said nothing'.

Níor fhiathraigh sé an raibh muid ... ná two ná one n'í: r iərhə fe ə ro mid' ... nɑ: tu: nɑ: wɑ:n M; Ná bíodh two ná one le déanamh agaibh leis M.

Níor dhúirt sé yes ná no n'í: r ur'tfe jis nɑ n' o: 08B.

11.14 Verb + Adverb

Verb and adverb may be borrowed together, especially by younger speakers, e.g.

Ní chut-álthadh sé off anyways é
n'í: xutɑ:lət fe a'f æn' i:wes e 52J (of electricity);
... go mbeadh an plane deireanach ag take-áil off
... gə m'ox ə pl'e:n' d'ernəx ə tɛ:k'ɑ:l' a:f 43M;
tá tú i ndan fáil through ... cuirthidh sí through thú
ta tu nɑ:n fɑ:l tru: ... kir'hə ji: tru: hu' 60M.

The phrase *looking forward* is used frequently. It seems to have been the trigger for code-switching in:

níl mé looking forward dó [repeated twice] ... I'm not looking forward to ...
n'í:l' m'e lukəŋ fɔ:r wɔ:rd' dɔ' ... a'm naʃ lukəŋ fɔ:r wɔ:rd' tu' ... 43M.

The phrase *lean forward* occurs in the following conversation where Máire the older speaker continues the younger speaker's borrowing:

-Bíonn Máire ag lean-áil forward i gcónaí sa gcathaoir seo.

b'í:n ma:r' ə l'i:n'ɑ:l' fɑ:r wɔ:rd' ə gu:ni: sə gɑ:hu' fɔ 66N

-Ceapaim nach bhfuil back ar bith ann, lean-álaim forward

k'æ:pəm' nax wil' b'æ:k' ə b'ih' a:n | l'i:n'ɑ:ləm' fɑ:r wɔ:rd' M.

Máire vacillates between a replacement with the Irish adverb *amach* and use of English *off* in a conversation about a phone-call:

Bhí sí cut-áilte amach, bhí sí cut-áilte off an bhfuil fhios a'd? ... cut-áladh
Bríd amach v'i: ji: kuʃɑ:l't' ə ma:x | v'i: ji: kuʃɑ:l't' a:f wil' is æd | ...
kuʃɑ:l'u: br'i:d' ə ma:x M.

The noun and related preposition can also be borrowed:

... an pressure a bhfuil mise under ... əm pɹɛʃər wil' m'if undər 43M.

11.15 Numerals

Numerals greater than '20', dates and general calendar use are most often in English. When Irish numerals qualify borrowed nouns the singular form normally occurs:

d(h)á dhá ghet well card ɣɑ: jɛʃ wɛl' k'ærɔ' M, dhá necklace ɣɑ: n'ikl'əs M;
dhá vest mhóra ɣɑ: v'ɛʃ wɔ:rə M;

trí tr'í: hl'æ:p' M trí shlap.

The plural occurs less often, e.g.

d(h)á [An bhfeic]eann tú an dá Ghalloways ən tu: n dɑ: jæl'əwe:s SM.

1.020 *diabhal duine de mhíle agus fiche lord-annaí nach dtáinig is ... 866E-*
Sc186.16.

With personal numerals, plural usage occurs, e.g.
seachtar Yank-annaí fa:xtər jæ:ŋk'əni M.

The plural noun occurs in English phrases:

twenty seven pounds sa mí tʷin'ti: sɪv'əm pauns (s)ə m'i: M;
b'éigin dó sixty eile pounds a íoc air b'e:g'ŋ do' sɪkʃti: el'ə pauns i:k er'
 M;
twenty Majors (brand of cigarettes).

English numerals are also followed by Irish plurals:

luach ninety pounds, twenty five bale-annaí
luəx n'ain'ti: pauns | tʷin'ti: faiv' b'e:l'əni: S;
-Forty. -Scríobh tú forty cártaí? fkr'iv tu fər'ti: kər'ti: M.
fifty nó sixty corachaí f'if'ti: nu sɪkʃti korəxi 34C.

11.16 Dates and time

Months

There is optional use of the article with the preposition *i*, i.e. *sa*, before months.

February with article: *sa bhFebruary sə v'eb'əri: 09Pt,*
April *an cúigiú lá dh'April ku:g'u: la: gə:pril' [perhaps -p' r-] M.*
May with article: *sa May sə m'e: 43M.*
June with article FFG s.v. *Jún: sa Jún.*
July without the article: *Tá sí ag goil anonn in July 14M;*
 with the article: *amach sa July.*
October with article: *san October sən ,a:k'to:bər 21Pt.*

Years

Sin anois early twenties fin' ə'n'ɪf' e:r-l'i: tʷin'tis S.

Note the idiom used to inquire about the year in:

Cén nineteen atá anois ann? Nineteen ninety — ? M.

To enquire of age *cé mhéad* is used in:

cé mhéad twenty thusa, twenty nine ab ea?
k'e v'e:ɔ tʷin'ti: hisə | tʷin'ti: naïən ə b'æ P.

Time

English is used for time reference in:

Ní fhaca mé é for weeks 52P96, ar feadh four weeks 52P96;

Taobh istigh dhe span of sé bliana ti:v əʃt'i gə sp'æn' əf ʃe: bl'ianə 52P.

Cp. this speaker's deliberate shortening of time reference in *agus níor ghlan muid í leis an. 52P* (pause, i.e. end of sentence, at *an*), perhaps related to her use of English terms. Recall the innovative use of preposition *le* *haghaidh* (7.118) in time reference, e.g.

Tá sí sin ansin leihí blianta 62B.

11.17 Examples of extensive borrowing

Caitheadh se stand-by a dhíonamh féachaint a mbeadh aon seat vacant ann S.

Le hí sheepdog ní mór dó bheith breed-áilte ní bhead sé cross-áilte S.

Théis go bhfuil sé casta off a'm tá sé still ag drip-áil

he:ɟ gə wɪl' ʃe kə:st aɪf am tə ʃe ʃɪl' ə dri:p'ɑ:l' 43M.
I suppose gur preparation for teilifís na Gaeltacht really é
 aɪ spɔ:s gər prəpə're:ʃən fər tel'əf'i:ʃ nə geɪltəxt .i:l' i' ε 45P.
 Chuile Dhomhnach, chuile Satharainn I mean 66N.
 -Le cúnamh Dé. -Le cúnamh Dé is right! əs raɪt' 21Pt.
 tɪoχthaidh sé to a stage go ... t' ukə ʃe tu: ə ʃte:ɔ:ʒ gə ... 66N.
 na pissers dh' Easter eggs nə p'isərs g i:stər eg's 45P.
 nuair a bhí na statues ag move-áil ansin
 nɔr' ə v' i: nə ʃtæ:t' us ə mu:wɑ:l' ən' fɪn' S.
 Top-áil sé an pole tɔpɑ:l' ʃe: n pɔ:l' S.
 Wish-áil sí Happy New Year ... wɪʃɑ:l' ʃi' hæp' i' n' u' jɪr ... M.

11.18 Emphasis

Borrowing is often used to emphasise or add colour or precision to discourse.

I don't know where I'll start mar a deir lucht an Bhéarla
 aɪ dən' n' o: we:r aɪl' ʃtæ:rɪt' mar ə d' er' lɔxt ə v' e:rlə M.
 Is gearr go down to the old house arist é ʃg' a:r gə ɔaun tə di: o:l' d' haus ə'r' i:ʃt' e M.
 Chuirtheadh sé pian i do — i do — in your arse
 xɪr' əʃ ʃe p' iən ə də, ə də, in' jʊr ærs M.
 B'fhéidir go n-íocfí thú as ucht é a fháil ach that's all
 b' e:r' gə n' i:k' f' i: u' əs ɔxt e ɑ:l' ax dæ:ʃs ɑ:l' P.

The choice to emphasise in English seems to be made in mid-sentence in the following instances where the speakers choose ruin-áil:

tá an soup i ndan do bhéilf a mhi- — mhi- — ruin-áil froisin
 tɑ n su:p ə nɑn də v' e:l' i: v' i, v' i, ru:nɑ:l' frɔʃən' M.
 Tá an tír míll- — ruin-áilte acub S.

11.19 Repetition

Repetition in both Irish and English is common.

Puiteachaí, mud, mud pít' əxi: muɔ muɔ P.
 Yeah that's right, tá tú ceart je: dæ:ʃs raɪt' tɑ tu' k' æ:rt 23C.
 Tá sí ro-mhór, tá sí too big tɑ ʃi' ʃo rə'wɔ:r tɑ ʃi: tu: b' iɡ' 60M.
 An cloigeann, cloigeann, head ə klog' ən | klog' ən | heɔ M.
 Níl mise i ndan aon bhít porridge a ithe inniu, no porridge today for Máire
 n' i:l' m' iʃə nɑ:n e:m' v' it' pɑ:rɪʃ ɪx' ə n' u:w n' o: pɑ:rɪʃ tə'de: fɑr mɑ:r' ə M.
 Ó a Mhaighdean don't say go bhfuil sé ag goil ag cuir amach, don't say!
 o: wɑɪd' ən ɔ:nɪt' se: gə wɪl' ʃe gɔl' ə kɪr' ə'mɑ:x | ɔ:nɪt' se: M.
 Bhíodar sin go maith dhóibh héin and that's all, they're no good for anybody else, good
 fɔr ðemselves v' i:dər ʃɪn' gə mɑ: ʃo:b' he:n' ən dæ:ʃs ɑ:l | de:r n' o: guɔ fɑr
 æ:n' i: bɑ:ɔi: eɪ' s | guɔ fɑr dəm'sel' fs P.
 Breathnaigh X anois see that now! br' æhə [personal name] ə'n' iʃ si: dæ:ʃ nau M.
 Small loss is beag an scéal e S.
 Bhí sé ansin gan meabhair gan mothú, unconscious
 v' i: ʃe n' fɪn' gəm m' aʊr' gəm muhu: | ŋ' kɑ:n-ʃəs S.

Note the apparent semi-translation in repetition, for clarification purposes in:

-Iarnálann ... iərna:lən ... M
 -Hu? hə 66N
 -Iron-álann ... ai'ərna:lən ... M.

And the opposite change in:

-Cén lá a discharge-álfear thú? K'en la: dɪs'ʃɑ:ʤɑ:l-f'ər hu [middle-aged man, AM, 1988].

-Hea? hæ S.

-Cén lá a ngabhthaidh tú amach? K'en la: ŋohə tu: ma:x [AM].

Note the variation with native Irish in repetition, apparently for clarity, or simply an alternative for hard-of-hearing Seán:

-ta: fe m'ɛfɾa:l ə tæ:ŋk' M Tá sé ag measure-áil an tank.

-he S He?

-ta: fe gól' ga: hef M Tá sé ag goil dhá thomhais.

11.20 Discourse markers

I have noticed female speakers in particular, but not exclusively, given to sprinkling conversation with English discourse markers and adverbs such as I know ai n'oi, I mean ai m'in', I suppose ai sp'ois.¹ For example, during her interview 78U had (in many instances) multiple use of by the time, though, specially, yes, no, so, kind of, I'd say, more or less, just, I d'know, really, like. Other examples are:

I believe go mbeidh siad ag pósadh faoi Nollaig

ai bl'i:v' gə m'ei'ʃiəd ə p'oisə'fi: nolək' 49M;

I'd say go mbíonn mistakes orthub aíd se: gə m'in' m'i'stɛ:k's orhəb 48B;

bhí beatha mhaith i Saint Anne's mind you v'i: b'æ'hə wa: se:n't æ:n's

main' d'u M, cardigan an-deas mind you, green k'ær'diɡ'ən 'a:n'd'æ:s

main' d'u: gri:n' M, for all that M (8.225).

But males also use such discourse markers, e.g.

That's right dæ:ʃs raiʃ 52Mt.

11.21 Bilingual contexts

Borrowings are common in bilingual contexts, where English is (also) being spoken.

-I hope your daughter doesn't wake 43M (to an English speaker)

-Ó uise go deimhin má wake-álann sí sin o iʃə d'iv'ən' ma: we:k'ɑ:lən ʃi: ʃin' M.

-I'm late 43M (to an English speaker)

-Níl tú late n'i:l' tu: ʃe:ʃ M (to 43M).

... a deir sé 'Will you say a prayer for me?' is sé an chaoi a mbímse ag rá prayer dhom héin

... ə d'er ʃe wil' jə se: ə prɛ:r fa:r m'i s ʃe xi' m'i:mʃə rɑ: prɛ:r ɣum pe:n' M.

... a couple of ridges ... ə kupəl ə riʤəs 18Bm

-Tá ridges le cuir ag John é héin ta riʤəs ʃe kir' eg' ʤɑ:n e he:n' M.

-Why didn't you change your clothes? 50N (to English speaker)

-Ó uise dheamhan change a déanadh air o uʃə ju:n ʃe:n'ʃ ə d'inu: er' M.

- ... without a bottle 54C (to English speaker)

- ... tá an bottle sin in áit eicín ... ta m ba:ʃl' ʃin' na:t' ək'in' M.

¹ Cp. O'Malley Madec (2001) and works cited there.

I only smoke when I go out, ní smoke-áilaim ach nuair a bhíonn mé imithe áit eicínt.

ai on'i: smøk win' ai g auʃ | n'i: smøk:æləm' ax nor' v'ins m'e im'i: aʃ ək'i:nt' 18Bm.

'May the sacred Heart of Jesus be praised..., 'bímse ag ropadh liom ag praise-áil pre:zə:l' P.

Máire telling about an American English-speaking visitor to whom she had spoken:

Níor dhream-áil sé air, ... níor dhream-áil sé air ... dheamhan ar chuimhnigh sé air n'ir yri:m' aʃ fe er' ... ju:n ər xi:v'r' ə fe er' M.

The extraneous origin of the borrowing is obvious in many cases, e.g. schooling in:

deabhal 't' 'h' 'e' the aige sin d'aul fi: he:ʃ i: du eg' ə jin' S.

Speaker 18Bm (20M's wife), living Bun na hAbhann, now a Galltacht area, shows obviously more interference than her sister Máire, living in Maínis, e.g.

tá muid ag spend-áil scór punt sa tseachtain ar bhainne sp'in' d' aʃ 18Bm; also M'anam gur the other way around é ... d'odər we: ... 18Bm.

Speaker 49M's use in the following example is due to her probable use of English originally in the description:

an dá thaobh dhen teach le fill-áil, is gearr go mbeidh sé fill-áilte ... f'il' aʃ ... f'il' aʃ 49M (of landfill);

also: Ní dhearna sé full carghas mar a déarthá

n'i: jə:r'nə fe: ful kari:s mar ə d'ər:hə 49M.

Similarly, in é a post-áil e' pə:stə:l' 43M the original use was English (in Irish usually e: fə:stə:l' é a phostáil).

Note the example of the interference of English literacy where Seán, who generally in conversation uses *ag cuir f(h)ola*, repeated a few times *Bhí sí ag bleed-áil* having read a report in the newspaper. This verb was noted again with its external origin obvious in:

D'fhan an páiste beo is bhlead-áil sí héin to death

də:n ə pə:ʃt' ə b' o: əs v' i: d' aʃ fi: he:n' t' ə d' it [d'et ?] M.

Many other medical terms and terminology are English for obvious reasons:

Tháinig sé abhaile incurable mar a deir an Béarla ha:n'ik' fe wa'l' ə əŋ'k' u:r'əb'il' mar ə d' er' ə b' e:rlə S (of Seán's father, home from English-speaking hospital in Galway).

There is a pun on the English word in:

Tabhair aire dhuit héin ar an mbicycle nuair nach bhfuil aon bhrake air faitíos go mbreak-álthá do mhuineál

tə: ə:r' ə yit' he:n' er' ə maisik' il' nor nax wil' e:m v're:k' er' fa:t' əs gə m're:k' ə:lə: də win' ə:l S.

Phonology

Pure vowels

11.22 /i:/ e, ea, ee, i, ei, ie, y, æ

Eng. i: (ee, i, ei, ie, y) = Ir. i:, e.g. breeze br̩is, booby bu:bi:, vaseline v̩ æsəl'i:n̩, ceil(ing)-áil si:l̩ a:l̩.

Eng. i: (ea, e) = Ir. e: and i:. Generally i: (now productive), e.g. heave hi:v̩, steam f̩ti:m̩, steamer f̩ti:m̩ ər, team f̩i:m̩. But often e:, especially in more conservative pronunciation, e.g. beater b̩'e:tər, breach br̩e:tʃ, bream br̩e:m̩ generally but br̩i:m̩ 00C, cleat(-áilte) kl̩'e:t̩(a:l̩ ə), collarbeam 'ka:lər,b̩'ē:m̩ 894Cs, conceit kən'se:t̩, dean d̩e:n̩ 23Ms (religious), Egypt e:ɟip̩'t̩ 852S and idžibt !ZCP160, heap he:p̩, the second and third syllables in leukaemia are pronounced 'k̩'e:m̩'i:, aon mhéans e:n̩ v̩'e:n̩'z 881J, Molree Bay məl 're: 'b̩'e:, seaworthy 'se:wordi: 872P, cp. sea-grass in gon tséa-grass !894C9, swede swe:d̩, treacle cake tre:k̩'íl k̩'e:k̩ M.

Words with variation in e: ~ i:, in which e: is recessive include:

cream cr̩eám !894C9 but otherwise kri:m̩, including cream of tartar kri:m̩ ə t̩æ:r̩t̩ər M, but the older pronunciation is kre:m̩ ə t̩æ:r̩t̩ər according to 47Pq; Easter in an Easter lily ən e:stər 'l̩i:l̩i: S, otherwise i:stər, e.g. Easter parade i:stər pr̩e:d̩ S; not even nəf̩ e:v̩ n̩ M, even i:v̩ in̩, i:v̩ ən, also even go iŋ gə; jeepers ɟe:p̩'ərs ɟi:p̩'ərs; lead léad Clad225, 'l̩i:ð M, leader 'l̩e:ðər 881J; Land League 'l̩æ:n̩ 'l̩e:g̩ / 'l̩i:g̩ M; leaf in compound tea-leaf 'te:l̩'li:f̩ Mq, 'te:l̩'e:f̩ FFG, tea-leaves 'te:l̩'e:v̩'s Mq, 'te:l̩'e:s FFG s.v. téiléif; free leave fri: 'l̩e:v̩ 02J; mean m̩'i:n̩, mean-áil generally m̩'i:n̩ a:l̩ but spelt méanáil 894C9, mean-áilte m̩'i:n̩ a:l̩ ə; O'Leary ə 'l̩e:ri: S; Tigh Pheacocke t̩'i: f̩i:k̩ak M, but t̩'i: f̩'e:k̩a:k (heard from a man from East Conamara, perhaps Cois Fharráige, on Raidió na Gaeltachta, 1994, and Seán Ó Conaire, Ros Muc); preach-áil spelt pr̩eácháil 894C9 (indicating pr̩e:ʃa:l̩'), pr̩e:ʃa:l̩ S with specialised meaning (understood as etymologically equivalent to pri:ʃa:l̩ S); real (adjective) re:l̩ S, ri:l̩ M; receipt r̩e:se:t̩; receiver r̩e:se:v̩'ər !894C; seat se:t̩ S, si:t̩ M, 52J; scheme f̩k̩'e:m̩, and derived scheme-éaracht f̩k̩'e:m̩ e:r̩əxt can be semantically differentiated from scheme sk̩'i:m̩, but also scímeadóir FFG; tea te: and so also in tea-leaf (above) and teapot, but t̩i:- in other combinations: tea-bag 't̩i:b̩'æ:g̩ M, teacup t̩i:k̩əp̩ M, t̩e:k̩əp̩ M?perm; treaty tre:t̩i: 892M, tri:t̩i: S.

A semantic differentiation is possible in treat tre:t̩ 'round of drinks, entertainment' and the verb treat-áil tre:t̩a:l̩ 'pay for round of drinks (for someone)' vs. tri:t̩ 'entertainment' and the verb treat-áil tri:t̩a:l̩ 'care for, behave towards'.

Short e occurs in leap, EDD lep(p), leap-áil 'l̩e:p̩ a:l̩ (also 'l̩ip̩ a:l̩, 11.31).

Eng. i: ~ ai in either e:ðər 25T, aidər M.

11.23 Unstressed /i:/

Similarly, unstressed Eng i: = Ir. i:, e.g. Benny b̩'in̩'i:, company komp̩əni:, cuddy kud̩i:, factory f̩æk't̩i:, Fanny f̩æn̩'i:, Marcaisín Sheáin Hughie x̩'u:i:, Hungary h̩iŋ'g̩ e:ri: 03Ct, Larry 'l̩æ:ri:, lorry 'l̩ori:, Terry 't̩ori:.

Cp. unstressed *-ey* in *turnkey* spelt *na turnkays* 894C3 indicating final *-eis*.
Often also *ə*, especially in older or more conservative usage.

ə (~ *i*) in *Bartley* *b'ærtl'ə*, etc.; *Festie* *f'ɛftə* S, *f'e(f)ti*: 01C, *f'ɛfti*: 21J; *sna hardy boys* *snə hɑ:rdə bæis*; *Judy Shadhbh* *ɟu:ðə hau* S, also *Jude Shadhbh* *ɟu:ð hau* M; *Kerry pink* *k'erə p'ɪŋk'* 20T; *Pen Mhatty* *p'in wɑ:tə* S, *Matty Mór* *m'æ:tə mɔ:r* but now generally *m'æ:ti*; *Mikey maik'* 11C, e.g. *Joe Mhikey Thaidhg* *ɟɔ: waik'ə haig'* ARN7065; *Seán Neddy* *ʃɑ:n'ɛðə* S also *Neddy Rua* *n'ɛðə ruə* S; *Pegsy* *p'ek'sə*; perhaps *Stephey* *ʃtæ:f'ə* M, *stæ:f'ə* 23M, (also *ʃtæ:f' / -f'?*, cp. LFRM *Steaf*); *tawney* *tɑ:n'ə*; *Garraí Welbey* *gɑ:ri: wɛlb'ə*. Cp. *boxty* *bak-ʃtə*, *fellys*, *felloes* *f'el'əs* M.

ə ~ *i*: in *Andy* ... *an'də wɔ:r'* !05M also ... *Aindí Mhóir* !894C9; *Billy* generally *b'il'i*: but note *Garraí Bhilly* *gɑ:ri: v'il'ə* and *Tomás Sheáin Bhilly* *tumɑ:s hʃɑ:n' v'il'ə*; *a Bheauty* *ə v'u:tə* 21C, *b'u:tə* M, 43M, 56B, but plural *beauties* *b'u:ti:s* 43M; *Kathy* (> *Katty*) *k'æ:tə*, *Jackie Sheáin Khathy* *ɟæk'i: x'ɑ:n' x'æ:tə*, *bád Shéamaisín Khathy* *x'æ:ti*: ARN8245; *Coley Mhíchíl Shéamais* *kɔ:l'ə v'ih'i:l' hē:məʃ* 11C3579, *Coley Bán* *kɔ:li: bɑ:n* S; *Darby* *ɟɑ:r-b'ə ɟɑ:r-b'i:*; *Dudley* *ɟɪd'l'i:*, *ɟɛd'l'i:*, *Dudley (a) Guairim* *ɟɛd'l'ə guər'əm'* 21J; *Dummy an Chléirigh* *ɟumə / ɟumi ə xl'ɛðə* M as known heard as *ɟumi:*; *Jackie* *ɟæk'i:* generally but *Jackie na Báine* *ɟæk'ə nə bɑ:n'ə* (by-name), note *Seán's* use referring to his son *Jackie* (*Jaicí*, speaker 52J) as *ɟæk'i: nə bɑ:n'ə* S; *Kitty* *k'itə* *Mhíchíl Shéamais* (whose daughter was known as) *Máire Khitty* *mɑ:r'ə x'itə*; *lady* *l'e:ðə l'e:ði:*, *an tsean-lady* *n' t'æ:n' l'e:ðə*; *luck-penny* *lok-p'in'ə lok-p'in'i:*; *Molly* *mali:*, but *Mala Laighléis*; *Myley* *mail'ə*, cp. *Maitias Wylè* [the grave accent indicates schwa, i.e. *wail'ə*] !894C9, *Myley Sheáin Buiréad* *mail'ə* ... ARN5773, *Stopóg Mhyley* *stupo:g wail'ə* 21Pt, but now also *mail'i:*; *nanny* *n'æ:n'i:* generally but *Nanny Mhór* *n'æ:n'ə wɔ:r*; *Paddy* generally *p'æ:ði:* but *Paddy Tom* *p'æ:ðə tɑ:m* ARN8637; *Patsy* *p'æ:tə p'æ:tsi:*; *Patty* *Buí* *p'æ:tə bi:* (male); *Peggy* *p'eg'ə*, e.g. *mɑ:r'ə f'eg'ə wɑ:l'i:f* 21J *Máire Pheggy Bhailís* (from *Árainn*), now generally *p'eg'i:*; *praty cake* *pl'e:tə k'e:k' p, p'e:ti: k'e:k' S*, also *p'e: k'e:k'* 51P; *Sally* *sæl'ə sæl'i:*; *Tommy* *tɑ:mi:* generally but *Marcaisín Tommy Wil(ly)* *air mɑ:rkəʃi:n' tɑ:mə wɪl'er'* ARN8635, *Tommy Keaney* *tɑ:mi:/ə k'en'i:*; *Tony* *tʊ:nə* >> *tɔ:nə* S, but now also *tɔ:ni:* S.

i: in *Richy Cúg riffi*: *ku:g* ARN7183.

Cp. *raintí bó habhs* FFG20 with *ran'tə bai haus* ~ *ran'tə bo haus* M, 45B, perhaps from *rant* about house.

Cp. *Clogherty, a Mhiostar Clachairtí* !894C9, *Seáinín Clogherty* *ʃɑ:n'in' kla:xə:tʃi: / klahə:tʃi:* 14M, *Pádraig Clogherty* *pɑ:rək' xlahə:tʃi:* M (perhaps also *xlahə:tʃe* M85).

With changes in stress pattern in *appreciate*, e.g. *Ní (a)pphreciate-álann siad* *n'i: fri:ʃi'e:tə:lən ʃiəd* S; *go, (a)pppreciate-álthaidh siad é gə | bri:ʃi'e:tə:lə ʃiəd* e 23B.

In *-y* + *-áil* the *y* can be retained: *cuddy-áil* *kɔ:di:ɑ:l'*, *ferry-áil* *beithíoch f'eri:ɑ:l' b'ehiəx* 02J, *navvy-áil* *n'æ:v'i:ɑ:l'* S, *rowdy-áil* *rau:di:ɑ:l'*;

or lost: *copy-áil* *kɑ:pɑ:l'*, etc., (11.131). Cp. loss of unstressed *ei* in *crochet-áil* *kro:ʃɑ:l'*.

Cp. dotey(-ín) **ɔːt̪, ɔːt̪iːn̪, ɔːt̪iːn̪** (noun dote Dolan (1998), cp. verb dote).

11.24 /ɑː/ **a, ua, aw, au**

Generally Eng. **ɑː** (a) = Ir. **a** [a, æ, a', æ', a:, æ:] similar to Northern English and Hiberno-English.

æ generally, e.g. bathroom **b'æ:tru:m**, blast **bl'æ:ft̪**, cast **k'æ:ft̪**, chance **ʃæ:n's**,
gaff **g'æ:f̪**, Glasgow **gl'æ:sgo:**, vase **v'æ:s**.

æ ~ ɑː in ta-ta **t̪æ't̪ɑː**, **t̪æ't̪æ:** 'thank you'.

a ~ æ in Francis **fræ:nsis** **37M**, **fræ:n'sis** **M**.

a ~ ɑː in father **f'æ:dər** >> regressive **f'ɑːdər**; Staunton **st̪æ:n't̪ən** **M**, **st̪ɑːnt̪ən** **64Mt**; cp. jaunt **ɟ̪æ:n't̪** with jaunting **car** **ɟ̪ɑːn't̪iŋ** **k'ɑːr** << **ɟ̪æ:n't̪iŋ** **k'ɑːr** (e.g. !(NUath)11C), **ɟ̪æ:n't̪iŋ** **k'æ:r**.

ɑː in conservative palm **pɑːm** **pám** **FFG**; Palmer **p'ɑːmər** **M** (name of brand of flour), e.g. leithchéad Palmer **l'ɛx'e:d** **p'ɑːmər**, the surname is generally Palmer **p'æ:m'ərs**; paymaster spelt paymáster **!894C9**, **p'e:m'æ:stər** **S**; plaster **pl'ɑːstər** **S** (medical), generally now **pl'æ:stər**.

11.25 /ɑː/ preceding **ɾ**

ɑː preceding **ɾ** in stem-final position and preceding **ɾ**-initial clusters in many words (palatalises preceding, and some following, alternating consonants, 11.52):

Guard Donnelly **g'ɑːrd̪** **ɟ̪ɑ:nəl'i:** **892M1753**; blackguard **bl'eg'ɑːrd̪** **bl'ig'ɑːrd̪** (contrast coastguard **ɑː** ~ **a** below); fataí gardens **fa'ti:** **g'ɑːrd̪əns** **SM**, ~ ... **g'ɑːrd̪əns** **M**; is iomú hard knocks a fuair mé s umu: harđ n'a:ks ə fuər **m'e** **M**, sna hardy boys snə harđə ba:i:s; jar **ɟ̪ɑːr**; marble **m'ɑːr-b'il**; parliament **p'ɑːr-l'əm'in't̪** (in both senses of whiskey and political institution, example of latter from **881J**), **p'æ:r-l'im'in't̪** (most common in political meaning); Parnell spelt Párneil **!894C9**, **p'ɑːr-ŋ'el** **11C**; partner (nautical) **p'ɑːrt̪nər**; sardines **sɑːr'di:n's** **04Br**; spar **sp'ɑːr** (note that spar (troda, etc.) is permitted only as **sp'ɑːr** by **SM**, not ***sp'ær**, contrast spar-áil below); star **ʃt̪ɑːr**; starve-áilte **ʃt̪ɑːr-v'ɑːl't̪ə**; coal tar **koi:l't̪ɑːr** **S**; yard **jɑːrd̪**. Cp. marshy ground **m'ɑːrʃi:** **graun'd̪** **36Mq** (in translation of Irish term).

ɑː varies with **a**, the variant containing **ɑː** being recessive, in some words:

alarm, e.g. alarm (agus rebounds ?) **hə'l'ɑːrəm** (**əgəs** **'ræ'bauns**) **M**, but 'alarm clock' is (**ə**)**'l'ɑːrəm** and more progressive (**ə**)**'l'æ:r(ə)m**;

arm **ɑːrəm** (conservative), **æ:rəm** **35E**; chaith Beairtle down arms **ɟ̪ɑun** **ɑːrəmz** **a dhionamh** **18J8609**;

Salvation Army **'sæ'l'v'e:ʃən** **'æ:r-m'i:** >> **'ɑːr-m'i:** **11C**, ... **æ:r-m'i:** **35E**;

arthritis **ɑːr'traɪt̪is** **ɑːrt̪ə'raɪt̪is**;

bar **b'ɑːr**, including 'bar of music', ceithre beár fhichead **894C6**, **b'ɑːr** **894Cs** ('bar' of ceilp); sa mbar **sə** **m'ɑːr** **12J**, **sə** **m'æ:r** **S** ('public bar'); bar gallaoireach **b'æ:r** **gɑːli:r'əx** **M**;

cargo spelt ceárgó **!894C6** (indicating ***k'ɑːrgo:**) but generally **k'æ:rgo:**;

Carney **k'æ:r-n'i:** >> **k'ɑːr-n'i:**;

charge **ʃɑːrɟ̪** **881J**, charge-áil **ʃæ:rɟ̪ɑːl**;

Charlie **ʃɑːrli:** **ʃæ:r-l'i:**;

charm *færəm* (perhaps also *færəm*);

coastguard(s) 'kɔ:f.g'ærɔs 06Mc, 'kɔ:f.g'ærɔ 11C, 32J;

common cars *kɑ:mən k'ærs* >> *kɑ:mən k'ærɪs* M, jaunting cars ... *k'ærs* ~ *k'ærɪs*; motorcar 'mɔ:tər.k'ær 892M, 'mɔ:tər.k'ær 01C6443;

heart attack *hɑ:rt ə'tæk* M, 27Md << *hæ:rt ə'tæk*';

March-áil sometimes *m'ærʃɑ:l*, March-álann *m'ærʃɑ:lən* 892M, cp. *márcháil* 894C6, often now *m'ærʃɑ:l*, both *ɑ:* and *æ:* are used by 08B, the latter by M;

Margaret *m'ærgrət* *m'ærgrət*, both alternants being kept separate generally, the latter used as a Christian name for younger women. Speaker 23B (born in 1923) is called Babe Mhargaret *b'eb v'ærgrət*; her daughter, speaker 60Mg (born in 1960), is also called Margaret but her name is pronounced both *m'ærgrət* and *m'ærgrət*. This might imply that the innovative pronunciation *m'ærgrət* was introduced around or after 1960. Cp. also the hypocoristic Mag > *m'æg* (in Irish *Meáig*), Maggie *m'æg'i*;

park *p'ær-k'* generally (also *p'ærk*), but *sa bhPhoenix Park* *sə v'ín'ík's p'ærk'* [perhaps *p'ær-k'*] 892M4325;

part *p'ærʃ* 'parting in hair', *p'ærʃ* 'part, piece';

part-áil *p'ærʃɑ:l* 'trim, tidy (hair)', presumably **p'ærʃɑ:l* 'part, separate' (if the latter meaning were borrowed);

party *p'ærʃi*: (e.g. 'group' 892M2780, 'political party, festivity' M) << *p'ærʃi*;

sergeant *særʃɪn't* *særʃn* *særʃɪn't*;

spar-áil *sp'ærɑ:l* M, but also *sp'ærɑ:l*; cp. sparrer corresponding to older *sparerə* *sparraera*;

varnish *v'ær-n'ɪʃ* 29N, also *v'ær-n'ɪʃ*.

Compare Mart *m'ærʃ* with Martin *m'ærʃ-n'* >> *m'ærʃɪn'* and mart *m'ærʃ*.

Intrusive *r* occurs in some variants of Chicago *ʃi'k'ærɡo*: 32J, *ʃe'k'ærɡo*: 01P, *ʃi'k'ærɡo*: M.

Many words with *ær* have been heard with *a* (and its allophones) only:

cardigan *k'ærɔdʒɪn'*, cartridge *k'ærtrɪdʒ* *k'ærtrɪʃ*, margarine *m'ærɔdʒri:n'*, smart-áilte *sm'ærʃɑ:l'tə*, partition *p'ærʃɪʃən* 'p'ærʃɪʃən.

[*a*, *a'*] in harness *hærnəs* 892M, harping *hær-p'ɪn'* S85 (*harpain* LFRM), starch *ʃtærʃ* !37M.

11.26 /ɔ:/ aw, au, al, ar, or

Eng. *ɔ:* = Ir. *ɑ:*, e.g. accordion *kær'di:n'*, almanac *ɑ:lmən'ik*, August *ɑ:gəʃt*, ball *bɑ:l*, Forbes *fær'bəs* 32J, *tá sí ag imeacht for good ta fi: g' im'əxt fær guð* M88, form *færəm*, hall *hɑ:l*, Morgan *mærɡən*, back to normal *b'æk' tə nɑ:rməl* [n' - ?] P, saucepan *sɑ:spən*, storm-áilte *ʃtɑ:rəmɑ:l'tə*, trawler *trɑ:l'ɛr* M, cp. Balderston (also Bolderston, Boulderstone, Bolderson, etc., (Reaney 1958)) and Bolustrom (de Bhulbh 2002) in Johnny Balderston a cheannaigh é *ʃɑ:nɪ: bɑ:l'ustrən ə x'æn e S*, *boləstərənɪz* *boləstrənɪz* 892M.

Cp. au in older borrowings: sabht CAR, LFRM *saut*, FFG20 < assault according to LFRM; cord > au in obsolete *cabhairdín síoda ... aniar faoi do lár* 852Sb2 glossed 'cord' (spelt *cóirdín* LL117, cp. (plural) *kóirdi*: 895M *córdáí*), cp. cord *kó:rd* (cloth).

- > **o**: in California k'æ:l'ə'fɔ:rn'ə, cord kɔ:rd (cloth), corduroy kɔ:rdə'raɪ, Forde fɔ:rd, forecast fɔ:r-k'æst M, foreman fɔ:r-m'æ:n', trawl trɔ:l !894C9 and trawlers trɔ:lərs 12J, trawl-áil trɔ:lɑ:l'.
- > **a** ~ **o**: in forward fɔ:rwərd M, 66N, fɔ:rwərd 43M.
- > **a** ~ **a'** in North nɔ:rt nɔ:rt, Northmen nɔ:rt-m'in' 892M.
- > **o** in form fɔ:rəm 12S ('bench', not lenited in *deireadh an form* 21Ptq, showing its possible status as a borrowing or mixed form influenced by *form(n)a*, for older *forma* fɔ:rəmə 19P and by-form *formna* fɔ:rəmnə 18J; **a**: in form fɔ:rəm ('document, etc.,').
- > **a**: ~ **u** in mouth-organ 'maut,urəgən P, also 'maut:ərgən.
- > **a** in auction ək-fən, auction-áil ək-fənɑ:l' M.
- > **a** ~ **æ** in fortune fɑ:rt'ən >> f'æ:rt'ən; > **æ** in launch(-áil) l'æ:ŋf(ɑ:l') 872P.
- Unstressed Eng. ə: > **o**, ə in record rɔ:kɔ:rd rekərd M, rek'əd 881J, also rə'kɑ:rd.

11.27 /u:/ u, oo, ou, ew, ui, ue, wo

- Eng. **u**: = Ir. **u**:, e.g. avenue æ:v'ɪn'u: S, corkscrew kɑ:kskru:, July dʒu:'laɪ, screw skru:, tube t'u:b(ɪ), two tu:.
- u**: ~ **o**: in high do 'haɪ'du: M, 'haɪ'do: 43M.
- u**: ~ **uə** in use-áil ju:sɑ:l' generally, but ju:sɑ:l' 20C, resembling u:sɑ:d'ə ~ u:sɑ:d'ə úsáide.
- au** in blood and wounds blɔd η aũnz 866E (cf. 11.93).
- Unstressed **u**: is reduced in value v'æ:l'ə 03C, SM, but retained in progressive v'æ:l'u: M; cp. avenue æ:v'ɪn'u: S, revenue rev'ən'u: 35E, but both æ:v'ɪn'ə and rɪv'ɪn'ə NIGCF §§18, 56; casualties k'æfəl'ti:s 66L. Cp. ə in thank you (sir) tæ:ŋk'ə sɔ:r S, tæ:ŋk'ə M.
- Also room-áil ru:mɑ:l', cp. *ruma taoscthaí rumə tɪ:ski*; older pewter p'eɪtə; boom bʊm corresponding to native *cleith*. The short vowel in boom bʊm can perhaps be attributed to an origin such as **bʏm**, with nondistinctive length, as spoken by Scottish shipwright instructors who were, according to tradition in Maínis, employed by the Congested Districts Board at the turn of the twentieth century; cp. 872P IA.15a in Roinn Bhéaloideas Éireann, and Scott (2004⁴: 69–72), e.g. the first zulu was built in Mainis in 1898.

11.28 /ə:/ or, ur, ir, er, uer

- Eng. **ə**: = Ir. **o**:, e.g. black birch bl'æk' b'ɔ:rtʃ 892M4781, Byrnes bɔ:rəns, circus sɔ:kəs, currants kɔ:rnz, curtain kɔ:rtɪn M, firm-áilte fɔ:rəma:l't'ə S, furnace fɔ:rnəs, girth g'ɔ:rt, hearse hɔ:rs, Hernon hɔ:rnən 45M, Murphy mɔ:rfi: [f' ?] 04Br, purge pɔ:rdʒ, slur-áil fl'ɔ:ru:l' FFG, Thurles tɔ:rləs S, 43M, turkey tɔ:rkɪ:, turn tɔ:r-ŋ' tɔ:r-ŋ' tɔ:rən', worm wɔ:rəm.
- o** ~ **e** beside **r** (in palatal and sibilant environments as well as following **h**) in birthday b'ɛ:rtʃde: b'ɔ:rtʃde:, circle ser-k'il' sɔ:r-k'il', herbs hɔ:rbz M, cp. herbal herəbəl M, nerves n'er-v's n'ɔ:rvs n'er-f's n'ɔ:rfz, persecution p'ɛ:sə'k'u:fən p'ɔ:rsə'k'u:fən. Such **o** ~ **e** variation is of course prevalent in native words.
- > **e** in dessert d'ɛ:sɛrtʃ, skirmish f'k'erəmɪʃ 892M5378.

> a in guernsey g'æ:nsi:.

o ~ u in murder m'ɔ:dər, m'ɔ:dər; nurse n'ɔ:rs, n'ɔ:rs M; surfacemen s'ɔ:fəsm'ɪn S, surface-ail s'ɔ:fəsa:l 20MI.

o ~ u ~ i stirabout s'tɔ:rəbaʊt, also u (>> ?) i in s'tɔ:rəbaʊt s'tɪ:rəbaʊt M. This word has various dialectal forms in English, reflected in: EDD storra s'tɔ:r S, maide storra [EDD] m'a:d'ə s'tɔ:ri: M, cp. stoory EDD, cp. SID m'ɑ:d'ɛ s't'ɔ:r.i (or 'm'a:d'ɛ n s't'ɔ:rəbaʊt,) 46.258 (where the non-alveolar t transcriptions in SID.46 (t' = t' unspirated) may well be erroneous (1.416)); also a in cac s'tɪ:r(-about) k'ak s'ta:ri:, cp. starabout given in EDD from Wexford.

Also u in blueshirt bl'u: s'fɜ:t S, Pittsburgh 'p'ɪts,bʊr(ə)g 35E.

Perhaps o ~ i in firm-áilte f'ɔ:rəma:l'tə ~ f'ɪ:rəma:l'tə M.

11.29 /i/ i

Eng. i = Ir. i, e.g. clipper kl'ɪp'ər, fit f'ɪt, Hickey hik'i: M, Higgins hig'əns, rim rɪm', bin b'ɪn', whip fɪp'.

> i ~ u ingrown toenail 'ɪŋ,grɔ:n tɔ: n'e:l M, also, deliberately clearer, 'ɪŋ,grɔ:n ... [or perhaps 'ɪŋ,g-] M; history hɪst'ɔ:ri: 892M2002 sean-history 'ʃān'hust'ɔ:ri: 892M2436; Doctor Hillary d'ɑ:k'dər hul'ɔ:ri: 03C; swiss rolls swus rɔ:lz 43M.

> u liquid paraffin(e) lukwəd p'æ:rəf'ɪ:n', Hector, Prince of Troy hek'dər prʊns əv trai:ɪə | 11C2434, hek'dər prʊns əv trai: | 892M2438, Princess Maude prʊnses m'ɑ:d !39D (name of passenger steamer).

> u ~ e in top-lift 'tɔ:p,lɪft 27Mdq, 'tɔ:p,l'ɛf't 47Psq.

> e (~ o ~ i) in grid grɛd 29N, na hIsraelites nə hɪs'rɪlaɪts / hɪz'rɪlaɪts 881J, nə hez'rəl'eɪds ZCP158, lid l'ɛd, an Pretty Polly əm p'retʃi: 'p'a:li: 35E, əm p'rotʃi: 'p'a:li: 05M (boat name).

> e ~ i before a labial: bib b'ɛb'ə b'ɪb'ə, differ dɪf'ər generally but d'ɛf'ər 21Pt (cp. deifir² (difear) FGB < deithbir 2 DIL), lift l'ɛf't l'ɪf't, lifter l'ɛf'dər 76N (for stove), live-ail l'ɪv'əl generally but l'ɛv'əl 01P, privy p'reb'i: p'rib'i:. Also following a labial in bid-ail b'ɛd'əl 897S, Nelson's Pillar n'ɛl'səns p'ɛl'ər 03C, P, pillowcase 'p'ɛl'ɔ:k'ɛs 66N. Also sill sɪl't P, sɛl' 64M.

> o in come-hither cum hɔ:dər FFG.

> e (~ i) beside a nasal in Manila m'ə'n'ɛl', miracle m'ɛrɪk'ɪl' M, Provincial p'ru:v'ɛnʃəl 52P. Cp. nits n'ɛts 14M (translating sneá). Cp. e (11.30).

i ~ u ~ e beside a nasal in winch wɪnʃ generally, also wʊnʃ; note the first more careful token (in audio-recorded speech) ar an winch ... ar an winch er' ən wɛnʃ ... er' ə wɪnʃ 01C6313-4.

> ai in mitch-áil m'ɪtʃ'ə:l; ai ~ i in Connaught Tribune kə:nəx trɪb'u:n M, progressively kənəx't trɪb'u:n.

> i: in piano p'i'a:n'ə FFG s.v. piaine, rick (reek) rɪ:k', Swihin swi:ʃɪn' SM.

> e: in niger / negro Néigjɔ:rs !894C9 implying n'ɛ:g'ərs, similarly néagur Cladl-153, cp. néigear n'ɛ:g'ər GCF §376.

> a (before n, ng) in splinter spl'æntər, swing-rope 'swā:ŋ,ro:p 01C6320 (cp. swang EDD a dialect form corresponding to swing).

Note the by-forms of bricklayer br'ɪ:k'əl'ɛ:rə, br'ɪ:kl'ɛ:rə, br'ɪk'əl'ɛ:rə, br'ɪk'əl'ɛ:rə, br'ɪk'ɛ:rə 43M (when queried, speaker 43M was unsure of her

actual usage), also abstract *brícearach* **br'ik'ærəxt** (< *bríce*).

For unstressed English **ɪ**, see 11.38; also for English pretonic **ɪ**, see 11.103 ff.

11.30 /e/ **e, ea**

Eng. e = Ir. e, e.g. *beg-áil* **b'eg'á:l'**, *bell* **b'el'**, *Betts* **b'ets**, *well* **wel'**.

> **i** beside a nasal, e.g. *bend* **b'in'd**, *Benny* **b'in'i:**, *cement* **si'm'in't** >> **sim'in't**, *Séamas Ennis* **fē:məs in'əs 892M**, *hemp-annaí* **hɪmp'əni: 892Mg**, *medical* **m'ídək'il'**, *net(wire)* **n'it('waiər)** S, *never again* **n'iv'ər ə'g'in'**, *pension* **p'inʃən**, *pencil* **p'in'sil'**, *rent-áilte* **rin'ta:l'tə M**, *September* **sip'timb'ər**, *spend-áil* **sp'in'da:l'** **18Bm**, *stench-áilte* **ʃtɪnʃa:l'tə 894Cs** (obsolete form of *stanch* OED).

e retained beside a nasal in *connect-áilte* ... *connection* **kə'n'ɛk'da:l'tə ... kə'n'ɛkʃən 894Cs**, *Flemins* **fl'em'in'z 892M3422**, *an Kenerney* **k'en'ər-n'i: 18J8260** (boat name), *Mylotte (Mellett)* **m'el'ət**, *Ned* **n'ed**, *Neddy* **n'edə**, *Annette* **n'et**, *Saint Enda* **sə:n't en'də 18J** (boat name), *flannelette* **'fl'æ:n'et M**, *smell-áil* **sm'el'a:l' P**.

e ~ o beside a nasal in (-)mer-: *American* **m'er'ək'an S**, *m'orək'in' 64Mt*, *American wake* **m'erək'in' we:k' 18J**; *merit* **m'orit 43M**; *merry* **m'ori: 43M**.

i ~ e beside a nasal in *stem* **ʃtɛm' S** ('stem of pipe'), *ʃtim* **ʃtɪm' S** ('stem of sight, of pipe, etc.'): *Orangemen* **'arəndʒ,m'in' 'arəndʒ,m'en 35E**; *chemist* **k'im'əʃt**, *k'em'əʃt M*; *depend-áil* **dəp'in'da:l'** generally but **dəp'en'da:l' 01C6066**; *engine* **in'dʒən** commonly but **en'dʒən 01C**; *tender-áilte* **ʃɪndərə:l'tə**, **ʃen'dərə:l'tə 27Mdq**.

Backed optionally in environment of nasal to **o** beside **r** in *merry*, etc. (as noted), also beside **s** in *mess* **m'es m'os m'is**, *mess-áil* **m'esal' m'isa:l'** (e.g. **m'isa:l' 66N**).

Cf. instances of **e** for **i** beside nasals (11.29).

> **o** with change of stress in *separate-áil* **sopə're:tə:l' 21Pt**.

11.31 /e/ > **i ~ e / _C^{*pal}**, etc.

Stressed: *already* **ɑ:ɹi:di:** M, also **ɑ:re:di:**; *brickettes* **brək'its [brɪ- ?] M**; *deck* **dɪk' S**, **dɛk' M** (**dɛk' e s n'i: dɪk' M** *deck é is ní* 'dick'), P, *deck-áilte* **dɪk'a:l'tə**, *half-decker* **hæ:f' dɪk'ər 31Dt** (stress was not noted); *hotel* **hə:t'el' ho:t'ɪl'** (cp. note 'pron[ounced] *hotil'* **894C2**); *injection* **in'dʒɪkʃən M**; *kettle* **k'ɪl'**, but **k'etl' 21J**; *leap-áil* (EDD *lep(p)* (11.22), Hiberno-English **l'ep'**), *ag leap-áil ... ag leap-áil ə l'ip'a:l' ... ə l'ep'a:l' M*; *level* **l'iv'əl' S, 52J, l'ev'əl' P**, *level-áil* **l'iv'il'a:l' l'ev'il'a:l'**; *regular-áilte* **ri:gl'a:l'tə regl'a:l'tə**; *rev-áil* **rɪv'a:l' 73P**; *second* **sek'in'd, sik'in'd** (e.g. P), *telephone* **tel'əfɒn, tɪl'əfɒn M**, *television* **tel'əv'ɪʃən 04Br, M, tɪl'əv'ɪʃən 15W, M**; *vegetables* **v'ɛdʒɪtəb'il's**; *you're welcome* **ju:r wɪl'kʊm M, P**; *yes* **jɪs 08B**.

With change of stress: *Congested Board* **'ka:n,dʒɪstəd bɔ:rd S**, **'ka:n,dʒɛstəd bɔ:rd 20Ml**.

i only in *dredge* **dri:dʒ**, *dredge-áil* **dri:dʒa:l'**.

Unstressed: alphabet æl'fæb'it M, also *an t-alphabet* ə'tal'fæ:b'et S; September sip'timb'ər 04Br.

i ~ e ~ i: in: de Valera dev'ə'l'era 892M, div'ə'l'era, di:v'ə'l'era 02J (cp. de Coursey 'di:k'ursi:), also abbreviated Dev div'.

Cf. instances of e for i (in non-nasal contexts), 11.29.

11.32 /e/ > o

> o beside r:

address 'æ:dros 43M, cherry tʃori:, cigarette sig'ə'rət SM, P, Dermot dɔrmət 32C, dhá dhress-áil héin ga' yrosa:l' he:n' S, forever fur'ovər S, hernia hɔr-n'i: 23C, heroin hɔrəwin' 64M, heronbone hɔrnbɔ:n 03C, merit m'orit 43M, merry m'ori: 43M, redcoats 'rɔd,kɔ:ts 892M, serge sɔrdʒ sɔrtʃ, sherry tʃori: M, Terence tɔrən's 11C.

> o ~ e beside r (examples of variation are not given in each word here):

American m'er'ək'ən, m'orək'in', m'erək'in', Berry b'eri: P; berth b'ert FFG s.v. *bert*; breast brɔ:t P; crèche krotʃ 72C; earth ɔrt 37M and 74N (electrical), ert M (planet); Ferrins f'orənz 892M, f'erənz; Tigh Gheraghty t'i:jɔrti: SM, ... jɔrəxti: 37M, ... jɔrəti: 47P, Mister Geraghty m'istər g'orəxti: P; Hereford(s) herəfɔrd herəfərts M; record rɔkɔrd rekərd M, rek'əd 881J, also rək'ard; Residence resədəns S; spread sprɛd spro:d M; terms tɛrəms; Terry tɔri: tɛri:.

o ~ e ~ i beside r in fresh-áilte friʃa:l'tə, freshen-áilte frɔʃn'a:l'tə M, fresh freʃ M.

o ~ e in feather f'odər f'edər; shelter ʃoltər 21Pt; test-áil tɛʃta:l' tɔʃta:l'; weatherboard 'wɔdər,bɔ:rd 892M.

o ~ e ~ u (~ i) in present prusin't M, prisin't S; press pros pres, press-áil prusa:l' 20Ml, press-áil anuas prusa:l' ə'nuəs 64M; rest-áil rɔʃta:l' rɛʃta:l' ruʃta:l' M, ruʃta:l' 892M¹³⁴⁶; seventy four səv'in'ti: fɔ:r M perhaps /suv'in'ti:/; stress stros M, sdrus 46 s.v. *strus*, st'rus strus 21Pt.

i can be backed to u in sandhi, e.g. *bhí sé ina* M.P. v'i:ʃe 'num'p'i: | 03C.

11.33 Others

> u in Gregory grugəri: 25M, guest-house guʃt'haus S, Reynolds runəl's 15W, lemon lumən 66N, sweaters swuʃərs 15W.

e ~ u in desk dɛsk common, but desk-annaí dʌskəni: 10B.

a in anyways 'æ'n'i:weɪs; terrier tɛəriər, e.g. *bhí sé chomh mór le terrier* S (of cat); hysterics hai'ʃtɛrək's 18J9140; Longkesh laŋ k'æ:ʃ !39D (assonates with *teach*, (*Seanadh*) *Mhach*) perhaps related to Ulster Hiberno-English e' here.

Eng. e ~ a = Ir. a in bag (standard *keg*) k'ag', thrasher (standard *thresher*) træʃər, wrack (standard *wreck*) ræk', also wrack-áil ræk'a:l'.

Cp. Geoghagan g'e:həg'ən ~ g'əhəg'ən ~ g'əhəg'ən 21J.

e ~ ə with loss of accent in register-áilte rɛdʒɛstrə:l'tə rɛdʒɛstrə:l'tə rɛdʒɛstrə:l'tə.

In sir generally sɔr but i: in Sir Lampard si:r ləmpərd (Smbb)04B perhaps derived from Sire.

e ~ e: in ferry f'eri: M, f'eri: 899N.

i: in brehon law bri:hən lɑ: [perhaps f'ɑ:] 02J.

Lost in weakened stress in free emigration fri: mə'gre:ʃən 05M.

11.34 /a/ a

Hiberno-Eng. **a** (standard English **æ**) = Ir. **a**, [a, æ]. Generally [æ(:)], e.g. dash ɖæ:ʃ, gang ɡ'æŋ(ɡ)', jam ɖʒæ:m', match m'æ:ʃf, snatch ʃn'æ:ʃf M, trap træ:p', van v'æ:n', wrap-áilte ræ:p'ɑ:l'ə.

[a(:)] following w in waggon wa:g'in' S, also wæ:g'in' 881J; wagtail wɑ:ge:təl M.

[a(:)] also before labials (**b**, **p**) in sappers sɑ:pərs S, sæ:p'ərs !21Pt; slap ʃl'ɑ:p but also ʃl'æ:p'; snap has mixed forms sna:p M, ʃn'ɑ:p P, ʃn'æ:p' S (Seán and Máire's tokens in *bhain mé snap as mo dhroím*, and Pádraig's (P) token in *Rinne an tslat snap (is bhris sí)*); stab ʃtɑ:b M and ʃt'æ:b' M, stab-áil ʃtɑ:'bɑ:l' 894Cs; tap tɑ:p ('(not a) stroke (of work)'), t'æ:p' ('water tap' 'tip (touch)'), heeltap hi:l'tɑ:p 892M3640. Contrast older rap rɑ:p, rapáil rapɑ:l', etc., with rap-áil ræ:p'ɑ:l' 37M ('strike').

[a(:)] is possible in many contexts in variation with **æ**, e.g. (following r)

crash kræ:ʃ, also crash beag kra:ʃ b'og 25M;

draught dræ:f't, also down-draught 'ðaun,dra:f't M;

Raftery ræ:f'dəri:, also ra:f'dəri: 892M.

There is a phonemic contrast in action /ækʃən/ vs. auction /ak-ʃən/ (also action-áil /ak-ʃənɑ:l' /). The phonemic status can be attributed to the consonants, **k'** vs. **k**, or vowels, **æ** vs. **a**, respectively. Semantic differentiation is possible in (older) fashion fa:ʃən 'manner, custom' vs. (progressive) f'æ:ʃən 'fashion (e.g. of dress)', although fa:ʃən *faisean* can have both meanings.¹

> **a** in drama dramə (perhaps a blend with standard Irish *dráma*); Polack 'po:lak FFG s.v. *Polac* (leg *Pólac*); following h in Harry hɑ:ri: M (often). Cp. Mannion ma:n'ən 20MI, influenced by *Mainchín* (11.118).

> **e** in shackle seikl FFG, e ~ a in Charollais ʃer-'l'i: SM, ʃer-'l'i: M, ʃɑ:rl'i: 60C.

e ~ i in blackguard bl'eg'ɑ:rd bl'ig'ɑ:rd.

æ ~ e: in sacristy sæ:k'rəsti: ~ sæ:k'rəʃti: S, including *sa sacristy* sə sæ:k'rəsti: S, *sa sacristy* sə se:k'rəsti: S (influenced by sacred).

ɑ: in Packy, generally p'æk'i:, but Packy *Sheáin K'hathy* pɑ:ki: x'ɑ:n' x'æ:tə 19B, M, Packy *Keane* pɑ:ki: k'e:n' 20C (perhaps influenced by *Pádraig*, cp. *Patrick* p'æ:/ɑ:trik'); *chomh láidir le Samson* sɑ:mson 889P. Note also Malbay mɑ:l-b'e' !(NUath)11C, mɑ:lwe (brother of 21J), Prendergast 'prin'ɖɑ:ɡɑ:ʃt 35E7425.

ɑ: ~ æ in caraway seed ceábhrasáid FFG s.v. *ceábhrasí*, k'ærəw/vsi:ɖ SM, k'ærəf'si:ɖ S; Patrick p'æ:trik' generally, but p'ɑ:træk' 18J8790 (of individual now long deceased), *an Patrick-in* əm p'ɑ:træk'in' (boat name) (perhaps influenced by *Pádraig*). Cp. Cafferky k'æfərki: 11C3283 (slightly unclear: *tigh Chafferky* t'i x'ɑ:fərki: or x'ɑ:fərki: 892M3287).

¹ The contrast between fa:ʃən and f'æ:ʃən and even older *faisiún* was pointed out to me by Tomás de Bhaldraithe (personal communication, c. 1998).

Eng. $\text{æ} \sim \text{ɑ}$ > i under secondary stress in commandant 'kɑ:mə'dɪn't 26Ps.

Unstressed **a** varies in Maam Cross məm 'kra:s also mam 'kra:s 20MI; Mac in MacDonagh m'ig'ðunə, MacSweeney m'ig'swi:n'i 11C, m'æk'swi:n'i: 892M, Saint Macdara se:n'h m'ig'ðærə 18J (boat name).

ɑ in an bhothar-áil wá:dra:l M, for regular bá:dra:l, is most likely an example of sporadic ɑ > ɑ : as noted in 'Historical Phonology' (1.32).

11.35 /o/ ɔ

Eng. **o** = Ir. **a**. Generally [a(:)], e.g. bob ba:b, clog kla:g, cross kra:s and in cross-bhóthar 'kra:s,wə'hər M, P, doll ðal, Rob(by) ra'b(i), wash wə:ʃ.

[æ(:)] in frolic fræl'æk', hospital æ:spæk'il', notch n'æʃ 21Pt, yacht jæ:ʃt.

[a(:) ~ æ(:)] beside r , for example, in crossbar 'kra:s,b'ær, 'kræs,b'ær 18J, throttle trætʃl' 79S; sally rod sæl'i ræð 45B; also beside palatals sn, dg, tch: snorter ʃn'ætər (e.g. M), ʃn'a:tər; dodge-áil ðæ:ðal' 33T, ða:ðal 70S; watch wə:ʃ wæ:ʃ; also following h in Hosty ha:ʃti: P.

With semantic differentiation in gloss gla:s (paint) and gl'æs 'shine' (cp. glas (glas = gl'as) 'shine' < Eng. glass according to LFRM s.v. glas; cp. also gléas¹ FGB 'glaze, gloss').

o before r in lorry l'ori:.

u in potter-áil putra:l', spotch spuʃ S (cf. EDD), spotch-áil spuʃa:l' SM.

i in Monica min'ik'ə more conservative than man'ik'ə, cp. Veronica v'ə:ra:n'ik'e M; rowlock ri:l'æk'.

> ɑ : in cauliflower kəl'i'flaur M, dish-cloth ðiʃ klət, dolled out ðald' aʊʃ S, geography dʒi:'ɑ:grə'fi: P, revolver rə'wa:lwər 892M, solder sɑ:dər (sádar FGB), solder-áilte sɑ:dəra:l'tə, trolleys trəl'i:s M (cp. tralaí FFG27), wandering jew wɑ:ndərŋ dʒu: S. Cp. sovereign sávairin 894C9 (in song and narrative), sɑ:vərən' sɑ:vərən.

o: with stress change in conservative police 'pə:'li:s, proclamation 'prə:'kl'e:m'e:ʃən (Afl)03C.

o: with regressive **u**: preceding nasal in bonfire (< bonefire) 'bɒ:n'faɪr S, P, 'bu:n'faɪr also 'bu:m'faɪr, vagabond v'æg'əbɒ:n M, v'æg'əbu:n 892M.

Unstressed in boycott-áil baikaʃa:l' but also baikaʃa:l 892M5056 (perhaps influenced by cut); lengthened in coupon ku:pən (cp. native -án).

With loss of stress > ə in contract kən'træk'.

au in bronchitis brauŋ'kaɪtəs SM.

11.36 /ʌ/ u, ɔ

Eng. ʌ = Ir. **o** often, as in Hiberno-English, e.g. bud buð S, bud-áil buða:l' S, bunch bunʃ, bus bus, butt in full-butt ful buʃ, cutter kuʃər 35E, dummy dʌmi:, gut guʃ, instructor ən'struktər, jug dʒug, (an) Lovely Anne luv-'li: æ'n' 35E (boat name), mug mug, pump pump.

u ~ **i** in Donegal ðun'i:'gəl, also ðin'i:'gəl 12J; Duncan ðuŋkən >> ðiŋkən; front door frun' dɔ:r, front porch 'frin't 'pɔ:ʃ 64M; Hungary hiŋ'g'eri:

03Ct; putty puʃi: piʃi:, study-áil generally ʃtuɟi:aɪ but ʃtiɟi:aɪ **52J**, touch ʃuʃ ʃiʃ.

- i** in palatal or alveolar environment in bust-áilte biʃtʰa:ɪ ə S, cull-áil kiɪ 'aɪ', mudguard 'miɟ.g'æ:ɾɟ M, rowlock riɪ 'ək', rummage-áil ri:m 'əɟʰa:ɪ', (*an*) Great Southern sin gre:ʃ siðəɾŋ' ʃin' S, cp. onion in' ən (in Iorras Aithneach English).
- o** in blood and wounds bloɟŋ auns M, perhaps also bloɟ ən' auns, blood-poison-áil 'bloɟ.pai:sən' aɪ', bloody bloɟi:; brush broʃ; bulk-head 'bɒlk.hed' **872P**; club klob; company kompəni:; curry kɔri: (homophonous with *corraí*); luck-penny lok-p' in' i:; nuts n'otʃs; pub pɒb; Republic rə'pɒblək' **892M**; rubber robər; Russia roʃə M, Russians roʃənz **892M**, Russian tallow roʃən ʃæ:l' o' P; scuffle skɒfəl S; scutch skɒʃ M; skull-áil skɒla:ɪ M, scoláil FFG; by-names Son son, Sonny soni: (perhaps also sun(i:)), Son-in sen in'; stubborn-áilte stɒbərənə:ɪ ə, trouble trobəl.
- o ~ u** in Currán kurən' **01C6775**, korn' **04Br**, Currans korən's **04Br**; nun n'on, n'un S; plug plog **51P**, plug (cp. pluig-in plig'in' **60M**); stud ʃtuɟ, but ʃtoɟ ʃtoɟ M; turn ʃɔrən' ʃɔr-ŋ ʃɔr-ŋ' but also ʃur-ŋ' **899D**; ulcer(s) generally olsər but also ul'vstər(s) **66N**; combined up in check-ups ʃe'k'ops M; fed up f'ed op M, **26Pc**, f'ed op **70Sq**; upset-áilte op'setə:ɪ ə M.
- o ~ a** in cover ka:wər, and more progressive ko:wər ko:vər, for cover-áilte only ko:wə:ɪ 'ə has been noted; oven a:wən (e.g. **21Pt**) << owən.
- i ~ e** in Dudley ɟiɟl'i: **18J**, generally ɟedl'i: **21J**, **43M**.
- a** in hurricane ha:rək'em' S, two ná one tu: nɑ: wɑ:n, son of a gun sa'n əwə gun S, son of a bitch sa:n əwə b'itʃ **37M**.
- u:** in stun-álann ʃtu:nə:lən from FFG s.v. *stiúndálann*; supple-áilte su:plə:ɪ 'ə. Cp. mutter-áil mutrə:ɪ S, synonymous with mutrə:ɪ M ('muttering').
- ə** in unstressed teacup ʃi:kəp M.
Cp. gullet gluʃ.

11.37 /u/ u

- Eng. **u** = Ir. **u**, e.g. book-áilte bukə:ɪ 'ə, full in full-butt ful buʃ, moustache muʃtʰæʃ, pull-over pul'ovər, push puʃ.
- u ~ i** before alveolars in football fuʃbəl fiʃbəl, pudding piɟiŋ' M, **43M**.
- u ~ u:** in cook ku:k, cooker ku:kər M and more progressive kukər, cook-áil ku:kə:ɪ and more progressive kukə:ɪ; hook in idiom *amach ar a hook héin* both huk **04Br** and hu:k **21Jq**, (of phone) hu:k **52J**, huk **43M**.
- u:** only in breast-hook 'b^əroʃt^h.hu:k **872P**, rookery ru:kəri:, room-áil ru:mə:ɪ .
Unstressed > ə, i, or lost, in ambulance æ'mb'əl'əns, and æ'mbl'əns M; miraculous medal m'iræ:k'il'əs m'idl' .

11.38 Schwa ə, ɪ

English schwa includes both ə and ɪ. It is unclear in many instances whether the ə / ɪ contrast is phonemic in borrowings or allophonic, as it is in native Irish words (based on distributional criteria in native words; ɪ occurring primarily in palatal environments). For that reason both ə and ɪ are transcribed in borrowings following their phonetic status (but no consistency was achieved over the long period of transcription, e.g. I have transcribed persecution as p'ersək'u:ʃən and

p'ersi'k'u:fən where the actual phonetics were probably the same). In cases such as realise-áil ri'laisa:l **56B** (also rə'laisa:l **52J**), where unstressed *i* in the borrowing corresponds to stressed standard English *rə* in *realise*, potential phonemic status is evident. Also Republic rə'poblək' ~ rɪ'poblək' **892M**. Unstressed -men (plural of -man) is realised as **m'en** and **m'in**, e.g. *na Yeomen nə jə:m'in*.

Eng. ə ɪ = Ir. ə, e.g. Baltimore b'æl:təmɔ:r **899D6209**, Brazil brə'sil **04Br**, clipper kl'ip'ər, engine in'dʒən, fortune fə'rtən f'ærtən, harness harnəs **892M**, lettuce l'etəs, mattress m'ætrəs, office ə'fəs **21Pt**, parliament p'ɑ:r-l'əm'in't (but p'ær-l'im'in't), Sarah sɛ:rə, telegram t'el'əgræ'm, tomato təm'ætə:, varicose veins v'ærəkɔ:s v'e:n's ~ v'ærəkə: v'e:n's.
 > **i** (sometimes transcribed ə) preceding many palatal and alveolar consonants, e.g. Father Adams f'ɑ:dər æ'dəm's **892M**, but Adam and Eve ædəm ən iv **892M4602**, Angus-achaí æ:ŋg'isəxi:, bicycle baɪsək'il, budget budʒɪt, cardigan k'ærɪdʒ'in, convent kən-v'in't, Corbett kər-b'ɪt, regiment redʒəm'in't, rowlock ri:l'ɪk, ri:l'ək, varnish v'ɑ:r-n'ɪʃ **29N**.

Eng. əl = Ir. il' (əl'), cf. 11.75 ff.

Eng. ən = Ir. in' (ən'), η', ən, and η, cf. 11.81 ff.

Eng. **ɪk** = Ir. **ik'** in allergic l'erdʒɪk', anaemic ə'n'i:m'ɪk', appendix p'in'dɪk's, frolic fræl'ɪk', Patrick p'ætɪk', sciatica saɪ'æ:tɪk', Titanic t'ai'tæn'ɪk'. Also *sa bhPhoenix Park sə v'i:n'ɪk's p'ɑ:rk'* [perhaps *p'ɑ:r-k'*] **892M4325**.

Eng. **ək** = Ir. **ik'** (= ək' in my notes) in barrack b'ær'ək', Greenock grɪ:n'ək' **892M**, rowlock ri:l'ək'.
 = Ir. **ik' ~ ək** in futtock plural fʊtək's **897P**, also 'fʊtʊk 'fʊtʰuk **21Pt**, cp. fʊtək LFRM *futoc*.
 = Ir. **ək** in stomach-áil stʊməkə:l S.

Eng. **æk** and **ɪk** in McCormack, McCormick > **ək** in m'ə:kɑ:rmək **892M3338**, mə:kɑ:rmək **32J**.

For syncope, see 11.107.

Lost in unstressed final position (following voiceless consonant) in fuchsia f'u:ʃ M, also f'u:ʃə **02J**; sciatica saɪ'æ:tɪk'.

Following diphthongs **ai** and **au**, **ə** may be lost or retained, e.g. tyre tair t'aiər, power paʊr paʊər. Lost following a long vowel in *an t-Annuitiy ən 'tæ'n'u:ti* **892M**. Becomes stressed to **u** in gullet glʊt (cp. 11.101).

11.39 Eng. schwa = Ir. full vowel

Pretonic schwa > **a**, generally with change in stress, in (conservative) forms of, for example, Alaska æ'l'æ:s-k'ə **892M**, committee kə'mə'ti:. For further examples of pretonic ə and **ɪ**, cf. 11.103. There are clear examples of phonetic pretonic **i**, e.g. deliver-áladís dɪ'l'iv'ərə:ləd'i:ʃ M. Pretonic **ɪ** is stressed as **ai** in hysterics hai tʃtærək's **18J9140** (initial syllable reanalysed as high).

> **i**: in the third syllable (-fi:-) of (a)pphreciate-álann prɪ:ʃi'e:tələn S, appreciate-álthaidh prɪ:ʃi'e:tələ **23B97**.

Medial **ɪ** > **o**: in magnifying glass m'ægn'ə'hain' gl'æ:s **14M**.

11.40 Post-tonic

Final ə ~ æ, also e; the ə palatalises preceding c, k; in: Africa afrək'ə 892M, æf'rik'æ 23B, in Africa ən a:frik'ə ~ ən æf'rik'ə ~ ən æf'rik' M, san Afraic Theas S; Alaska æl'æ:s-k'ə 892M; Monica min'ik'ə ma:n'ik'ə; Veronica v'ə:ra:n'ik'ə M.

> a: in final position in the conservative form Canada k'æn'əðɑ: (cp. *Meireacá*), also k'æn'əðæ 894BI, now also k'æn'əðə; but regular Minnesota m'in'ə:sə:tə 115W, Delia ði:l'ə; sometimes ε as in Armada 'a:r'm'æ:ðε 35E, Veronica v'ə:ra:n'ik'ε. Post-tonic ə > a in calling intonation:

↘ ↗ ↘ ↗

Nora nɔ:ra | nɔ:rə S.

> o: ~ ə in quota kɔ:tə: (generally), but kɔ:tə 31D.

Final ə > i: in magenta g'in'ti:, soda sɔ:ði: M, soda water sɔ:ði: wɑ:tər M. Cp. baft also OED 6 boffeta, 6–8 bafta, 9 baftah > b'æ:f'əði:; Columba 'ka'lumbi: 18J7098 (boat name), cp. no tobacco n'ɔ: tə'b'æk'i: P.

With stress change, English medial ɪ or ə have various realisations:

> æ in character k'æræ:k'tər S; an t-elephant ə 'tel'əf'æn't P;

> e in register-áil rə'dʒestrəl';

> ə ~ e ~ i in calendar k'æl'əndər k'æl'en'dər 'k'æl'ɪn'dər;

> i in highlander hai'l'in'dər SM, also 'hi:l'æ:ndər 49J;

> e: in proclamation 'prɔ:k'l'e:m'e:jən (Afl)03C (as proclaim).

> stressed i: in John de Courcey 'dʒɑ:n' 'dʒi: 'kursi: 892M (cp. a by-form of de Valera dʒi:v'ə 'l'ɛrə).

> ai in Tom Hassard tɑ:m 'hasaird 11C.

Note ə in Forbes fə:rbəs 32J (cp. Forbes as synonym for MacFirbis; the pronunciation in Co Clare is Forbis, MacLysaght 1985 s.v. Forbes).

i ~ a ~ ə in turnip tɔ:na:p P, turnips tɔ:rənəps 894BI, tɔ:na:ps tɔ:r-n'ip's M.

ə ~ e: in necklace n'ikl'əs n'ikl'ɛ:s.

Unstressed -land is often ɪ'æn'd, e.g. an Zetland Hotel ə seɪl'æn'd hɔ:'tɪl 11C, an High Church of England mar ə hai'ʃɜ:ʃ əw ɪŋgl'æn mar 11C3237. Re-analysed in Spike Island 'spaik' 'ai,l'æn'd 03C.

Re-analysed as -son in chomh láidir le Samson sɑ:mson 889P; contrast Thompson tamsən 892M.

English and is often realised as ən (also ən') in set phrases; this reduction, however, does not always occur and a clear æ vowel is also common, e.g.

Adam and Eve æðəm ən i:v' 892M4602; back and forth b'æk' ən' fɔ:rt 894Cs; blood and wounds blɔd ŋ aũnz 866E; black and white (television) bl'æk' əm fəɪt / bl'æk' ən' wəɪt M, bl'æk' əm hwaɪt S, bl'æk' ən' wəɪt 60M; carr and all kær ən ə:l M; pitch-and-putt p'ɪʃ ən puɪ 20MI, p'ɪʃ ən puɪ 52J.

11.41 Diphthongs

As in Hiberno-English in general, ɾ is retained in Irish reflexes of standard English eə, iə, uə, which become Ir. e:ɾ, iə:ɾ, u:ɾ respectively. Following diphthongs,

one finds, for example in power, both **paur** and **pauər** for standard English **paʊə**. Similarly, the long monophthongs common in Hiberno-English are reflected in Eng. **ei** and **ou** > Ir. **e:** and **o:**.

The tendency for full vowels to develop from glides which are added following long vocoids is common both in native words and in borrowings (cf. ‘barróg’ 1.377). This is particularly prevalent in stressed monosyllables, especially before pausa, e.g. nine **naïən** P, Prince of Troy **pruns əv trai:ə** | 11C2434. An example in a polysyllabic inflected form of a monosyllabic base is: *ina* line-annaí | ənə 'laiənəni: | 01P.

11.42 /ei/ a, ai, ay

Eng. **ei** = Ir. **e:**, e.g. blade **bl'e:ɖ**, fair play **f'ɛ:r pl'e:**, gamester **g'ɛ:m'stər**, *an* Rape **ə reip** P (field-name), slate-áil **ʃl'e:təl**.

Note **e:** is general in train-áil **trɛ:n'əl** and strain-áil **stre:n'əl** but alternatives in **ai** are known to both Seán and Máire although not used, but **train'əl** 26P (and 52M, perhaps from his father, from East Cois Fharraige, cf. NIGCF §21). Also paint **p'e:n't** but **p'ɛ:n't** ~ **p'ain't** 66N. Note also strake (streak) in garboard **strake g'ɑ:mər straik'** 21Pt (cf. *geárbail* (*gárbalstraidhc*) LFRM Agaisín), levelling-strake 'l'ɛvl'ən'straik' 872P.

The vowel may be shortened in unstressed position in anyways **æ:n'iwes**.

> ə or elided in by-forms of caraway seed *ceábhrasaíd* FFG s.v. *ceábhraist*, **k'ærəw/vsi:ɖ** SM, **k'ærəfsi:ɖ** S. Also top-rail **ʃapɾəl** 21Jq.

Eng. **ei** ~ **i:** > **e:** in *an* Demesne **ə ɖəm'e:n** in local place-name.

Unstressed Eng. **ei** ~ **i** is absent before *-áil* in crochet-áil **kro:ʃəl**. Cp. tidy-áil **ʃaiði:əl** ~ **ʃaiɖəl**, etc., (11.131).

> **i:** in café **k'æ:f'i:** [male speaker, An Aird Mhóir, born c. 1945] influenced by coffee; also in paté **p'æ:ti:** M.

> **æ(:)** in a by-form of radiator **ræ:ði'e:tər**.

Note bakehouse **bækhaus** (Sgbf)869P, cp. older *bácús* **bækus**, *bácáil*, *báicéara*.

11.43 /eə/ air, ear, ar(e), ayer, ayor

Eng. **eə** = Ir. **e:** (sometimes **e:ə**, especially in closed syllables), e.g. bear **b'ɛ:r**, fair play **f'ɛ:r pl'e:**, mayor **m'ɛ:r**, Players **pl'e:ərs pl'e:ərs**, Sarah **se:rə**.

> **ɑ:** in dare-áil **ɖɑ:rəl**, pare-áilte **p'ɑ:rɑ:l'tə** 889P.

11.44 /ou/ o, oe

Eng. **ou** = Ir. **o:**, e.g. dole **ɖol**, globe **glɔ:b**, motor **mɔ:tər**, phone **fɔ:n**, pony **pɔ:ni:**; unstressed Russian tallow **rɔʃən tæl'ɔ:** P.

> **u:** beside nasals, note-áilte **n'utɑ:l'tə** 01C6821. Also (with more progressive **o:** by-forms) in: Tony **tunə tɔ:ni:**; notice **n'utəs << n'ɔ:təs**, pony **pū:ni!** 05M, **pɔ:ni:**; phone **fɔ:n** sometimes **fū:n** M (perhaps even **fū:n**).

> **u:** in pouch-áil **pu:ʃəl** also more progressive **po:ʃəl** meaning ‘hunt illegally’ but **po:ʃəl** only in sense ‘way of cooking’. Cp. pouch **pu:ʃə**; also total (or toutle (?)) **tɔ:t'l' tɔ:t'l'**.

- > **u:** ~ **o:**, with **u:** being recessive, preceding **ɾ**, **rd** and **rt** in:
 panel door 'p'æ'n'əl' 'dʊr 892M5242, hall-door hɑ:l' dʊr << hɑ:l' dɔ:r,
 cp. half door hæ:f' dɔ:r and front door frʊn' dɔ:r; there is possible semantic differentiation in board 'lodgings' bu:rd, sometimes devoiced to bu:rt, and related verb board-áil bu:rðɑ:l' but also bɔ:rðɑ:l' and similarly, board-áil bu:rðɑ:l'i:, board-éarai bɔ:rðe:ri: in contrast with board 'plank' bɔ:rd with verb board-áil bɔ:rðɑ:l', also Board of Works bu:rd ə works 892M; tailboard 'tɛ:l' bu:rd 892M; weatherboard 'wɔ:dər bu:rd 889P, 'wɔ:dər bɔ:rd 892M; Courtney kʊr'tɔ:ni: S (conservative; referring to a shoe-maker formerly resident in An Coillín), now also kɔ:r'tɔ:n'i:.
- o:** ~ **ɑ:** in dotey(-ín) dɔ:t, dɔ:tɪn', dɑ:tɪn'.
- au** (< **au**) in douse dʌs, douse-áil dʌsɑ:l', which is semantically differentiated from **o:** (< **ou**) in dose dɔ:s, dose-áil dɔ:sɑ:l', but douse-áil dʌsɑ:l' can also be synonymous with doze-áil dɔ:sɑ:l'; with bowl baul contrast sugar-bowl 'ʃʊgər bɔ:l; hold haul' t; moleskin baul'k' in' !S; roll raul (rɔ:l progressive) > roll-áil raunɑ:l' (cp. round-áilte raunɑ:l' ə), cp. roulláil 894C3; roller seems to be the base for rabhlar FFG although neither OED nor EDD have senses corresponding to FFG.
- > **i** in stole 'stɔ:l' (cp. stóil FGB).
- > **o:(i)** ~ **ɑ:(i)** in surnames: O'Leary a l'e:ri: S, cf. 11.118.
- In unstressed position ə in fellos f'e'l əs, gallows-achai g'æ:ləsəxi: 'braces', piano p'i:a:n'ə FFG s.v. *piaine*, wheelbarrow 'fi:l' b'æ:rə, also 'fi:l' b'æ:rə 45N, cp. Ir. *bara*. Eng. unstressed **ou** > əwi in heroin hɔ:rəwɪn' 64M.
- Unstressed ə alternates with progressive **o:** in: singular tomato tə'm'æ:tə:, plural tomatoes tə'm'æ:təs tə'm'æ:təs.
- > **i:** in no tobacco n'ɔ: tə'b'æ:k'i: P (in context of wartime shortages).
 Lost finally in guano d'u:æn'.
- Eng. **o:** ~ **ə** > ə in aeroplanes e:rəpl'e:n'. Cp. Eng. **i** > **o:** in magnifying glass m'æ:gn'ə'hain' gl'æ:s 14M.

11.45 /ai/ i, y, oi

- Eng. **ai** = Ir. **ai**, e.g. cider saidər, pike paik', price prais, stripe-áil straip'ɑ:l'.
- > **i:** in try-áil tri:ɑ:l' (contrast *Leac an Try All* 35E 'l'æk ə 'traɪ 'ɑ:l from boat named ə 'traɪ 'ɑ:l 35E an *Try All*); highlander hai'l'in'dər SM, but old pronunciation 'hi:l'ændər according to 49J. Cp. *Sir* or perhaps *Sire Lampard sir læmpərd* (Smbb)04B.
- > **e:** in Kaiser k'e:zər 892M (also heard with **ei** in Dublin English).
- > **e:** ~ **ai** in rhyme re:m' 11C, raim' 13P, rhyme-annaí re:m'əni:, réimeannaí FFG; in *Kyloe* k'e:l'hɔ: k'ail'hɔ:; I have heard the **e:** vocalism only, which Máire claims is the local form ('what we say') but that she has heard **ai**. In FFG both **e:** and **ai** are given under *céiltheo*, whereas FFG20 has *céileoige* without phonetic transcription and GCF (Clár na bhFocal) has *céileóg* k'e:l'ɔ:g, implying **e:** only for Cois Fharraige (not found in NIGCF).
- Eng. **aiə** = Ir. **ai** ~ **aiə**, e.g. bias bais baiəs S, diarrhoea d'ai'ri: M, dai.ə'ri: P.
 May be weakened in unstressed position in *by dad* bai 'dæ:d, bai 'dæ:d also ba 'dæ:d S, bə 'dæ:d.

11.46 /au/ ou, ow

Eng. **au** = Ir. **au**, e.g. counter **kauntər**, crowd **krauð**, doubt **ðaʊt**, douse(-ail) **ðaʊs(ɑ:lʹ)**, bakehouse **bɑ:khaus**, lighthouse **laɪθhaus** (cf. 11.92), poorhouse **pʊ:rhaus** 'pʊ:r.haus, power **paur**.
> **u**: in pouch **pʊ:ʃə**.

11.47 /oi/ oy, oi

Eng. **oi** = Ir. **ai**, e.g. coil **kailʹ**, tinfoil **ʃinʹfailʹ**.
> **ai**: in sna hardy boys **snə hɑ:rdə bɑ:i:s**, na boys **nə bɑ:i:s**, boyfriends **bɑ:i:frɛnds** **60S**, cowboy **kaubɑ:i**: S, teddy-boys **ʃedi: bɑ:i:s** P, joy **ʒɑ:i**: !(Acs)**04B**, Joyce **ʒɑ:i:s** **11C**, Hector, Prince of Troy **hekʹdər prʊns əv trɑ:i:ʒə** | **11C2434**, hekʹdər prʊns əv trɑ:i: | **892M2438**.
> **ai** ~ **ai**: is quite common, e.g. enjoy-ail **ənʹʒɑ:iɑ:lʹ** >> **ənʹʒɑ:iɑ:lʹ**; toy **ʃɑ:i**: S, **ʃɑ:i** **23B**, also in the following exchange: -Toys **ʃɑ:i:s** M -Hu? **hə**: S -Toys **ʃɑ:i:s** M.

11.48 /iə/ eer, ier, ear, io, ia

Eng. **iə** = Ir. **iə**, e.g. beer **bʹiər**, clear-áilte **kʹiəra:lʹə**, gear **gʹiər**, pier **pʹiər**, volunteers **va:lənʹʃiərs**.
> **i**:e: in theatre **ti:e:tər**.
Unstressed Eng. **iə** > **ə** in cashmere **kʹæ:ʃmər**, na hIsraelites **nə hisərlaɪts ... nə hizərlaɪts** **881J**, nə hezərʹeids **ZCP158**. The initial element of the diphthong is treated similar to Eng. **j** (palatalising Eng. **d** > **dʹ** and **z** > **ʒ** ~ **ʃ**) in unstressed position in -Ciə > -Cʹə (similar to /ʃiə/ > /ʃə/ in certain varieties of English): medium **mʹi:dʹəm** **889P**; an melodeon seo **ə məʹlə:dʹənʹ ʃə** **881J**; osier **fə:ʒər**, **fə:ʃər**. Also in unstressed Eng. **iə** ~ **ə** > -Cʹə in California **kʹæ:lʹəfə:rənʹə**.
Influenced by -in in accordion **kɑ:rʹdi:nʹ**.
In word-final position, mostly unstressed Eng. **iə** > **i**: in diarrhoea **ðai:ri**: M, Hibernia (Hall) **haiʹber-nʹi**: [perhaps **-bʹ-**] **15W**, hernia **hər-nʹi**: **23C**, idea **ai:ði**:, the final two syllables in leukaemia are pronounced **-kʹe:mʹi**:, pneumonia **nʹu:mə:ni**:, Victoria **vʹikʹtə:ri**: **03C**. Also **i**: (older) and **iə** in diphtheria **ðipʹʃi:ri**: M, **ðipʹʃi:riə** M, **27Mdq**. Also **i**: in aerial **e:ri:lʹ** M.
With loss of stress, Eng. pretonic **iə** > **i** and **ə** in realise-áil **ri:laisɑ:lʹ** **56B**, **rə:laisɑ:lʹ** **52J**.

11.49 /uə/ oor, ure

Eng. **uə** = Ir. **u:**, e.g. insurance **ənʹʃʊ:rns**, sure-áilte **ʃʊ:ra:lʹə**.
u: ~ **ə** in February **fʹebʹu:ri**: **01C6936**, **fʹebʹəri**: **09Pt**, January **ʒɑnʹu:ri**:, **ʒɑnʹəri**:.
> **au** in tour **ʃaur** 'excursion, trip' and verb tour-áil **ʃaurɑ:lʹ** 'wander', which are semantically differentiated from more progressive **ʃu:r** and verb **ʃu:ra:lʹ** 'tour(ing)' (e.g. of tourists)ʹ.

Consonants

11.50 Quality

The quality of consonants in borrowings is to a high degree predictable from the vocalic environment and is therefore, within the subsystem of borrowings, largely redundant in phonemic terms. There are two main types of consonants in modern borrowings with regard to palatality; those which can be either palatal or non-palatal and those with invariable or non-alternating quality.

- (1) The quality of alternating consonants basically depends on their vocalic environment. They are palatalised in the environment of front vowels, e.g. (of *f*) *fit* *fʲitʲ*, and are velarised in the environment of back vowels, e.g. (of *f*) *foreign* *fɑrənʲ*; where there are vowels of opposite quality flanking one of these consonants, the consonant is nonpalatal, e.g. *coffee* *kafi*.
- (2) The non-alternating consonants comprise coronal stops, sibilants and labio-velars. They can be classified as either palatalised (i.e. alveolars *t* > *tʲ*, *d* > *dʲ* and affricates *ch* > *tʃʲ*, *j* > *tʃʲ* and sibilants *sh* > *ʃʲ*, *s* > *ʒʲ*) or nonpalatalised (i.e. dentals *th* > *t*, *d*, *r* > *r* and sibilants *s* > *s*, *z* > *s/z*, labio-velars *wh* > *f*, *w* > *w*).¹
- (3) Resonants *l* and *n* constitute a third type; they are partly alternating, partly non-alternating. They alternate like noncoronals except when single before stressed true back vowels where they are generally alveolar *lʲ* and *nʲ* (and therefore palatalised in the Irish phonological system). When *l* occurs in clusters before stressed true back vowels it varies between *lʲ* and *l*.

All English consonants followed by the palatal glide *j*, however, are rendered as palatalised consonants in Irish, e.g. Eng. *bj*, *vj*, *dj*, *kj*, *stj*, *lj*, *nj* > Ir. *bʲ*, *vʲ*, *dʲ*, *kʲ*, *ʃʲ*, *lʲ*, *nʲ*.

11.51 Alternating consonants: noncoronals

The most regular alternating consonants are noncoronals, i.e. labials *b*, *p*, *v*, *f*, *m*, *mp*, and velars *c*, *g*, *ng*, *nk*. The contrast between non-alternating nonpalatal *wh* > *f* and alternating *f* > *fʲ*, *fʲ* is exemplified in the contrast between *wheel-áil* *fi:lʲɑ:lʲ* and *feel-áil* *fʲi:lʲɑ:lʲ* respectively. Table 11.1 presents examples of simple labials and velars.

Table 11.1 Quality of labials and velars beside front and back vowels

front	<i>pʲ</i>	<i>bʲ</i>	<i>kʲ</i>	<i>gʲ</i>
<i>i:</i>	<i>ˈpʲi:</i>	<i>beep-áil bʲi:bʲɑ:lʲ</i>	<i>keeper kʲi:pʲər</i>	<i>league lʲi:gʲ</i>
<i>e:</i>	<i>ˈpaɪnt pʲe:nʲt</i>	<i>baby bʲe:bʲi:</i>	<i>cake kʲe:kʲ</i>	<i>game gʲe:mʲ</i>
<i>i</i>	<i>ˈpin pʲinʲ</i>	<i>build-áil bʲilʲdɑ:lʲ</i>	<i>kick kʲikʲ</i>	<i>gift-áilte gʲifʲdɑ:lʲə</i>
	<i>ˈrip ripʲ</i>	<i>crib kribʲ</i>	<i>trick trikʲ</i>	<i>ˈjig tʃigʲ</i>
		<i>(marble mʲɑ:r-bʲilʲ)</i>		<i>ˈreglʲɑ:lʲə</i>
<i>e</i>	<i>ˈpet-ín pʲeti:nʲ</i>	<i>bell bʲelʲ</i>	<i>Kerry kʲeri:</i>	<i>regular-áilte</i>
	<i>ˈpledʒ pʲlɛdʒ</i>		<i>check tʃekʲ</i>	<i>reglʲɑ:lʲə</i>

¹ In the morphological process of palatalisation the non-alternating palatalised consonants remain unchanged whereas the non-alternating nonpalatalised consonants undergo palatalisation, e.g. *spout* *spautʲ* > *spout-ín spautʲinʲ*, but *breeze* *bri:s* > *breeze-ín bri:ʃinʲ*; *counter* *kauntər* > gen sg and nom pl *counteʲr kauntəʲr*.

front	p'	b'	k'	g'
æ	<u>pan</u> p' æ:n' <u>strap</u> stræ:p'	<u>bag</u> b' æ:g' <u>black</u> bl' æ:k'	<u>character</u> k' æ:ræ:k' dær <u>knack</u> n' æ:k'	<u>ganger</u> g' æ:ngg' ær
iə	<u>pier</u> p' iær	<u>beer</u> b' iær	<u>clear-áilte</u> kl' iær:ɫ' ə	<u>gear</u> g' iær
ai	<u>gripe</u> graip'		<u>Mike</u> maik'	
ai < ei	<u>paint</u> p' ain' t			
ɑ: < ar	<u>party</u> p' ɑ:r'ti:	<u>barge</u> b' ɑ:rɔ̃:	<u>car</u> k' ɑ:r	<u>mudguard</u> 'mið.g' ɑ:rɔ̃
ɑ: < are	<u>pare-áilte</u> p' ɑ:rɑ:ɫ' ə			
back	p	b	k	g
ɑ:		<u>ball</u> bɑ:l	<u>call-áil</u> kɑ:lɑ:f	
o:	<u>poker</u> pɔ:kær	<u>globe</u> glɔ:b	<u>cope-áil</u> kɔ:pɑ:f <u>yoke</u> jɔ:k	<u>goal</u> gɔ:l
u:	<u>poorhouse</u> pu:rhaus <u>soup</u> su:p		<u>cook-áil</u> ku:kɑ:f	
a		<u>bob</u> bɑ:b	<u>copper</u> kɑ:pær	<u>God</u> gɑ:ɔ̃ <u>clog</u> klɑ:g
o		<u>burner</u> bɔrnær		
u	<u>pump</u> pʌmp	<u>butt</u> bʊt	<u>cook-áil</u> kʊkɑ:f	<u>gut</u> gʊt <u>jug</u> ɔ̃g
ai	<u>pile-áil</u> paɪl' ɑ:f	<u>by</u> baɪ	<u>coil-áil</u> kaɪl' ɑ:f	
au	<u>power</u> paʊr	<u>bow</u> baʊl	<u>accountant</u> kaʊntən' t	
front	f'	v'	m'	
i:	<u>feed-áil</u> fi:dɑ:f <u>reef-áil</u> ri:f' ɑ:f	<u>heave</u> hi:v'	<u>meeting</u> mi:tiŋg'	
e:	<u>favour</u> f'e:v'ær	<u>stave</u> stɛ:v'	<u>make</u> m'e:k' <u>Mamey</u> m'e:m'i:	
i	<u>fit</u> fi't	<u>live-áil</u> li:v' ɑ:f	<u>rim</u> rim' 'm' im'	
e	<u>fed up</u> f'ed up			
æ	<u>fashion</u> f'æ:ʃən	<u>van</u> v'æn'	<u>tram</u> træ:m'	
ai	<u>life</u> laɪf'	<u>dive-áil</u> daɪv' ɑ:f	<u>time</u> taɪm'	
ɑ: < ar, etc.,	<u>father</u> f'ɑ:dær		<u>Mart</u> m'ɑ:rɔ̃	
back	f	v	m	
ɑ:	<u>fall</u> fɑ:l		<u>mall</u> mɑ:l	
o:	<u>phone</u> fɔ:nɑ:f	<u>clover</u> klɔ:wær	<u>motor</u> mɔ:tær	
u:	<u>fool-áil</u> fu:lɑ:f		<u>humour</u> ju:mær	
a	<u>foreign</u> farən' <u>off</u> af	<u>vodka</u> w/vɑɔ̃kə <u>cover</u> kɑ:wær	<u>mock</u> mɑ:k <u>Tom</u> tɑ:m	
o	<u>fur</u> fɔr	<u>oven</u> ɔwən	<u>murder</u> mɔrdær	
u	<u>funny</u> funi:		<u>mug</u> mʌg	
ai	<u>fine</u> faɪn'	<u>invite-áilte</u> ən'waɪtɑ:ɫ' ə	<u>mine</u> maɪn'	
au	<u>foul-áilte</u> faʊlɑ:ɫ' ə			

11.52 Flanked by vowels of opposite quality

When an alternating consonant or consonant group is flanked by vowels of opposite quality, the consonant or consonant group are generally nonpalatal, i.e. (as far

as my examples go) the back vowel determines quality or, from another perspective, the nonpalatal consonant is treated as unmarked or neutral.¹ For example, coffee **kafi:** (back vowel **a** vs. front vowel **i**: → intervocalic nonpalatal **f**), stuffing **stʰufiŋgʷ M**, Polly **pə:li:**, trolley **trə:li:**, lucky **lɔki:**, Sonny **soni:**, Stoney **ʃtɔ:ni:**, bully **buli:**, dummy **ɟumi:**, funny **funi:**, Dooney **ɟu:ni:**, Packy **pəkki:** (but progressive Packy **pʰækʰi:**). The rules effect both **ɲ** sounds regularly in Ronnie **rā:n̥i:** **ɟə:lʰemʰi:** ARN7303. The special status of resonants **ɲ** and **ɲ̥** in initial position, with their greater tendency toward palatalisation than true alternating consonants, seems reflected in medial position in the palatal **ɲ̥** before back vowel **o:** in Kyløe **kʰe:lʰo:** **kʰailʰo:**, and following **o:** in holy **ho:lʰi:** **11C**, **M**, **35E**, perhaps also **ho:li:** [ʔ] **M**, and Coley **ko:li:**, **ko:lʰə** (similarly, Cóillios (plural) and Cólaí, indicating **ko:lʰi:** ~ **ko:li:** in Cois Fharraige (de Bhaldraithe 1956–7b: 244 §6)), and palatalisation in only **o:nʰi:** with by-forms **o:ni:** **o:nʰi:**. Nonpalatal **k**, **g** and **n** occur following **ai** and preceding a back vowel, e.g. boycott-áil **baikaʰa:lʰ**, Mikeo **maiko:**, Sligo **slaigo:** **21Pt**, lino **laino:** **47Pq**; following primary stress in my early transcription of Jericho > Jeruiucó indicating **ɟeriko:**.² When in position following **ai**, however, **n** in word-final position can be either palatal (following rule (3)) or nonpalatal in several words, e.g. line **lain**, also **ɲainʰ** **47Pq**, line-áil **laina:lʰ**; sign **maith saiʰn ma:** [x3] **53M**, caroline **kʰærəlain** **11C**, **kʰærəlainʰ** **04B**. Between vowels: lino **laino:** **47Pq**, liner **lainər**, **lainʰər**. It appears **m̥** following **ai** may pattern like **n** given the example of nonpalatal **m** in Van Diemen **vʰænʰ** **ɟaimənʰɟ** **11C5641**.

The initial unit of the diphthongs **ai** and **au** has back quality (as seen in Table 11.1), e.g. Michael **maikʰəlʰ**, kite **kaiʰ** generally but **kʰaiʰ** **21Pt**, recall also Kyløe **kʰailʰo:** **kʰe:lʰo:** (11.45), and paint **pʰe:nʰtʰ**, rare **pʰainʰtʰ**. The phones of monophthong **a** have front (**æ**) and back (**a**) qualities which cause palatal or nonpalatal quality respectively, e.g. donks **ɟæ:ŋkʰs** **ɟə:ŋks**, fortune **fə:rtʰən** **fʰæ:rtʰən**, Johnny generally **ɟʰa:ni:** but also **ɟʰæ:nʰi:** **23B**,³ Admiralty **ædmə:rælʰəʰi:** **S**, **ædmə:ɲa:lʰəʰi:** **18J**. This palatalisation by **æ:(i)** does not always apply, e.g. slob-áilte very often **ʃlʰa:bə:lʰtʰə** but also **ʃlʰæ:bə:lʰtʰə**, in contrast with slab **ʃlʰæ:bʰ** (sleab Clad192) and slab-áilte **ʃlʰæ:bʰə:lʰtʰə**. (Cp. nonpalatal **l** in Gallagher **gʰæləxər** **27Md**.) Similarly, auCTION **ak-ʃən** contrasts with acTION **ækʰʃən**. Consonant quality in borrowings therefore has its greatest functional load following **a/æ** (which are allophones in Irish), helping to distinguish English **o** and **a**.

Before the back vowel **a:** (often from **ar**), which frequently alternates with the front vowel **æ**, consonants are palatalised (as in Table 11.1), e.g. father **fʰa:dər**,

¹ P. A. Breatnach (1988: 63–6) discusses orthographical anomalies which provide evidence of palatalisation in the pronunciation of Latin in late medieval Irish sources. Between vowels of opposite quality, palatalisation is dominant but not categorical; there is variation between palatalised ‘-d-’ in ‘caidid’, ‘caidit’ and, less typically, nonpalatalised ‘-d-’ in ‘cadaid’ for correct ‘cadit’ (P. A. Breatnach 1988: 65–6, cf. 64).

² Cp. NIGCF §38 (also §§45, 46) where the preceding vowel is taken as decisive in contexts where vowels of opposite quality flank single alternating consonants. That analysis is sufficient for almost all words cited in NIGCF since there are no instances such as Sligo **slaigo:**. Cp. de Bhaldraithe’s classification of bugle **bʰu:gʰilʰ** (cf. **-u:gʰəl** and **-u:gʰilʰ** 11.61) and turkey **torki:** (with nonpalatal cluster) as exceptional (NIGCF §38).

³ Similarly knob **nʰa:b** **M**, but in Innis Meáin, where **æ:(i)** is more prevalent than in Iorras Aithneach, knob **nʰæ:bʰ** (Ó Siadhail 1978: 28 s.v. *neab an drisiúir*).

party p'ɑ:rtʲi:, garboard strake g'ɑ:mər straik' 21Pt; cp. pare-áilte p'ɑ:rɑ:l't'ə, Chicago f'i:k'ɑ:ɡo: 32J. A rare instance of an alternating consonant following ar, i.e. ʲ, is palatalised (through r) in starve-áilte f'tɑ:r-v'ɑ:l't'ə (cp. also marble m'ɑ:r-b'il', parliament p'ɑ:r-l'əm'in't'). Other Irish allophonic variation does not change consonant palatality: when u is fronted to i, nonpalatals are retained, e.g. ḍuŋkən ~ ḍiŋkən Duncan, so also fronted by-forms of football f'itbɑ:l, mudguard 'midg'ɑ:rd (i.e. not *ḍiŋk'ən, *f'itbɑ:l, 'm'itd'g'ɑ:rd). Also both e ~ o as allophones regularly palatalise, e.g. birch b'ortʃ, girth g'ort, American m'orək'in' 64Mt, American wake m'erək'in' we:k' 18J, in unstressed position Louisburgh l'u:ʃb'ərg 869P; although there are instances of nonpalatality with o < Eng. ə: Byrnes b'orəns, currants k'orəns, purge p'ordʒ, 11.28. Compare nonpalatal k because of the following back vowel in by-forms of record r'okord' rekərd' r'əkɑ:rd' but also rek'əd' 881J with palatal k' based on preceding e.

11.53 Clusters

Clusters generally agree in quality nonmedially, alternating consonants being palatalised by front vowels and velarised by back vowels, non-alternating consonants determining the palatality of the whole cluster, e.g. hold hɑul't. Medially the neighbouring vowel determines quality, e.g. complain-áil kɑ:m-pl'e'n'ɑ:l' 08B, where a velarises m and e: palatalises pl' (other examples below), mandar, maundar EDD m'æn'dər Mq, pelter p'el'tər S but also shelter f'oltər 21Pt. Velar and labial homorganic clusters nk, ng, mb, and mp are treated as a single consonant so that the neighbouring back true vowel has precedence for quality, e.g. bingo b'inggo:, September sip'tim'b'ər 04Br, Columba 'kɑ'lumbi:, cp. tramp-áil træmp'ɑ:l'. But publican p'oblək'ən' 27Mdq, Republic rə'poblək' 892M, 27Mdq, republicans rə'poblək'ən's 15W, Arklowman 'ærklo:m'æn' 18J8349,-55 (cp. ark, 11.54); perhaps owing to the double stress in samsonpost 'sæm.p'o:ʃt 18J8147, also 'sæmsən.p'o:ʃt 27Mdq, 'sæmsən.p'o:ʃt 47Psq; cp. shampoo 'ʃæm'pu: 47Pq.

Clusters, particularly those comprised of both alternating and non-alternating consonants, often have opposing quality, e.g.

k-f	<u>auction</u> ak-fən (contrast kf in <u>action</u> æ:kfən, cp. <u>boxty</u> bak-ftə)
k's	<u>tax</u> t'æ:k's, <u>accident</u> æ:k'sədin't (contrast ks in <u>Cox</u> kaks)
k't, k'd	<u>electric</u> l'ek'dər, <u>tractor</u> træk'dər
p's, f'd	<u>abscess</u> æp'sis, <u>aftergrass</u> æf'dəgræs
v-l'	(an) <u>Lovely Anne</u> luv-l'i: æ'n' 35E (boat name)
n's, n'z	<u>chance</u> f'æn's, <u>guernsey</u> g'æn'zi:
r-n'	<u>hernia</u> hør-n'i:
l-b'	<u>Malbay</u> mɑ:l-b'e'!(NUath)11C (contrast mɑ:lwe (brother of 21J))
l't	<u>pelter</u> p'el'tər
n'd	<u>mandar</u> m'æn'dər (contrast nd in <u>Anderson</u> æ:ndərsən 03C) <u>tender-áilte</u> t'in'dərə:l't'ə, probably also nd in <u>findra:l't'ə</u>
ŋk-d'	<u>puncture</u> puŋk-d'ər
m'w, ŋ'w	<u>sandwich</u> sæm'wif 23C, sæ'ŋ wəðʒ 12J, <u>language</u> l'æŋ'wəʃ

On the other hand, alveolar and palato-alveolar consonants (d, t and dʒ, tʃ) regularly palatalise preceding laminals (n and l), e.g. conductor kɑ:n'duktər P,

jaunting car ɔ̃ʒɑːnˈtʃɪŋ k'ɑːr, insurance ɔ̃nˈʃʊərəns; salts sɑːl'ts, agriculture ɑːgrəˈkʌlˈtʃər. (Younger speaker 66L shows exceptional nonpalatalised ɹ̥ in casualties k'æʃəliːs 66L vs. -lʃ- M.) Non-alternating ɹ > r often causes adjacent and tautosyllabic ɹ̥ and ɹ̥ to be realised as dentals, bringing about, for example, (optional) nonpalatal nr̥ and lr̥ clusters, e.g. central heating sɪnˈtərəl hiːtɪŋ 04Br, sintrəl hiːtɪŋ M (n' > n because of following t, the latter being dental because of r); pelters p'elˈtərs S, shelter ʃɔltər 21Pt.

11.54 Transparency

Postvocalic ɹ can, however, be transparent concerning quality; at least in the stressed syllable rhymes ark, arv, arf, erv, where æ, e palatalise k', v' and f' through nonpalatal r.

ark Clarke kl'ær-k' 892M,¹ Mark m'ær-k', more conservative m'ærk' (cp. Marcus m'æfkəs 04Br), mhark-álainn v'ær-k'ɑːlɔn 01C6031; park p'ær-k' generally, but sa bhPhoenix Park sɑ̃v'ɪːn'ik's p'ærk' (perhaps p'ɑːr-k') 892M4325.

Also rk, e.g. Merlin Park m'ɔːlɔm' p'ærk 27Md, park-áilte p'ærkɑːlˈtə 27Mdq, oaken bark ɔkən b'ærk 892Mg, cp. bearcáilte Clad11 < bark. Similarly, fork (cp. forc) usually f'ærk, although I have heard an audibly unclear token of possible f'ær-k'.

arv carve-áil k'ær-v'ɑːl M; cp. starve-áilte ʃtɑːr-v'ɑːlˈtə.

arf scarf sk'ær-f'. Cp. Clontarf klɔːn' t'ærəf' 892M.

erv nerves n'er-v's n'orvs n'er-f's n'orfs.

For arg cp. Ma(r)g > m'ɑːg'.

Perhaps ɹ̥ is also transparent in ɹ̥l, e.g.

ɹ̥l Charollais ʃer-l'i: SM, fer-l'i: M, but ʃɑːrli: 60C, Charlie ʃɑːrli: ~ ʃær-l'i:, also early er-l'i:, but Merlin Park m'or-l'im' p'ær-k' perhaps from m'er-l'im' Cp. parliament p'ɑːr-l'əm'in't, p'ær-l'im'in't.

The evidence pertaining to urk and irc is also complex: turkey torki: and circle ser-k'il' sor-k'il'. Note nonpalatal ɹ̥ in carpenter k'ærɹ̥pən'tər 66N.

Borrowed ɹ̥ is also transparent for quality in the syllable rhymes ask, asp in:

ask task tæs-k' 14M (Alaska æl'æʃs-k'ə 892M, 11.39); risk progressive ris-k', but older riʃk' ruʃk' 892M; contrast Glasgow gl'æsko' 892M;

asp rasp ræs-p', wasp wæs-p' 84P also wa'sp; but contrast hospital æspæk'il'.

11.55 Cluster units

Other medial clusters containing stops followed by nonpalatal ɹ̥, as well as clusters containing postconsonantal ɹ̥ are treated as one unit for palatalisation. They are br, pr, bl, pl, vl, gl, e.g.

¹ Contrast the result of schwa insertion (of the singing voice) into borrowed -r-k' in Clarke kl'ær-rək' !!39D with schwa insertion into native -rk' in pairce pɑːr'æk'ə !!39D.

Nonpalatal <u>r</u>	<u>br</u>	<u>algebra</u> æ:l'ðʒi:'e:brə P, <u>Gabriel</u> from which 10B has formed a diminutive g'e:bri:n';	
	<u>pr</u>	<u>April</u> e:pril' M;	
	<u>gr</u>	<u>figroll</u> 'f'igə:rəl M, cp. <u>agriculture</u> a'grəkul'ʃər 18J, perhaps also g'r which was transcribed in <i>fear</i> a'grəkul'ʃər S;	
cp.	<u>cr</u>	I am unsure of k'r ~ kr in <u>sacristy</u> sæ:k'rəʃti: ~ sæ:k'rəʃti: S, <i>sa</i> <u>sacristy</u> sə sæ:k'rəʃti: S, <i>sa</i> <u>sacristy</u> sə sæ:k'rəʃti: S;	
Nonpalatal <u>l</u>	<u>bl</u>	<u>goblet</u> gə'blət 892M	} conditioned by preceding vowel
	(fl)	<u>Offaly</u> afli: S (perhaps), af'ɹi: 45Pq)	
Palatalised <u>l</u>	<u>bl</u>	<u>tablets</u> tæ'bl'əʃs 21Pt	
	<u>vl</u>	<u>traveller</u> træ:v'lər M	} conditioned by following vowel
	<u>gl</u>	<u>regular-áilte</u> rigl'ɑ:l'tə	
cp.	<u>pl</u>	<u>complain-áil</u> kɑ:m-'pl'e:n'ɑ:l' 08B	
	<u>nl</u>	<u>only</u> ɔ:n'l'i: (by-forms ɔ:ni: ɔ:n'i:)	

For mb note the alternation in the same environment in:

timber-áil(te) tɪmbərə:l'/l'tə P,

cp. thimble tɪmb'əl' M, but *timbil* LFRM tɪmbəl' (in my transcription interpretable as tɪmb'əl') as well as LFRM tɪmbəl.

The difference between l and n singly and in clusters is important. As noted, singly they are for the most part alveolar before stressed true back vowels; in clusters, however, they can behave like other alternating consonants and can be nonpalatal before back vowels, e.g. single lorry l'ori: but clusters club klɒb, globe glɒb. (For details and variation, see 11.73.) The clusters st, sl and sn are alveolar ʃt, ʃl' and ʃn' (st generally in all environments; sl, sn initially). This is to be expected with st as the alveolar t is non-alternating and classified as palatalised, e.g. top tɒp, stop stɒp; but in the case of sl and sn it is not motivated by the rules governing single l and n, e.g. line laɪn, slice sl'ɑɪf; North nɔ:rt, snorter sn'ɔ:tər. These clusters have less common by-forms st, sl', sn', which are more progressive (sn' is especially common), but they are also found in old traditional speakers. The main point to notice is that the l and n are still alveolar, homorganic with g, unlike native *s*-clusters. The sc cluster can be palatalised before front vowels in older or retrogressive usage. Cf. § 11.88.

11.56 Morphological palatalisation

Morphological complexity must also be considered. In compounds where there is no stress differentiation the quality of the separate elements can be retained, e.g. teapot tɛ:pəʃ, which also follows the rule of nonpalatality between vowels of opposite quality. In general, native suffixes which do not cause palatalisation in native derivation do not condition the quality of the borrowed stem. Single consonants and clusters preceding the native suffixes *-áil*, *-áilann*, etc., are determined by the preceding vowel only, e.g. crack(ed)-áilte kræk'ɑ:l'tə, help-áil help'ɑ:l'. The genitive suffix *-əx* *-ach* (6th Declension), however, does depalatalise n, as is regular in native words, e.g. train tre:n' > train-ach tre:nəx, but not l in still > still-ach ʃtɪl'əx (genitives in both *-l'* > *-ləx* and *-l'* > *-l'əx* occur in

native words). Plural extensions generally depalatalise, e.g. train *tre:n'* > train-tacháí *tre:ntəxi:*. Consonants are regularly palatalised before the suffix *-ín*, less consistently before *-éara*. Nonpalatalisation before *-éara* occurs in drunk-éara (*cht*) *drʊŋke:rə(xt)*, hook-éaraí *hu:ke:ri:* 11C1696, soup-éara *su:pe:rə* 21Ptq (more commonly souper *su:pər*, cf. LFRM *súpaera*(*cht*) s.v. *súp* and *súpar*), smuggle-éara *smʊgle:rə*, but also smūg-í-éara 11C, show-jump-éara *'ʃo:ɟʊmpɛ:rə* 65S. Contrast palatal plumb-éara *plum'ɛ:rə*.

11.57 Exceptions and variation

Exceptional palatalality

There are examples where palatality does not agree with the quality of the conditioning vowel. Labials and l following the high back vowels *u:* and *o:* are conspicuous in these 'exceptions'.

- b' ~ b** tube *t' u:b(')*, e.g. *t' u:b'* 05M, M; Cobh *kə:v* M, *kə:b'* S, cp. Rome.
p' ~ p envelope(s) *in'd' əlo:p*, *in'd' əlo:p's* Mperm, *in'v' əlo:p* M, 18J, *indealóip* FFG.
sloop *ʃl' u:p* 03C, cp. *i sliúipe Pheaide* !894C9.
m' Rome *rə:m'* Mq perhaps influenced by *Róimh* *rə:v'* Mq; Tuam *t' u:m'* 21Pt, 32J perhaps influenced by *Tuaim* *tuəm'*.
 Cp. come here *kum' iər* M88 (command to dog), where segmentation as *ku m' iər* is probably lexicalised; come in *kum in'* (heard in Ros Muc).
n' tune(-áil) *t' u:n'(ə'l')*.
w *fear Mhexico* *f' æ:r weksiko'* 60M, for regular (expected traditional) *v' ek'siko:*.
f' blast of fire *bl' æ:ft' ə f' air*, but *bl' æ:ft' ə fair* 21Pt.
spr' spruce *spr' u:s* S, 21Pt.
l' rule *ru:l'*, e.g. *chomh díreach leis an rule* *l' ef ə 'ru:l'* | 11C.

Exceptional nonpalatality

These words containing exceptional nonpalatality are most likely earlier borrowings than those of the modern system.

- f ~ f'** in gaff (perhaps *g' æ:f*, which is the form in NIGCF §47, but *g' af'* LFRM s.v. *geaif*) *g' æ:f'* 894Cs, also gaff-annaí *g' æ:f' əni:* 01C6554.
 Cp. Cafferky *k' æfərki:* 11C3283 (slightly unclear *tigh Chafferky* *t' i x' əfərki:* or *x' əfərki:* 892M3287).
p in pillick EDD *pil' ək'* M.
n in drain *dre:n'* generally, but *dre:ⁿ* 21Pt perhaps influenced by common plural drain-achaí *dre:ntəxi:*. Cp. line *lain(')*.

Cf. Patch *pə:tʃ*, *p' æ:tʃ*, and Matty *mə:tə*, *m' æ:tə* (11.1).

11.58 Schwa

The conditioning status of unstressed English ə and ɪ on the quality of flanking consonants can, in certain instances, be difficult to define. In several instances a schwa phone, raised by a neighbouring palatal or alveolar consonant, will condition palatalisation of another neighbouring consonant. An alternative interpreta-

tion would be that schwa in these raised environments is transparent for the spreading of palatality. The opposition seems evident in Máire's terrible **ʃɔrəb'ɪl'** vs. herbal **hɛrəbəl**. In the word terrible it appears that palatal final **ɪ** is the cause of palatal **ɪ'** through unstressed **i**. The opposition **əb'ɪl'** vs. **əbəl** is, however, not categorical as is evidenced in vegetables **v'ɛdʒətəbəl's**, also **v'ɪdʒɪtəb'ɪl's**, **v'ɛdʒətəbəl's**; nor is **-b'ɪl'** vs. **-bəl** categorical in other phonotactics. There is the added complication that the stressed vowel can optionally influence quality as far as the final consonant of the unstressed syllable in words such as hobble **hə:bəl** in contrast, for example, with lable **l'e:b'ɪl'**. These two opposing tendencies across syllables — quality conditioning from (following) consonants and quality conditioning from (preceding) vocoids — are doubtless key factors in the alternations in these environments containing schwa.

11.59 Pretonic ə, ɪ

In my limited number of relevant words, labials preceding pretonic **ə**, which is followed by a palatal or alveolar consonant, can be optionally palatalised, whereas velars are nonpalatal preceding pretonic **ə**. The examples are:

- Eng. **bɪ** > **bə** ~ **b'ə** in belief **b'əɪi:v' M**, **bəɪi:v' 23Ms**, **b'əɪi:v' 43M**, also **bɪi:v' SM**, **bɪi:f' ~ b'əɪi:f' 52J**.
- Eng. **mɪ** > **m'ə** in cat *Mhatusalem* **kut v'əʃu:səl'əm / v'əʃu:zəl'əm**; mechanic **m'ɪk'æ:n'ɪk'**, miraculous **medal** **m'ɪræk'ɪl'əs m'ɪdɪl'**, mistake **m'əʃte:k' m'əʃte:k'**. Contrast submarine **ʃumə'ri:n'**, temptation **ʃəm'ʃe:ʃən** M. Cp. McGlynn **mə'gɪn' m'əkl'in'**, McClement **məkl'en'ən't 21J**, MacDonagh **m'ig'ɔnə;** rheumatism **ru:mə'tɪsəm**.
- Cp. Eng. **plɪ** > **pl'ɪ** complicated **kə'm-pl'ɪk'e:tɪd 79J**.
- Cp. **bə**, **mə** balloon **bəlu:n**, Molloy **mə'ləi:**.
- Eng. **pə** > **p'ə**, **p'ə** patrol boat(s) **p'æt.ɔ:l,bə:t 35E**, **p'æt.ɔ:l,bə:ts 35E**.
- Eng. **nə** > **n'ə** Ballinacfad **b'æl'ə n'ɛ'f'æ:d**.
- Eng. **kə** > **kə** in alcohol(ic) **æ:l'kəhəl S88**, *dhá gcollect-áil* **gəɪ'ek'ta:l' M**, collation **kəl'ɔ:fən** *cuileáisean* FFG, connect-áilte **kən'ɛk'ɔ:l'tə**; following **e** in secondary **sekən'e:ri' 04Br** (school). Cp. conceit **kən'se:t**, also **'kunse:t** [or possibly **'kun'se:t**].

Following pretonic **ɪ**, cp. Chicago **ʃi'k'ɑ:gə: 32J**. Note also hullabaloo **həl'əbəl'u: 35E9057**.

11.60 Consonants preceding post-tonic ə

Consonants preceding post-tonic **ə** regularly show agreement of quality with the preceding vowel, but there are some opposing tendencies. Many examples are given in Table 11.1, some further regular examples are:

- | | | | |
|---------------|------------------------------------|------------------|---------------------------------------|
| ɑ:gə | <u>August</u> ɑ:gəʃt . | ovər | <u>forever</u> fur'ovər S . |
| ɑ:mər | <u>Palmer</u> p'ɑ:mər . | ormət | <u>Dermot</u> dormət 32C . |
| æ:m'ər | <u>Palmer's</u> p'æ:m'ərs . | ɪnv'əl(') | <u>envelope</u> ɪnv'əl(')o:p . |

a'ləð	<u>holidays</u> ha'ləðe:is	ilv'ər	<u>silver</u> sil'v'ər 892M.
a'pər	<u>sappers</u> sa'pərs.	u:pər	* <u>stoup(er)</u> fʃtu:pər.
æ'p'ər	<u>sappers</u> sæ'p'ərs.		
æ:ŋg'is	<u>Angus-achaí</u> æ:ŋg'isəxi:.		
æ's-k'ə	<u>Alaska</u> æ'l'æ's-k'ə (cf. 11.39).		

There are, however, examples of palatalisation following back vowels and preceding alveolar or palatalised consonants, **t**, **k'**:

u:l'ət	in <u>cruelty</u> kru:l'əti:;
u:n'ət	in <u>lunatic asylum</u> l'u:n'ətik'əsail'əm;
a:p(ə)k'	<u>Hopkins</u> ha:p'ik'in's S (perhaps influenced by <u>hep'ək'in'</u> <i>Hoipicín</i>), also <u>ha:pək'in's</u> M; cp. <u>hospital</u> æ'spək'il'.

Cp. **bl** in goblet gə'blət 892M, tablets tæ'bl'əts 21Pt; **dm** in admiral æ'dm'ərəl 892M, Admiralty 'ædm'ərə:l'əti: S, 'ædm'ərə:l'əti: 18J, also ag admire-áil g a'd'mairə:l' 16B, arithmetic 'æ:ri'tmətik's S (final -s may be *is* 'and').

Regular Coley Bán kə:li: bə:n S, but there is unexpected palatalisation in the older by-form with -ey > -ə, recorded in Coley Mhíchíl Shéamais kə:l'ə v'ih'i:l'hēməf 11C3579. Cp. Cóilios (plural) and Cólaí, indicating kə:l'i: ~ kə:li: in Cois Fharráige (de Bhaldraithe 1956-7b: 244 §6); also Cole kə:l' for certain individuals but others are kə:l. Similarly, tawney tə:n'ə (11.23).

There are also examples of nonpalatalisation following front vowels, i.e. unexpected ələ, iklə, and noteworthy airlə, əməf.

æ'l'fəb'	<u>alphabet</u> æ'l'fəb'it M; cp. <u>an t-alphabet</u> ə'tal'f'æ:b'ət S.
æ'l'ə	<u>Galloways</u> g'æ:l'əwe:is, <u>gallows</u> g'æ:l'əs S, <u>gallows-achaí</u> g'æ:l'əsəxi:.
ələ	<u>gallop-áil</u> g'æl'əpə:l' 21Pt, <u>gallows-achaí</u> g'æl'əsəxi:, contrast regular <u>felloes</u> f'el'əs.
ælb'ə	<u>albatross</u> ælb'ətɹə:s 35E.
airləs	<u>wireless</u> wairləs 892M.
ikləs	<u>Nicholas</u> n'ikləs M (cp. <u>Nioclás</u> nukləs), but <u>n'ikl'əs</u> 27Mdq.
erəməf	<u>skirmish</u> f'k'erəməf 892M5378. ¹

11.61 Post-tonic syllabic sonorants

Post-tonic (optionally) syllabic sonorants are a special case, not only regarding the variable palatality of the sonorants, but also with regard to predicting the palatality of the preceding consonant. For the sonorants, see § 11.75, § 11.81. In position preceding English (syllabic) **l** > **əl'**, **əl**, regular conditioning by the preceding pure vowel is found in, among others, these sequences:

æf'əl	<u>raffle-álfear</u> ræ:f'ələ:l-f'ər.
aif'əl(ə)	<u>rifle</u> raif'il', raif'əl.
iv'əl	<u>level</u> l'iv'əl'.

¹ Other transcribed examples such as disagreement disə'grimən't, canister k'ænəstər M, may show neutral quality, of **m** and **n** respectively, or were not very distinct as to quality. Cp. crack-áil kra:kə:l' 60M.

i:p'əl	<u>travelling people</u> træ:vliŋ p'i:p'əl 02J.
aik'əl	<u>Michael</u> maik'əl.
a:nəl(ʔ)	<u>O'Donnell</u> o: ɖa:nɪl' 04Br, <u>O'Connell Street</u> o: ka:nəl stri:t 12J.
in' il'	<u>Fennell</u> f'in' il'.
unəl	<u>funnel</u> funəl' 21Pt, <u>Reynolds</u> runəl' s 15W.
iŋg'əl(ʔ)	<u>shingles</u> fiŋg' il' s, fiŋg' əls.
æŋg'əl(ʔ)	<u>mangle</u> m'æŋg'əl(ʔ).
a:gəl	<u>joggle</u> ɖʒa:gəl 43C.
a:bəl	<u>hobble</u> ha:bəl, <u>hobble-babble</u> ha:bəl ba:bəl.
ubəl	<u>double</u> 'n' ɖubəl in' S.
ofəl	<u>scuffle</u> skofəl S.
ɑ:rməl	<u>normal</u> nɑ:rməl P.

Alternation occurs, however; especially following **u**, **o**, **ə**, in:

u:g' il(ʔ)	<u>bugle</u> b' u:g' il', <u>bugles</u> b' u:g' əls M.
u:gəl	<u>MacDougall's Dip</u> mak ɖu:gəls ɖip' 20Ml.
o:k' il'	<u>local</u> l' o:k' il'.
o:kəl	<u>local</u> l' o:kəl.
ək' il'	<u>article</u> ar'tək' il', <u>bicycle</u> baɪsək' il', <u>comical</u> ka:mək' il' P, <u>hospital</u> æ'spək' il', <u>medical</u> m' idək' il', <u>miracle</u> m' erik' il' M.
əkəl	rare, only noted in <u>chemicals</u> k' em' əkəl' z 20Ml.
əb' il'	<u>parable</u> p' æ:rəb' il', <u>terrible</u> tərəb' il' M.
əbəl(ʔ)	<u>herbal</u> herəbəl M, <u>vegetables</u> v' edʒətəbəl' s, v' edʒətəbəls.
ɛfnəl	<u>professionals</u> prə' f' ɛfnəls 60M.
imb' əl'	<u>thimble</u> tɪmb' əl' M.
umbəl	Cp. <u>thimble</u> tɪmbɪl LFRM <u>timbəl</u> (i.e. tɪmb' əl') ~ tɪmbəl.

Cp. marble m' ɑ:r-b' il'; contrast circle se/or-k' il' with circus sɔrkəs. Also non-palatal **p** in hospital æ'spək' il', carpenter k' æ:rpən'tər 66N, aspirin æ:spərɪŋ' 04Br. Note cabhnsailéara FFG for kaunsəl' erə but also exceptional council(or)-éara kaunʃəl' erə and compare older passenger > peaisinéara.

Preceding English (optionally) syllabic **n** > **in'**, **ən**, there is regularly agreement with the preceding pure vowel, e.g.

ig' ən	<u>Higgins</u> hig' əns;
i:g' ən	<u>Reagan</u> ri:g' ən S;
umən	<u>lemon</u> lumən 66N.

But compare diamond ɖaimən 03C.

When English **lm** is separated by an epenthetic vowel, both consonants of the original cluster take their quality from the vowel preceding the **l**:

il' im'	<u>film</u> f' il' im' ;
a'ləm	<u>teara</u> <u>Stockholm</u> 't' æ:rə 'stak' ha'ləm 01C6057.

Contrast **rm** > **rəm** only in, for example, charm færəm (perhaps also ʃɑ:rəm), alarm generally (ə)'l' æ:r(ə)m.

11.62 Consonants following post-tonic ə

Consonants (single or in clusters) following post-tonic ə agree with the quality of flanking pure vowels in some words, e.g.

əbau	<u>stirabout</u> ʃtɔrəbauʃ.
əbo:/u:	<u>vagabond</u> v æg' əbo:n M, v' æg' əbu:n 892M.
əmo:	<u>Baltimore</u> b' æl' təmo:r.
əfo/ə	<u>Hereford(s)</u> herəfɔrd herəfɔrts M.
əfɔ:	<u>gramophone</u> græ:m' əfɔ:n M, <u>telephone</u> tel' əfɔ:n, ʃil' əfɔ:n.
əv' in'	<u>convent</u> kənəv' in' t̩ 08B, more generally kən-v' in' t̩.
əkɔ:	<u>varicose veins</u> v' ærəkɔ:s v' e:n' s.
əlai	<u>caroline</u> k' ærəlain' 04B, k' ær'lain' 35E.
əs-l'i:	<u>purposely</u> pɔrpəs-l'i: S.
ər-n'i:	an <u>Kenerney</u> k' en' ər-n'i: 18J8260 (boat name).

There are, however, instances where the quality does not correspond to the flanking pure vowel (in əni:, ərki:) or only optionally so (in əfi(:) ?, əl'ɔ:, əli:). In many but not all instances the quality of the consonant preceding schwa corresponds to the consonant following schwa, e.g. physiotherapy f' isi'ɔ'terəfi' (quality of r = f), but geography dʒi:əgrəf' i: (quality of r ≠ f').

əf' i:	<u>geography</u> dʒi:əgrəf' i: P4a, cp. <u>paraffin(e)</u> p' æ:rəf' in' ;
~ əfi(:) ?	less clear but perhaps nonpalatal in <u>physiotherapist</u> f' isi'ɔ'terəfist M, <u>physiotherapy</u> f' isi'ɔ'terəfi' M.
əlɔ:	<u>Buffalo Boy</u> 'bʊfəlɔ: ,bɔi 18J (song title), <u>envelope(s)</u> ind' əlɔ:p, ind' əlɔ:p's Mperm, inv' əlɔ:p M, 18J, <u>idealóip</u> FFG;
~ əl'ɔ:	<u>envelope</u> inv' il' ɔ:p P, <u>Penelope</u> p' in' əl' ɔ:p M. Cp. <u>Anglo-Irish (Agreement)</u> 'æ:ŋg' əl' ɔ:' ai' rɪf [-lɔ: ?] S.
əl' i:	<u>Chonnolly</u> xənəl' i: 892M, <u>Maidhm Chonnolly</u> mi:m' xənəl' i: 21PtSc5, <u>Donnelly</u> dənəl' i: ARN1753, <u>family</u> f' æm' il' i: , <u>Offaly</u> af' ɔ' i: 45Pq, <u>specially</u> sp' eʃil' i: M, <u>vaseline</u> v' æsəl' in' ;
~ əli:	<u>Connolly</u> kənəli: 25M (cp. kə' ni:lhə <i>Con Fhaola</i>).
əni:	<u>Anthony</u> æn' tɔni:, <u>bianconi</u> 'bai' aŋkəni: FFG s.v. <i>baidheancaní</i> (more accurately spelt <i>baidheancanaí</i>), <u>Brittany</u> brit̩ni: 62J, <u>company</u> kɔmpəni: P88, <u>Courtney</u> kɔrt̩ni: S (conservative), <u>Germany</u> dʒerməni: 889P, <u>mahogany</u> mə' ha' gəni: 06C.
ərki:	<u>Cafferky</u> k' æfərki: 11C3283.

11.63 Consonants between post-tonic ə

Where there is no pure vowel preceding the consonant, i.e. following schwa, generally in trisyllables, there is a tendency for the intervocalic consonant to be palatalised if a neighbouring consonant is palatalised, i.e. if (a) the second syllable begins in a palatal consonant (*-C' əCəC > -C' əC' əC), or (b) the third syllable ends in a palatal consonant (*-CəCəC' > -CəC' əC'). The small number of examples and counterexamples are, however, complex, and other explanations for consonant quality are possible in most instances.

- (b) ək' in' American m' er' ək' ən' 897S, m' ɔrək' in' 64Mt, Hopkins hɔ:pək' in' s M, republicans rə' pɔblək' ən' s 15W.

1956 Borrowings and language contact

- Cp. **ək'in** Hopkins **ha:p'ik'in**'s S.
ək'an American **m'er'ək'an**.
əg'in cardigan **k'ærɔg'in**.
əg'an Geoghagan **g'e:həg'an** ~ **g'æhəg'an** ~ **g'æhæg'an** 21J. Perhaps -h- functions as palatalised or transparent here.
- Cp. **əgən** mouth-organ **'maut,urəgən** P.
əl'an(') ambulance **æ'mb'il'in**'s **æ'mb'il'əns**,
Cahalane(s) **k'æhəl'an** 21Pt, **k'æhəl'an**'s 25M.
- (a) **əl'əs** miraculous medal **m'iræk'il'əs m'idl'**.
Cp. **əwin'** Irvin **orvən** 23M, **or'wən** M, **or'vin'** M, **orəwin'** M.
Cp. **l'əp'əl'** Gallipoli **ə,g'æl'əp'əl'i**: 35E.

Other sequences have no palatalising element, cp. **əgən** above, or have unexpected quality:

- əlŋ** (Rocky Roads to) Dublin **ɔbəlŋ** 18J (song title).
ənəʃ commonage **kamənəʃ** (perhaps -n'əʃ).
əl'əm cat Mhatusalem **kut v'ə'tu:səl'əm** / **v'ə'tu:zəl'əm** (cp. cut Mheatúsailleam FFG s.v. cut).

For English unstressed **ɪk** > **ik'** and unstressed **ək** (> **ik'** ~ **ək**) there are two few examples to draw any firm conclusions regarding the palatality of preceding consonants. The alternating consonants attested all agree with the preceding vowel in quality. One trisyllable shows palatalisation of **ŋ** perhaps conditioned by **ik'**:

- ən'ik'** almanac **ɑ:lmən'ik'**, also **ɑ:lmək'** 21Pt.

Cf. Schwa (11.38).

Plosives

11.64 /p/ **p**, /b/ **b**, /m/ **m**

p

> **p**, **p'** regularly, e.g. gripe **graip'** (nautical term, graidhp LFRM), pencil **p'in'sil'**, power **paur**.

> **f** in Co-op **'kə:'a:f** 32P (perhaps influenced by off), other speakers have regular **'kə:'a:p**; > **p'** ~ **f'** in epicures **ep'ək'urs**, also **ef'ək'urs** 20T; physiotherapy **f'isi'o'terəfi** M, physiotherapist, **f'isi'o'terəfist** M (influenced by common ending -phy, -phist).

Voiced in: **b'** in Bishop **b'ɪʃɪb'** S (surname), bleep **bl'i:b'**; **b** in cabáil FFG 'to copy (at school)' perhaps from copy and voicing from cog, there is also a native cabáil FGB 'talk down'; swap(-áil) **swa'b(əl')** 21J.

b

> **b**, **b'** regularly, e.g. ball **bəl**, Babe **b'e:b'**.

> **m** initially in back **m'æk'** 06C, perhaps due to frequent *ar an mback*.

> **p** finally in swab **swa:p**, also **swa:b** M.

> **b'** ~ **v'** in marble **m'ær-b'il'** generally, but **m'ær-v'il'** !(Acsb)881Jt.

> **b'** ~ **w** in Malbay **məl-b'e'** !(NUath)11C, **məlwe** (brother of 21J) influenced by Galway.

Lost (optionally) in clusters in grumble-áil *grumələ:l'* << *grumbəl'əl'* [mb' ?], tumble-áilte *tʉ(ː)mla:l'ə* 20C; submarine *sumə'ri:n'*; temptation *təm'te:jən* M.

m

> b in moleskin *baul'k'in'* !S.

11.65 /t/ t

Eng. t = Ir. t, e.g. draught *dræf't*, kettle *k'itl'*, Mart (< Martin) *m'ɑ:rt*, paint *p'e:n't*, rout *raut*, team *tɪ:m'*.

Eng. t > t often preceding tautosyllabic r, i.e. t > t /_(ə)rσ (also d, 11.66). E.g. trial *trɪəl'*, counter *kauntər*, motor *mɔ:tər*, scatter-áilte *ʃk'ætərə:l't'ə*, history *histəri*: 892M, prime minister *'praɪ'm'in'əstər* 892M, so also electric *ɪ'ek't/dər*, central heating *sɪn'tərəl' hi:ʃɪŋ* 04Br; note the alternation in hunt-áil *hun'ta:l'* 26P, hunters *hʌntərs* 26P. Cp. stubborn-áilte *stɔbərna:l't'ə*.

> d beside r, when de-aspirated, e.g. aftergrass *æf'dəgræs*, factory *f'æk'dəri*:. The rule t, d > t, d /_(ə)rσ may be a dissimilatory process (dental t, d vs. alveolar r) producing output similar to native Irish phonology and earlier English lects. More recent borrowings or less Gaelicised pronunciation may, however, retain t, e.g. cutter *ku:tər* 18J, 35E, in more deliberate or quotative use *ku:tər* 35E, lifter *ɪ'efdər* 76N (for stove), litres *ɪ:tʃərs* M, soda water *sɔ:di:wɑ:tər* M; carpenter *k'ærpən'tər* 66N, cotter pin *ka:tər p'in'* M, Doctor *ɔ:k'tər* 04Br, pointer (school-master's) *pəɪn'tər*, emersion heater *m'ɛrʃən hi:tər* M; tractor *træk'dər* *træk'tər* 20Ml. Even older speakers may have t, e.g. trip generally *trɪp'*, but *tɪp'* [x2] 899D6935. Also volunteers *və:lən'tiərs*, *vələn'tiərz* 892M. In the single token of foxtrot-áil *'fɑ:ks'trɑ:təl'* 18J7393 that I have heard, the second t seems dental.

> t in Thompson *təmpən* 892M.

> t ~ t̥ in bowsprit (also boltsprit LFRM s.v. *babhsprait*) *bauls-p'it* (or *bauls-p'it*) 01C6093, 18J7101, *bauspət* SM, *baus-pl'it* *baus-p'it* *bauls-p'it* FFG *boghái(l)spliot*.

> d in splinter-áil *spl'indra:l'* SM.

> t̥ d̥ d̥ in gift, *an ghift* *ən'jɪft'* M ~ *g'ɪf'd'*, gift-áilte *g'ɪf'd'ɑ:l't'ə* *g'ɪf'dɑ:l't'ə*.

> t̥ t̥ in fortune-teller *'fɑ:rt'ən't'el'ər* 892M, no doubt also *'fɑ:rt'ən't'el'ər*.

> t̥ in satín (cp. sateen) *sæt'i:n'* M (FFG20 s.v. *saitín*).

Replaced (optionally) by d̥ in rocket *rakiɔ* FFG s.v. *racaid*, *rɑ:kəʃ* M87, closet-achaí *klasəɔxi*: 32J; by r in cricket *kri:k'ər*; by k' in hospital *æspək'il'*.

Lost in some clusters; in:

nt(s) in conservative form of currant *korən* (frequently in plural *-nts*).

ct in contract *kən'træk'k' t̥* *kən'træk'k' t̥*, progressive *kən'træk'k' t̥*.

cts in acts *æk's*, e.g. *'na hacts' a bhí ar na páidreachaí roimhe an Aifreann*.

stg in coastguard(s) *'ko:f'g'ærɔs* 06Mc, *'ko:f'g'ærɔ* 11C.

Cp. t̥ t̥ in Mike Phete Tom *maik' f'i: t̥ɑ:m* which when shortened is Mike Phete *maik' f'i:*. Cp. tune (11.110).

st > *ʃt* >> *sʃ*; contrast *st* in an earlier borrowing stuff *stuf*. Also Costelloe *kastəlo:*

18J8246. With *r* in following syllable in stubborn-áilte stobərna:lʔə.
English spelling th t > **t** in Thomais-ín taməfjɪn P.

11.66 /d/ **d**

Eng. **d** = Ir. **d**, e.g. deck dɪk, glad glʔæd, yard jɑrd.

Exceptions: shed is generally **fed** SM, but **fed** 79St (which corresponds to the form found in Cois Fharráige (GCF §1) and east of Galway city); an melodeon seo ə mə'lo:d'ən' fo 881J.

Eng. **d** > **d** often, preceding tautosyllabic *r*, i.e. **d** > **d** /_(ə)rσ. E.g.

Anderson ændərsən 03C, cider saidər, instructor ən'stʔrʊkdər 872P, murder mɔrdər, tender-áilte tɛndərə:lʔə 872P, find(ə)rɑ:lʔə, also fin'dərə:lʔə. But children allowance tʃɪl'drən launs S, leader l'eɪdər 881J, readers ri:dərz 892M.
> **t** in devoicing environment in hold haul't.

Lost (optionally) in: nd in bandage, generally **b'æn'diʃ** but note **b'æn'əʃ** 08B regularly; candidate 'k'æ'n'ə'di:t; diamond daimən 03C (type of tweed, perhaps the **d** was lost in sandhi in diamond tweed); handsaw 'hæ'n'sɑ: 872P; hounds hauns (nautical); landlady 'lænd,l'eɪdi: (AfI)03C, Land League l'æn' l'eɪg' / l'i:g' M, landlord(s) 'lænd,l'ɑ:rd' l'æn,l'ɑ:rdʒ 35E; pounds pauns S; alarm agus rebounds (?) hə'l'ɑ:rəm əgəs 'ræ'bauns M; round-áilte rauna:lʔə; Roundstone raunʃtō'n 872P; sandpaper 'sæm'p'e:p'ər 872P; vagabond v'æ:g'əbɔ:n v'æ:g'əbʊ:n; also in secondary (school) sekən'eri: 04Br, sek'əndri: S; expand-álann eg'sp'æ'n'á:lɛn 21Pt. Also in headstall 'he:ftɑ:l 21J, hundred hundərd SM, hundər 60M in hundred and twenty ... hundər æn' tʔwen'ti: ... 60M.

Lost in -md m- in skimmed milk sk'im' m'ilk S. Also in db in goodbye gu'bai. Cp. Joe [Chaulfield] *is ...* (spelt *Cháifil 's ...*) ! CABI §520(e) v. 2.

11.67 /k/ **k**, /g/ **g**

Eng. **k** = Ir. **k** **k**, e.g. cooker ku:kər, reek féir ri:k' f'e:r M.

Eng. **g** = Ir. **g** **g**, e.g. go go:, Gave g'e:.

ks > **ks**, e.g. box-áil bɑ'ksɑ:l', so also gs > **gs**, e.g. clogs kla:gs.

Words in **ex-**

Eng. **ik's-** > **eg's-**: expand-álann siad eg'sp'æ'n'á:lɛn fjad 21Pt, excite-áilte eg'sai:tɑ:lʔə, excuse-áil eg'sk'u:zɑ:l' 27Mdq;

> **'eg's-**: express train 'eg'spros 'trɛ:n 892M4695;

> **ek's-**: excuse ek'sku:z 60M.

Eng. **ig'z-** > **eg's-**: exams eg'sæ:m's;

> **eg'z-**: exams eg'zæ:m's M, ag examine-áil g og'zæ'm'in'ɑ:l' [perhaps **g əg'**] 892M5102.

Eng. **eks-** > **ek's-**: exercise-annaí ek'sər'saisəni M;

> **ekf-** in extra ekf-trə M.

Surname McGlynn mə'gl'in' 21Pg, 21J, m'əkl'in' 892M3407. The correct form of McClement is, according to speaker 21J, assimilated to a more common surname in the by-forms mə'kl'en'ən't ~ mə'kl'in'ən't ~ kl'in'ən't 21J. Cp. MacClenaghan, MacGlennon.

Note also taxes in *leabhra tachtis* !894C9 (glossed 'taxes', also CABI §224(a) v. 3) implying perhaps a pronunciation *tæk'təs, and *na tacsat* !Clad260 'taxes' (cp. CABI §306) perhaps indicating *tæk'si:, now tax-áil tæk'sa:l', etc.

k lost in one speaker's electricity l'etresəti: 79J, others have l'ek'trisəti:, etc. Note k retained in corkscrew 'ka:rk,skru' Sq, Mq (in contrast with ka:sgru:, ka:fg' u: NIGCF §53).

For Eng. unstressed **ɪk** and **ək**, see 11.38.

g

Retained following s in Glasgow gl'æ:sgo: 889P. In galley g'æ:l'i: generally but jæ:l'i: P; cp. yawl-annaí g'ɑ:ləni: 46.1091, jə:ləni: S (j- only Sq). Lost optionally in cluster in language l'æŋ wəŋf, cp. native *ng* in clusters.

Affricates

11.68 /tʃ/ ch

Eng. tʃ = Ir. tʃ non-initially; tʃ and regressively f initially.

Non-initial: breach brɛ:tʃ, match m'æ:tʃ, match-áil m'æ:tʃa:l'.

Initial: challenge ʃæl'ən' dʒ 892M, chance ʃæ:n's tʃæ:n's, change tʃe:n' tʃ, channel ʃæ:n'əl' 892M, Charlie tʃa:rl'i: tʃæ:r-l'i:, charm ʃærəm, chart-áilte tʃæ:rtə:l'tə 35E (on map), chase tʃe:s ~ ʃe:s M, Mq, chase-áil ʃe:sə:l', chat ʃæt SM, tʃæt 43M, chat-áil ʃætə:l' SM, tʃætə:l' 43M, cheat-áil tʃi:tə:l' S, tʃi:tə:l', check-áil tʃek'ə:l' 52J, check-up tʃek'ʌp M, cheek tʃi:k' >> ʃi:k', cheese tʃi:z tʃi:s, cheque tʃek' tʃek', chum-áil tʃumə:l' S. As a noun Seán pronounces chance perhaps most often as tʃæ:n's. In contrast, as an adverb he has chance ʃæ:n's most commonly, e.g.

Chance dhá bhfaigheadh sé chance ʃæ:n's gə: wəd ʃe tʃæ:n's S.

> f in winch winʃ wunʃ wenʃ.

> t' in fortune fə:rt'ən f'æ:rt'ən. Note the variation in:

fortune-teller(s) ... fortune fə:rt'jən't'el'ər'z ... fə:rt'ən't'el'ər ... fə:rt'ən't'el'ər ... fə:rtən 892M4515–21.

The speaker's initial tʃ token in fortune is perceived as the more standard realisation, he then uses the more general t' form, which is followed by a token with otherwise unattested t, perhaps influenced by *fortún*, or it may have been an effort at tʃ through depalatalisation of t'. Compare the palatal cluster in the by-form (genitive) *fios m'fhoirtíúin* 852SbTs147 (x2); cp. *fortún* ~ *foirtíúin* FGB.

> tʃ ~ d' in puncture pʌmp'tʃər 37M, pʌm'p'tʃər 69S, pʌntʃər S(early), pʌŋk-d'ər.

> t in century sintəri: 894Cs; cp. fortune fə:rtən 892M4521 above.

11.69 /dʒ/ j

Eng. dʒ = Ir. dʒ, e.g. cribbage-áil krib'idʒə:l', dredge-áil dridʒə:l', June dʒu:n, jump-áil dʒʌmpə:l', package p'æk'ədʒ, page p'e:dʒ, range re:n'dʒ.

Exception: jacket ʃæk'e:d generally, but 27Cb reports that his neighbour consistently pronounced dʒæk'e:d (853P) (11.1).

Devoiced (optionally) in budge buʃf, change tʃe:n'tʃ, often in hedge hefʃ M, serge

sordz **sortʃ**, **sponge** **spunʹ ʃ** **spunʹ dʒ**, **stage** **ste:ʃ** M; perhaps regularly for many speakers in unstressed final position, e.g. **bandage** **bʹæ:nʹ dʒiʃ**, **cartridge** **kʹæ:triʃ**, **commonage** **kamənəʃ** (perhaps **-nʹəʃ**), **cottage** **ka:təʃ** S, **language** **lʹæŋ wəʃ**, **leakage** **lʹi:kʹəʃ** M, **orange** **a:rənʹ ʃ** M, **porridge** **pɑ:rəʃ**; contrast before Irish suffix **-áil** **manage-áil** **mʹæ:nʹ ədʒa:lʹ**, but also **overcharge-áil** **o:wərʹ ʃæ:rʃa:lʹ** S. Eng. **dʒ** ~ **ʃ** **sandwich** **sæ:ŋ wədʒ** 12J, **sæ:ŋ wəʃ**, **sæ:mʹ wɪʃ** 23C.

ɖ in **regiment** **reɖimʹ inʹ t̪** used in a set phrase in *reidimint* FFG, otherwise **reɖəmʹ inʹ t̪**; **julk** **dʒulk**, **julk-áil** **dʒulka:lʹ**, **dulka:lʹ** Mq, FFG s.v. *diulcáil*, cp. **dunch-áil** > **dʒuŋka:lʹ**, *tonc*, *toncáil*, **donkle** EDD; in clusters in **sergeant** generally **sɑ:rɖɪnʹ t̪**, progressively **sæ:rɖɪnʹ t̪**, but **sɑ:rʹnʹ t̪** 897P, also **sergeant** **police** **sɑ:rɖɪnʹ ʹpɔ:lʹ is** 01P; cp. **skraunʹ dʒi**: perhaps from *scrounger*.

ɡ in **magenta** **ɡ inʹ ti**.

The older borrowing **charge** **ʃɑ:rʃə** (including 892M, e.g. *seáirsí móra dhen aimsir*), **charge-áil** **ʃɑ:rʃa:lʹ** generally, but **ʃɑ:rʃa:lʹ** 892M (of boat). The modern borrowing is **charge-áil** **ʃʹærdʒa:lʹ**.

Continuants

11.70 /f/ ʃ

Eng. **f** > **f** ~ **fʹ**, cf. 11.50, Table 11.1.

Eng. **f** ~ **p** > **pʹ** in **diphtheria** **dʒipʹ t̪iri**: M, **dʒipʹ t̪iriə** M, 27Mdq.

> **fʹ** ~ **pʹ** in: **felt** **fʹelʹ t̪** >> **pʹelʹ t̪** S, e.g. *hata felt hætə pʹelʹ t̪*, *felt ar an teach* **fʹelʹ t̪ er ə tʹæ:x**, *cloigeann*, **roll**, *corna* **felt klogʹ ən**, **roil**, **kaurnə fʹelʹ t̪** S.

paraffin(e) **pearaipín** FFG, generally **pʹæ:rəfʹ inʹ**.

shelf **felfʹ** **felpʹ** **tʹelpʹ**.

fʹ alternates with (regressive) **vʹ** in nouns **belief** **bəʹlʹi:vʹ** and **relief** **rəʹlʹi:vʹ**, probably by analogy with the corresponding verbs, cp. noun **excuse** **ekʹskuz** heard with **z** from speaker 60M only.

gh is realised as **x** in **trough** **tra:x**.

> **h** in **magnifying glass** **mʹæ:ŋnʹ oʹhainʹ glʹæ:s** 14M.

Lost in **sheriff** **ʃɔ:ri**: S, perhaps with replacement of ending (11.134). Lost in **himself** **hmʹ selʹ** !899N (in English language song); **self** **selʹ** is common in Hiberno-English, e.g. East Galway.

11.71 /v/ v

Eng. **v** = Ir. **v** and **vʹ** with quality conditioned as in other labials. The allophone **w** of /v/ is retrogressive, e.g. **divide-áilte** **dəʹwaɪdɑ:lʹ ə** 894Cs, **vodka** **w/vɑdʒkə**, **revolver** **rəʹwɑ:lwər** 892M. Cp. **vote** **wɔ:t**.

> **v** ~ **bʹ** in **Cobh** **kɔ:v** M, **kɔ:bʹ** S.

> **fʹ** in **Johhny Stephen** **st̪i:fʹ ənʹ** 24Mt, cp. Irish *Stiofán* **ʃt̪ʹifʹən**.

> **vʹ** ~ **mʹ** in *chuir Queen Victoria ... Banríon Victoria*, *chuir sí ... xurʹ kʹwɪnʹ mʹigʹ t̪ɔ:ri*: ... **bɑ:nri:n vʹikʹ t̪ɔ:ri**: ... 03C (only); where pretonic **mʹigʹ** resembles surnames in **M(a)c**, e.g. **MacDonagh** **mʹigʹ d̪unə**. If this is not merely a slip of

the tongue, the form in *v* might represent lenition, as if it were *Banríon* **MhacTory* or the like.

> *m* in Latin *seacht nAve Maria* (*Áivé Máiríá*) *ʃa:xt 'n'e'm'e: ma:r'i'e* 04B, with *m* influenced either by *áiméan* or the *m* of *Maria* (or both).

> *b* in *privy preb'i*.

> *v* ~ *d* exceptionally in *envelope(s)* *in'd'əlo:p, in'd'əlo:p's* Mperm, *inv'əlo:p* M, *indealóip* FFG.

> *v* ~ Ø in *valve* *v'æ:lv* generally, but lost in the cluster in the innovative compound in the plural *valve-plug-annaí* *'v'æ:l'plɔgəni*: 51P.

Reduced by-forms of the preposition *of* occur, e.g. *book of records* *buk ə rə'kɑ:rðs* P, *cream of tartar* *kri:m ə tæ:r'tər* M [-tər ?], *trick of the loop* *trik' ədə 'lu:p* 35E.

11.72 /θ/ th

Eng. θ = Ir. t, e.g. *bath* *b'æ:t*, *Cathleen* *k'æ:t-ʃ'i:n* 15W, *North* *nɑ:rt*, *thanks* *tæŋk's*.

> *ʃ* in *thimble* *ʃimb'əl* M, 21Pt, *thump* *tʌmp*; in clusters in *birthday* *b'ertʃe: b'ortʃe:*, and in *diphtheria* *ʃip'ti:ri*: M, *ʃip'ti:riə* 27Mdq, and *arithmetic* *'æ:riθmə'tik*'s S (the final -s in this token may be *is*, by-form of *agus*).

Kathy (> *Katty*) *k'æ:tə*, perhaps influenced by *Kitty* and *Matty*; with suffix -*óg* in: *garraí Kħath(y)-óg* *gari: x'æ:t'ə:g* [Béib, mother of 45C6].

Eng. ð = Ir. d, e.g. *bathe-áil* *b'e:ða:l*.

Lost in the cluster *sth* in *anaesthetic* *æ:n'ə'setɪk* M; in -*thes* in *clothes line* *klo:s la:n* M.

11.73 /l/ l

Quality determination of *l* is as with noncoronals except at the onset of a stressed syllable where *l* occurs preceding true back vowels (*ɑ:*, *o:(i)*, *u:(i)*).

Beside back vowels > *l*, e.g.

hall *hɑ:l*, *dole* *ðo:l*, *cool* *ku:l*, *pull* *pʊl*, *bowl* *baʊl*, *lodge-áil* *lɑ:ʃɑ:l*, *loud-speaker* *'laʊd.sp'i:k'ər*, *blouse* *blaʊs*.

There is a tendency to have nonpalatal *l* finally before *s*, even following front vowels, e.g.

Wales *we:lz* P, 21Pt, but *snails* *sn'e:l's* 02J; *breeching* *brɪʃɪl* SM, *brɪʃəl* S, plural *brɪʃəls* SM; *kettle(s)* *k'ɪtʃl*, *k'ɪtʃl's*, *k'ɪtəls*.

Cole (< *Coleman*) regularly *ko:l* but with a by-form *ko:l'*, apparently influenced by *Coley* *ko:l'ə* (also *ko:li*); cp. *Cóillios* (plural), *Cólaí* (de Bhaldraithe 1956–7b: 244 §6), i.e. *ko:l'i* ~ *ko:li* in Cois Fharraige.

Beside front vowels > *l*, e.g.

leave *l'i:v*, *lady* *l'e:ðə*, *land-áil* *l'æ:n'ða:l*, *lily* *l'il'i*, *lettuce* *l'eʃəs*, *lift* *l'ef't*, *bell* *b'el*, *Parnell* *p'ɑ:r'n'el*, *blast* *bl'æ:ʃt*, *frolic* *fræ'lɪk* M.

The phones *æ* and *a* palatalise and velarise respectively, e.g. *lad* *l'æ:ɖ*, *lock-áilte* *lɑ:kɑ:l'tə*, *lot* *lɑ:t*, *loss* *lɑ:s*, *Polack* *'pɔ:lak* FFG; in fact, *a* is the only vowel which takes consistent nonpalatal initial *l*.

The diphthong *ai* also takes nonpalatal initial *l*, e.g. *licence* *laɪʃəns*, *lie* *laɪ*, *line(-áil)* *laɪn(ɑ:l)*, *True Light* *'tru:lajt* 70Sq (boat name), as well as palatal initial *l*,

e.g. fire-lighters 'fair,laiṭərs M, liable 'laib'il 47Pq; contrast lino laino: 47Pq with this speaker's line 'lain 47Pq; with optional bl in blind-áilte (11.74).

Recall sl > ʃl, e.g. slack ʃl'æk'. Before ai, however, optional sl, e.g. slice ʃl'aij/s, slais; Sligo slaigo: 21Pt (sl only noted); nonpalatalised spl in splice(-áil) splaij/s(ɑ:l').

Initially before true back vowels generally > l, e.g.

loan 'lɔ:n, load-áil 'lɔ:ɖɑ:l', lorry 'lɔ:ri:, loo 'lɔ:u:.

Also onset of stressed syllable medially, e.g. hello hɛ'lɔ:.

Medially in Whitelaw faiṭl'ɑ: (Afl)03C.

But also > l (~ l), found before ɑ:, o(i), u(i) in:

(law lɑ: 02J perhaps); deck-load 'dik'(ə)lɔ:ɖ 892M; (*an*) Lovely Anne luv-'l'i: æ'n' 35E (boat name); trick of the loop trik' əðə 'lu:p 35E; loose(-áilte) lɔ:sɑ:l' ə 892M1098, lus 21Pt, lus 23M; lord 'lɔ:rd but also lard 872P, 866E, 881J and landlord(s) 'læn' d,lɑ:rd 'læn,lɑ:rdʒ 35E; luck 'lʊk, lucky lʊki:; lunch lʊnʃ lɪnʃ perhaps also lɒnʃ; lung lʊŋ; also balloon bə'lɔ:n M, with loss of ə in *ar an* mballoon er' ə mlu:n 52J. So also older lód lɔ:d, lódáil lɔ:ɖɑ:l' and lófáil lɔ:fɑ:l', also perhaps older *an* melodeon seo ə mə'lɔ:d'ən' ʃo 881J. Cp. pantaloons 'pæntə:l'u:n !P, *do shean-phantaloon* də 'hɑ:n,f' æ'n' ʃə'lɔ:ɔ'n | (Atb)11C.

11.74 Initial clusters

Initial clusters before back vowels show two tendencies: one is for the cluster to be palatalised (like the majority simple initial rule); the other is to be nonpalatal (like alternating consonants before back vowels).

/_V ^{+back}	<u>bl</u>	> <u>bl' u:/ai</u>	<u>blueshirt</u> bl' u: ʃɜ:ʃt. Before <u>ai</u> in <u>blind-áilte</u> bl' ain' ɖɑ:l' ə 03C88.
		> <u>blo/o:/ai</u>	<u>blight</u> blaiṭ, <u>blood-poison-áil</u> 'blɔ:ɖpa:sən' ɑ:l', <u>bloody</u> blɔ:ɖi:, <u>blow-áil</u> blɔ:ɑ:l'.
	<u>br</u>	> <u>br' u:</u>	<u>brewer</u> br' u:e:rə 869P = <i>brúighéara</i> LL151.
	<u>pl</u>	> <u>pl' u:</u>	<u>pleurisy</u> pl' u:rəsi: M, also pr' u:r' əʃi: S.
		> <u>plu</u>	<u>plumb-áil</u> plumɑ:l'.
	<u>fl</u>	> <u>fl' u:/o:/u</u>	<u>float</u> fl' o:t, <u>float-áil</u> fl' o:ɖɑ:l', <u>flu</u> fl' u:, <u>flute(-adóir)</u> fl' u:t(əðo:r'), <u>flood-áil</u> fl' u:ɖɑ:l' M.
	<u>gl</u>	cp. <u>gl' u:</u>	<i>gluú</i> FGB, 1 DIL ('glue') gl' u:.
		> <u>glo:</u>	<u>globe</u> glɔ:b.
	<u>cl</u>	> <u>kl' u:</u>	<u>clue</u> kl' u:.
		> <u>klo/o:/ɑ:</u>	<u>clover</u> klɔ:wər, <u>club</u> klɔ:b, <u>dish-cloth</u> ɖiʃ klɑ:t.

> l' in Luke l' u:k, rowlock ri:l' ik'; and in a by-form of hello hɛ'l' o: 23B. Note that English lj also yields Irish l', including English ldj > ld'; see 11.94.

There is possibly variable palatality in medial Holy ho:l' i: 11C, M, 35E, ho:li: [ʔ] M, and compare Coley ko:li:, ko:l' ə (similarly, *Cóilios* (plural) and *Cólaí*, indicating ko:l' i: ~ ko:li: in Cois Fharraige (de Bhaldraithe 1956–7b: 244 §6)); palatal only in Kyloe k' e:l' ho: k' ail' ho:.

Some speakers seem more prone to nonpalatal l. For example, 21Pt in lighter laiṭər 21Pt, fire-lighters 'fair,laiṭərs 21Pt, gallop-áil g' æ:ləpɑ:l' 21Pt. Speaker 66N seems to use initial l more than others: lemon lumən 66N, lift lef' t 66N,

slower slo:wər 66N. Recall her greater velarisation in general (1.409). Emigrants of long residence in the United States can also have a nonpalatalised **l** in the expected palatal environment, e.g. jealous dʒeləs 15W; Jamaica Plain dʒi'm'e:k'ə ple:n 894Bl (place-name in the United States).

Intervocalic **l** > **lʰ** in one word: Kyloe k'e:l'ho:k'aɪl'ho:.

11.75 Unstressed English əl and l

English unstressed **əl** and **l** are generally realised as palatal ə/ɪl' and l' respectively. (Here əl' stands also for ɪl', perhaps allophones.) Nonpalatalised **əl** and **l** also occur, however. Only **l** which is categorically syllabic in English, is realised generally as syllabic in Irish. The borrowings are presented in three phonological groups:

- (1) Eng. əl = Ir. əl', also l'
- (2) Eng. əl ~ l = Ir. əl' generally; also əl; in syncope, l
- (3) Eng. l = Ir. l' generally, also əl', l, əl

11.76 (1) Eng. əl

> əl admiral æd'm'ərəl 892M, camel k'æm'əl, cathedral k'æti:dərəl k'æti:dərəl M, Carrol k'ærəl 15W, M, Carrols k'ærəl's M, central heating sɪntrəl hi:tɪŋ M, neutral country n'ū:tərəl k'ūntri: 892M2297, rebel reb'ɪl 892M, scoundrel skaundrəl M, trammel(s) træm'ɪl (z).

So also unstressed -olds in Reynolds runəl's 15W.

> əl ~ əl Cp. Eng. -əl ~ -u:l = Ir. əl' ~ əl in ferrule, ferrel f'erɪl mostly, but f'erəl 892M.

> əl ~ l' petrol p'etrəl, p'etərəl 14M, p'itərɪl [perhaps p'ɛ-] 20A.

11.77 (2) Eng. əl ~ l

> əl Fóir ar an mbean, a Mhuire, atá in article an bháis fuar' er' ə m'æ'n ə wɪr'ə tɑ n ærətɪk'əl ə wɑ:f (MP)04B, bevel b'ev'əl 17Mp, 21Pt, bicycle baisək'ɪl, Bovril bavril, Brussels sprout brusəl spraut M, Castlebar k'æ:fəl'b'ær 20T, channel f'æ'n'əl 892M, chemicals k'em'əkəl'z 20Ml, circle ser-k'ɪl sər-k'ɪl, circle-ail ser-k'ɪl'ɑ:l, comical kɑ:mək'ɪl P, cancel-ail k'æ:n'səl'ɑ:l M, consul kɑ:nsəl SM, cringle kriŋk'əl, cripple krip'ɪl S, EDD drazil drafəl 35Eq, drizzle-ail drizəl'ɑ:l, Fennell f'in'ɪl M, funnel funəl 21Pt, gamble-ail g'æmb'ɪl'ɑ:l M, gravel græ:v'ɪl, hospital æspək'ɪl, lable l'e:b'ɪl, liable l'aɪb'ɪl S85, marble m'ɑ:r-b'ɪl, medical m'ɪdək'ɪl, miracle m'erik'ɪl M, Michael maɪk'ɪl; nickel n'ɪk'ɪl, O'Donnell o: dɑ:mɪl 04Br, parable p'ærəb'ɪl, parcel p'ærəsəl p'ærɪfəl, staple st'e:p'ɪl P, travelling people træ:vliŋ p'i:p'əl 02J, pickle p'ɪk'əl M, ramble ræ:mb'ɪl S, steeple st'i:p'ɪl, terrible tərəb'ɪl M, treacle cake tre:k'ɪl k'e:k M, trifle traɪf'ɪl. Cp. gaff (cp. gaffsail) g'æf'əl; rascal > rascaɪl FFG, and shackle > seɪcɪl FFG.

> əl ~ əl bugle b'u:g'əl !(Asp)04B, SM, plural b'u:g'əls M, also (if heard correctly) b'u:g'əlæxi: S; County Council kaun'ti: kaunsəl S87 (cp. kaunsəl [Michael Thornton, An Spidéal]); local l'ɔ:k'ɪl l'ɔ:kɪl l'ɔ:kəl, mangle m'æŋg'ɪl meangɪls FFG, m'æ:ŋg'əl 47P, rifle(s) raɪf'ɪl, raɪf'əl raɪf'əls Mq, shingles ʃɪŋg'ɪl's S, 18Pc, 25S, ʃɪŋg'əls M; vegetables v'edʒətəbəl's, v'edʒətəbəls 14M.

1964 Borrowings and language contact

- Cp. thimble **tɪmbəl** M, but *timbil* LFRM **tɪmbəl** ~ **tumbəl**.
 > əl Often following nonpalatal consonants but in some words following palatals.
Arsenal **ærfnəl** 78Pb, double 'n' **dubəl** in' S, herbal **herəbəl** M, hobble **hɑ:bəl**, hobble-babble **hɑ:bəl bɑ:bəl**, níl joggle *ar bith ann n'í' dʒɑ:gəl ə b'ih a:n* 43C (of bicycle); MacDougall's Dip **mak dʒu:gəls dɪp** 20Ml, muscles **musəls** M, cp. muscle-áilte **muslɑ:l'ə** S, back to normal **b'æk' tə nɑ:rməl** P, O'Connell Street **o: kɑ:nəl stri:t** 12J, professionals **prə'fɛjnəls** 60M, Provincial **pru'v'ɛnfəl** 52P, raffle-álfear **ræ:f'ələ:l-f'ər**, scuffle **skofəl** S, bád smuggle-ála **bɑ:d smugələ:lə** 35E (also syncopated -gl-), trouble **trobəl** M, P, kidney trouble **k'ɪdn'i: trobəl** S.
 > | in syncope, e.g. puzzle-áil **puslɑ:l'**.

11.78 (3) Eng. |

- > |' boodle **bʊ:dʃl'**, bundle(-áil) **bun'dʃl' (ɑ:l')**, handle **hæ:n'dʃl'** 03C, handle-áilte **hæ:n'dʃl'ɑ:lə:n** M, handlebar **'hæ:n'dʃl' b'ær** 18J, mantelpiece **'m'æntʃl'p'i:s** M, medal **m'ɪdʃl'**, mental **m'in'tʃl'**, model **mādʃl'**, pedal **p'edʃl'**, raddle **ræ:dʃl'**, sandles **sæ:n'dʃl's**, scuttle **skuʃl'** 21Pt, title **tʃaɪtʃl'**, throttle **trætʃl'** 79S, total **(tɔ:tl' ?) tɔ:tl' tʊ:tl'**.
 > |' ~ əl kettle(s) **k'ɪtʃl', k'ɪtʃl's, k'ɪtʃəls**.
 > |' ~ | doodle(s) **dʊ:dʃl' (s)** generally, **dʊ:dʃl** 23C, (uncertain in cuddle-áilte **kuʃlɑ:l'ə** M89).
 > əl Aristotle **hɑ:ri: f'tʃaɪl'** FFG s.v. *buaileann* 17(b).
 > əl ~ əl satchel **sætʃəl** *saitsil* FFG, *an satchel is an ... ən sæ:tʃəl sə* !894C. Note breeching **brɪtʃɪl'** SM, **brɪtʃəl** S, plural **brɪtʃəls** SM.

11.79 Other changes

- > n before -áil in roll-áil generally **rauna:l'**, perhaps influenced by round-áilte **rauna:l'ə**, but also **raula:l'** 43M, S-Mperm, *roulláil* 894C3; now also **ro:lɑ:l'**, an example from an old speaker occurs in roller ... *a roll-áiltheas ro:lər ... ə ro:lɑ:l'əs* 20At. Retained in the noun roll **raul**. An obsolete variant of ceiling, **fɪ:nɑ:l'**, is recognised by Seán in query (recorded early by me, perhaps pronounced **fɪ:n'ɑ:l'**). Seán recalls hearing, for example, *cláracha síonála* [*síneála* ?], from older speakers. The plural is found in *síneáileacha* Clad177. This word ceiling is now pronounced with first syllable in **si:l'**- only; in general **si:l'ɑ:l'** and minority (plural) **si:l' e:rəxi:**. Cp. coil-áil **káil'ɑ:l'** and *caidhmeáil* **káin'ɑ:l'**.
 > r' ~ ɹ' in pleurisy **pr'u:r'əʃi:** S, **pl'urəsi:** M.
 > Ø in trammel(-net) generally **træ'm'**, but trammel **træ'm'il'** 892M (also known by other speakers queried) including plural trammels **træ'm'il'z** but also **træm'əni:** 892M (the regular plural), trammel *eangaí* **træ'm' æŋgi:** 892M, trammel-áil **træ'm'ɑ:l'** 892M, S, genitive *na tramm(ɛl)-e* and *na tramm(ɛl) nə træ'm'(ə)* Mq (cp. gaff **g'æf'** (cp. gaffsail) and **g'æf'əl'**); EDD drazil **draʃəl'** 35Eq and derived drazil-áil **drasa:l'**, which is more common than the form drizzle-áil **drisa:l'** (heard from Seán only), also **drizəl'ɑ:l'**. Presumably | has been lost in dissimilation with -áil in these two lexemes (trammel-áil, drazil-áil and drizzle-áil). Cp. Joe Chaulfield (spelt *Cháifil*) ! CABI §520(e) v. 2. Also lost in clusters in common by-forms of adverbs already **'ɑ:ɹɪdɪ:** **'ɑ:reɹdɪ:** M, all right **'ɑ:raɪt'**, and only **o:nɪ:**.

11.80 /n/ n

The quality of n is conditioned as for noncoronals except that initial n is n´ before nonlow back vowels (o(:), u(:)).

Eng. n = Ir. n´ screen skri:n´, drain dre:n´, bin b´in´, Ned n´ed, knack n´æk´, clan kl´æ:n´, chance fæ:n´ s S88, mandars m´æ:n´ dærs Mq.

Before nonlow back vowels notion n´o:fə:n, Nora n´o:rə !11C (also no:rə, perhaps influenced by *Nóra*), nurse n´ors, note-áilte n´u:tə:l´t´ə, number n´umbər, nun n´on, n´un, nuts n´oʦ.

Before a: > n ~ n´: Norway nɑ:rwe´, Normans n´ɑ:rəmənʒ 892M4396, North nɑ:rt (also nɑ:rt), Northmen nɑ:rt-m´in´ 892M.

> n´ initially in a less common form of no n´o: 43M, 66N, 79S perhaps through assimilation with native *ní* n´i:, both negatives being commonly used in conjunction, e.g. no nil n´o: n´i:l´ ~ n´o: n´i:l´.

> n´ medially in senna se:n´ə, senna tea se:n´ə tɛ: SM, 45P.

Following ai both n´ and n are found: nine nain´, twine t(ə)wain´, caroline k´ærə'lain 11C, k´ærə'lain´ 04B, line lain, line lainər lain´ər, line-áil lainəl´, sign *maith* sai^h n ma: [x3] 53M. Speaker 66N, who frequently has n´ for n´ in native words, sometimes has n´ for common n´ in borrowings, e.g. Brian both brain´ ~ brain´ 66N.

> n elsewhere, e.g. North nɑ:rt, knot nɑ:t´ 894Cs, knot-áilte nɑ:tə:l´t´ə, phone fə:n, June tʃu:n, burner bɔ:nər, counter kauntər.

Initial n before o: is not always easily distinguishable from n´ and there may be neutralisation, e.g. the initial n-sounds appear the same in *naoi* ndole ag Noel ni: no:l eg´ no:l Mq, and in *tá* Noel dhá n-ól ta no:l ga no:l M. Similarly, before a, e.g. nobby n´a:bi: ~ nɑ:bi:.

For Eng. nj > n´, see 11.94. Denasalisation (1.150), n´ > ɲ, occurs in:

n- [hesitation] no ní bheadh a fhios ɲ´ (!) ɲo: n´i v´ehəʦ | 20C.

> m in ransack-áil ræ:m´ sæk´ a:l´ SM, cp. ramshackle, etc., and ræ:msa:l´ ~ ræ:m´sa:l´ SM (note *tá* 'raimsaiceáil' ann is *tá* 'ramsáil.' S).

> m´ in canvass-áil k´æm´ əsa:l´ 892M4651.

> ɲ ~ m in sandwich sæ:ɲ´ wəʦɟ 12J, sæ:m´ wiʃ 23C.

rsn > rst ~ rst: parsnip p´ærsn´ ip´, but p´ærstip´ 32J.

Lost in conservative swanskin swa:ʃk´ in´, now generally swa:n´sk´ in´ M; also commandant 'ka:mə,ɸin´ t 26Ps; optionally in partner(s) (nautical) p´ɑ:rʃnər, but p´ɑ:rʃtərs 17Mp; almanac ə:lmən´ ik´, but also ə:lmæk´ 21Pt.

11.81 Unstressed English m, ən and ɲ

English atonic unclear vowels before n have a wide range of realisations. (Here ən´ stands for in´ also.) The borrowings are presented in four phonological groups:

- (1) Eng. m = Ir. ən´ ~ ən >> ɲ´
- (2) Eng. ən = Ir. ən >> ən´ >> ɲ´, ɲ
- (3) Eng. ən ~ ɲ = Ir. ən ~ ən´ ~ ɲ (presumably also ɲ´)
- (4) Eng. ɲ = Ir. ɲ ~ ən

For a similar range in unstressed *-ing*, see 11.85, in *m* 11.98; for unstressed *and*, see 11.40. Some speakers tend to have more or less realisation of palatal *n* than others: see, for example, speaker **64M**'s examples of *in* cited below.

11.82 (1) Eng. *m*

- > *ən* Captain k'æp'ɔn 892M, Hartigan hærtəg'ən 892M, examine-áil eg'sæ:m'in'á:l', Merlin Park m'or-l'm' p'ær-k' M.
- > *ən* ~ *ən* Ferrins f'orənz 892M, f'erəns, Feorainz 892M5551, Irvine orvən 23M, or'wən M, or'vin' M, orəwin' M, sovereign sa'wərin', cp. *sáivairn* 894C9 (singular, in prose and song), sa:vərən, cp. *sabhra(i)n* FGB.
- > *ən* ~ *ən* Martin m'ɑ:rtən S85, m'ɑ:rtən M85, m'ær'tin' S85, Martin-in m'ær'tn'in' 60S.
- > *ən* ~ *ɪ* aspirin æ:spərn' 04Br.
- > *ən* engine en'ɔ:n 01C, in'ɔ:n, Higgins hig'əns.
- > *ɪ* Mulkerrins-achá mɔl'k'ernsəxi: M, (Rocky Roads to) Dublin dʊbəlɪn 18J (song title).

11.83 (2) Eng. *ən*

- > *ən* action æ:kʃən, auction a'k-ʃən, addition æ:dəʃən, Anderson æ:ndərsən, Balderston bɑ:l'ɛstrən S, brehon bri:hən 02J, Brendan brin'dən M, children ʃil'drən launs S, common kɑ:mən, connection kə'n'ɛkʃən, Corcoran kɑ:rkɔ:n S, faction f'ækʃən, fashion f'æʃən, free emigration fri: mæ'grɛ:ʃən 05M, lemon lumən 66N, Morgan mɑ:rgən, mouth-organ 'maʊtʊrəgən P, Newtons n'u:təns 20M, notion n'ɔ:ʃən, operation əpə're:ʃən, oven ovən ə:wən, pension p'ɪnʃən, persecution p'ɔrsək'u:ʃən, prescription prə'skrɪpʃən M, Reagan ri:g'ən S, Residence resə'dəns S, Russian tallow rɔʃən tæl'ɔ' P, saucerpan sɑ:səpən, station ʃte:ʃən, Staunton stɑ:n'tən 64Mt, surgeon sɔ:rdʒən M, television tel'əv'ɪz/ʃən, Thornton tɔ:rən'tən tɑ:rntən, woolens wuləns M. Cp. Christian name Ellen el'ən M; Samson sɑ:m'sən 889P.
- > *ən* ~ *ən* ambulance æmb'il'in's æmb'il'əns, American m'er'ik'ən, also m'orək'in' 64Mt, American wake m'erək'in' we:k' 18J, difference dif'rən's 892M, dif'ərən's 11C, also -əns 11C, dif'rəns S, dif'ərəns 14M, Dillons dil'ənz -n'z -n's 35E, Duncan dʊŋkən, dʊŋkɪn' 64Mt, Monaghan [surname] mɑ:nəxən S, mɑ'nəxən' 21J, ration ræ:ʃən ræ:ʃən', silence sail'əns sail'in's.
- Also Eng. *iən* = Ir. *iən* ~ *i:ən*, in Marian m'ær:iən M, m'ær:i:in' 64Mt.
- > *ən* cardigan k'ær'dəg'in', Folan fɔ:lən' 892M, 21J, foreign fa:rən' 21Pt, mention-áil m'ɪnʃən'á:l', Michigan m'ɪʃəg'in' 892M, O'Loughrane o'laxrən' 11C. Cp. Madagascar m'ædə'g'æsk'in' 892M.
- > *ən* ~ *ɪ*, *ən* ~ *ɪ* following *r* in insurance in'ʃʊərəns in'ʃʊ:rɪns, Joe Phat Curran kurən' 01C6775, Curran kɔ:rɪn' 04Br, Curran's kɔ:rən's 04Br, Tigh Mhoran t'i wɔ:rən' 64Mt, Mícheál Moran m'ɛ:əl'mɔ:rɪn' S; an t-O'Halloran ən to: 'hɑ:lərɪn 35E.
- Cp. > *ən* ~ *ɪ* in currant kɔ:rən, currants kɔ:rəns, kɔ:rɪns.
- > *ən* Declan dekl'æ:n' 66N. Cp. an t-elephant ə'tel'əf'æ:n'ɪ P.

11.84 (3) Eng. *ən* ~ *ɪ* ; (4) Eng. *ɪ*

- > *ən* Anderson æ:ndərsən, division v'ɪʃən dɪ'v'ɪʃən dɪ'v'ɪʃən, heaven hev'ən S.
- > *ən* poison paɪsɪn'.

- > ən ~ ən' cp. reduced and (11.40), e.g. blood and wounds blɔd̪n̪ auns M, perhaps also blɔd̪ ən' auns.
 > ən ~ ən' ~ ɲ in even i:v' in', i:v' ən, not even nɔt̪ e:v' ɲ M, also even go i:ŋ gə.

(4) Eng. ɲ

- > ɲ Bruton bru:t̪n̪ S, Corcoran kərkəɲ 23Ms, curtain kɔrt̪n̪ M, heronbone hɔrɲbɔ:n̪ 03C (perhaps hɔrɲbɔ:n̪).
 > ən ~ ɲ fatai gardens fa:ti: g'ɑ:rɔd̪əns SM, also ... g'ɑ:rɔd̪ns M.

11.85 /ŋ/ ng, [ŋk] nk

Eng. ng = Ir. ngg or ɲ with regular quality determination as for a single noncoronal consonant.

- > ngg often also ɲ, e.g. ding d̪iŋg', King k' iŋg', meeting m' i:tiŋ(g)', ring-áil riŋ'ɑ:l' riŋg'ɑ:l', slang ʃl' aŋg' FFG, ʃl' æ:ŋ' M, spring spriŋg'. Speaker 892M, who has intervocalic ɲ in native words (rare in the dialect) has ɲ in borrowings, e.g. string st'riŋ' | 892M.
 > ngg often also ɲ, e.g. wrong-áilte rɑ:ŋgɑ:l't̪ə.
 Cp. English ngg optionally as ɲ in cluster in language l' æŋ' wɔf; similarly, sandwich sɑ:ŋ' wɔf, also sɑ:m' wɪf.

The ending -ing generally -iŋ(g)', e.g. black pudding bl' æ:k' piɔiŋ' 43M, winning-post 'win' iŋ' pɔ:ʃt̪ 892M.

- > in' in blacking bl' æ:k' in', note blacking buí bl' æ:k' ən/m bi: S (perhaps through sandhi), fuckin fuk' ən', harpings (~ harpin ~ harpins OED) hɑ:r-ɲ' in' S85 (harpain LFRM erroneously derived from hairpin), leggings l' eg' in's.
 > ən ~ ɲ in relieving officer rə'l'i:v' ɲ / rə'l'i:v' ən a:fəsər S.
 > ɲ in wandering jew wɑ:ndərɲ d̪ʒu: S.
 > il' in breeching bri:ʃil'.

Eng. nc, nk = Ir. ɲk, ɲk' with regular quality determination, e.g. sink zɪnc siŋk', plank pl' æ:ŋk', monk muŋk, trunk truŋk.

Exception: also mp in puncture puŋtʃər S(early), pungk-d'ər, pumpfər 37M, pumpfər 69S, perhaps through analogy with pump pump.

11.86 Vowel lengthening before nasal clusters

Lengthening is not general before nasal clusters, e.g. sink zɪnc siŋk'. Examples, however, do occur, in most cases with more frequent unlengthened by-forms. The clusters involved are nk, (ng), mp, ns and nd.

- nk, (ng) in cringle generally kriŋk' əl' (e.g. 01C) but also kri:ŋk' əl' 21Pt; monkey generally muŋki: but used humorously for 'penis' mu:ŋki: M (presumably an instance of retention of an older pronunciation in a separate sense); shink-áil h̪iŋk'ɑ:l' >> h̪i:ŋk'ɑ:l' (example of latter 32J); tin can 'tiŋk' æn' P >> 'ti:ŋk' æn' P; tinker tiŋk' e:rə, less common and regressive ti:ŋk' e:rə S, P, 23B, so also tink(er)-éaracht tiŋk' e:rəxt̪ ti:ŋk' e:rəxt̪. Cp. bronchitis brauŋ' kait̪əs SM, perhaps influenced by brown.
mbl in tumble-áilte t̪u:m̪lɑ:l't̪ə t̪u:m̪lɑ:l't̪ə 20C, cp. LFRM t̪u:m̪lɑ:l't̪ə s.v. tumláilte.
mp in jumper generally d̪ʒumpər but conservative Jumper !894C9, d̪ʒũ:mpərs

11C3259; pump pump 02J, pump-áil generally pumpa:l but pu:mpa:l also 02J.

ns in rinse-áil ri:nʃa:l (ri:nʃa:l permitted); pinch p'i:nʃ !(ÓBia)Pt; pension generally p'ínʃən but rarely p'i:nʃən S, and note his remark *nuair a fuair mé an pension mar a deireadh na sean-ndaoine ... fáil an phension ... p'i:nʃən ... fa:l ə f'i:nʃən* S, long also in CABI §226(d) v. 7, (e) v. 1. Cp. ʃt'i:nʃa:l ə Mq, 20Cq, ʃt'i:nʃa:l ə S, perhaps from stingy, stinge EDD.

nd in tender-áilte tindra:l ə >> tindra:l ə S, also tindəra:l ə tin'dəra:l ə M, tən'dəra:l ə 27Mdq.

11.87 /r/ r̥

Eng. r = Ir. r. Quality remains nonpalatal throughout, e.g. fair-áilte f'e:ra:l ə, crane kren', really ri:l'i:, brack bræ:k, screw skru: (with skr- only (in IA)), contrast ʃgr'u: ~ sgru: NICF §53). Allophones r and ɣ occur, e.g. *i mBray* ə mre: 27C, *as an North* əs ə nə:ɣt 40S.

Exceptionally, r' in barrack b'ær'æk, and in by-forms American m'er'æk ən, m'er'æk ən, pleurisy pr'u:r'əʃi: S. Note the by-forms of bricklayer br'i:k'əl'erə S, br'ik'əl'erə S, br'ik'l'erə 43Mp, brik'əl'erə M, possibly brik'l'erə 43M. For transparency regarding palatality in rk, rv, rl, e.g. in Mark m'ær:k, but more conservative m'æ:rk, see 11.50.

Lost (generally in dissimilation with r̥ or l̥ elsewhere in the word) in bowsprit (boltsprit) bauls-p'it 01C6093 (other forms 11.108); cartridge k'æ:triʃ; February f'eb'uri:, f'eb'əri:; slangrel noun and adjective OED and slanger verb EDD, some such form being the probable base for ʃ'æŋgl'a:l M and sleangleáil FFG20. Also in a by-form of margarine m'æ:ʒri:n' M (if not a transcription error).

Optionally lost in Comerford kuməfurd 01C6200,-39, kuməfurd 21Pg6240; horrors harərs, harəs S; record (noun) rəkord, rekərd, rəkərd, but rek'əd 881J.

r' ~ r ~ ɾ ~ ∅ in praty oats pr'e:ti: o:ʃs 894Cs (slightly unclear), pl'e:ti: o:ʃs 21Jq (also apparently pre:ti: o:ʃs 21Jq); praty cake pre:ti: k'e:k S, pl'e:tə k'e:k P, p'e:ti: k'e:k S, p'e: k'e:k 51P.

> ɾ in brewer bl'ue:rə 869P, spelt *brúighéara* 864MLL151. The speaker pronounces this word with marked hesitancy: | bl'u:l'erə | ... | ən ʃtil'erə | bl'u:l'e | bl'u: | erə | ... ʃtil'erə. The form bl'u:l'erə may be a slip of the tongue, perhaps influenced by still(er)-éara ʃtil'erə.

r ~ ɾ in bother bə'dəl 01P (only), a blend between general bother bə'dər and bother-áil bə'd(ə)ra:l.

r generally in differ-áilte dif'ra:l ə but also difn'a:l ə 73D, presumably from the n in different.

11.88 /s/ s̥

Eng. s = Ir. s, e.g. single sɪŋ'əl (contrast older singil ʃɪŋ'əl), Patsy p'æ:ʃsi:, screw skru:.

Eng. st (in all environments), sɫ (initially), sn (initially) = Ir. conservative ʃt, ʃl', ʃn', progressive sʃ, sɫ', sn', e.g.

- st:** Initial: stagger /stæ:g'ər, stall /stɑ:l, stammer /stæ:m'ər M, stand /stæn'd S, stæn'd M (meaning OED stand sb¹ 16a), starve-áilte /stɑ:r-v'ɑ:l'tə, state /ste:t, stave-áilte /ste:v'ɑ:l'tə, sting /tɪŋg' M, teara /stɔ:k'hɔ:l'm 01C, storm-áilte /stɔ:rəm'ɑ:l'tə S, Mq, 21Pt, stove s/ʃtɔ:v Mq, style /stɑ:l';
- Medial: boost-áil bu:ʃtɑ:l', mistake m'ə/ʃte:k', Congested Board 'kɑ:n.dʒɪstəd bɔ:rd S, 'kɑ:n.dʒestəd bɔ:rd 20Ml, constipate-áilte /kɑ:nstɪp'e:tɑ:l'tə M, constipate-álthaidh /kɑ:nstɪp'e:tɑ:lə sé sin thú M, eggstand egʃdæn'd/t M, distill-áilte dɪ'stɪl'ɑ:l'tə P; noted with /s/ only in croosht-áil kru:ʃtɑ:l' (from Hiberno-English, found in Cork, Kerry in Dolan (1998) s.v. *crústáil*, and Ó Muirthe (2000) *crooshting* s.v. *crústa*);
- Final paste p'est M, vest v'est 'article of underwear' is differentiated from veist v'eft 'waistcoat', August a:gəst, Antichrist 'æn'tɔ:kraɪst, forecast fɔ:r-k'æst M, poststormpost 'pɔ:st'stɔ:rəm,pɔ:st 21Pt, sawdust 'sɑ:ɢʊst.
- sl:** slack-áil generally /l'æ:k'ɑ:l' but also sl'æ:k'ɑ:l' 52J, slang /sl'æŋg', slant /sl'æn't, slash /sl'æʃ, slate-áil /sl'e:tɑ:l', slob-áilte /sl'ɔ:bɑ:l'tə S, 52J, sl'ɑ:bɑ:l'tə S, sluice /sl'u:əs 20Pá.
- sn:** snap-áil /sn'æp'ɑ:l', snipe /sn'aɪp', snack /sn'æk', snake-anna /sn'e:k'əni: 02J, snails sn'eɪ's 02J, snotter /sn'ætər M.

The cluster of **sc** before front vowels similarly has conservative /sk/ vs. progressive /sk/, e.g.

- sc:** Initial: scamp > sk'æmp' sk'æmp'ərə sk'æmp'ɑ:l' S, scatter /sk'ætər 31D (noun), scatter-áil(te) /sk'ætərɑ:l'/l'tə, scarf sk'ær-f'; scheme /sk'em', scheme-éarach /sk'em'ərəxt but also sk'em'ərəxt 52J, skill /sk'ɪl', skin-áil /sk'in'ɑ:l', escape-áil /sk'e:p'ɑ:l' 27Cl, sk'e:p'ɑ:l' SM;
- Medial: excuse eg'sku:s; conservative swanskin swɑ:fk'in' now generally swɑ:n'sk'in' M, moleskin baul'k'in' !S. Cp. Madagascar m'ædʒə'g'æsk'in' 892M.
- Final, e.g. task /tæ:s-k' 14M; but risk /rɪfk' ru:fk' 892M, progressive /rɪs-k'. Cf. 11.54.

Always **skr-**, e.g. scratch(-áil) /skræ:ʃ(ɑ:l'), etc.

Following **ai** generally /s/, e.g. price /praɪs, rais /raɪs, but /ʃ/ (where the sibilant, s or /ʃ/, is present elsewhere in the word) in:

- licence /laɪfəns S, /laɪsəns 60M,
slice /sl'aɪf sl'aɪf sl'aɪs and /sl'aɪs, seemingly also /sl'aɪf;
splICE /spl'aɪf 892M, S, /spl'aɪs SM, similarly, splice-áil /spl'aɪfɑ:l' S, /spl'aɪsɑ:l' SM.

Exceptional /ʃ/ also in **ns** in councillor /kaunʃəl'ərə (contrast Council /kaun'səl, cabhnsailéara FFG indicating /kaun'səl'ərə), rinse-áil /rɪnʃɑ:l'; also initially sixty perhaps occasionally /ʃɪkʃti: [?]; medially Castlebar /k'æ:ʃəl'b'ær 20T; in sb in Louisburgh /l'u:ʃb'ərg 869P; in sm (and medially) in dismiss-álthaidh mé /dɪʃ'm'ɪʃɑ:lə m'e 18J7325 and ro-smart-áilte /rəʃm'æ:ʃɑ:l'tə 892M2318 (both

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tokens of sm in jocular quotations). For transparency concerning palatality in ask, asp, see 11.50.

rs is generally rs but varies, now rarely, with rj in force-áil fo:rʃa:l 09Pt, parcel p'ærʃəl M, p'ærʃəl 18J, purse pɔ:rs pɔ:rʃ M; rj is unusual for a younger speaker in Arsenal æ:rʃnəl 78Pb; rj also in Coursey ku:rʃi: 892M1740.

> s ~ z in asthma æsmə, also æzmə 27Md; in bus generally bus, but buz 892M3599, 5240; in the (hypercorrected) noun excuse ek'sku:z 60M.

Lost in conservative varicose veins v'ærəkə: v'e:n's in cluster simplification or dissimilation or perhaps the s was interpreted as a superfluous plural marker. Absent in harpings (~ harping ~ harpins OED) har:p'in' S85 (harpain LFRM).

11.89 /z/ z

Eng. z = Ir. s and z.

Initial: zinc ʒiŋk' S and M consistently, ziŋk' 40S.

Medial: dessert dɛ'sɜ:tʃ, EDD exams eg'sæ:m's, examine-áil eg'sæ:m'in'á:l', guernsey g'æ:n'si: SM, 56N, g'æ:n'zi: S, 23M, lousy lau:zi, lousy-áil lausa:l', lousy-éaracht lauserəxt 12J; poison paisin', realise-áil ri'laisa:l' 56B, vaseline v'æsəl'in'.

Medial exceptions:

z ~ ʃ before Eng. iə in osier fɔ:ʒər, fɔ:ʃər.

ʃ ~ s ~ z in EDD drazil draʃəl 35Eq, drazil-áil drasa:l', drizzle-áil drisa:l' S also drizəl'á:l'.

z ~ ʃ ~ s in Hazell(s) he:ʒəl | he:səl ... he:səl 881J, he:ʃəl()s ... he:səl ... he:ʃəl 896P, he:ʃəl 894Cs, 11C.

> Ø in táirní galvanised g'æ:lv'ə'n'ai 04F, an galvanised g'æ:lv'ə'nai [-n'ai ?] a bhíodh fadó ann 20My, < galvanised (iron).

Final, base: blaze, e.g. ní bhfuightheá aon bhlaze air n'i: wi:ha: e:m' vl'ez er' 01J, blaze dhe thine bl'ez gə hin'ə S, blaze-áil bl'ezsa:l' SM, blaze-óg bl'ezsə:g M, blouse blaus, booze bu:s, booze-áil busa:l', breeze bri:s SM, 52J, bri:z 02J, S, breeze-áilte bri:sa:l't'ə S, 49M, breeze-úil bri:su:l' M, cause-áil kausa:l', cheese tʃi:z/s, hoze ho:s, news n'us, please-áil pl'ezsa:l', size saiz/s;

plural: ads ædʒz but also na hads nə hæ:ds (i.e. 'advertisements'), na hæroplanes nə he:rəpl'e:n's P, na balloons nə bə'lun:s M, blood and wounds blɔd ŋ aũnz 866E, brains bre:n's, flies flais.

Regularly palatalised morphologically to ʃ, e.g. vase-ín beag v'æ:ʃi:n' b'og M, but rarely also to z before the suffix -ín, e.g. breeze-ín gaoithe bri:zi:ŋ gi:hə 892M1320, breeze-ín deas ann bri:zi:n' d'æs an 44Pn (the speaker appeared slightly uncertain producing this in conversation (with a neighbour of his, not with me), perhaps due to this rare or obsolescent change z > ʃ), more often bri:ʃi:n', e.g. tá breeze-ín deas inniu ann ta bri:ʃi:n' d'æs ə'n'uw an S.

11.90 /ʃ/ sh, s

Eng. **ʃ** = Ir. **f**, e.g. shock **ʃa:k**, sure-áilte **ʃu:rɑ:lʲə**, shrink-áil **ʃrɪŋkʲɑ:lʲ** M, action **ækʃən**.

> **tʲ** in a by-form of shelf **ʃelfʲ ʃelpʲ**, but base also **tʲelpʲ** through reanalysis of the *t* before **s** of the feminine article: *an tshelf*.

> **f** ~ **ʃ** in Charollais **ʃer-lʲi**: SM, **ʃer-lʲi**: M, **ʃarli**: 60C; Chicago **ʃi:kʲɑ:ɡo**: 32J, **ʃi:kʲæ:rgo**: M (also **ʃi:kʲɑ:ɡo**: [An Cnoc, Leitir Móir]).¹

> **ʃ** in Michigan **mʲiʃəɡʲinʲ** 892M (based on a spelling pronunciation).

> **f** ~ **ʃ** in pension **pʲi(ː)ŋʃən** generally, but speaker 51P claims that **pʲinʃən** is used by an older acquaintance of his.

Cp. dunch-áil > **ɟuŋkɑ:lʲ**; cp. julk-áil **ɟulka:lʲ**, *tonc*, *toncáil*, donkle EDD.

> **s** in linch pin **lʲinʲspʲinʲ** M. Recall that neither medial **ŋʃpʲ** nor initial **ʃpʲ** are found in native words; however, the cluster **spʲ** occurs word-initially. Also *tras-bag* < trash-bag 852SbTS139, 144 (note 8, TS; also de Bhaldrath 1956–7d: 144 s.v. *treaspoc*).

> **s** ~ **f** in dictionary **ɟikʲsənəi**: 892M2450, generally dictionary **ɟikʲʃənri**: SM.

11.91 /z/ s, g

Eng. **z** = Ir. **z** and **ʃ**, e.g. camouflage-áilte **kʲæmʲəflʲæʃɑ:lʲʃə** 72N, television **tʲelʲəvʲizən tʲelʲəvʲiʃən**.

Cp. **-z tʲ-** > **-z tʲ-** in sandhi (2.25); breeze-in **bri:zi:nʲ** (11.89).

11.92 /h/ h

Eng. **h** = Ir. **h**.

Absent historically in hospital **æspəkʲilʲ**. Lost (optionally) in unstressed -house: lighthouse **laiʃhaus**, poorhouse **pu:rhaus** **pu:rhaus**, gen *púrouis* FFG s.v. pápaire 3 = **pu:rauf**, stillhouse **ʃtilʲaus** **ʃtilʲhaus** **ʃtilʲhaus**, wheelhouse **fi:lhaus**, workhouse **wor:khaus** !11C; older **bakus** *bácús* ‘pot-oven’ contrasts with bakehouse **bakhaus** (Sgbf)869P ‘bakehouse’. Cp. guest-house **ɡuʃtʲhaus** S.

Cp. Canada **hi ho kʲænʲəɟɑ**: **hai ho**: M, **kʲænʲəɟɑ ai o**: S.

Eng. **hj** = Ir. **xʲ**, **j**, **hj** (11.94).

Semivowels**11.93 /w/ w, /wʲ/ wh**

Eng. **w** = Ir. **w**, e.g. wire **wair**, worm **worəm**; following a consonant: quarantine **mə xwɑ:rənʃi:nʲ** 20My, tigh **Qhuinn tʲi**: **xwinʲ** M, square **skwer**, swede **swe:ɟ**, twist-áilte **twiʃtʲɑ:lʲə**.

Rarely v, e.g. watch-áil **væʃtʲɑ:lʲ** 10B (perhaps **vʲ-**), Wicklow **viklʲoʲ ... wiklʲoʲ** 10B. Cp. earlier wick > (*bhuaic-* >) *buaicis*.

Lost in: guano **ɟuʲænʲ**; quota **kɔ:ʃo**: M; blood and wounds **bloɟ ɲ aũnz** 866E (cf. OED ‘blood’ sb I 1.e, ‘zounds’ < (By God)’s wounds; EDD ‘blood’ sb 3 (3) blood and ouns (Hiberno-English)).

¹ Maidhc Stiofáinín Seoige, longtime resident in Ráth Cairn, born c. 1912 (information from Conchúr Ó Giollagáin).

Eng. w = Ir. f , e.g. wheelhouse fi:l'haus , which fif , whip $\text{fi}\text{p}'$, whiskey $\text{fi}\text{f}'\text{k}'\text{a}$, whitewash-*áilte* $\text{fai}\text{t}\text{waf}'\text{a:l}'\text{a}$, why fai . Also fw (e.g. what fwat M (emphatic pronunciation)) as well as hw and w ; youngest speakers also have common w .

Note the alternation in more progressive forms, e.g. black and white (television) $\text{bl}'\text{a:k}'\ \text{a}\text{m}\ \text{fai}\text{t} / \text{bl}'\text{a:k}'\ \text{a}\text{e}\text{n}'\ \text{wai}\text{t}$ M, $\text{bl}'\text{a:k}'\ \text{a}\text{m}\ \text{h}\text{wai}\text{t}$ S, $\text{bl}'\text{a:k}'\ \text{a}\text{e}\text{n}'\ \text{wai}\text{t}$ 60M; black ná white $\text{bl}'\text{a:k}'\ \text{ná}\ \text{wai}\text{t}$ M; whitewash $\text{fai}\text{t}\text{h}\text{wa}\text{f}$ 20M; whiting $\text{fai}\text{ti:n}'$ generally, but $\text{wai}\text{ti:n}'$ 80C. Even older speakers, however, can have w , e.g. I don't know where I'll start *mar a deir lucht an Bhéarla ai d'ə n'ə: we:r ail' s'tær't mar ə d'ər' loxt ə v'ər:lə M. Note the alternation in:*

leis an whale we:l' | ... atá sa whale we:l' atá ag goil thart ... snáimhthidh an whale sná:f' ə n fe:l' i gcúnaí ... 896P.

11.94 /j/ y

Eng. j = Ir. j initially, e.g. yoke jok , yard $\text{j}a:\text{rd}$, use-*áil* $\text{jus:a:l}'$.

> $\text{g}' \sim \text{j}$, e.g. yawl-*annaí* $\text{g}'\ \text{a:l}:\text{ni}$: 46.1091, $\text{j}a:l:\text{ni}$: S (j - only Sq); cf. 11.183.

$\text{ju:-} \sim \text{u:-}$ in Union (type of cloth): ju:- in *chomh geal leis an Union* $\text{xə}\ \text{g}'\ \text{æ:l}'\ \text{l}'\ \text{e}\text{f}\ \text{ə}\ \text{j}u:\text{N}'\ \text{ə}\text{N}$ Mq; but otherwise u:- : $\text{sn}a:hə / \text{e:d}ə\text{x} / \text{n}a:\text{p}ru:n / \text{l}'\ \text{e:n}'\ \text{ə}\ \text{u:n}'\ \text{ə}\text{N}$ M *snáithe / éadach / naprún / léine Union*.

English consonants followed by j regularly become palatals in Irish, i.e. Eng. Cj > Ir. C' - (including $\text{l}\text{j} > \text{l}'$ and $\text{n}\text{j} > \text{n}'$):

$\text{C}^{+\text{stop}}$	b	<u>beaut(y)</u> $\text{b}'\ \text{u:t}$, <u>hugle</u> $\text{v}'\ \text{u:g}'\ \text{əl}'$ 139D, <u>ambulance</u> $\text{æ}'\text{m}\text{b}'\ \text{əl}'\ \text{ə}\text{ns}$; <u>February</u> is treated as containing bj in $\text{f}'\ \text{e}\text{b}'\ \text{u:ri}$; also $\text{f}'\ \text{e}\text{b}'\ \text{ə:ri}$; cp. <u>scenery</u> below.
	p	<u>dispute</u> $\text{sp}'\ \text{u:t}$, $\text{d}'\ \text{ə}'\text{s}\text{p}'\ \text{u:t}$ M;
$\text{C}^{+\text{cont}}$	v	<u>view</u> $\text{v}'\ \text{u}$; <u>view</u> - <i>áil</i> $\text{v}'\ \text{u:a:l}'$;
	f	<u>fuchsia</u> $\text{f}'\ \text{u:f}(\text{ə})$, <u>fuse</u> $\text{f}'\ \text{u:s}$, <u>perfume</u> $\text{p}'\ \text{er-f}'\ \text{u:m}$;
$\text{C}^{+\text{stop}}$	k	<u>cute</u> - <i>áilte</i> $\text{k}'\ \text{u:t}'\ \text{a:l}'\ \text{a}$, <u>miraculous medal</u> $\text{m}'\ \text{i}'\text{r}a:\text{k}'\ \text{i}'\ \text{l}'\ \text{əs}\ \text{m}'\ \text{i}'\text{d}\text{l}'$, <u>queue</u> - <i>áil</i> $\text{k}'\ \text{u:a:l}'$, <u>persecution</u> $\text{p}'\ \text{ers}'\ \text{k}'\ \text{u:f}'\ \text{ə}\text{N}$, <u>excuse</u> $\text{e}\text{g}'\ \text{sk}'\ \text{u:s}$;
	nk	Cp. <u>thank you</u> $\text{t}a:\text{ŋ}'\ \text{k}'\ \text{ə}$; cf. 11.27.
	d	<u>due</u> $\text{d}'\ \text{u}$: 43M, <u>duty</u> $\text{d}'\ \text{u:ti}$; <u>mildew</u> $\text{m}'\ \text{i}'\text{l}'\ \text{d}'\ \text{u}$. Note Eng. $\text{d} \sim \text{dj}$ > d in <u>corduroy</u> $\text{k}o:\text{r}'\ \text{d}'\ \text{ə:rai}$; cp. unstressed Eng. diə is treated similar to Eng. dj in <u>medium</u> $\text{m}'\ \text{i}'\text{d}'\ \text{ə}\text{m}$ 889P, <i>an melodeon</i> $\text{se}\ \text{ə}\ \text{m}'\ \text{ə}'\text{l}o:\text{d}'\ \text{ə}\text{n}'\ \text{f}o$ 881J;
	t	<u>Tuam</u> $\text{t}'\ \text{u:m}$ 05M, <u>tube</u> $\text{t}'\ \text{u:b}(\text{'})$, <u>tumour</u> $\text{t}'\ \text{u:m}o:\text{r}$, <u>tune</u> $\text{t}'\ \text{u:n}'$, <u>situate</u> - <i>áilte</i> $\text{sit}'\ \text{u}'\ \text{e:t}'\ \text{a:l}'\ \text{a}$, <u>statue</u> $\text{st}'\ \text{æt}'\ \text{u}$; <u>stupid</u> $\text{st}'\ \text{u:p}'\ \text{əd}$;
$\text{C}^{+\text{cont}}$	l	<u>Italian(s)</u> $\text{æ}'\ \text{t}'\ \text{æ:l}'\ \text{ə}\text{N}(\text{s})$ 21J, <u>value</u> $\text{v}'\ \text{æ:l}'\ \text{ə}$, $\text{v}'\ \text{æ:l}'\ \text{u}$; also $\text{liə} \sim \text{l}\text{j}$ > l' in <u>brilliant</u> $\text{bri}'\ \text{l}'\ \text{ə}\text{n}'\ \text{t}$ 43M, <u>Delia</u> $\text{d}'\ \text{i:l}'\ \text{ə}$, <u>William</u> $\text{wi}'\ \text{l}'\ \text{ə}\text{m}$ 60M; Eng. $\text{l} \sim \text{l}\text{j}$ = Ir. l' in <u>absolutely</u> $\text{æ}\text{b}'\ \text{s}'\ \text{l}'\ \text{u:t}'\ \text{l}'\ \text{i}$: M, $\text{æ}\text{b}'\ \text{s}'\ \text{ə}\text{l}'\ \text{u:t}'\ \text{l}'\ \text{i}$: 43M; <u>solution</u> $\text{s}'\ \text{ə}'\ \text{l}'\ \text{u:f}'\ \text{ə}\text{N}$.
	n	<u>avenue</u> $\text{æ:v}'\ \text{i}'\ \text{u}$: S, <u>news</u> $\text{n}'\ \text{u:s}$, <u>Newtons</u> $\text{n}'\ \text{u:t}'\ \text{ə}\text{ns}$ 20M, <u>bunion</u> $\text{bun}'\ \text{ə}\text{N}$ S, cp. <u>buni(on)-án</u> <i>i mBéarla é bin' a:n ə m' e:rl e</i> M explaining <i>úlla</i> $\text{u:l}ə$; <u>Fenian</u> $\text{f}'\ \text{i:n}'\ \text{ə}\text{N}$ 03C, <u>January</u> $\text{d}\text{ʒ}a\text{n}'\ \text{u:ri}$; $\text{d}\text{ʒ}a\text{n}'\ \text{ə:ri}$; <u>Mannion</u> $\text{ma:n}'\ \text{ə}\text{N}$ 20M, $\text{m}'\ \text{æ:n}'\ \text{ə}\text{N}$, <u>revenue</u> $\text{rev}'\ \text{ə}\text{n}'\ \text{u}$:

35E, union (j)u:n'ən; scenery is treated as containing nj in si:n'əri: P, !39D.

- Eng. unstressed ʒjuə > ʃə in casualties k'æʃəl'ti:s 66L.
 Cp. z Eng. iə treated as jə in osier f'o:zər, f'o:ʃər.

Eng. jən is replaced by -in in champion ʃæ'mp'i:n', championship ʃæ'mp'i:nʃɪp' *Chondae na Gaillimhe* 20A, cp. Eng. zən in Friesian fri:ʃi:n'. Cf. 11.133. Eng. jən > ən in millionaire m'il'ən'e:ər 43M.

j is lost in a by-form of excuse ek'sku:z heard from speaker 60M only.

Eng. hj = Ir. j, hj, x', k':

> j ~ x' in humour ju:mər generally, but humours x'u:mərs 47P;

> hj in Heuston hju:stən P;

> x' ~ k' in Hugh(ie) x'u:(i) (common), Hugo x'u:ɡo: S, but also Hughie k'ui: 56P. Speaker 04Br regularly has Hugh x'u:, but also *ar bhean* Hugh er' v'æŋ' k'u: 04Br (with what might be phonetic loss of friction).

Cp. j in (Europe) *Ghiúróip* preceded by aspiration (initial mutation) > hV- ~ x'V- (11.184).

Other phonetic features

11.95 Nasalisation

Eng. a, ʌ, i: = Ir. ā, ā:, ī:, noted in a few words. These words have initial m (or b > m) m(̣) with, in most instances, a voiceless coda (in a simple voiceless consonant or ɾ plus voiceless stop). This voiceless environment is pertinent in the nasalisation of native words (1.275). The nouns back > *meaic*, machine, mat, verb meet-áil and the personal names Morgan, Mat(ty), Mark, Marcus and Mac are nasalised for many speakers, i.e.

m'æk', m'æʃ'i:n', m'æʃ(i), m'i:ʃa:l', m̄:rgən, m'ærk', m'ærkəs, m'æk'.

Also Mac in surnames, e.g. MacSweeney m'æk'swi:n'i: 892M.

The corresponding or similar native forms of Mat, Mark and Mac have nasalisation: māt'u: *Maitiú*, m̄arkəs *Marcas* and māk *Mac*. That these borrowings are phonemically nasalised is clear from their lenited forms:

v'æk', v'æʃ'i:n' (892M, 894Cs), v'æʃ, v'æʃi: 25M, v'i:ʃa:l' (e.g. 892Mt, 18J8878), w̄:rgən (e.g. 04Br, 15W), v'ærk', v'æk'.

In fact lenition yields surface contrastive minimal pairs and close minimal pairs:

	Oral		vs.	Nasal	
a	v'æk'	<u>b</u> hack		v'æk'	m(b)hack, <u>M</u> hac
	v'æʃ	<u>b</u> hat		v'æʃ	<u>m</u> hat, <u>M</u> hat
i:	v'i:ʃa:l'	<u>b</u> heat-áil		v'i:ʃa:l'	<u>m</u> heet-áil

Similarly, of course, in eclipsis, e.g.

a	m'æk'	<u>m</u> back	vs.	m'æk'	m(b)ack, <u>Mac</u>
i:	m'i:ʃa:l'	<u>m</u> beat-áil		m'i:ʃa:l'	<u>m</u> meet-áil

There are no doubt other phonemically nasalised borrowed lexemes in m- which I have not transcribed as nasalised in my notes because of my belated understand-

ing of nasalisation. Also nasalised, but without lenited examples to confirm phonemic status, are:

- ã Madagascar m'ædʲə'g'æ:sk'in' 892M, match m'æ:ʃ,¹ mahogany mǎ'ha:gəni: 11C1359, model mǎdʲl' 872P; cp. *Mullach Mast ... Mullach Maistín* muləx m'æ:ʃt' ... mǎ:ʃt'i:n' 892M3198–3208 (< *Mullach Maistean*, *Mullaghmast*, cp. *maistín*);
- cp. ə̃ in mahogany mǎ'ha:gəni: 06C;
- ĩ mix-áilte m'ik'sa:l't' ə̃ 894Cs;
- ũ moustache 'mũʃ'dæ:f 892M, mug mũg 11C;
- ã: march-álann m'ár:ʃa:lən 892M;
- ĩ: medium m'ĩ:d'əm 889P, meeting m'ĩ:tiŋ' 03C (cp. meet-áil m'ĩ:tá:l'). Cp. Marie mǎ'ĩ: 18Bm.

Apart from words containing the nonlow short vowels (i, u, e, o, ə), which are the first to undergo loss of phonemic nasalisation in native words (such as *cnoc*) in the speakers cited immediately above (born c. 1890–1905), the nonlenited examples in m- can be taken to be phonemically nasalised (i.e. in medium, meeting, Madagascar, march-álann, mahogany, Mast). Speaker 872P has consistent nasalisation in model mǎdʲl', which I interpret as phonemically nasalised, despite having no lenited token of model. This nasalisation is in obvious contrast with his regularly non-nasalised *maidin*, *maide*, *malairt*, etc., as is clear from the following phrase:

tháinig malairt model, múnla, hǎ:n'ək' | malərt' | mǎdʲl' | mũ:nlə | 872P.

From the point of view of native phonotactics, nasalisation before voiced codas in medium, Madagascar, Morgan and model is unexpected. No native open-class word of the shape *m(i)o*d(-), *ma(i)d*(-), or *má(i)r*- (nor *mí*laldC^{+voice}(-)) is nasalised (in contrast with closed-class words *maidir le* and *mar* (nasalised for some speakers at least, e.g. 04Br). A phonotactically more general nasalisation of borrowings than of native words might imply that certain specific phonotactic or lexical blocks on nasalisation in native words are absent for borrowings, i.e. that nasalisation is the unmarked category in such environments, and, as such, is applied in borrowings (cp. 1.278).

The unnasalised lenited token of the short high vowel in *an-mhístake go deo* 'ǎ:n.v'if'te:k(ə) gə d'o: 892M4139 would suggest that nasalisation in, for example, this speaker's Michigan m'if'ə:g'in' 892M, may be interpreted as incidental rather than phonemic. The added complexity of weaker stress or complete lack of stress on the first syllable of mistake, however, may be a factor in the absence of nasalisation in the lenited instance. (The secondary stress on the first syllable of mhístake in the token cited from speaker 892M may be an instance of additional stress, common in his emphatic or dramatic delivery; cf. 1.388.) Cp. unnasalised Mhíster v'ístə: 872P (in contrast, speaker 872P has, for example, nasalised *mu(i)c*, *muis(e)*).

11.96 Nonphonemic

No phonemic contrast was found following m- in other phonotactics, many of which (e.g. preceding r, l) are non-nasal in native words, e.g.

¹ Nasalised and lenited in *do mhatch* də v'æ:ʃ (Peadar Seoighe, Seanadh Chiamhair, An Clochán, IA.15b, RBÉ).

Mhary v'eri: (cp. *méar* m'ér), *Malbay* ma:l-b'e' !(NUath)11C, *maul* ma:l 872P (cp. *mall* ma:l), *ina mherchant tréan nō* 'v'ertʃən' ,tr'ē:ən | 21Jc (cp. *meirg* with unraised e), *motors* mo:tərz 892M, *Moore* mu:r 892M (cp. *múr* mu:r), *bóthar Mholly bó:hər wali:* (cp. *mallaíthe mali:*), *Mhyllotte* v'el'əʔ, *Mydock* ma:ɰæk' 892M.

Nasalisation beside n or before m is often strong, as in native words. It may be classifiable as incidental nasalisation, e.g.

- ī *King* k'ing' 892M, *Northmen* nā:rt-m'in' 892M;
- ē *connect-áilte* ... *connection* kə'n'ek'ɰa:l'ə ... kə'n'ekʃən 894Cs, *tender-áilte* tēndə:ɰa:l'ə 872P;
- ã *an t-Annuit* ən 'tæ'n'u:ti: 892M, *John(ny)* ɰʒā'n(i:) 18J, *aunt* æ'n't, *band-annat* b'æn'ɰəni: 11C, *bank* b'æ'ŋk' 35E, *champ(ion)-íní* ʃæ'mp'i:n'i: 18J, *chance go* ... ʃæ'ns gə ... 11C, *monastery* mā'nəstri: 06C, cp. *napkin-íní* n'æ'p'ək'i:n'i: (Angt)11C, *surfaceman* 'sor-f'is,m'æ'n' 20A, *swamp* swā'mp 11C;
- ī: *séard a mhean-álann sé sin* ʃe:rd ə 'v'i:n'ələn 'ʃe: 'ʃin' 894Cs; *transom-knees* ,trænsəm'n'i:š 872P;
- ē: *collarbeam* 'ka:lər,b'ē:m' 894Cs, *game-úil* g'ē:m'u:l' 11C, *train* trē:n' 06C; before secondary stress *I.R.A-man* 'ai'ar 'ē,m'æ'n' 15W;
- ã: *Northmen* nā:rt-m'in' 892M;
- ũ: *moonshine* 'mū:n' ,ʃain' 35E, *wounds* wū:n'ɰz 892M;
- ũ: (~ o:) *pony* pū:ni' !05M (assonating with ũ:);
- aũ *blood and wounds* bloɰ ŋ aũnz 866E, *pound-áil* paũn'ɰa:l' 866E.

In lenition: *mhention-áil* v'ínʃən' a:l' 872P;

ag caint ar mhonkeys ə kænt' ēr'ã 'wūŋki:z | 892M.

Eclipsis: *aimsir na bhFenians* v'i:n'ənz 06C.

Note the incidental nasalisation in the Modern Irish borrowings (i.e. 'revivalist Irish') or adoptions: *monarchain* mūnəxən' 11C, *feadóig stáin* f'ædo:g stā:n' 11C.

The vowels *o:* and *e:* in particular are often not nasalised, e.g. *Yeomen* jə:m'in' 892M, *Stoney* ʃtə:ni: 892M. Also clearly non-nasal: *Normans* n'ɑ:rəmənz 892M4396 (in contrast with the voiceless environment of *Northmen* nā:rt-m'in' 892M), *smart-áilte* sm'æ:rtʃa:l'ə 872P; the diphthongs *ai* and *au* are often un-nasalised. Cp. the non-nasalisation of *Johnny* ɰʒā'ni: !(Atb)11C in song recitation. On the other hand, long *o:* is or was phonemically nasalised in words where it is raised to *u:* beside nasal consonants (*note-áilte* n'u:ta:l'ə, *Tony* tū:nə, *notice* n'u:ʃəs, *pony* pū:ni'; *phone* sometimes fū:n M (perhaps even fu:n)).

The Modern Irish coining, *aibhléis*, has independent nasalisation for speaker 03V: *solas aibhléis soləs* æ:v'l'e:ʃ 03Vt. This is through analogy with the dialect phonotactics in the regular sequence *ãvC(')* < *a(i)mhC*; perhaps also from the feminine article *an aibhléis*. Cp. metathesised (genitive) *aibhléise* elv'e:ʃə 11C.

Speakers who use nonphonemic incidental nasalisation or nasal speech setting to various degrees also nasalise borrowings. For example, speaker 06C was noted nasalising unhistorically following eclipsis, both in native words, e.g. *ag an mBúrcach* eg' ə mū:rkəx 06C, and in borrowings: *ag an mbarrack* eg' ə m'æ:r'ək' 06C.

11.97 Consonants added in certain words

Prosthetic *h, f*

alarm, in the general sense ‘commotion’ a by-form with initial **h** is found, e.g. alarm (*agus rebounds* (?)) **hə'ɫɑ:rəm** (əgəs 'ræ'bauns) M, *hileáram* FFG; also alarm acub ə'ɫɑ:rəm a'kəb S; but ‘alarm’ (e.g. clock) is (ə)ɫɑ:rəm and more progressively and generally now (ə)ɫɑ:r(ə)m.

alley æ'ɫi: **32J**, also **hæ'ɫi:** **21Pt**, **66N**, Mq (short for alley-ball, perhaps influenced by handball, cp. NIGCF §58 alley-ball 'hæ'ɫi:baɪl (sic recte for 'hæ'ɫi:baɪl) and ball-alley 'baɪlhæ'ɫi: with possible influence of hall).

osier fo:ʃər, fo:ʒər. Prosthetic *f* presumably arose in the phrase *slat osieír slat o:ʃər'*, where the initial vowel was reanalysed as lenited *f*.

Cp. fire > **fair** (14 *faidhear*) and compare *speidhear*.

Medial inserted *n, l, s, r, t*

k-f ~ **k-ft** buckshee **bok-fi:** S, **bokfi:** [= k-f] SID.46 Vocab s.v. *caint*, also **bok-fti:** **15M** according to **56Pe**, I have also heard **bok-fti:** from Seán Bán Breatnach (RnG) a native of Cois Fharráige. Perhaps influenced by boxty.

ls ~ **lst** ulcer(s) generally **ulsər** but also **ul'vstər(s)** **66N**, speaker **21Pt** also has **-st-** here. Perhaps influenced by Ulster.

ks ~ **ɲk's** docks as interjection **ɲaks**, also **dæɲk's**; cp. **ɲauk** *deabhac*, **ɲauʃ** *dheabhait*, both of which are euphemisms related to native *deabhal*.

f > **fl'** Halifax 'hæ:ɫə'fl'æk's !(Abó)**21Pt**, possibly through copying of preceding **l** and / or through influence of flax.

kn > **fn'** knick-knacks 'n'ik' 'fn'ak's FFG *nic-sneais*, influenced by snacks (cp. *snic sneais* FFG20).

g ~ **rg** Chicago ʃi'k'ɑ:go: **32J**, ʃe'k'ɑ:rgo: **01P**, ʃi'k'æ:rgo: M.

l ~ **rl** pantaloon 'p'æntər'lun !(Atb)P, *do shean-phantaloon* **də** 'hã'n,f'æ'n'tə'lo:ⁿ | (Atb)**11C**. Cp. similar parasol.

s ~ **rs** parasol p'ærə'so:l P, but [*an* ?] pharasol 'f'ærər'so:l !!**05M** (if there is no article present here, one may postulate **p** > **f**).

Final *d, c, t*

aimsir an Bhlack and Tan a thosaigh 'vl'æk'ən' 't'æ'n'd ə hesə na lásaí **05M**, *an t-am a raibh an Black and Tan* 'bl'æk' æ'n' 't'æ'n'd in Éirinn. **05M**; more commonly *na Black and Tans* nə bl'æk' ən' t'æ'n's S. In speaker **05M**'s by-form there may be a phonetically well-founded reanalysis of the **n**'s cluster as **n'ɲs**, cf. Van Diemen below.

Van Diemen v'æ'n' 'daimən'd **11C**5641, v'æ'n' 'daimən' **11C**5652,-79 (for Van Diemen's Land); possibly influenced by diamond, or by **d** in Land, or **n**'s reanalysed as **n'ɲs**.

crawfish(-achaí) *cráifisc* **11C**1555, *cráifisc(eachaí)* **31D**, *cráifis(eachaí)* **892M**, *cráifiseachaí* **21Pg**, **krɑ:f'ij'(əxi:)** >> **krɑ:f'ijk'(əxi:)** SM; crawfishes 'krɑ:fufəs **80C**, synonymous with crayfishes 'kre:f'ifəs **80C**.

ar an liner ... ar an tender **lain'ərɲ ... tɲn'dərɲ** **27Md** (maritime).

sill sil'ɲ P, **sel'** **64M**.

11.98 Epenthesis

An epenthetic vowel is regularly inserted in the following clusters: rm, lm, rn (finally but also sometimes medially). Less regularly a vowel is found in English rb, rg, rv, rz; tr, thr, dr, br, gr, ngr, vr, (fr); tn, kl, ngl; lv; nv, nw; nsl; nst; tw (initially), dw, sw (initially); pk. Sonorants n and l become syllabic in rn, rl, dl, tl. An epenthetic vowel may precede initial z and ɣ.

rm, lm, rn

rm > -rəm, e.g. alarm hə'ɫɑ:rəm, (ə)'ɫɑ:rəm, (ə)'ɫæ:r(ə)m, charm fʃærəm, firm-áilte fɔrəma:l'tə, form fɑ:rəm, Normans ... Norman-ai n'ɑ:rəmənz ... n'ɑ:rəməni: 892M4396–8, ar platform er'flæt'fɑ:rəm 892M2049, skirmish f'k'ərəməʃ 892M5378, worm wɔrəm, storm-áilte f'tɑ:rəma:l'tə ~ f'tɑ:rma:l'tə, storm force 'f'tɑ:rəm,fɔrs M, swarm-áilte swɑ:rəma:l'tə 892M, terms tərəms.

lm > l'im', ləm, e.g. film f'il'im', teara Stockholm 't'æ:rə 'stak'hɑ:ləm 01C6057 (11.61).

rn > rən, e.g. Byrnes bɔrəns, foghorn 'fɑ:k'hɑ:rən 21J, turnip(s) tɔrna:p M, P, tɔr-n'ip's M, but torənəps 894B1; unstressed stubborn-áilte stɔbərna:l'tə S, less often possibly stobərənə:l'tə; Tavern tæ:v'ərən M.

> rən' optionally in the conservative by-form of turn tɔr-ŋ' tɔr-ŋ tɔrən'.

> rən ~ ŋ in Thornton tɑ:rən'tən ~ tɑ:rŋ'tən; note Máire's consistent use seen in yarn mhór jɑ:rən wɔr [x3] Mq, cp. jarn-áil jɑ:rna:l' M; yarns jæ:rŋs M.

> r-ŋ' in iron air-ŋ' M, optionally in the progressive by-form of turn tɔr-ŋ', also tɔr-ŋ, tɔrən'; cp. (*an*) Great Southern sin gre:t sidər-ŋ' f'in' S. Also Parnell p'ɑ:rŋ'el' 11C, p'ɑ:r'n'el'.

> r-ŋ optionally in a by-form of turn tɔr-ŋ tɔr-ŋ' tɔrən'.

> r-n' medially in hernia hɔr-n'i: 23C.

Cp. disyllabic iron in ironwood 'airən,wud 892M.

11.99 Clusters with rarer epenthesis

rb, rg, rf, rv, rz

rb rare: herbs hɔrbs M, but herbal hɛrəbəl M.

rg rare: mouth-organ 'maut,urəgən P; Pittsburgh 'p'its,burəg ~ 'p'its,burg 35E.

rf rare: *i* gClontarf ə glū:n' t'æ:rəf' also *i* gCluain Tarbh ə glū:n tæ:ru 892M5711. Contrast regular scarf sk'æ:r-f'.

rv in Irvin ɔrvən 23M, ɔr'vən M, ɔr'vin' M, ɔrəwin' M.

rz has nonsyllabic epenthesis word-finally in fortune-tellers 'fɑ:r'tjən't'el'ər'z 892M4515.

tr, thr, dr, br, gr, ngr, vr; tn; ngl

tr, thr in arthritis ɑ:r'traɪtɪs, ɑ:r'tə'raɪtɪs and gastritis g'æ:st'raɪtɪs M, gɑ:stə'raɪtɪs 18Bm (perhaps g'-); Balderston(s) also Bolustrom bɔləstərənɪz bɔləstrənɪz 892M, bɑ:l'ustrən S, bɔləstrəns 18J, bɔləstrəns 21Pg, Séamas Bulustrun sóC2.281, bean Sheáin Óig Bullustrain sóC1.84, bean de na Bulustruin sóC2.281; central heating sin'tərəl' hi:tɪŋ' 04Br; mattress m'æt:ərəs 03C but generally now m'ætrəs.

1978 Borrowings and language contact

In -tral, -trol: neutral country n'ū:tərəl' küntri: 892M2297, petrol p'etrəl', but also p'etərəl' 14M, p'itərɪl' [perhaps p'e-] 20A.

dr in foundries faundəri:s faundri:s, Padré Pio p'ædərə: p'i:ə M.

In -dral: cathedral k'æti:dərəl' k'æti:drəl' M. Note the attested epenthesis in both -tra/ol and -dral. Cp. hundred hundərd, hundər.

Cp. mixture m'iksdrəm g'edərəm P, m'igsdrəm g'edərəm P.

br in go Gibraltar 852S4, Gibarałtar !sÓC1.83; umbrella umbərəl'ə S, P, um'brel'ə P.

pr, cp. aspirin æ:spərɪn' 04Br.

gr in figroll 'f'igə,rɔ:l M (often).

Cp. ngr in ar hungry strike er' hʌŋgəri: straik' 08B (meaning, and influenced by, hunger strike, e.g. hʌŋgər straik' S).

Cp. fr in the surname Jeff(e)ry dʒef'əri: 892M1738.

vr in sovereign sa'wərən' sa:vərən.

tn in Courtney kʊ:rtəni: S (conservative).

ngl in Anglo-Irish (Agreement) 'æ:ŋg'əl' o:'ai'ri:f [-lə:- ?] S.

11.100 Other clusters and continuants

lv; nv, nw; nst; dw, tw; pk

lv has nonsyllabic epenthesis in silver sil'v'ər 892M.

nv in convent kə'nəv'in't 08B, kə'nəv'in't 78Pb, more generally kə'n-v'in't.

nw in Conway kə'nəwe: M, Dunnworth dʌnəwɔ:t P, dʌnwɔ:t M.

Cp. rv above.

nsl in younger speaker's translate-álaim tranzəl'e:tə:ləm' 78Rb.

nst in one by-form of monster mǎ:nəstər 892M, 03C, mǎ:nəstər 60M, and spinsters sp'in'əsədərs P.

dw has nonsyllabic epenthesis in sideways 'saɪd'weɪz 894Cs.

pk in by-forms of Hopkins hɑ:p'ik'in's S, hɑ:pək'in's M, influenced by hep'ək'i:n' *Hoipicín*, also hɑ:p-k'in's S; similarly, napkins n'æp'ik'in's M influenced by older *neaipicín* n'æp'ik'i:n' (also *neaipicín* P).

rn, rl, dl, tl, kl

rn, cf. 11.98.

Medial syllabic l may have been transferred from English final position.

rl in girl-in g'ər-'l'i:n'.

dl in Audley ædɫ'i:; deadly dɛdɫ'i:; dɛdɫ'i: 44Pc; Dudley dʌdɫ'i:; dɛdɫ'i:; dɛdɫ'ə.

thl in Cathleen often k'æt-'l'i:n', but k'æt-'l'i:n' 15W.

kl in a by-form of deck-load(s) 'dɪk'ə,lɔ:d 892M1411 (speaker 892M has greater than usual epenthesis); also 'dɪk' lɔ:dz 892M3722.

(Contrast tackle-áil generally tæk'l'ɑ:l' but also tæk-'l'ɑ:l' 21Ptq.)

-lty reanalysed as -lity

Vowel inserted in Admiralty 'æd̩mərə:l'əʃi: S, 'æd̩mərə:l'əʃi: 18J; cruelty kru:l'əʃi:.

11.101 Initial cluster and other epenthesis

tw- has limited epenthesis generally, e.g. tweed **twi:ɹ̩**, sometimes **tʰwi:ɹ̩**; twenty **tʰwin'ʲi:** sometimes **tʰwin'ʲi:**; twins **tʰwin's 10B**; but note twine **'tu,wain' 21Pt** which is generally **tʰwain'** (including Seán). Seán, however, uses what is presumably a more conservative form **tʰəwain'** in the rhyming metaphor *bhí sé chomh righin le píosa twine v'i: fe xə rain' Ye p'isə tʰəwain' S.*

sw generally has no epenthesis, e.g. sweet **swi:t**, but **swi:t** [x1] **səwi:t** [x2] **65T**.

skw, in squall **skwa:l 892M**, also epenthesised, e.g.

tháinig squall stoirm as gaoithe aniar

hã:n' ək' | skə:wəl 'ster' əm' æs gi:hə n'iar 892M3718.

Compare the disyllabic spelling of squall in *scúthál 894CRBÉ*.

As with native words in Epenthesis 3, certain speakers, e.g. **892M**, may insert a nonsyllabic epenthetic vowel in other initial clusters, e.g.

sa bhflag-boat sə 'v'ʲæg',bo:t 892M1780.

The vowel is sometimes syllabic. This phenomenon might account for the change in gullet **glu:t**: the expected form ***gulə:t** might easily be interpreted as epenthetic ***gʷlu:t** and hence the actual form **glu:t**. One can compare here the native set of words such as *bolgam* **blogəm**. There might also have been influence from native *gluta* 'recess, maw'.

Prosthesis before initial continuants z, ʒ

z in 'z' **əzeɹ̩ P** (common in Hiberno-English), Zulus **ə'zu:ləs 18J7110** (also referred to, unabbreviated, as Zuluboots **'su:lə,bo:tʰs 27Mdq**); with devoicing *an tZulu* **ən tə'su:lə 18J7119** and variation Zulu ... *an Zulu* **su:lə ... ən ə'zu:lə 872P**.

y in yeah, yeah **ə'je | ə'je M**.

Compound and phrasal epenthesis

Speaker **892M** has preponderant compound and phrasal epenthesis in native words, i.e. Epenthesis 4 and 5. Examples in borrowings include:

deck-load(s) **'dik'ə,lo:d 892M1411, 'dik' ,lo:dʒ 892M3722;**

sa bhflag-boat **sə 'v'ʲæg',bo:t 892M1780, 'fl'æg',bo:t ... 'fl'æg'ə,bo:t 892M4684;**

funds láidir(e) taobh thiar dhe fun' dʒə la:d' ər'ə ti: hiərə je 892M3305.

Prepausal addition of schwa to final long vocoids is common with both native words and borrowings, e.g. July **'dʒu:lai.ə | 892M3764** (cp. 11.41).

11.102 Added vowels and epenthetic consonant

Vowels

algebra **æ:l' dʒi:' e:brə P**.

Final **ə** is added to:

bib **b'eb'ə, b'ib'ə;**

bitch **b'itʃə** now often more progressively **b'itʃ** (in affective meaning), e.g.

an bhfeiceann tú an bitch sin! ehən tu: m b'itʃ' jin' M, Ó tá tú anseo a

bhitch! **o: ta: tu: n'ʲfo' ə v'itʃ S;**

pouch **pu:tʃə S.**

Note breach **bre:ʃ** (only Mq); clammed-eyes **kl'am'ə'dais**. Final **i**: added in boud **baud̪i**: (cp. agent -y, -ee, -í (11.134), e.g. bowsie Dolan 1998).

Epenthetic consonant

An epenthetic consonant glide is sometimes heard in the nr cluster in Conroy **ka'n^dri**: S, **14J**, **36Pq**, which is the equivalent of older *Conra* **kunhrə**, **kun^trə**, **kun^drə**.

11.103 Unstressed vowels and syllables

Pretonic **ə** and **ɪ** initially may be retained but are most often lost. They are less commonly realised as **æ** and **e**.

Retention of English pretonic ə, ɪ

Eng. pretonic **ə** = Ir. **ə**, e.g. allow-áil **ə'laʊ.ɑ:l** M (contrast *lobhálann* FFG20), appointment **ə'pain'tm'in't** M, also **pain'tm'in't**.

Eng. pretonic **ɪ** = Ir. **ə/i**, e.g. enjoy-áil **ən'ɔ:jaɪ.ɹ**, inspector **ən'sp'ek'dər**; invite-áilte **ən'waiʃɑ:l'tə**.

Between palatals and alveolars the realisation is phonetically clearly **i**, e.g. dispensary **ɹi'sp'insrɪ**; dispute **ɹi'sp'u:t**, Chicago **ʃi'k'ɑ:ɡo**: **32J**, also **ʃe'k'ɑ:rgo**: **01P**, **ʃi'k'æ:rgo**: M.

> ^ə in sórt anaemic **sə:rt ə'n:i:m'ik** M, go electrocute-áiltheadh **ɡə'ɹ'ek'trək'ʊ:tɑ:l'əx** **66N**.

> Ø with syllable count retained, e.g. ag goil ag accountant **ɡol'eg' . kaun'tən't** M.

11.104 Loss of English pretonic initial ə, ɪ

accordion **kɑ:r'di:n**, less often **'kɑ:r'di:n** **894Bl**, **43Mt**.

accoutrements **kʊ:trəm'in'ts**; similarly *cútraimints* FFG20.

adopt-áilte **ɹɑ:p'tɑ:l'tə** **27Cl**, adopted child *a bhí ann* **ɹɑ:p'tɪd ʃ'ail' d ə v i: ɑ:n** S.

But **ə'ɹɑ:p'tɑ:l'tə** **04Br**, adopt-áilte **ə'ɹɑ:p'tɑ:l'tə**: **27Cb**. (Perhaps **-pɹ-** in each case.)

agree, cf. 11.105 below.

alarm, e.g. alarm (*agus rebounds* ?) **hə'l'ɑ:rəm** (**əgəs 'ræ'bauns**) M, but 'alarm' is (ə)'l'ɑ:rəm and more progressive (ə)'l'æ:r(ə)m, e.g. *chuir mé air an alarm* **xir' m'e er' ə l'æ:rəm** M, alarm clock **l'æ:rəm kla:k** **52J**.

allergic, *tá Réamann* allergic dhó **ta re:mən l'erdʒik' ɹo** S.

children(s) allowance in *an bhfuil tú ag fáil* children allowance **wil' tu fa:l' ʃ'il' d'rən launs** S.

American **m'er'ək'ən**, a conservative form, e.g. *Colm an (A)mhericain* **koləm ə v'er'ək'ən** S

anaemic **n'i:m'ik** M.

Annette **n'eʃ** M.

appendix **p'in'dik's**, e.g. *tá appendix air ta* **p'in'dik's er'**.

appointment, e.g. *sórt appointment*, *aon* (appointment **sə:rt pain'tm'in't**, **e:n fain'tm'in't** [x3] **52J**).

appreciate, *Ní* (appreciate-álann siad an rud a gheothaidh siad **n'i:**

- fri:fi'e:tələn** **fiəd ə rud ə jehə** **fiəd** S, *Ní (a)pphreciate-álann siad é n'í:*
fri:fi'e:tələn **fiəd** e: M.
arrive-áil, e.g. *an chéad rud eile arrive-áil Jackie* **x'e:d rud e'l ə rai'v'ɑ:l' tʃæk:k'i:**
49P, *nuair a arrive-áil sé siar nuər' rai'v'ɑ:l' fe* **fiər** **49P**.
asylum **sail'əm**, cp. *sa lunatic asylum* **sə l'u:n'ətɪk' ə'sail'əm**.
attack-áil, e.g. *tá siad ag attack-áil sean-ndaointí aríst* **ta** **fiəd ə tæk'ɑ:l'**
'fɑ:nɪ'n'i: r'i:ʃt' S.
attend, **tend** > **tend-áil** **tin'dɑ:l'**.
effect-áil, *is dóichí go bhfuil sé ag effect-áil a thaobh s do:hi:* **gə wil' fe**
f'ek'tɑ:l' ə hi:w M.
elastic **l'æ:s'tæk'**.
elect-áilte **l'ek'tɑ:l'tə** M.
election **l'ekʃən**, e.g. *sa election* **sə l'ekʃən**.
electric **l'ek'trɪk' l'ek'tər**, e.g. *b'fhéidir go raibh aon electric blanket aige*
b'e:d'ər' gə r a:n l'ek'trɪk' bl'æ:ŋk'ət' eg'ə M, bulb electric **bulb**
l'ek'tər **21Jc** (Irish syntax).
electricity, e.g. *an electricity* **ə l'ek'trɪsətɪ:** M (in context ə = an), **l'e'tresətɪ:**
79J.
electrocute-áilte **l'ek'trək'u:tɑ:l'tə** **60M**.
emersion, e.g. *cuir air an emersion heater ...* **ə m'ersən hi:tər** M.
escape-áil **ʃk'e:p'ɑ:l' 27Cl**, **sk'e:p'ɑ:l' SM**; note Máire's form in explanation:
'escape-áil' sin Béarla a Bhraidhean e'sk'e:p'ɑ:l' jin' b'erlə vrain M.
 Cp. free emigration **fri: mə'gre:ʃən** **05M**.
 It seems a is lost from a hundred in: *Níl sé an-hundred per cent ar chor ar bith*
n'il' fe 'an'hundərd' pər sin't xər ə b'i M.

11.105 English pretonic ə optionally > Irish æ, a (optionally tonic)

- accept-áil **æk'sep'tɑ:l'** **43M**.
address **'ædres**.
agree-álthadh **æ'grɪ:ələx** **49J**, *níor agree-áil n'ir ə'grɪ:əl' **47P**, M; also elided:
*níor (a)ghree-áil n'ir ɣrɪ:əl' M, *nach (a)ngree-álthadh ...* **nax ɣrɪ:ələx ...**
25C, *tá mé ag cheapadh nach bhfuil siad ag agree-áil leis* **ta m'e x'æ:pə**
nax wil' fiəd ə grɪ:əl' l'ej M, ... *raibh siad ag agree-áil fiəd grɪ:əl' le*
chéile [male speaker, born c. 1950].
Alaska **æ'l'æ:s-k'ə** **892M**.
an t-Annuitiy **ən 'tæ'n'u:ti:** **892M**.
appeal, e.g. *cén appeal?* **k'en 'æ:p'i:l'** M, *dearnadh appeal-annaí d'árnu:*
æ:p'i:l'əni: S, *b'fhéidir gur appeal a rinne sé b'e:d'ər' gər 'æ:p'i:l' ə rin'ə*
fe M.
appointment, **wil' ən 'æpain'tm'ɪn't ...** **52J** *An bhfuil aon appointment ... ?*
Arabia **'a're:b'ia** **852S**.
arithmetic, **'æ:riθmə'tɪk's** S (the final -s may be *is*, a by-form of *agus*).
association, Association **'æso:si'e:ʃən** **24Mt**, *aimsir an Association* **æmfər' ən**
əso:si'e:ʃən [perhaps **asə:si'e:ʃən**] **24Mt**, *an Association* **ə so:si'e:ʃən** **18J**,
31D, Fishery Association **f'ɪfəri: so:si'e:ʃən** **31D**.
attack, *chuadar ag déanamh attack* **xuədər ə d'ɪ:n 'æ'tæk'** **892Mtn** (generally
attack **ə'tæk'**).**

away, 'a'wɛ: (e.g. 881J, 897P), more frequently ə'wɛ:.

committee kə'mə'ti:.

i Gallipoli ə ,g'æl'əp'əl'i: 35E.

Italian(s) ,æ:t'æ:l'ən(s) 21J.

machine 'm'æ'ʃi:n' 892M but now mostly m'ə'ʃi:n'.

veille ,ræ'v'æ:l'i: Mq.

Cp. mahogany mǎ'hə'gəni: 11C1359, mǎ'hə'gəni: 27Mdq, mǎ'hə'gəni: 06C, mǎ'hə'gəni: 21Jq.

Note the difficulty Seán has in dealing with the English pretonic vowel r- in amendment; hesitating in choosing between elision and æ in:

cuireadh amendment amach ar an tír

kir'u: æ: | æ: | m'in'dm'in't ə'max er' ə't'i:r' S.

English pretonic ɪ > Irish æ, e; English ɪk/g > Irish eg'/k'

In veille ræ'v'æ:l'i: Mq, rə'v'æ:l'i: M.

Recall the example of 'escape-áil' e'sk'e:p'əl' M (in citation form). I have also one transcription in my early notes of *eigscéipeáilte* M.

In words in ex- (11.67), e.g. expand-álann siad eg'sp'æ:n'ələn fjad 21Pt, exams eg'sæ:m's, excuse ek'sku:z 60M.

11.106 Elision of some pretonic syllables (vowel and consonant)

Pretonic syllables are generally retained, e.g.

Ní insult-álthadh sé sin thú n'i: ən'sult'ælət se jin' hu: M,

blas a invent-áil bla:s ə in'v'in'ta:l' 02J,

bhí fear eile, involve-áilte ansin v'i: f'ær: el'ə | ən'wa:l'væ:l't' ən'jin' M
(note the pause, presumably avoiding sandhi elision).

Loss of the pretonic initial syllable occurs (optionally) in:¹

in injection > *jeicsean* FFG, ɔʃekʃən 10B;

an chéad fhear a invent-áil ... invent-áil (sé) ... x'e:d æ:r ə v'in'ta:l' ... | v'in'ta:l' ... P.

ig ignore-áil *iad* ... *iad a ignore-áil* ig'n'ɔ:ræl' iəd ... əd ə n'ɔ:ræl' M.

di division v'ɪʃən 881J, but generally ɔi'v'ɪʃən, ɔi'v'ɪʃən.

dispensary sp'in'sri: 08B, but otherwise only ɔi'sp'in'sri: noted.

dispute sp'u:t' M, also more progressive ɔə'sp'u:t' M, both meaning 'dispute' M.

Cp. still fʃil', related to distil.

ma magenta g'in'ti:.

re report-áil rə'pɔ:r'ta:l' generally, but this seems to be the base for pɔ:r'ta:l' 'going (to bed)' (14 s.v. *póirteáil*).

Cp. Natasha tæ:ʃə >> nə'tæ:ʃə [n'ə- ?] M.

Pretonic medial ə

Pretonic ə can be optionally elided medially in bəl-, pə'r-, kə'r-, səl-, sə'p-.

¹ For short lists of older examples such as apprentice > *printseach*, indenture > *dindúir*, see T. S. Ó Máille (1956-7: 346), and abstain > *staon* and *stán*, etc., in T. S. Ó Máille (1961: 126-7); cf. T. S. Ó Máille (1964-6c: 235).

balloon bə'lun M, with loss of ə in *ar an mballoon* er' ə mlu:n 52J.

belief bl'i:v' SM, b'ɪ'i:v' M, bə'l'i:v' 23Ms, b'ə'l'i:v' 43M, bl'i:f' ~ b'ə'l'i:f' 52J.

parade pə're:d 20C, *ag an bparade* eg' ə bre:d 48B, Easter parade i:stə'pre:d S.

correct-áil: *ag iarraidh a bheith dhá chorrect-áil* v' e ga xrek'ta:l' M.

absolutely æb'sl'u:tli'i: M; æb'səl'u:tli'i: 43M.

suppose-áilte often sə'pəʊs/zɑ:l' ə but also spəʊzɑ:l' ə M.

Cp. umbrella umbə'rel' ə S, P, um'brel' ə P.

Cp. kut v' ə'tu:səl' əm S *cat Mhatusalem* (cp. *cut Mheatúsaileam* FFG s.v. *cut*).

> a in contrary kan'tre:ri: (cp. Eng. kon- in related forms), forget-álthaidh sí *arist é fa:r'g'etələ* ji: r'i:ft' e 52J.

> a ~ ə in patrol boat(s) p'æ'trɔ:l,bə:t 35E, p'æ'trɔ:l,bə:ts 35E.

> u ~ a in complaint kum'pl'e:n't M, complain-eáil kam-'pl'e:n'ɑ:l' 08B, 66N.

> u ~ ə in conceit kən'se:t SM, but 'kunse:t [or possibly 'kun'se:t] 63S.

> o in hereditary hə'redɪtri: 43M.

Eng. ə ~ ou > o: in domain də'm'e:n' 03C1a (I am not sure of my stress transcription of the first syllable here).

ɪ > i: optionally in retire-áil rə'taɪrɑ:l' generally, including 15W, but ri:'taɪrɑ:l' 04Br; with changes in stress pattern in: *Ní (a)pphreciate-álann* n'i: fri:fi:'e:tələn fiəd S, *go, (a)pppreciate-álthaidh siad é gə | brɪ'fi:'e:tələ* fiəd e 23B.

Also John de Courcey 'dʒə'n' 'dɪ: 'kɜ:rsi: 892M.

11.107 Syncope

For final syllabic consonants, see above (¶ 11.73, ¶ 11.80). Optional syncope is found primarily when Irish suffixes are added to a borrowed base. Without Irish suffixation it occurs in English words in ər. (Contrast syllabic realisations for nonsyllabic English in 11.98.) As listed in Table 11.2, syncope is found in English ər, əl and ən.

Table 11.2 Syncope in b/t/d/c/g/m/s/v/fər, b/g/f/v/səl, p/f/sh/sən

Environment	lexeme	+syncope	-syncope
<u>bər</u>	<u>Barbara</u>	b'æ:rbərə M	
<u>pər</u>	* <u>stoup(er)-áilte</u>		ʃtu:pərə:l' ə S
<u>tər</u>	<u>battery</u>		b'ætəri:s 64M
	<u>monastery</u>	mā'nəstri: 06C	
	<u>mutter-áil</u>	mutrɑ:l' S	cp. mu:tərə:l' M
	* <u>laxter-áil leaicstaráil</u>	l'æ:k'strɑ:l' SM (seldom)	l'æ:k'stərə:l' SM
	<u>scatter-áil(te)</u>	ʃk'æ:trɑ:l' S, ʃk'æ:trɑ:l' ə M	ʃk'æ:tərə:l' ə
	<u>splinter-áil</u>	sp'l'æ:ntrɑ:l' S, FFG, sp'l'indrɑ:l' SM	
	<u>stutter-áil</u>		stotərə:l' [stu- ?] SM
cp.	<u>factory</u>	f'æ:k'tʃi:	f'æ:k'dəri:
<u>thər</u>	<u>bother-áil</u>	bə'drɑ:l' S	bə'dərə:l' 23M, 52J bə'dərə:l' f' 46.1019 bə'dərə:l' M
		bə'drɑ:l' M, bə'drɑ:l' ə M, ní bh--thá n'i: wɑ:drɑ:lɑ: M	

Environment	lexeme	+syncope	-syncope
dər	<u>maundar-áil</u> <u>order-áil</u> <u>powder-áil</u> <u>register-áil</u> <u>wander-áil</u> <u>wonder-áil</u> <u>tender-áilte</u>	<i>d'z</i> dɑ:drɑ:l' m'e 56N <i>phz</i> muid faudrɑ:l' mid' M rəʔɜ:stɜ:rɑ:l' S, rəʔɜ:stɜ:rɑ:l' ə P wundrɑ:l', wundɹɑ:l' ʃindrɑ:l' ə >> ʃi:ndrɑ:l' ə S	m'æn' dərə:l' paudərə:lu: S rəʔɜ:stərə:l' ə P wandərə:l' wundərə:l', wundɹərə:l' ʃindərə:l' ə ʃin' dərə:l' ə M
cər	<u>Corcoran</u>	ka:rkrən S	
gər	<u>linger-áil</u> <u>slanger-áilte</u> ¹ <u>stagger-áil</u>	ʃl'æ:ŋg' rɑ:l' ə M	l'ɪŋg'ərə:l' M ʃl'æ:ŋg'ərə:l' ə M ʃtæ:g'ərə:l'
ɔ̃ər	<u>margarine</u>	m'æ:rɔ̃:ri:n'	m'æ:rɔ̃:ri:n'
mər	<u>humour-áilte</u> <u>humour-ach</u>	no examples M no examples M	ju:mərə:l' ə M ju:mərəx M
sər	<u>answer-áil</u> <u>measure-áil</u> <u>dispensary</u>	<i>ag z</i> g a:nsrɑ:l' (perhaps less often) m'ɛʃrɑ:l' M sp'ɪn'sri: ɔ̃:is'p'ɪn'sri:	m'ɛʃərə:l' M
vər	<u>average-áil</u> <u>clever-áilte</u> <u>deliver-áilaidis</u> <u>hoover-áil</u> <u>sovereign</u>	a ^h vrəʔɜ:l' 31Dt kl'ev' rɑ:l' ə S	kl'ev'ərə:l' ə ɔ̃:il'iv'ərə:lə'd'i:f M hu:vərə:l' sa:wəri:n' sa:vərən
fər	<u>differ-áilte</u> ¹ <u>difference</u> <u>different</u> <u>suffer-áil</u>	ɔ̃:if' rɑ:l' ə M ɔ̃:if' rən's 892M, ɔ̃:if' rəns S ɔ̃:if' ri:n' t̃ 43M suf' rɑ:l' frequent huf' rɑ:l', suf' rɑ:lə ʃe 26Pq	ɔ̃:if'ərə:l' ə ɔ̃:if'ərən's 11C, ɔ̃:if'ərəns 14M sufərə:l' M, 16B, 21C sufərə:l' ə [x2] 26Pq
bəl	<u>dribble-áil</u> <u>ambulance</u> <u>ramble-áil</u> <u>grumble-áil</u> <u>tumble-áilte</u>	dri:bl'ɑ:l' 20Ml æ:mb'əl'əns ræ:mb'l'ɑ:l' S cp. grumblo:d' M grumb(a)lóid tu(:)mlɑ:l' ə 20C	æ:mb'l'əns M ræ:mb'ɪl'ɑ:l' S, 27Cl grum(b)ələ:l' M, cp. grumbələ:d'
gəl	<u>regular-áilte</u>	ri:g'l'ɑ:l' ə S	ri:g'ɪl'ɑ:l' ə S
cp.	<u>smuggl(er)-éara</u> <u>smuggle-áil</u>	smugl'e:rə, smug-ɪ'e:rə smuglɑ:l' 35E	smugələ:lə 35E
kəl	<u>cycle-áil</u> <u>pickle-áilte</u>	saik'l'ɑ:l' (e.g. 72C) p'ɪkl'ɑ:l' ə 45N	saik'əl'ɑ:l' 27C, 79J
fəl	<u>Offaly</u> <u>raffle-áil</u>	afli: S	ræ:f'ələ:l-f'ər P
vəl	<u>levelling, level-áil</u> <u>travel-áil</u> <u>travel-éara</u>	levelling-strake 'l'evl'ən',straik' træ:v'l'ɑ:l' 08B, SM, 43M, 19Bp træ:v'l'e:rə 02J, SM	l'iv'əl'ɑ:l' M træ:v'əl'ɑ:l' M, 21Pt træ:v'əl'e:rə
cp.	<u>traveller</u>	træ:v'l'ər M	
cp.	<u>travelling people</u>	træ:vliŋ p'i:p'əl' 02J	
cəl	<u>cancel-áil</u>		k'æ:n'səl'ɑ:l'/l' ə M

¹ Note the noncoalescence of palatality in: differ-áilte ɔ̃:if'ərə:l' ə ɔ̃:if' rɑ:l' ə; slanger-áilte ʃl'æ:ŋg'ərə:l' ə, ʃl'æ:ŋg' rɑ:l' ə M, and compare older *pláistearáil* plɑ:ʃt'ərə:l' M, plɑ:ʃt' rɑ:l' S.

Environment	lexeme	+syncope	-syncope
səl	<i>muscle-áilte</i>	musla:lʰə S	
pən	<i>happen-áil</i> [nʰ ?]	hæ:p nɑ:lʰ (VN) P, hæ:p nɑ:lədʰe M	hæ:p ənɑ:lʰ (VN) M
fən	<i>stiffen-áilte</i>	ʃtʰifnʰ a:lʰə S2b	ʃtʰifʰ ənɑ:lʰə P1b
sən	<i>poison-áilte</i>	paɪsnʰ a:lʰə	paɪsənʰ a:lʰə
fən	<i>freshen-áilte</i>	froʃnʰ a:lʰə M	
	<i>m/ention-áil</i>	vʰɪnʰ nʰ a:lʰ	mʰɪnʰ fənʰ a:lʰ
	<i>ration-áilte</i>	ræ:ʃnʰ a:lʰə M	
	<i>station-áilte</i>		ʃtʰe:ʃə nɑ:lʰə

A rarer type of syncope occurs in *caraway seed ceábhrasáid* FFG s.v. *ceábhraist*, *kʰærəw/vsi:d* SM, *kʰærəfsi:d* S; *holidays* *hɑ:ləde:s* generally, but *hɑ:lde:s* 56N; cp. *panadol* *pʰæn dʰəls* M in the late 1980s but *pʰæn ədʰəls* M in the 1990s; *manage-áil* generally *mʰæn ədʰə:lʰ*, but there is syncope with syllable count retained in *mhanage-áil muid vʰæn .dʰə:lʰ midʰ* 43M.

Note further English alternants: *dictionary* *dɪkʰjənri:* SM, *dɪkʰ sənə:ri:* 892M2450, *Margaret* *mʰɑ:grəʃ mʰærgrəʃ*, *interest-áilte* *ɪn'trestə:lʰə*, *Nicholas* *nʰɪkləs* M, *ordinary* *ɑ:rdjəri:* 23B, *restaurant* *restrənʰ t̪* S, *lavatory* *lʰævʰ ətri:* P, *secondary* *sekʰ əndri:* S, cf. *difference*, etc., above.

Words with syllabic final l have optional syncope, e.g.

dl: *raddle-áil* *ræ:dʰlʰ a:lʰ*;

tl: *rattle-áil* *ræ:tʰlʰ a:lʰ* 23B, *totally* *tɔ:tʰlʰ i:* M;

z:l: *Sin atá dho mo phuzzle-áilsa* *ʃɪn ə tɑ: gə mə fusla:lʰ sə* M,
nach tú atá puzzle-áilte *nax tu: tɑ: pusla:lʰ ə* M, *puzzle-áil* *pusla:lʰ*.

11.108 Miscellaneous

Medial changes

accoutrements *ku:trəmʰ inʰ ts*; similarly *cútraimints* FFG20, also *ku:(n)trəmʰ inʰ ts* M (n optionally copied from the final syllable).

bowsprit (*boltsprit*) *bauspʰ it̪ bausplʰ it̪ baulspʰ it̪* FFG *boghái(l)spliot*, *bauspʰ* SM, *bauls-pʰ it̪* 01C6093.

caraway seed ceábhrasáid FFG s.v. *ceábhraist*, *kʰærəw/vsi:d* SM, *kʰærəfsi:d* S. *cotter pin* *ka:t̪əʃ pʰ inʰ* M, but *ka:t̪əʃ pʰ inʰ* 66N.

flannelette *flʰæ:nʰ et̪* M.

gaff (cp. *gaffsail*) *gʰæfʰ əlʰ*, also *gaff* *gʰæfʰ*.

garbell, *garboard strake* *gʰɑ:rbəlʰ stʰraikʰ* 872P, *gʰɑ:bər straikʰ* 17Mp (-bʰ- in my original note), *gʰɑ:mər straikʰ* 21Pt, *gʰɑ:rbər straikʰ* 27Mdq (cf. *geárbail* (*gárbalstraidhc*) LFRM Agaisín).

sna hardy boys *snə hɑ:rdə bæ:is*, *Bhí húrlaboys, hárlaboys ánn.* 852Sb6.78, but *Tháinig na hurdaboys agus hardaboys* 852SbLL146.

Jays Fluid *dʰe: si: flʰu:ɪd* [perhaps *flu:-*] 66N.

reef band *ri:pʰ hænʰ d̪* 01C6042.

remnant > *remlit* 894C2; this transcription might imply a realisation **remfʰ it̪* or **rimfʰ it̪* (cp. *tendáil* 894C2 with *e* for general *tend-áil t̪ɪnʰ d̪a:lʰ*).

slash-áil has an optional intrusive *t̪* in 892M's *dhá shlash-áil ... ag slasht-áil ya hlʰæʃa:lʰ ... ʃlʰæʃta:lʰ* ARN2092–6, perhaps influenced by *súisteáil* or *blast-áil blʰæʃta:lʰ*.

Strangford Lough 'stræ'nʃfo:rd lɑ:x 03C, a spelling pronunciation, perhaps influenced by strange.

x-ray ek'sre:, 'ek'sre:, also 'ek'stre: 10B, ek'st(°)re: 23C and ek'stre: 14J, 37M, perhaps influenced by extra.

Metathesis

ambulance generally æ'mbəl'əns, but æ'mbl'əm'əns [perhaps -məns] 11J.

Balderston, Johnny Balderston ɔ̃:ni: bɑ:l'ustrən S.

caraway seed ceábhrasáid FFG s.v. ceábhrasí, k'ærəw/vsi:d SM, k'ærəfsi:d S.

cutbear kiʃ'b'e:r ~ kip'te:r 10B (transcription from de Bhaldraithe 1990a: 125) also FFG s.v. *cuiptéar* and *cuitbéar*.

hundred hundərd SM, hundər 60M.

Israelites isərlaɪts 881J, nə hezər'l'eids ZCP158.

napkin (older borrowing) n'æp'ək'in' SM, n'æpk'in' P, n'ak'ip'in' FFG s.v. *neaicipín*.

Cp. *an solas aibhléis(e) solas æ:v'l'e:ʃ* 03Vt; *ə solas elv'e:ʃə* 11C3589.

Shortening of words

barge-course > barge b'ɑ:rdʃ; hog-fish ha:g S; top-dress(ing): *ag cuir amach top-dress*, *ag leasú féir* S, cp. VN *ag top-dress-áil* S; *na Yeos* nə jo:(ə)s 03C (*Yeomen Dolan* 1998: s.v. *Yeo*).

galvanised g'æ:lv'ə'n'ai 04F < galvanised (iron).

Pen, Penelope i mBéarla é p'in' p'in'əl'ə:p ə m'ɛ:rl e M.

Cp. difference often differ (noun) ɔ̃if'ər, as in Hiberno-English (e.g. *Dolan* 1998: s.v.).

11.109 Voice and aspiration

Devoicing finally in: back-band 'b'æ:k' b'æ:n't, *do ghizzard* də jisərt M, hold haul't (nautical); the general meaning of hold has no devoicing in *bhí an hold aige v'i n haul'd eg'ə* 25M (if heard correctly).

Medial devoicing of g in cringle kriŋk'il'. The by-forms tricker trik'ər S and more recent trigger trig'ər SM occur.¹

De-aspiration or voicing of stops occurs following voiceless stops and fricatives, i.e.

cd > gd: in Mac in MacDonagh m'ig'dunə, Macdara m'ig'dærə.

ct > kt, gt, kd, kd: *chonnect-áilaidís ... chonnect-áil xīn'ek'ta:ləd'i:ʃ ... xūn'ek'da:l'* 894Cs, *act-annat* æ:k'dəni: 06C, *detective* dət'ek'dəv' 18J, *factory* f'æ:k'dəri: 892M, 66N. Also pretonic velar kt ~ gt in *chuir Queen Victoria ... Banríon Victoria*, *chuir sí ... xur' k'wīn' m'ig'to:ri: ... banríon v'ik'to:ri: ...* 03C.

cs > gs, ks: in Mac in MacSweeney m'ig'swi:n'i' 11C, m'æk'swi:n'i: 892M.

pt > pʃ in accept-áil æk'sep'ta:l' 43M.

ft > fd, fd: aftergrass æf'dəgræs, Raftery ræf'dəri:, also ræf'dəri: 892M, lifter l'efdər 76N.

¹ De Bhaldraithe (1956–7b) corrects his erroneous derivation trigger > trik'ər; also erroneous in T. S. Ó Máille (1958–61: 151).

De-aspiration or voicing occurs medially before s, i.e.

x > g's, k's: expand-álann siad eg'sp'æ:n'ɑ:lən ʃiəd 21Pt, mix-áilte m'ik'sɑ:l'tə 894Cs.

11.110 Other changes

baft also OED 6 boffeta, 6–8 bafta, 9 baftah > b'æ:f'əði.

Balderston, Johnny Balderston *a cheannaigh é* ɔʒɑ:ni; bɑ:l'ustrən ə x'æ:n e S;
also Balderstons bələstərənʒ, bələstrəns, bələstrəns.

capstan k'æ:p'səl'.

challenge ʃæl'ən'ɔʒ 892M, but sealaim !894C CABI §509(c) v. 3 ⇒ *ʃaləm' or
*ʃæl'əm'.

collation kə'l'ɑ:fən *cuileáisean* FFG.

Drogheda is perhaps the base for draxəði; e.g. *gaibhte go Drachaidí* gof'ə gə
draxəði.

Dumbarton din' v'ɑ:r'tən 892M2481, perhaps reanalysed as 'Dun Bharton' or
'Dun Mhartin'.

Tigh Gheraghty t'i: jor'ti: SM, ... jorəxti: 37M, ... jerəhti: 04Br, ... jerəti: 47P,
Mister Geraghty m'istər g'orəxti: P.

gutta-percha kitə'p'erk' cuitipeirc FFG.

Italians I recall as beginning in ai'tæ- S. It is realised in a local song as:

Tiochaidh na hIodálaí is na Italians t'ukə nə 'hi:dəli: s nə 'i:ɪl' i:n'z
(SGuair)11C,

as if from Italy-ns (initial I- may have occurred through assimilation with
the following I or through reinterpretation as little, or both; the stress on the
final syllable may be for the sake of the prosody).

latitat 'læti:tæt S, 'lædi:tæt S, 'lætn'tæt M.

Madagascar m'ædʒ'æsk'in 892M.

praty cake pre:tɪ: k'e:k' S, pl'e:tə k'e:k' P, p'e:tɪ: k'e:k' S; with loss of -ty:
p'e: k'e:k' 51P.

rigmarole riɡ'əmə ro: 12Jq, perhaps also riŋɡ'əmə ro:s 12Jq, riŋɡ'əmə ro:s
12Jq in *an iomarca* ~ explained as *seafóid* 12Jq.

tune t'u:n' is equated by Seán with *iúin* which occurs in *in iúin* ən' u:n'. Perhaps *i*
*d*tune > (*i* **ndiúin* >) *in iúin*. There may have been influence from historical
deoin or, less likely, *in iúin* may derive from *i ndeoin*. Cp. loss of *d* in *deoin*
1.100(vi), FFG20 *iúin*, *tiúin*.

valve v'æ:lv' generally, but innovative compound in plural valve-plug-annaí
'v'æ:l'plɔɡəni: 51P.

Contrast kri:m' ə tæ:rt NIGCF §53 with cream of tartar kri:m' ə tæ:rtər M,
older pronunciation kre:m' ə tæ:rtər according to 47Pq.

Initial weakening occurs sometimes in thanks hæ:ŋk's S.

virring(-rope) v'iarriŋɡ' 21Pt (hardly from ear-ring as suggested in LFRM s.v.
bhiaraing 'rope used to tie sail to boom'). This word is syllabified as v'iar | iŋɡ'
by 21Pt.

The lingual shift discussed in 1.407 ff., found principally in Loch Con Aortha and
adjoining areas, also effects borrowings, e.g. k > t in back b'æ:k' b'æt' 34M.

Stress; Dialect

11.111 As in English

English stress is generally retained, e.g. admire-áil a:ð'mairə:l' 16B, Baltimore b'æ:l'təmɔ:r 899D, brickettes brək'its [brɪ- ?] M, dhá gcollect-áil ga gəl'ek'ta:l' M, constipate-álthaidh sé sin thú ,kanstɪ'p'e:tə:lə M, decide-áil dəsaiðə:l' M, Dirrane dəræ:n', Devane də'væn', diarrhoea ,dai'ri: M, disagreement dɪsə'grɪ:mən't, ag casadh an ghuitar ji'ta:r 64M, procession prə'seʃən 18J, sardines sɑ:r'di:n's 04Br, semolina sim'ə'lɪ:n'ə M, separate-áil sep'ə're:tə:l', sodality sɔ:dæl'ɪti: S. Cp. parasol p'ærəsəl P. Initial secondary stress in English may be diminished or lost, e.g. millionaire m'ɪl'ən'eər 43M, submarine ,sumə'ri:n' and sumə'ri:n'.

English stress is also retained in many compounds, e.g.

'_ , na absentee landlords nə 'æb'sən'ti: 'lændlɑ:dʒ 35E, Antichrist 'æn'tə'kraɪft, back-band 'bæk'bænd't, blood-poison-áil 'blɔd'pəɪsən'a:l', foxtrot-áil 'fɔks'trətə:l' 18J7393 (perhaps -tə:l'), motor bicycle 'mɔ:tər'báɪsɪk'ɪl', motorcar 'mɔ:tər'kɑ:r 01C, reef band 'ri:p'hæ'n'd 01C, sawdust 'sɑ:ðʌft 892M1313, sawmill 'sɑ:v'ɪl' 892M-1273, 'sɑ:m'ɪl' 05Md, sugar-bowl 'ʃʊgər'bɔ:l, wheelbarrow 'fi:l'b'ærə, willy wagtails wɪ'l'i: 'wɑ:g'teɪl's M;
(.)_ ' back-boiler b'æk' 'baɪl'ər 52J, boiled cake baɪl'd 'k'e:k', carry-on k'ærɪ: 'a:n S.

Cp. poststormpost 'pɔ:st'stɔ:rəm,pɔ:st 21Pt (to which the rudder is attached), and spring-back 'sprɪŋ' b'æk' 01C.

11.112 Irish first syllable

Primary stress on the second syllable in English occurs (optionally) on the first syllable in Irish in:

addition æ:dəʃən (e.g. chuir muid addition beag leis xir' mid' æ:dəʃən b'og l'ej P (to a bohreen), tá addition mór ... tæ æ:dɪʃən mɔ:r ... S); appeal 'æ:p'i:l' M, 'æ:p'i:l' M, appeal-annaí 'æ:p'i:l'əni: S; away 'a'we: (e.g. 897P) more frequently ə'we:, buckshee bɒk-'fi:, perhaps also bɒg'fi:; cathedral k'æ:tɪ:dərəl' k'æ:tɪ:drəl' M, also k'æ:tɪ:drəl', cement sə'm'ɪn't sim'ɪn't, conceit kən'seɪt SM, but 'kʌnseɪt [or possibly 'kʌn'seɪt] 63S, conductor 'kɑ:n'dʌktər M [?'-dʌktər], kun'dʌktər 52P, but kɑ:n'dʌktər P, bus conductor bus 'kɑ:n'dʌktər M, hotel generally hɔ:'tel' but (plural) 'hɔ:tel'əni: 37M, moustache mu:stæʃ mu:f'dæ:ʃ, 'mʌf'dæ:ʃ 892M, partition p'ær'tɪʃən 'p'ær.tɪʃən, Penelope p'ɪn'əl'əp M, settee sɪti: 45N, weekend 'wi:k'ɪn'd'wɪk'ɪn't.

Double stress lost with initial stress only in almanac ə:l'mən'ɪk', also ə:l'mæk' 21Pt, gooseneck gu:s-n'ɪk', revenue rev'ən'u: 35E, top-rail tɒprəl' 21Jq.

First syllable stress is found optionally for English third syllable stress in:

cigarette: (ag caitheamh) chorrcigarette 'xaur'sɪg'ərɔʃ P, kahə 'xaur'sɪg'ərɔʃ P.

English third-syllable secondary stress is absent in mo quarantine mə xwɑ:rən'ti:n' 20My.

An example not clearly heard is the possible by-form of *na advertisements* **nə hæ:dv'ɔrtismənts** M.

Primary stress can also be placed initially in loose compounds:

cupla lamb chop **kuplə 'læ:m'ʃap** M; *Fisher Lad* **'f'ɪʃər ,l'æ:d** 18J7128 (boat name); *True Light* **'tru:lajt** (boat name); cp. *Father Tom* **'f'ɑ:dər 'tɑ:m** 18J7128 (boat name).

Optional in English and Irish

Optional stress placement in English is also optional in Irish in:

margarine **m'æ:rɔ:ri:n' ,m'æ:rɔ:ri:n'**; also **m'æ:ɔ:ri:n'** M (if transcribed accurately).

11.113 Irish second syllable

English primary stress position does not correspond to the second syllable stress of the Irish forms in:

accordion generally **kə:r'di:n'** but **'kə:r'di:n'** 894Bl, 43Mt, *ina accordion player* **nə xə:r'di:n' pl'e:ər**.

character **k'æ:ræk'tər** S.

contract **kən'træk' kən'træk'k'ɪ** progressive **kən'træk'k'ɪ**; examples: *ag obair ar c(h)ontract* **g obər' er' kən'træk'k'ɪ S / ... xən'træk'k'ɪ SM, g obər' er' 'xən'træk'k'ɪ 52Jq**. Speaker 52J was unaware of the more conservative form of his parents. So also *contractor* **kən'træk'tər kən'træk'tər S; 'sib,kun'træk'tərz 20Ml, 'sub,kæn'træk'tərs 18Bm**.

cucumber **k'u:kumbər** M.

details **də'teɪl's**. Speaker 47P (with stress as in British English) deliberately corrects her mother (Máire, with stress as in American English) in:

-*Ní bhíonn fhios ag S. na details* **n'i: v'ins eg' S. nə də'teɪl's** M

-*Na details* **nə d'i:tɛɪl's** 47P.

Dundas **dun'dæ:s**.

heeltap **hi:l'ʔa:p** 892M3640.

highlander **hai'l'in'dər** SM; **'hi:l'ændər** 49J.

Hungary **hiŋ'g'e:ri** 03Ct.

book of records **buk ə rə'kɑ:rdz** P, also *record* **rəkɔrd rəkərd M, rek'əd 881J, rə'kɑ:rd 12J**.

register-áilte **rə'dʒestrɑ:l'ə**.

realise-áil **ri'laisɑ:l' 56B, rə'laisɑ:l' 52J**.

siren **sai'ri:n'** P.

Connaught Tribune **kə:nəx traib'u:n** M, **kanəxt trib'u:n**, but **kə:nəxt trɪb'u:n** [perhaps **-u:n'**] 17Md.

x-ray **ek'sre: , 'ek'sre:**, also **ek'stre:** and **'ek'stre:**.

Cp. *alcohol*: *ina alcohol* **nɑ:l'kəhəl, nə:l'kəhəl** S88 (meaning *alcoholic*); cp. *gullet* **gluʔ**.

11.114 Irish third or fourth syllable

Primary stress is found (optionally) on the third syllable, in contrast for the most part with initial-syllable stress in English, in:

absolutely **æb'sl'u:ʔli:** M (stress on second syllable as a result of syncope),

æb'səl'u:tʃli: 43M, agriculture ,a:grə'kʌl'ʃər 18J, albatross ,ælb'ətʃrəs 35E7088, algebra æl'dʒi:'e:brə P, caroline k'ærə'lain 11C, k'ærə'lain' also k'ærə'lain' 04B, k'ær'lain' 35E, committee kamə'ti:, corduroy kɔ:rdə'rai, epicures ep'ək'u:rs, also ef'ək'u:rs 20T, *na hexercise-annaí sin nà hek'sər'saisəni* jin' M, galvanised g'æ:lv'ən'ai 04F, overall ɔ:wər'ɑ:l, parapet *na céibhe p'ærəp'it' nà k'e:v'ə* 21Pt, rheumatism ,ru:mə'tisəm SM, runaway runə'we: 10B, separate-áil sɔpə're:təl' 21Pt, supervisor su:pər'vaisər M, su:pər'vaisər [v' ?] 66N, telephone generally til'əfə:n but also ... *an telephone ag cuir dhe an' til'əfə:n ə kir' je* 04Br, vaseline v'æsəl'in' generally including 52P, also v'æsəl'in' 52P. Cp. one by-form of arthritis ,a:rtə'raɪtɪs. The actual phonemic stress analysis of these forms in ' _ ' may be ' _ '.

Irish fourth syllable

English primary stress on the second syllable contrasts with stress on the fourth syllable in:

Ní (a)pphreciate-álann n'i: fri:fi:'e:tələn fɪəd S, *go, (a)pppreciate-álthaidh siad é gə | brɪ,fi:'e:tələ fɪəd e* 23B97;
faiíos go electrocute-áiltheadh sé fat' es gə ʔl'ek'trək'u:təl'əx ʃe 66N.

11.115 Irish double (and treble) stress

Double stress is found (optionally) in Irish in some words where English has only one primary stress.

address ædrəs P, 'æ:dros 43M, æ'dres.

Admiralty 'ædmə'ræ:l'əʃi: S and *aimsir an Admiralty* æ:mʃər' n ,ædmə'ræ:l'əʃi: S.

airport often e:rpɔ:rtʃ but also *an t-airport thuas i nDún na nGall* ən ,te:r'pɔ:rtʃ huəs ə nu:n nə ŋɑ:l 60M.

agree-álthadh ,æ'gri:ələx 49J, *níor agree-áil* n'ir ə'gri:əl' 47P, M, ~ n'ir ,yri:əl' M, *níl mé ag goil ag agree-áil leat* n'i:l' m'e gɔl' ə 'ga:gri:əl' ,l'æt 21Pt, *tá mé ag cheapadh nach bhfuil siad ag agree-áil leis* tɑ m'e x'æ:pə nax wil' fɪəd ə gri:əl' l'ɛʃ M.

alcohol, e.g. *shula bhfuil tú i t'alcohol ar chor ar bith* hɑ:l ə wil tu 'tɑ:kə'hɑ:l xɔr ə b'i S, *fuair sé ina alcohol fuar* fe n æ:l'kə'hɑ:l S.

alphabet æl'fəb'ɪt M, also *an t-alphabet* ə 'tɑl'f'æ:b'ɛt S.

appeal, e.g. *cén appeal?* k'e:n 'æ:p'i:l' M, *dearnadh appeal-annaí* d'ɑ:rnɔ: ,æ:p'i:l'əni: S, *b'fhéidir gur appeal a rinne sé* b'e:d'ər' gər 'æ:p'i:l' ə rin' ə fe M.

appendix p'in'dɪk's generally, but 'p'en'dɪk's 21Pt.

Arabia 'ɑ're:b'ɪə 852S.

arithmetic, 'æ:riθmə'tɪk's S (the final -s may be *agus*).

Balderston, Johnny Balderston *a cheannaigh é* dʒɑ:ni: ,bɑ:l'ustrən ə x'æ:n e S, also Balderstons bɔləstərənʒ 892M3704, bɔləstrəns 18J9332, bɔ:ləstrəns 21Pg9336.

Belfast 'b'el'f'æ:st 04Br.

Berridge 'b'e:riɔʒ 25M; perhaps influenced by Ridge, the English version of '*ac Con Iomaire*.

- bianconi 'baɪˌaŋkəni: FFG s.v. *baidheancaní*.
Brian Boru 'braɪm ˌbɔ:ru: 892M3124, 'braɪˌn ˌbɔ:ru: 892M3412.
California 'kæl'əfɔ:rn'ə 01P.
canteen in plural canteen-annaí 'kæ:n'ʃi:n'əni: 21Pt.
caravan 'kærəv'æ:n' P.
Chicago ʃi'kɑ:ɡo: 32J, ʃi'kæ:rgo: M, 'ʃe'kɑ:rgo: 01P.
Columba 'ka'lumbi: 18J7098 (boat name).
convert-álthaidh siad 'kɑ:nv'ertə:lə ʃiəd.
controll, *faoi chontroll* *Choilm Uí Ghaora* fi: 'xun'trɔ:l xɔl'əm' i: ɣi:rə 881J;
 also noted as *é héin* — [hesitation for thought] a chontroll-áil e hein',
 xun'trɔ:lə:l' S.
de in surnames, John de Courcey 'dʒɑ:n' 'dʃi: 'kɜ:rsi: 892M.
dismiss-álthaidh mé ˌdʃɪ'm'ɪʃə:lə m'e 18J7325.
elephant: (*an t-*)elephant ə 'tel'əf'æ:n't P, 'el'əf'æ:n't, 'el'əf'æ:n't M.
express train 'eg'spɾɔs 'trɛ:n' 892M4695.
futtock plural fʊtək's 897P, also fʊtʊk fʊtʊk 21Pt.
Gallipoli, *i Gallipoli* ə ˌgæl'əp'əli: 35E.
Glasgow 'gl'æs:ɡo: 892M3429.
guesswork 'g'es'wɜ:k 21Jc.
hysterics has double stress and may perhaps be taken as two words, the initial
 being reanalysed as high, i.e. hai ʃtærək's 18J9140.
idea 'ai'di:, but also (plural) 'ai:di:s 23Jt.
Italian(s) æ:tæ:l'ən(s) 21J.
latitat 'læti:tæt S, 'lædi:tæt S, 'lætn'tæt M.
Lavelle, Father Lavelle f'ædər 'læ'v'el' 32J, Doctor Lavelle ˌdɑ:kdə:l 'læ'v'el'
 35E.
machine 'm'æ:ʃi:n' << m'ə:ʃi:n'. Also machine gun *inti* 'm'æ:ʃi:n ˌgʊn i:n'tə
 (Afl)03C.
nineteen-eighteen 'nain'ti:n 'e:ʃi:n' 892M4629.
nineteen-fifteen 'nain'ti:n f'if'di:n' 892M4615.
nineteen-fourteen 'nain'ti:n 'fɔ:r'ti:n' 892M4607.
October ˌɑ:k'tə:bər 21Pt.
Polack 'pɔ:læk FFG *Polac*.
police regressive 'pɔ:l'i:(s), generally pɔ:l'is, pəl'is.
proclamation 'prɔ:kl'e:m'e:ʃən (Afl)03C.
radiators ˌræ:di:'e:tərs.
ransack-áil ˌræ:m'sæk'ɑ:l' 'ræ:m'sæk'ɑ:l' S.
rebounds perhaps the base of 'ræ'bauns M, cf. *rabh babhns* (11.117).
Recess generally rə'ses but ˌrɔ:sɔs 03C.
Salvation Army 'sæ'l'v'e:ʃən 'æ:r-m'i: >> 'ɑ:r-m'i: 11C, the double stress is
 most clearly audible when abbreviated Salvation is used 'sæ'l'v'e:ʃən 11C.
teara Stockholm 'tærə 'stæk'hɑ:ləm 01C.
supply-áil ˌsu'plai:l' 892Mg.

In Latin:

seacht n-'Ave Maria' ʃɑ:xt 'n'ɛ'm'e: mɑ:r'i:ɛ 04B, perhaps influenced by
áiméan 'ɑ:m'ɛn.

11.116 Compounds and phrasal nouns

Irish first syllable

Congested Board 'ka:n,dʒɪstəd bɔ:rd S, 'ka:n,dʒestəd bɔ:rd 20MI.

Glendalough House 'gl'ɪndə,ləʊx haus 20MI.

spardeck 'spɑ:r'dɪk 01C6960; the stress in this instance may be a result of phrasal intonation.

tin can > 'tɪŋk'æ'n P.

Irish second syllable

check-up tʃe'k up M.

guest-house gʌst'haʊs S.

hang-over 'hæ:ŋ'g'ovər S.

ice cream, *tá mé ag iarraidh* block ice cream tɑ: m'e g' iər blək ais 'kri:m M.

polo neck, *aon pholo neck* en ,fɔ:lə:n'ek M.

pull-over pul'ovər.

sick call sɪ'kæl S, su'kæl S.

Cp. die-die 'dɛ'dai, but *thug mé die-die mór dhó hug m'e dɛ 'dai 'mɔ:r ʏɔ' M.*

Irish third syllable

clammed-eyes ,kl'am'ə'dais.

Geraldine ,dʒərəl'di:n 04Br.

secondary (school) sekə'n'eri 04Br.

transom-knees ,trænsəm'n'ɪ:s 872P.

ar an windowsill thiar er' ə 'win',dɔ: 'sel' 'hiər [perhaps ,win',dɔ: 'sel'] 64M.

Aristotle becomes two names in **hari: ftaɪl'** FFG s.v. *buailleann* 17(b), the first element being reanalysed as Harry. Cp. *Eibhlínóir ~ Eibhlín Óir* (1.249).

11.117 Words of uncertain origin

bab scunail FFG s.v. *bab*².

bruitsil < breeching, perhaps influenced by bridle.

Caharlan, *ag tuamba* Chaharlan eg' tu:mbə x'æ:hərlən M (in Maínis graveyard).

Cavour, *an Cavour* əŋ' 'k'æ'wau(ə)r 892M, 27Md, əŋ' 'k'æ'waur 27Cbq. (Name of ship wrecked locally; Cavour was a nineteenth-century Italian statesman.)

ceabhiteáil k'æ'v'ə'tɔ:l' < caveat ?

Cinacky ? k'ə'n'æk'ə k'ə'n'æk'i:; *Tomás* Chinacky tumɑ:s x'ə'n'æk'i: (who was a Conneely).

ciubáí.

an Comper ? əŋ kɑ:mpər 03C.

kun̩kə d̩ɪp', also known as MacDougall's Dip mak d̩u:gəls d̩ɪp' 20MI.

dealain dé in *Ní fiú d̩alɪn' d̩e: é* FFG s.v. *fiú* 2.

donks d̩æ:ŋk's d̩æ:ŋks expletive, cp. docks and *deac* d'æ:k GCF §429, FFG.

gaieties ? > g'e:v'əl'fɪ:s.

góljaráí.

Rinne sí jam jug S (of key-stone in arch).¹
Jewman ? **ɟʊmən** (by-)name **14M**, M (cf. B. Share 1997 s.v. Jewman).
go hinteacac gə hin'ʔəkək 'very far, deep'.
leaicstar, leaicstaráil **ʔæk'strá:l** SM, **ʔæk'stəra:l** SM, *leaicáil* **ʔæk'sa:l**
52P, *leaicááil* **ʔæk'si:a:l** **52P**.
lagspiteáladh uilig e, leis an tórhainn [i.e. *teorainn*] **la:gsbi:alu**: S85.
Midas ? > **maidæk** **892M**tn, Viking character in Fenian tale.
munjí mun'ɟi:, cp. munja, etc., OED.
plíúits = pooch ? : *ní ra plíúits a' bith ar a chorp ná ra' sávairin fillte suas ánn*
894C9.
rabh babhns **'rau'bauns** FFG, **'ræ'bauns** M, **rə'bauns/z** M87.
ritsil FFG.
roicstí rek'fʃi: P, cp. *reicstí* LFRM, *rucstí* FFG20.
sc(l)uits, sc(l)uitseáil.
scraidí skraɟi: FFG, cp. *scraɟyin* var. *scraɟeen* (Southern Irish) EDD.
scut skuf, scut-áil skufá:l; from scut 'tail of hare or rabbit' according to Dolan
(1998: s.v.).
sleádaráil ʃl'adəra:l M, but FFG (s.v., iv), without the phonetic transcription,
implies **ʃl'adəra:l**.
sleaimín sleo ʃl'æm'in' ʃl'o: S.
Tá mé ag cheapadh gá bhfeiceadh muid Joe an uair sin go mba gránna, go mba
ghránna an spilingtí sp'il'ij'ti: [perhaps **-n'ti:**; < penalty ?] *é nuair a bhí an*
bhean sí ag tíoct isteach. **892M**.
níl na doirse atá anis ... snéiteáilte ʃn'ē:ta:l'ə (< neat-áilte ?) *ach an oiread ...*
draught agus gaoth ... thriothub **892M**; cp. this speaker's *sniogáilte* used in
the same context earlier in the same discourse.
stinseáilte ʃti:nʃa:l'ə M, **ʃti:nʃa:l'ə** S < perhaps stingy, stinge EDD.
stroicneáil < perhaps strike, stricken. Cp. *struic* FFG20, 24.
teáfaí 'breaking of wind', cp. perhaps taffy and tufóg. Recorded in *scaoil me héin*
teáfaí ʔa:fi: S. Heard by Seán from an old woman.
tóbar ʔo:bər FFG19, 31, cp. **ʔo:pər** *tópar* FFG20. Cp. **tobar ʔabər** (< *Shelta* <
bóthar) in Dolan (1998 s.v.).
Toom-ín ... Páraic Bhriarta' (rhyme)**894C9**.

11.118 Irish and English

There are words which show aspects of both Irish and English bases. Quite a few proper names have this blending.

Phonologically, **x** is marginal in most varieties of Hiberno-English but is common in our dialect in certain proper names which otherwise have English phonology:

Clogherty, a *Mhíostar Clachairtí* **!894C9**, *Seáinín Clogherty* **ʃa:n'in'**
kla:xərti: / **klahərti:** **14M**, *nach Cloghartaigh mé nax klahərtə me*
66N.

Connaught **kanəxt**.

Donaghues **ɟūnəxu:s** **18J8190**. Cp. *Dionachaí* **894C9** (in old saying),
perhaps indicating Donaghy **ɟunəxi:**.

¹ I no longer recall the meaning here, whether the key-stone was held firmly in place or whether it broke into pieces. I queried speaker **27Md**, who found both these meanings possible in Seán's example. She recalled the phrase 'jam jug' meaning 'jam in a jug, shop jam'.

Gallagher g'æləxər 27Md.

Gaughan gaxən 892M1746.

Geraghty g'or̥t̥i: SM, g'or̥x̥t̥i: P, 37M, g'er̥ət̥i: 47P.

O'Loughlan lə:xlən; O'Loughlainn o:lə:xlən 20MI.

Lough Oran ləx o:rən / o:r̥ŋ 02J, Loughrea ləx re: . Cf. O'Loughrane.

Monaghan ma:nəxən S (place-name and surname), ma'nəxən 21J (singular), na Monaghain nə ma:nəxən P (plural).

O'Loughrane o:ləxrən 11C, a Mhister O'Loughrainn v'istər o:ləxrən !21Pt.

Shaughnessy, ʃəx̥nəsi:, tigh Shhaughnessy t̥i: hæ:x̥nəsi: S.

Further phonological blends appear in other proper names:

Arthur Ártúr 894C9, Ir. *Artúr*.

Ballynahinch ba:l'ə nə hɪŋf 20MI, Ir. *Baile na hInse*.

Ben Lettry b'in' l'etr̥i: 23M, Ir. *Binn Leitrí*.

Bofin (Island) bɪf'ən !Pt, bef'ən 11C, in' əf bɒf'ən, Ir. *Innis Bó Finne*.

Carney, na *Ceatharnaí's* 894C9 (in Co. Clare), Ir. *Ceatharnaigh*.

i gClontarf ə gl̥i:n 't̥ær̥əf' also *i gCluain Tarbh* ə gl̥i:n t̥ær̥u: 892M5711.

Craughwell k'rə:xwəl 06C, kr'æ:xwəl 898P.

Derrane d̥ər̥r̥ən' generally, but d'ur̥r̥ən' 51N, Ir. *Ó Direáin*.

Faherty, Farty f'ar̥t̥i: 18J, f'ar̥hər̥t̥i: 22P, Fahert(y)-ach f'ar̥t̥əx 18J, Ir. *Fathartaigh*.

Maam Cross məm 'kra:s also mam 'kra:s 20MI, but mə:m 'kra:əs 25M, cp. Ir. *An Mám*, etc.

MacDougall's Dip mak d̥u:gəls d̥ip' 20MI, Ir. *Mac*.

Mannion ma:n'ən 20MI (entirely English-based form is m'æ:n'ən), Ir. *Mainchín*.

Mulkerrins, nə mul'k'iera:n' 892Mg, *Máire Ní Maoil Chiaráin* mul'x'iera:n' S, mi:l' k'iera:n' 20C, Ir. (*Ó*) *Maoil Chiaráin*.

O' in surnames o(:) ~ a(:): O'Leary a l'eri: S.

Packy generally p'æk'i: but Packy Sheáin Khathy p̥a:ki: x'a:n' x'æ:t̥ə 19B, M, Packy Keane p̥a:ki: k'en' 20C, perhaps related to the *á* in *Pádraig*.

Cp. Scrahallia sru hæl'ə 20MI, Ir. *Sraith Sháile* fru hæl'ə 875P.

Note: -n' in O'Loughlan, O'Loughrane above; -ər̥t̥ə in Clogherty above; *Londondoir* [x1+] 852S2; Costelloe kast̥əlo: 18J8246.

Recall the retention of borrowed English *l* in the old borrowing Lynch l'ɪ:nʃə, e.g. *Peaide Línse* 1894C9, Lynch-ach l'ɪ:nʃəx. Recall also the exceptional palatality of the final *m* in Rome and Tuam (11.57) perhaps influenced by Irish *Róimh* and *Tuaim* respectively.

Cp. *Cinnéideach* k'in'e:d'əx 21Pg8583, 18J8598, perhaps influenced by Kennedy k'in'idi:; speaker 892M has two versions of Father McHugh f'adər əŋ' k'u: ARN1671, f'adər v'ə k'u: ARN1673.

Cp. also words with initial *j*, e.g. *sa Europe* sə ju:ro:p' S.

11.119 Nouns

college, ka'lə:ʃt̥ə 43M (slip of the tongue), Ir. *coláiste*. Cp. scholarship below.

doctor, *an doctor* ən ɫa:xtər 36S, Doctor Gaughan ɫaxɫər [-dər ?] ɟaxən 892M1746, Ir. *dochtúr*.

furnace, plural *foinäsaxi*: 02J, but *foin'äsaxə* 36P, Ir. *foirnis foin'əf*.

garlic, *ruainne garleoge a ... ru:n'ə ɟ'æ:rl'ə:ɟ' ə ...* M, Ir. *ɟa:rl'ə:ɟ gairleog*.

general, nonlenition in *ardginearálaí* 866E-Sc32.31 and *de ginearálaí* 866E-Sc33.30 implies that *ginearálaí* was perhaps pronounced with initial ɫɟ-, i.e.

*ɫɟin'əra:li:, or (less likely) that lenition of ɟ' - was avoided because of the perceived borrowed status.

hospital, *aspəd'e:l* 11J, dialect *əspək'il'*; *isp'id'e:l* 66Lt perhaps influenced by *oscail* by-form *iskəl'* (e.g. 64M her brother); Ir. *ospidéal*.

notion *n'ə:fən* generally, but *n'ə:fu:n* 36P; compare, for example, Eng. *nation* = Ir. *náisiún*. Cp. older *treabhsar tr'ausər* generally, but *tr'ausur* 37J.

mouth-organ 'maut:ɑ:rgən generally, but *ɑ:rga:m b'e:l'* 36P, Ir. *orgán béil*.

passenger, *p'ə:fən'əri*: 899D6192 (unless unstressed -é- is simply phonetically reduced), Ir. *peaisinéaraí* (plural).

(peri)winkles, Ir. *faocha(in)* may be influenced by (peri)winkles in 80C's forms (1994) *faochailí*, *ag piocadh faochan fi:xəl'i*, *p'ukə fi:xən* 80C.

question and Ir. *ceist*, when 'questions' had been mentioned on television Máire said *Ó! na ceisteanachaí a bhíonns ... ɔ: nə k'ɛft'ənəxi: v'ins ...* M.

scholarship, *ska'lər'əxt* 43M (slip of the tongue), Ir. *scoláireacht*.

stole and Ir. *stoil* seem to have merged in *stíl' ~ ftil' M*.

wheelbarrow, generally 'fi:l', *b'ærə*, but 'fi:l', *ba'rə* 45N, Ir. *bara*.

11.120 Semantics and use

The semantics of mean in *mean-áil* seems influenced by Ir. *míneigh* in:

m/hean-álthadh Seán Choilm duit é v'i:n'ɑ:ləx ʃa:n xəl'əm' dít' e 08B.

Compounds are borrowed, a further example is:

bhíodar black-eye-áilte salach aige 868P2.

Compounds of mixed derivation are rare:

sin bull-cac fin' 'bul,ka:k M;

slash-mhargadh 'ʃl'æ:f,wa:rəgə M.

Examples abound of native Irish, earlier loans and modern loans side by side.

Examples of three layers of borrowings occur in:

stropáil stropá:l' M, *strapáil strapá:l' M*, *strap-áil stræ:p'ɑ:l' M*;

crústa > crooshting > croosht-áil.

Interchanging, often in the same discourse, is common, e.g.

cána aige ... staic dhe chána aige ... dhá chane ka:n eg'ə ... stæ:k' ɟə xa:n eg'ə ... ɟa x'e:n' Pt.

Note the following example from a story, where the older *canna* is glossed by the more current *tin can*:

v'i: ka:n ek'ə d'er ʃe 'tɪŋ,k'æ:n' v'i: m'e ɟol' hi:mpəl er' ə ɟa:nə r'íəw Pt

'*Bhí canna aici,*' a *deir sé*, '*tin can*, *bhí mé ag goil thimpeall ar an gcanna ariamh ...*'.

Cp. *cnaigín kræg'i:n' = noggin n'æ'ɟ'i:n'*.

Irish words, generally with derogatory connotations, may change **t** to **ʃ**, **d** to **ɫ**:

pleota > pl'ə:ʃ pleoi' fl'ə:ʃ fleoi't; cp. *raideasach ræ:ɫəsəx = radaireacht S*.

The older borrowing *pradastún* has a plural in -s in **pradəstʉ:ns** P, by analogy with English Protestants; cp. also vagabonds v'æ'g'əbu:ns M.

11.121 Latin

Latin words, or words influenced by Latin in the religious context, are:

seacht bpaidreachaí agus seacht n-'Ave Maria' 'N'ε'm'e: ma:r'i:ε **04B**;
Íosa Críost: 'S a Íosta Críost(é) ná'r ... !**894C9**.

this transcription may indicate two variable pronunciations: Irish **kr'i:st** and Latin influenced **kr'i:ste**; or perhaps the brackets indicate **kr'i:ste**. Perhaps the same exclamation occurs in the ediphone recording of **866E**, the possible *Íosa* element of which is unclear: **α: jiəə kr'i:ste** or **α: jesə kr'i:ste** **866E**tn.

11.122 Irish

Borrowings or adoptions from the expanded lexicon of (post-revival) Modern Irish are sometimes changed or adapted. For convenience these items are termed Modern Irish borrowings. Examples of such borrowings in the vernacular are for the most part limited to words linked to officialdom or the language and cultural revival. They may show features similar to borrowings from English; presumably, for example, *Dáil* **da:l** **892M**, S and *duais* **du:f** **25M**, **84P**, are borrowed at least partly from English use or non-native pronunciation. The regular plural of *céilí* > *céilíos/z* also shows its English origin.

Afraic Theas, An, (in)san (t)Afraice (ó) Theas **sə tæ:fræk'ə hæ:s** [x2], **ənsən æ:fræk' o: hæ:s** !**16C**, *san Afraic Theas* S.

agallamh beirte, a'gəlu(:) b'ə:ert'ə **16C**, **α:gələ b'ert'ə** **03Vt**; plural **α:gəlu:x'i b'ert'ə** [**b'ort'ə** ?] **10B**.

aibhléis, nasalised: *an solas aibhléis(e)* **sələs æ:v'l'e:f** **03Vt** (note -v'l-, rather than -v'l'- which is general in native words); metathesised: **ə soləs elv'e:fə** **11C3589**.

aiste, scríofa' tú aiste beag dhom **11Ctn** (*aiste* fem (var. masc) FGB).

Bord Iascaigh Mhara, bord iəski' warə **23Jt**, *baurd iəski: marə* **26Pct**; possibly 2D genitive (traditional *iascach* is typically feminine without genitive inflection, 3.4).

Bord na hIascach, bord nə hiəskəx **11C**.

ceardscoil, eg' ə | 'g'ɑ:rd,skol' | **20A** *ag an gceardscoil*.

cearnógach (for borrowed square-áilte), **k'ærno:gəx ... k'ærno:gəx | skwe:ɑ:l't'ə ...** **11C**, **k'ærno:gəx** **11C1348**.

cearta sibhialta, k'ærtə fjiəv'altə M.

comparáid, influenced by *compóirt*, seems to replace native *comórtas* (and *cosúlacht*) in *bhí mé dhá gcur i gcompóirt le ... ga: gur ə gumpo:rt' (l) Yε ...* **20My** 'I was comparing them to ...'.

cothrom na Féinne kohərəm nə f'e:n'ə **35Ml**.

Dáil, thuas sa Dáil da:l S.

deontas, plural **d'ontəsəxi d'ontəf** **71D**.

druga, plural **drugi:hə** **36P** 'drugs', perhaps influenced by druggy.

duais du:f **25M**.

Feabhra, cp. **f'e:brə** 46.904 (perhaps influenced by February).

feis (~ *féis* Dinn) **f'e:f** S, **f'ej** P, **f'ejəni:** S. So also, *féis* in the song *Cúirt an*

- tSrutháin Bhuí* by Colm de Bhailís of Oileán Gharamna (line 15; Denvir 1996: 73, 103); cp. Scottish Gaelic *féis, féisd* 'feast, entertainment'.
- Fianna Fáil f'ianə fa:l' 892M, f'ianə fa:l S, f'i:n'ə fa:l' M.* Cp. *Fine Gael*.
Fine Gael faij' g'e:l' 892M, S, f'in'ə ge:l 32J, faij ge:l' !39D. Cp. *Fianna Fáil* above.
- Gael-Linn 'g'e:l'in' 892Mg*, also *ar bháid seo Ghael-Linn er' wə:d fo 'je:l'in' 892Mg, 'ge:l'in' M.*
- galtán gə:lta:n SID.46 s.v.*
- innealtóir, an t-innealtóir ə t'in'əltə:r' [sic] 16C.*
- Iúil, in Iúil ən u:l 16C.*
- leictreachas, Ní raibh aon leictreachais L'ektr'əxəf [sic] acú 06C* (form perhaps from *Bord Soláthair an Leictreachais*).
- léarscáil, plural L'erska:lta léarscálta* (highly literate male speaker, born c. 1935).
- monarcha(i)(n) mūnəxən' !11C, munəxən' 30Ms, munəxər' 05M, munərxən' 25Tt, munərkə 36P, 43J, munərkən 60M* (not stylistically marked in 60M's instance).
- Cp. *naíonán, insna naíonáin ənsnə ni:a:n' 03S.*
- Nua-Eabhrac nu: ovrəx !11C.*
- Oireachtas er'əxtəs M, er'əxədəs 04Br, 05M, 37M, 74N, 66N* (festival of *Conradh na Gaeilge*). Cp. *oireagadas LFRM* (in folk tales) < *oireachtas*.
ollamh, tháinic an t-easpag, agus an t-uachtarán a bhí i gConamara 11C.
hollaí le chéile 11C.
- Cp. *oráiste urə:f't ə P*, more commonly *orange*.
príomh-, badh iad an dá phríomháit 'fr'i:v'ā:t' uilig a bhí i gConamara 11C.
- Radio na Gaeltachta, re:d'i:ə nə ɲe:l'təxt [sic] S.*
- Sinn Féin jin' f'ē:n' 892M.*
- feadóg stáin f'ædɔ:g stā:n' 11C* (in radio interview; immediately glossed by the speaker with vernacular *feadóg tìn*).
- teilifís na Gaeltacht tɛl'əf'i:f nə ge:l'təxt 45P*, a blend with *television*, or the alveolar pronunciation of southern Irish.
- tionchar t'unxər 35E* (in 2005), historically nonpalatal *-nch-* > *-nəx-*.
- tuiséal giniúnach tɪf'k'u:n' junu:nəx 21Pt.*
- tuismitheoir t'ijm'əhə:r' 52P.*

Higher numerals are most often in English. Examples of numerals acquired at school, and through other literacy and media, are (cf. 3.79):

- ceathracha*, e.g. *ceathracha naoi k'æhərxə ni: 14M, -hər-* through analogy with *ceathair*.
- caoga ki:gə*; also *cúigiú ku:g'u* (< *cúig*).
- seasca*, e.g. *punt seasca punt fe:skə 23M* (< *sé*).

11.123 Formal style

Very few older speakers adopt everyday Modern Irish borrowings into their vernacular, but speaker 11C, a fine storyteller and consciously good speaker, does. For example, *cearnógach k'ærno:gəx 11C* (in neither CFNG nor Dinn but in FGB) for usual *square-áilte*. He frequently has *uaireadóir uər'ədɔ:r' 11C* for usual *watch*. The word *uaireadóir* may be traditional in the dialect; it is found in a

text dated 1694 (CFNG), in Dinn, source Tourmakeady, Co. Mayo (also in FGB) as well as in Scottish Gaelic (EPG s.v. *uaireadair*). It is nonetheless felt by speakers to be ‘bookish’ or of school origin whereas *watch* is well established and heard in song (*An tAmhrán Bréagach*) and in the proverb *Chance ar watch i gcac* *police* *fæ'n's er' wa'fj ə gak 'pø:l'i:*. An example possibly in more formal style is the use of the verb *taistil* in the form of a noteworthy verbal adjective: ... *taistithe ann ... tæft' i' a:n* (spoken to me, speaker's name not noted). Speaker **04B** has obviously conscious Modern Irish borrowings on a recording for radio:

inneall, na báid innill acub nə bə:d' 'i'n' il' a'kəb 04B (the stress is perhaps through emphasis in the stylistically marked context); cp. plural *na hinnill nə hi'n əl' 11C1104, na hinneallachaí nə hi'n ələxi: 20At.*

traidisiún trə'di:ʃu:n 04B, a blend with *tradition*, cp. *teilifís* above (11.122).

Similarly, in a radio interview, speaker **17Mp** has frequent *bád inneall bəd in' əl' 17Mp* but one blend with *engine* in *bád inneall bəd in' dʒəl 17Mp*.

Another blend is vernacular *differ d'if' ər, difference d'if' ərəns* (e.g. **11Ct**), with standard *difríocht > d'if' əriəxt 11Ct, 17Mp, d'if' ərə:əxt 05Mt*; a more literate speaker has *d'ifr' iəxt 20A*. Cp. speaker **11C**'s *Páirc na Cruaiche pə:rk' nə kruəhə 11C4234*, a translation of *Croke Park* as if it were ‘Croagh Park’, corresponding perhaps particularly to the common pronunciation *kro: p' ər-k'*.

Such stylistic avoidance of English borrowings, and hence adoption of Modern Irish neologisms and usage, is now common (e.g. on radio and television). Note the lack of vocalic lengthening in, for example, *er' ə^ə | 'mø:r,ri:n' 35E9187 ar an Mór-roinn*. The gender of these Modern Irish borrowings tends to be masculine, e.g. *an monarca* (< *an mhonarcha*); *céard é an t-'imirce'?* **05M** (the speaker did not understand the word, which had been read from a questionnaire by the interviewer; < *an imirce*).

11.124 Example

Speaker **17Md** is a university-educated schoolteacher from An Aird Thiar. She has widespread nonvernacular use in a radio interview, drawing both from external sources and local higher register or older usage. The following list will exemplify the range of features affected in her interview (all **17Md**):

- phonology *io > u* in *an t-ionannachas ən tu:nənəxəs*; cp. vernacular *ionann anən*;
o, ó > o: in *fó-ábhar 'fò:ə:vər*; cp. higher-register preposition *fó*;
u > u in *ullmhúchán ulu:xə:n*; cp. vernacular *ullmhú olu:*;
ng > ŋ in *rang raŋ*; cp. vernacular *raŋg*;
n > n in *mná rialta mna: riəltə, na gnáthábhair nə 'gna:ə:vər'*;
 cp. vernacular *mná mra:, gnás gna:s gra:s*;
 palatal *r > r* in *na hArdteistiméarachta*, based on vernacular *-éarachta*;
 cp. *r > r*, e.g. *rinne ri'n ə, réidh re:, bródúil brø:du:l'*; vernacular *r*;
 cp. also *-mhn-* in *cúimhneach ki:n' əx ki:vŋ' əx ki:v'n' əx*, common vernacular *-vr' -, -mr' -*;
 stress *paróisteach pə'ro:ft' əx, poblachtánachas pøbləx'ta:nəxəs, ar ndóigh ar 'nu:, na gnáthábhair nə 'gna:ə:vər'*; cp. vernacular

	regular initial stress; compounds often have secondary stress on second element;
blend	<i>poblachtánachas</i> pobləx'ta:nəxəs ; cp. <i>poblacht</i> pobləxt ;
sandhi	<i>an t-ionannachas</i> ən tunənəxəs , <i>san iolscoil</i> sən' ilskol' ; neither word found in vernacular (cp. <i>ionann</i> ənən);
morphology	genitive <i>na hArdteistiméarachta</i> ; cp. vernacular genitive <i>-acht</i> ;
lenition	cp. <i>ba bhealach é</i> ; vernacular <i>ba</i> usually takes nonlenited nouns;
functor	<i>ar eagla go mbeinn paróisteach</i> ər' a:glə gə m'ən' pə'ro:ftəx ; cp. vernacular <i>ar fhaitíos go</i> , higher register <i>ar eagla is go</i> ;
vocabulary	<i>bhí sé greanta i m'aighe</i> v' i fə gr' a:ntə mæ:gn' ə ; cp. vernacular <i>intinn</i> ; <i>fear ildánach (ioldánach)</i> f' ær 'v'ldə:nəx ; cp. <i>ar rudaí suar-</i> , <i>sreamacha dhen tsórt sin</i> (figurative use of <i>sreamach</i> preferred by the speaker to commoner <i>rudaí suaracha</i> , for stylistic reasons).

This type of speech is very atypical for her generation but is now far more common.

11.125 Dialect replacement

Replacement of phonological dialect features by more standard features is not common in traditional speakers (discounting schoolteachers and certain highly literate speakers). Examples noted, are mostly from females born since the 1950s; males born in the 1960s and particularly in the 1970s also display replacement.

- ó* = **o:** in nasal contexts (dialect **u:**): *comhairle* **ko:r'l ə 52P**; *comhaireamh* **ko:r' ə 51N**; *mo shrón* **mə hrən 56B**; *níos mó n'is* **mo: 66N**, as *comhair as* **ko:r' 66N**.
- ei* *Leitir hArd* **l'it'ər' a:rd 71D** (influenced by *litir*; dialect **l'et'ər'** = standard *litir* and *Leitir*; cp. *Leitir Mhór* **78Rb** (9.176)).
- t* *teangmhachtáil* **t'a:ngəxta:l' 54C**, cp. **ta-** SM (**54C**'s parents) but **t'-Mq?**perm; and *dhá dteangadh-fí* **gə d'æ:ngəx-f' i: 48J** (-xfi: on original slip). Unfortunately, neither token of probable **t'**, **d'** was clearly audible.
- bh* Retained in epenthetic cluster:
beo nó marbh atá sé **b'jo: nu' ma:rəv' ə tə fə 66N**.
- ch* *droichead* **dr'ix'əd 52P** seems to be a spelling pronunciation for traditional **drohəd**.
- ult* *Garraí na nUltach* **gari: nə nultəx 72C, 73P** (dialect **aultəx**).
- r* The nonpalatal *r* in *na hÉireannacháí* **nə he:rənəxi 66N** may be a result of influence from the pronunciation of Hiberno-English speakers' *r*. In English speech *Éireann* is commonly used, for example, in *mná na hÉireann*.

11.126 Miscellaneous

arán **ə'ra:n ~ ra:n 66N**.

bainis **ban'əf 54Cq**.

beach: The nondialectal variant seems to have caused miscomprehension in the following conversation:

-*Bhí beach ... 52P* -*Me-*, *cleabhar ab ea?* M

-*Meach, mhór, ... beach 52P*.

Conaire **kun̪t̪rə** but now also **kun̪ər̪ə**. The latter is used by Seán when referring to the surname with extraneous connections, e.g. the writer *Pádraig Ó Conaire*.

déanta d'ɛ:ntə **52P**, also *d'intə* **52P**.

deichniúr d'ɛxn̪ u:r d'eh̪n̪ u:r **64M** (2005).

dlí dl̪i: **60M** (dialect *dl̪i:v*).

dreifíúr, dr̪'efu:r is used by many young people, e.g. **64M**, **66M**, also *dr̪'ef̪'u:r* **66N**. This form which is common in central Iar-Chonnachta, as well as Munster and Ulster (cf. SID Mp 103, GCF Innéacs *dr̪'aur*), is perhaps spelling, replacing *dr̪'ehur*. The traditional form is perhaps felt to be phonetically underdifferentiated from *dreatháir dr̪'ehar̪'*.

éirigh, in ... *ax | n̪i:r air̪ i' Íum* **66N** ... *ach níor éirigh liom* (with emphatic intonation).

fáinleog fa:n̪l̪'ɔ:g **77Cq** (produced in translation, perhaps -l̪-).

foghlaím fo:l̪əm' **65T**, **66N**, *d'fhoghlaím do:l̪əm'* **66N**.

galar plural *galair galər'* **54Cq**; singular *ga'ler* **64Mq**, plural *ga'le:r̪əxi:* **64Mq**; unstressed ɛ(̪) here can be derived from traditional dialect (V:xi) plural (regular with *galra*), which is commonly *axi*: >> *exi*: for speaker **64Mq**.

leadránach l̪'æ:dra:nəx 'boring', *Bíonn se chomh leadránach* **56N**.

muinéal, the minority variant *min̪'e:l*, e.g. *min̪'ɑ:l* >> *min̪'e:l* S, which is closer to spelling, seems to be on the increase: *min̪'e:l* **56B**, **70S**.

sampla, ag tabhairt drochshampla dho ... to:rt' 'drox'hɑ:mplə gə ... **52P**.

sciathán, ʃk'i:hɑ:n **76N** (also **66N** perhaps influenced by her mother's lect, of An Cheathrú Rua).

sláinte, cp. *slɑ:n̪t̪ ə* **71D**.

teighre 'go', *théann he:n* **72N**, **76Mt**.

tuig, tuigthidh t̪'ik ə **66N**.

uaigh, sa bhfuaigh sə wu'i **43M**, but when queried about this form **43M** gave genuine dialect forms *an uaigh, ... na fuaigh / fuaí, sa bhfuaigh, ní 'sa bhfuaí' ən uə, ... nə fuə / fuəi, sə wuə, n̪i' sə wu'i* **43Mq**. Also *d'abraítí 'fua' ach 'ua' abraítonns muide anois* **29Cq**.

11.127 Functors and morphology

Closed class lexemes show replacement.

anois ə'nif **51N**, **55J**, **66N**.

chun cinn xun k'i:n' **66N** in ... *d'iarraidh bheith chun cinn ar chuile dhuine*.

dar leatsa, Agus céard é héin dar leatsa? dar̪ l̪'æ:tsə **66N**.

éigin, ... e:g'ən' **45Có** often, probably used by **45Có** not just in my presence.

gan, consistently *ga'n* **52P**, *ax ga'n ə bro:gə xo:r̪ə* **51N** *ach gan a bróga a chomhaireamh*, also noted from **69S1**, **78Pb**.

ionann's, ... dáta ionann's unəns thuas orthub **66N**.

mar dh'ea mar 'jæ **43M** (in 2005), cf. 8.213.

muna, munə m'ex **80A** *muna mbeadh*.

nó no: **66L**.

ós cionn ɔ:s k'i:n **66N**, *ɔ:s ə x'i:n* **66N**; *ós comhair* > *as comhair as ko:r'* **66N**.

ro-, ro-dhomhain ro'yaun' [x2] **79A**.

seo, **fo e dahər** 77Cq *seo é d'athair* produced in query. Among young announcers from Conamara on radio and television **fo e**: *seo é* is now (2005) common for traditional **fod/w e**: (cp. rare traditional **fo i**: *seo í*, 6.74). Similarly, **fo iad ... seo iad ...** (heard from a male native of Ros Cíde, Ros Muc, born c. 1995) for traditional **fod/w iad**.

tar éis, **tə're:f** 66N.

trí, bíonn naíonra trí Ghaeilge aici b'ín ní:nrə tr'í: ɣe:lg' ek'ə 43M88 (note the official and revivalist context (the *naíonra* in question was situated in the *Galltacht* or English-speaking area); *i nGaeilge* is more idiomatic for our dialect).

Other examples are noted in 9.172 ff., especially 9.180.

Morphology

Morphological borrowing from Modern Irish is, generally speaking, not common. There is in fact much morphological loss in the dialect (not replacement).

1 Declension *-ach* with genitive *-aigh -i*: for dialectal *-ə*, occurs in the official title *Taoiseach*:

heod í cailín an Taoisigh anois hod í ka'í:n' ə ti:f'i' ə'n'ij' M.

Cp. *creideamh*, conservative genitive *creidí* 894C.

The increase, led by females, in the analytic 3 person plural with *siad* in the verb since the 1920s and 30s and in 3 plural *-ú* in the prepositional pronoun since the 1970s at the latest, may be related to the fact that these features correspond to the written standard. They contrast with *dar* and *-ab* which are absent from the written standard.

In derivational morphology common replacements are the (mixed) forms *feirmeoir f'er'əm'er* 56T and *feirmeoireacht f'er'əm'or'əxt* (e.g. 72C) for dialect *feilméara(chi) f'er'əm'erə(xt)*.

Sandhi

11.128 General

Vowel sandhi occurs often as in Irish, e.g. *æ > a* in nonpalatal context:

bhí mé ag admire-áil an chairr v'í m'e g a:d'mairə:l' ə xə:r' 16B.

This vowel sandhi has repercussions on the palatality of neighbouring consonants:

answer-áil æ'n'srə:l', but *ag answer-áil əg a:nsrə:l'*, and

D'answer-áil sé ansin é da:nsrə:l' fe ə'n'fin' e M.

Noteworthy consonant sandhi involving palatalisation and coalescence (as word-internally, 11.94) occurs in:

-n' d j- > -nd': *mind you main' d'u*: M. Cp. *thank you tæ:ŋk'ə*.

Note *-z t'- > -z t'-* of borrowed plural *-z* in *ga'd'i:z t'impəl* 892Mg *Gaidíoz timpeall* (2.25).

11.129 Quality of proclitics

The verbal particle *d'* is categorically nonpalatal, except, in response to query, before *ghíumar < humour* (11.170). Note the palatalisation with the Modern Irish borrowing *aontaigh*: *d'aontaíodar air d'enti:dər er'* 35E.

Possessive pronouns

Older speakers have 2sg *t'* before vowels which is attested palatal before lenited palatal *fh*-:

2sg *t'fhamily héin t'æm'íl'i: hən' 02J.*
iad dho t'overcharge-áil iad gə to:wər'fjær'tʃa:l' S.

Palatality of -n in proclitics

Preposed *n* of the article and other clitics as well as eclipsed *n* are generally non-palatal before vowel-initial borrowings, two exceptions being hospital *æspək'íl'*, which generally takes palatal forms of the article, and eclipsis of Latin *seacht n*-‘Ave Maria’ *ʃa:xt 'N'ε'm'e: mɑ:r'i'ε 04B*. The palatal realisation with hospital is also found outside Iorras Aithneach; I have heard it from a speaker from Cois Fharraige, and it is evident in the spelling *easpaicil* FFG. The Modern Irish borrowing *inneall* takes both a palatal and nonpalatal article: *an t-inneall ə tɪn'əl 06C* and *an t-innealtóir ə t'ɪn'əltɔ:r' [sic] 16C*. Before lenited palatalised *f*, *an* (article) and *aon* are realised in final *N'* (as generally in native words) as well as *nN'*, *n'* and *n*, e.g.

aon fhactory amháin ē:n' / ē:n' æk'dəri: əwā:n' 897S;
aon fhamily ē:n' æm'əl'i:, e:n' æm'íl'i: 21Pt, ē:n n'æm'əl'i: 32J.

For examples of the article, see 11.169.

Further examples of preposed *n* before front base vowels are:

aon > n or *n'* *aon fhamily ən æm'íl'i: [perhaps ən'] 20My.*
eclipsis > n' *in hospital ən' æ:spək'íl' P (often).*
eclipsis (or un) > n *in [or un] hospital ... as an hospital ən æ:spək'íl' ... æs ən æ:spək'íl' 05M.*
linking n > n *bhí sé ina M.P. v'i' ʃe 'num'p'i: | 03C < M.P. 'im'p'i:*

The optional use of alveolar articulation in preposed *n* (*n'*) and *t* of the article (*t'* before only) is remarkable. In this realisation the preposed element is assimilated to its host and, one could argue, it adopts borrowed phonology.

Verbal Noun *ag* before vowels

Verbal noun *ag* *əg* is nonpalatal before vowel-initial borrowings, e.g.

ag answer-áil əg a:nsrɑ:l' (cp. 11.170);
ag examine-áil g əg'zæm'in'ɑ:l' [perhaps g əg'] 892M5102.

The *g* is absent (apparently avoided) before a vowel in:

is bhí muid ag, orienteer-áil s v'i: mid' ə | ,ori:en'ʃiərə:l' 76Mt.

Morphology

11.130 Grammatical classes and categories

Borrowing can come from all major grammatical classes. This includes, for example, preposed adjectives (i.e. English syntax):

only, Sí an t-only duine ʃi: n tɔ:n'l'i: dɪn'ə M;
lousy, leis an lousy obair sin ʃ'ɛʃ ən lauzi ɔbər ʃən' 12J.

Change in grammatical category is not common. An English noun is used as an

adjective in Irish in the case of jealousy (through analogy with adjectival -y, itself similar to Irish -í(the), 11.138):

Tá siad chomh jealousy leis an deabhal; Bhíodar an-jealousy leis.

In more progressive use:

tá siad jealous, dearg-jealous M.

The lexeme stink (noun and verb) is interpreted as an adjective; e.g.

tá an áit sin stink f'íngk' ~ stíngk' M,

tá Páraic stink f'íngk' Mperm; balthadh stink Mperm.

Cp. the adjectival use of screw loose in:

Tá se screw loose an bastard sin, tá an iomarca red tape aige sin S,

go raibh se screw loose S.

A handful of English adjectives are used as nouns in Irish. They correspond to the important nominal class in Irish which combine with prepositions to denote feelings and state:

happy, *go raibh happy orm gə ro hæ:p'i: orəm M.*

slack, *tháinic slack orm hæ:n'ək' f'í æ:k' orəm* 'I felt weak (slack)'. The meaning of slack in the Irish construction corresponds to the sense of the English adjective (and verb) rather than the substantive slack.

smart, not generally used as noun in English but used as abstract noun in Irish by a small minority of speakers, e.g. *Ní raibh aon smart air ina dhiaidh sin ní ro e:n sm'ærɪt er' nə jìə fín' P.* This use would be avoided by Seán and Máire (*Ní sound-áladh se ceart dom Sq, Uise ní rud ceart é le rá: 'Ní raibh aon smart-áltacht ag baint leis,' a déarthainnse uʃə ní: rud 'k'ærɪt e l'e ra: ní r e:n sm'ærɪt:áltəxt ə bæ:n't l'ef ə 'd'ærhənfə Mq).*

sorry: *bhí sorry orm nar choimigh mé é v'i: sari: orəm nar: xín'ə m' e e*
02J. Nominal use by older speakers only: *bhí mé sorry* is typical for Seán and Máire and family.

The more common use of happy and sorry as borrowed adjectives is indicative of the systemic shift borrowings can effect on the recipient language, in this instance reducing the overall nominal nature of Irish (cf. 11.9).

What appears to be an English verb used as an Irish noun, with derived adjective and verb, is found in must:

an mhust n wuʃt S; adjectives must-úil, must-áilte; verb must-áil.

Similarly, nominal bless for blessing in:

Nár raibh bless air! na ra bl'es er' 59B.

Other types of transfer are found. The names of counties and countries are heard in the plural denoting natives of those places:

na Donegals 05M (cp. 05Mq's plural of Ciarraíoch > Ciarraíos, in query);

na Belgiums nə b'el'ðəms M;

d'fhéadthadh an áit sin a bheith tóigthí over ag Hollands 23M;

na Norways nə nar'we:s 18J7037, but na Norwegians nə nar'wi:ðəns 35E7030. (In ARN7037 speaker 35E seems to avoid using either form.)

Similarly, the plural of an organisation can stand for members of that organisation:

bhíodar uilig ina nL.R.A.'s v'i:dər l'ig' nə 'nai'ar'əs S;

cp. na Fianna Fáil iad héin nə f'ianə fə:l iəd he:n' S (members of the political party).

The noun is similarly used by Seán in place of the English nominalised adjective in alcohol:

fuair sé ina alcohol fuar fe n æl'kə'həl S.

Note Brussel sprout used as mass noun in:

*ruainnín beag bídeach Brussel sprout
ru:n'ín' b'og b'i:d'əx brusəl' spraut M.*

One base can of course be related to nouns, verbs, and adjectives, e.g.

trick > *truic*, *truiceáil*, *truiceáilte*, *truiceadóir* (perhaps also *truiceálaí*, which is found in GCF, FFG20, cp. *truicsálaí* FFG20); tricky > *truicí*.

11.131 Elision of unstressed long vowels before suffixes

When *-áil*, *-éara(cht)* or *-acht* are added to unstressed *-y*, the *-y* may be retained or elided:

y retained: *Ag imeacht ag bully-áil buli:əl' S; Ag imeacht ag bully-acht buliəxt S; ag imeacht ag rowdy-áil rauđi:əl' S; study-áil ſtuđi:əl'; tidy-áil ʔaiđi:əl' M, e.g. *an áit a tidy-áil suas ən æt' ə ʔaiđi:əl' suəs M, worry-áil wori:əl' 892M, M;**

y elided: *cavity-áil k'æv'ət'əl'; sin lousy-áil ſin' lausəl' 12J; lousy-éaracht lause:rəxt 12J; tidy-áil ʔaiđəl' 12J, M, e.g. *lena gcuid tidy-ála l'enə gid' ʔaiđələ 12J, go dtidy-álthaidís gə ʔaiđələd'i:f M.**

Note the repetitions as though in selfcorrection in:

*tidy-áil sé suas é sin, tidy-áil sé suas é sin,
| ʔaiđəl' ʔe suəs e' ſin', ʔaiđi:əl' ʔe suəs e' ſin' | M.*

See also diminutive *-ín* (11.133), and adjectival *-áilte* (11.136).

Note that *-et* is elided in crochet-áil kro:ʃəl'.

Unstressed *-o* is also elided in torpedo-áladh, torpedo-áilte ʔar'p'i:đə:lʊ:, ʔar'p'i:đə:l' ə (perhaps ʔor-).

When added to, *-en* is generally retained, e.g. flatten-áilte fl'æ:ŋələn 23C; freshen-áilte froʃn'æl' ə M; the latter has a by-form fresh-áilte friʃəl' ə.

11.132 Prefixes

Most productive prefixes can be prefixed to borrowings (cf. 3.85 ff.). Examples are:

an-: *an-bhright-áilte* 'a:n'vrai:əl' ə.

glan-: the Irish prefix can replace clear in the common phrase *thug sé clear warning ... hug fe kl'iar wə:rnɪŋ ...*; *thug sé glan-warning dho m'athair hug fe | 'gla:n'wə:rnɪŋ gə mæhər' 66N.*

ré-: *ré-bhreeze* FFG s.v. *rébhruíos*.

11.133 Diminutive suffix *-ín*

The diminutive suffix *-ín* can be added to most nouns (for *-óg*, cf. 11.144), palatalising all nonpalatal consonants except alveolars, e.g.

an bag-ín beag m b'æg'i:m' b'og M, heater-ín hi:ʔər'i:n' M < hi:ʔər M, package-ín p'æk'əđʒi:n' M, do shuitcase-ín də 'hu:ʔk'e:ʃi:n' 43M, na tin

can-ín beaga nə 'tɪŋk'æ'n'i:n'i: b'ogə M, dhá turn-ín eile ya: tɔr-ŋ'i:n' e'l'ə 36S, vase-ín beag v'æ:ʃi:n' b'og M; basket-ín beag b'æ:skəʃi:n' b'og 47P.

Use with abstract nouns occurs fairly commonly, e.g.

bíonn speed-ín deas aici ag imeacht

b'i:n sp'i:ʃi:n' d'æ:s ek'ə g' im'əxt M.

It can be added as a nominal suffix without diminutive force but perhaps with derogatory connotations: bl'æk'i:n' black-ín. Although this can also have diminutive meaning, e.g. black-ín beag dubh bl'æk'i:n' b'og di P; slob-ín FFG s.v. *sleabín*. Máire more often uses leg-ín and leg-ín lamb than leg and leg lamb (Irish syntax, 'leg of lamb').

Vowel quality may change as in native words, e.g.

a > æ doll-ín d'æl'i:n', fork-ín fæ:rk'i:n' P;

u > i jug-ín dʒig'i:n', mug-ín mig'i:n', e.g. jug-ín nó mug-ín nó rud eicint dʒig'i:n' nu mig'i:n' nu rud ə'k'i:n't M.

So also suck suk and suck-ín sik'i:n', used as nouns and interjections.

Note Marg-ín > Meárgín !894C9, i.e. m'ɑ:rg'i:n' more accurately spelt *Meáirgín*.

Added to -y there is coalescence:

Mary-ín m'er'i:n' SM, *Séamas* Val Mhary-ín, a Mhary-ín bhradach!

ʃeməs v'æ:l' v'er'i:n', ə v'er'i:n' vradəx 43M;

cp. Myley-ín in Bartley Mhyley-ín wail'i:n' S;

tigh Sonny-ín (*Chiaráin*) t'i: sen'i:n' (x'ia:ɔ:n') 21Jq.

Note the deletion of the second element of a compound noun when suffixed with -ín:

Cá bhfuil mo phocket-ín? Caithidh mé mo phocketbook a fháil

kɑ:l' mə fə'kəʃi:n' | kəhə m'e mə 'fə'kəʃ' bʊk ə'l' M.

The suffix -ín replaces unstressed English -on in waggon > wa:g'i:n' S, *vaigín* FGB; -ín in Swithin swi:ʃi:n'; -ine in pelerine with both -in and -i:n in Eng. > p'el'əri:n'; -ine in iodine generally ai'dain', e.g. 11C, but ai'dain' ... ai'di:n' 896P; similarly, Eng. -in and -i:n in paraffin(e) *pearraipín* FFG, liquid paraffin(e) lukwəð p'æ:rəf'i:n'; cp. satin (cp. *sateen*): satin, gúna satin sæt'i:n', gúnə sæt'i:n' M; -en in siren sai'ri:n' P; -ion in champion fæ'mp'i:n'; -ian in Caspian Sea k'æ:sp'i:n' si: 892M, Friesian fri:ʃi:n'; -ing in shavings ʃe:v'i:n'i:. Cp. older captain *caiptín*. Contrast *an melodeon* *seo ə mə'lə:d'ən' ʃə* 881J.

Cp. Gabriel from which speaker 10B has made a pet-form g'e:brin'; *an Sardinia* [perhaps *Sardinian*] ən sɑ:r'di:n' | !(SGuair)11C.¹

11.134 Agent noun suffixes; -éara, -óir, -í, -ire

Many agent nouns in -er are not changed morphologically, e.g. driver draiv'ər 892M, gamester g'e:m'stər, scratcher, sapper. Cp. -ee below.

The suffix -éara can be added to an agent base, e.g. scamp > both sk'æmp' S and sk'æmp'ərə S.

English agent -er, -ar, -or, -ard > -éara, which often palatalises the preceding consonant, e.g.

¹ During a period of rapid language switch or 'tip' in Ros Muc in 2005 I heard a female speaker (born c. 1970) beginning her English conversation with pre-school children with the address 'Helloeen' 'he'l'oi:n'. In this context -ín represents, for the children, substratum or Hiberno-English '-een'.

cooper **kup'era**, nailer **n'e:l'era** P, beggar **b'eg'era**, batchelor **b'æ:ʃəl'era**, gauger **g'e:ʃe:ra**, lodger **la:ʃe:ra**, plumber **plum'era** 27Md, 47Pq, sailor **se:l'era** *saeiléara* FFG19, 20, traveller **træ:vl'era**, both tricker and trucker **trik'era**, the latter also trucker **truk'era**.

Nonpalatal consonants in boxer **bæ:kse:ra** S, drunkard **drunke:ra**, show-jumper **ʃo:ʃump'e:ra** 65S, soup-éara **su:pe:ra** 21Ptq (more commonly souper **su:pær**, cf. LFRM *súpaera(cht)* s.v. *súp* and *súpar*), spearer **sp'ia:re:ra** 892Mtn; cp. hook-éaraí **hu:ke:ri**; 11C1696.

Alternation in smuggler **smugle:ra**, also **smüg-l'era** 11C.

Cp. *-éara*, *-álaí* in cyclist, cycler **saikl'era** *saidhcléara* FFG, also **saikl'ali**: S.

Non-agent *-era* is replaced by *-éaracht* in:

cam(era)-éaracht **k'æ:m'era:xt** 42C 'art of using a camera'.

Agent *-er* is less commonly replaced by:

- > *-álaí* board-álaí **bu:rdæ:li**; also board-éara **bu:rd'e:ra**;
- > *-óir* murder-óir **mordæ:or'**;
- > *-adóir* flute-adóir **fl'utæ:do:r'**; scheme > *scímeadóir* FFG;
- > *-ire* job-aire **ʃabær'ə**.

Cp. **skraun'ði**: perhaps from scrounger.

Note *-er* in non-agentive use in older boulder > *mabhlaer*; *-er* ~ *-era* in older saltcellar (also older salt) > *sáiltéar* M, *sáiltéara* S; also in hooker **húcaer(a)** M, trawler **træ:l'er** M, note trawl(er)-éara **træ:l'era** Mperm (definitely). Contrast personal traveller **træ:vl'era** with the mechanism traveller **træ:vl'ər**.

Agent *-ee* > *-í* trustai (sg FFG24), attested only in plural *trustaíthe* 894C9. Cp. bully **buli:**, plural **buli:s**; jockey **ʃaki:**, plural generally **ʃaki:s** but also **ʃa:ki:ə** [x2] 869PSgbf. Cp. sheriff **ʃori**: S.

Cp. what might be a once-off mixed form occurred in boarder-ai **bu:rdæ:ri**: M, which was Máire's initial form followed closely in the discourse by board-álaí **bu:rdæ:li**: and later by plural board-éaraí **bu:rd'e:ri**: M. Cp. plural *peais(i)néaraí* **p'æ:ʃn'eri:** 892M3598,-9, **p'æ:ʃn'eri:** S, **p'æ:ʃn'əri:** 899D6192, *peaisinéaracht* **p'æ:ʃn'era:xt** S, **p'æ:ʃn'era:xt** M (spelt *peaisinéaracht* in my early note); speaker 899D was perhaps influenced by passenger.

11.135 Other personal suffixes

Other personal suffixes occur: *-ach*, *-achán*, (*-achaí* and *-annaí*). For *-óg*, see 11.136.

- ach* Added to Christian names, e.g. Bid(dy)-ach **b'ídæx**, *Máire* Bhid(dy)-ach **mæ:r'ə v'ídæx**, cp. Bid(dy)-óg **b'ídø:g**;
tigh Dharach Phatch-ach **t'i: ʃæ:ræx fæ:ʃæx** 899N, cp. *Paitseach* LFRM (diminutive of *Patsy*), also LFRM s.v. *-ach*.
Added to nominalise a surname (rare), e.g. Ward-ach *a bhí ann* **wæ:rdæx ə v'i: æn** S.
Cp. *radhsach* ~ *rabhsach* CAR (i.e. **raisæx rausæx**), *radhas* 'tall woman' FFG20, perhaps related to rise.
- achán* **spø:ʃæ:æn** Mq *spoitseachán* < spotch.
- achaí* and Added to male Christian names in the nineteenth century, as pet or

-*annaí* by-names, perhaps through reanalysis of -y as a plural:
bhí fear i nGaillimh a raibh Patch-achaí pa:ʃəxi: air 03C,
agus bhí fear eile i nGaillimh a raibh Micileachaí m'ik'il'əxi: air
03C (I may have mistranscribed the latter name for **Michael-achaí maik'il'əxi:*);
 cp. *Patch-achaí, Micileachaí, John-achaí, Únachaí* LFRM s.v.
-achaí (diminutive);
Tom-annaí ʃaməni:, Marcas Mhike Tom-annaí mārəkəs waik'
ʃaməni:. Cp. *bád na dTommies dā'mi:s 18J7142.*

11.136 Adjective use and -*áilte*

The suffix -*áilte* is used with most borrowed adjectives. It is added to adjectival bases:

bright-áilte, e.g. *lad an-bhríght-áilte a bhí ann 20MI; clear-áilte*, example of common adverbial use: *black clear-áilte bl'æk' kl'iarə:ʎə P* (a really black negro), (*bhí mé*) *plain clear-áilte pl'e:ŋ' kl'iarə:ʎə ... 10C; clever-áilte kl'ev'(ə)ra:ʎə; fair-áilte f'e:ra:ʎə; firm-áilte forəma:ʎə; foul-áilte; plain-áilte pl'e:n'ə:ʎə; round-áilte rauna:ʎə; bhí X savage-áilte sæv'ədʒə:ʎə M; square-áilte skwe:ra:ʎə; smart-áilte sm'ærʃə:ʎə; cp. stubborn-áilte stobər(ə)na:ʎə; sure-áilte; tender-áilte.*

-*áilte* replaces -*ed*:

cover(ed)-áilte kovəra:ʎə; crack(ed)-áilte kræk'ə:ʎə; curled also *curly*, e.g. *gruaig bhán curl-áilte síos 23B; frigg(ed)-áilte frig'ə:ʎə; bhí sé gift-áilte le haghaidh na rudaí sin v'i: ʃe g'ifd'ə:ʎə l'e hi: nə rudi' ʃin' P; heave(d)-áilte hi:v'ə:ʎə M; oil(ed)-áilte ail'ə:ʎə.*

Replaces -*ing* and -*ed*:

constipate-áilte kanstəp'e:ʃə:ʎə M, meaning both 'constipated' and 'constipating', e.g.
tá uibheachaí constipate-áilte tər iv'əxi: kanstəp'e:ʃə:ʎə M.
interest(ing)-áilte, e.g. *bheadh rudaí interest-áilte inti v'ox rudi: in'trestə:ʎə i:n'tə M.*
interest(ed)-áilte, e.g. *B'fhéidir nach bhfuil tú an-interest-áilte i mo chuid seafóid S.*

Suffixed -*áilte* occurs where English has other adjectival endings such as -*y* (also often retained), -*ly*, -*ish*, -*ate*, -*ar*, -*some*, -*ing*, -*ent*:

breez(y)-áilte bri:sə:ʎə (also *breez(y)-úil bri:su:l'*); *cineál drows(y)-áilte k'ina:l drausə:ʎə 34M; handy-áilte hæn'də:ʎə; screw(y)-áilte skru:ə:ʎə, shin(y)-áilte ʃain'ə:ʎə M; lá trash(y)-áilte la: trə:ʃə:ʎə S; trick(y)-áilte trik'ə:ʎə S;*
miser(ly)-áilte maisəra:ʎə;
styl(ish)-áilte ʃtail'ə:ʎə; slob(bish)-áilte ʃl'a:bə:ʎə;
delic(ate)-áilte dəl'ək'ə:ʎə; regul(ar)-áilte regl'ə:ʎə; bother(some)-áilte bə'drə:ʎə; torann sound(ing)-áilte tərən saundə:ʎə; differ(ent)-áilte dɪf'ərə:ʎə, rare dɪfn'ə:ʎə 73D.

Cp. *muscly* and *-muscled* corresponding to *muscle-áilte muslə:ʎə S.*

11.137 Other suffixes: -úil, -ach (-tha)

The adjectival suffixes *-úil*, *-ach*, *-tha* are of limited productivity.

-úil, e.g. *bitch-úil* b'itʃu:l'; *breeze-úil* bri:su:l' M (*breeze-áilte* bri:sɑ:l'tə S, 49M); *conceit-úil* kən'se:tu:l'; *fair play-úil* f'e:r pl'e:u:l'; *fame-úil* f'e:m'u:l'; *must-úil* mu:ʃtu:l' >> *must-áilte*; *skill-úil* ʃk'il'u:l'; *slur-úil* ʃl'oru:l' *sleorúil* FFG; *spite-úil* spai:tu:l'; *time-úil* taim'u:l'; also older *trust-úil* trustu:l'. Note also that *crack-úil* kræk'u:l' Mperm 'fond of fun' can contrast with *crack-áilte* kræk'ɑ:l'tə 'crazy'.

-ach, e.g. *humour-ach* ju:məɾəx, cp. *humour-áilte* ju:məɾɑ:l'tə; *Kyloe-ógach* k'e:l'hə:gəx.

I recall that Máire, in response to query, related *fire* (in context of anger, cf. 14 *faidhear* 3) to native *faghartha*, e.g. *bean fhaghartha* b'æ'n aiərhə Mq.

11.138 Adjectives without -áilte

There are, however, a considerable number of adjectives which do not take *-áilte*. Few English adjectives in *-y* or unstressed *l* (*-al*, *-ble*), no English adjectives in *-ous*, *-ic*, few compound adjectives and no colour adjectives take *-áilte*. There is a further miscellaneous set without *-áilte* (11.140), which have no doubt been more recently borrowed overall, and another set used both with and without *-áilte* (11.141).

Many adjectives in *-y* (resembling Irish adjectival and verbal adjective *-í(the)* *-i*) do not take *-áilte*. For unaltered *-ly*, see the example of *deadly* below, and adverbs such as *absolutely* (11.171).

bossy, *bhí sé sórt bossy* v'i: ʃe so:rt bɑ:si: P.

rainy, *bhí sé ag cheapadh go raibh tusa an-bhrainy* v'i: ʃe x'æ:pə gə rə ts 'a:n'vre:n'i: M.

busy b'isi: M, b'izi: 52J, e.g. *tá mé an-bhusy* tɑ m'e 'a:n'v'izi: 52J.

cranky kræŋk'i: .

deadly, *Bhí sé deadly* ('awful').

dopey, *déanann siad dopey thú d'ínən fíəd ɔ:pɪ: hu* M.

funny tá sé chomh funny tɑ ʃe xə funi: .

happy, *An bhfuil sí happy faoi? wil' ʃi hæ:p'i: fi: M*, *chance go bhfuil sí happy as ʃæ:n's gə wil' ʃi: hæ:p'i: æ:s M*; *happy* and *sorry* occur rarely as nouns (11.130).

knacky, *níos stuama, níos knacky* n'is: stu:mə | n'is: n'æk'i: 18J, perhaps also **neiceáilte*.

lucky, *Bhí tú an-lucky*.

merry, *bhí mé sách merry* v'i: m'e sɑ:x m'ori: 43M, *an-mherry* 'a:m'v'ori: 43M.

mighty, *Tá sé sách mighty* S.

sorry, *bhí muid sorry mar a deir lucht a' Bhéarla nach raibh t'athair ro-mhaith an créatúr* Mlt.

steady, *an mbíonn sé ag obair steady* m'i:n' ʃe: g obəɾ ʃteɟi: 23C.

tasty, *go bhfuil mé níos tasty ná thú* gə wil' ʃe n'is: te:ʃti: nɑ: hu: M.

tidy.

Cp. the use of *jealousy* as an adjective (11.130) and perhaps **stoup(y)* ʃtu:pɪ:, e.g. *sách* **stoupy* go maith sɑ:x ʃtu:pɪ: gə ma: 08B.

Adjectives in English suffix *-ous* do not take *-áilte*:

anxious, *bhí sí an-anxious* fəit'ios go mbeadh sé seo air

v'i: ʃi: 'a:n'æ:ŋkʃəs fə'təs gə m'ox ʃe ʃo er' M.

nervous, *Dhéanfach gasúir nervous thú* Mlt.
unconscious, *Bhí sé ansin gan meabhair gan mothú, unconscious*
 v'í: fe n'fín' gəm m'aur' gəm muhu: | ŋka:n-ʃəs S.

Adjectives in English suffix -ic do not take -áilte:

allergic, *tá Réamann allergic dhó ta re:mən ɾ'erdʒik' ɣo' S.*
electric ɾ'ek'trik' ɾ'ek'tər, e.g. *b'fhéidir go raibh aon electric blanket aige b'e:d'ər' gə r*
a:n ɾ'ek'trik' bl'æ:ŋk'ət' eg'ə M, bulb electric bulb ɾ'ek'tər 21Jc (Irish syntax).

11.139 Unstressed I; Compounds; Colours; Fabrics

Adjectives in English suffixes containing unstressed I (-al or -ble) do not take -áilte:

comical, *bhíodar comical fadó v'í:dər ka:mək'il' fa:də' P.*
double, 'm' nó double 'n' im' nu: ɟubəl in' S.
liable, *Duine oilbhéasach tá sé liable imeacht ina chloigeann froisin S laib'il'* (perhaps
 ɾ'aib'il').

local, ... *mbeadh duine local i ndan ... m'ox dín'ə ləkəl ə nən M, níl fhios a'm ar áit*
local é N'í: s am ə r a:t' ɾ'okəl ə S.

mental, *bhí sé gaibhte mental an t-am sin v'í: fe got'ə m'in'ɿ' ə ta:m jin' M.*

terrible, *tá sí terrible ta ji: tərəb'il' M.*

Exceptions:

supple-áilte *su:plə:ɿ' ə.*

level, *nú go dtuga tú level-áilte é ɾ'ev'əl'ɑ:ɿ' ə 894Cs, é a choinneáil level e xín'ɑ:ɿ'*
 ɾ'ev'əl' P.

Compound adjectives do not take -áilte:

fed up, *nach fed up an aimsir í! nax f'ed up ə n æ:mʃər' i M, Tá mé héin chomh fed up le*
gadhar M.

full-butt used adverbially: *tá mé full-butt anois rud ar bith a dhéanamh ta m'e*
 'ful'bu:t' ə n'if' rud ə b'i' ə ji:nə M.

Exception: *bhíodar black-eye-áilte salach aige 868P2.*

Compound verbs can take -áil and therefore -áilte. It can be difficult to determine whether
 a given adjective is verbal or not, e.g. upset-áilte *op'set'ɑ:ɿ' ə M.*

Cp. clear ná light, e.g. *Is cuma clear ná light níl mé i ndan codladh 10C (s kumə) kl'iar*
 nɑ laɿt' (N'í:l' m'e: nən kolə).

Colour adjectives do not take -áilte:

brown, *Dhá shúil chomh brown ann chomh buí M, cáca brown kɑ:kə braun S, na rudaí*
brown-a dorcha sin nə rudi: braunə dərəxə jin' 47P.

black, *fear black P, also as noun black.*

green, *guernsey green g'æ:nsi: gri:n'.*

pink, *bhí paint pink ... an phaint phink v'í: p'e:n't p'ɿŋk' ... əm f'e:n't f'ɿŋk' M.*

Cp. *culaith / éadach stripe-áilte kolhə / e:dəx straip'ɑ:ɿ' ə SM.*

Fabrics have most frequent adjectival use, which is always without -áilte:

cashmere, *éadach cashmere e:dəx k'æ:ʃmər.*

check, *léine check l'e:n'ə ʃek'.*

serge, *seaicéad serge ʃæ:k' e:d sordʒ M.*

11.140 Other adjectives

Many other adjectives (and in most progressive use probably all optionally) do not take
 -áilte. Younger speakers use less -áilte, e.g.

tá an builín seo squashed ta m bil'in' fo skwæ:ʃt 66N,

tá sé tiocthaí an-demanding 'a:ndə'm'æ:n' dɿŋ nach bhfuil? 66N.

bored, *déantheidh sí sin bored thú dhá léabh sin d'í:nhə́ fí: fín' bo:rd̩ hu' ga: l'e:w fín' M.*

brilliant, *tá sí brilliant ta fí: bril'ən' t̩ 43M.*

concrete (also noun), *cinn choncrete k'í:ŋ xə:ŋkre:t̩ 02J.*

dead, *marbh dead maru: d̩e:d̩* is very common as is *maráigh dead*, e.g. *maráíodh dead é héin mar:ri:w d̩e:d̩ e he:n' M.* Note also adverbial *Ó muise tá tú dead i do chodladh M.*

depressed, *gheothá depressed johə: d̩ə'prest̩ M.*

done 'exhausted, in dire straits', *go raibh mé done gə ro m'e d̩un/ d̩in 10B*, *tá sé héin ionann's a bheith done ta fe he:n' a:nəns ə v'e d̩un 21C.*

due, ... *tá sí due ... ta fí d'ú: 43M* (of cow in calf).

extra, *Chuir mé stós fataí extra dhuit ... ekʃ-t̩rə ... M* (perhaps adverbial use here).

fat, *Tá se níos fat, tá se níos fat, tá se níos raimhre M* (of meat).

left, *gheothaidh sé left jo fe íif' t̩ M*, *gheothaidh siad left johə f̩iəd íif' t̩ M*; and similarly:

sadly left, *bhí mé sadly left mar a deireadh muid fadó v'i: m'e sæ:d̩l'i: íif' t̩ mar ə d'ər' əx mid' fa:do: 43M* (in response to query speaker 43M did not know the precise meaning of íif' t̩ here and did not relate it herself to left).

lost, *v'i: fe la:st̩ ma:rə m'et̩ fe suəs íef nə ga:su:r' S bhí sé lost mara mbeadh sé suas leis na gasúir; bheithéá lost gan watch v'ehə: la:st̩ gən wa:f̩ M.*

mad, *Bhí mé mad nuair nár inis siad dhom é Mlt, seans go raibh tú mad leis.*

plumb, 'na [bád] seasa plumb aige 894C9. Contrast plumb-áilte, e.g. *ní' sí sin plumb-áilte plumə:l̩ ə ceart M* '... properly plumbed'.

sad, *Bhí sé an-sad S* (sad incident), *Na raibh sé sin sad anis!*

safe, *tá na cinn sin níos safe n'is se:f̩ dho do bholg M.*

severe, *ní raibh sé severe ar bheithí n'í ro fe sív' iər er' v'ehi: 27Cl.*

slow, *tá sé seo chomh slow f̩l' o: M.*

stupid, *tá sé chomh stupid le asal ta fe xə f̩t' u:pə:d̩ í e æ:səl M.*

real, *Déarthainn gur peictiúr real re:l̩ é sin S.*

straight, *bhí an chuid eile acú chomh straight le — le drioball asal v'i: ŋ xid' el' a:ku' xə stre:t̩ í e, í e dr'ibəl æ:səl M.*

thick, *chomh thick xə t̩v'ik' 66N.*

willing, *bhí mé willing a ghoil soir ag na beithí v'i: m'e wil'íŋ ə ɣol' ser' eg' nə b'ehi: M.*

worth, *Níl sé worth ghoil ... n'í:l̩ fe wort ɣol' ... 66N, níl sé worth it n'í:l̩ fe wort íf̩ 66N.*

Both noun and adjective stray occur, e.g.

ar stray, gadhar stray gair stre: S (also *stray-úil stre:u:l̩ S*).

Similarly, toy, e.g. *veidhil toy v'ail' t̩ai: S*. Cp. jealousy and jealous (11.130).

11.141 Variation in -áilte

Other adjectives have been heard both with and without -áilte.

clear, *Nach uafásach an lear cainte atá aici is é chomh clear nah uəsəx ə l'ær ka:n't̩ ə ta ek' ə s e xə kl' iər 43M.* Common as adverb of degree clear-áilte (8.216), but presumably also as adjective.

cute, cute-áilte generally 'smart' and 'nice' but cute generally 'nice', e.g. *dhá chute-áilte dhá raibh sé ga x' u:t̩:l̩ ə ga ro fe P; tá sí chomh cute! ta fí: xə k' u:t̩ 43M.*

damp, *teach damp é í æ:x d̩æ:mp' e M*, more often damp-áilte d̩æ:mp' ə:l̩ ə M.

different, differ-áilte d̩if' (ə)ra:l̩ ə, rare difn' ə:l̩ ə 73D. Seán and Máire have prevalent of exclusive of differ-áilte. Younger speakers often omit -áilte here, e.g. *daoine different d̩i:n' ə d̩if' rin' t̩ 43M, tá sé sin different ta fe fín' d̩if' rin' t̩*. Often in con-

junction with borrowed English noun, e.g. *tá different bleep uilig aige ta difrám bl'i:b' ə'l'ig' eg' ə 52J*.

fit, generally **fit** in the health sense, but some speakers use **fit-áilte**, e.g. *bhí mé chomh fit-áilte v' i: m' e xə f' i: t̪a: l̪t̪ ə P*. In what may be termed the impersonal sense, sometimes **fit**, e.g. *Níl sé fit é a rá n' i: l' je f' i: t̪ e r̪a: M*, but perhaps more often **fit-áilte**: *níl sé inghrásta, níl sé fit-áilte n' i: l' je ŋr̪a: st̪ə n' i: l' je f' i: t̪a: l̪t̪ ə S*; *Caithidh muid isteach an dá stuca eile má tá siad fit-áilte S* (i.e. if they are dry); *Níl sé fit-áilte iad a chur n' i: l' je f' i: t̪a: l̪t̪ iad ə xur 12J* '... not fit to sow them' (because of rain); *níl sé fit-áilte a ghoil amach n' i: l' je f' i: t̪a: l̪t̪ ə yol' ə max 45M*.

flat, often **flat-áilte** but: *gan taobh dhe a bheith flat. Well, dhíontheadh an taobh thiar flat le loighe anuas ... 892M1352-3*.

free, *tá free travel, free gual, free electricity agus e* [hesitation filler] ... *tá rud eicint eile free-áilte a' m ta: fri: tr̪ə: v' ə l' fri: guəl fri: l' ek' trisifi: ogəs ə: ... ta: rud ə k' i: n̪t' el' ə fri: a: l̪t' am P*; *bhí free drinks ann ... fuair muid deoch free ann v' i: fri: driŋk' s a: n ... fuər' mid' d' ox fri: a: n M* (in Guinness' brewery, Dublin), *an raibh sé free ag Peadar? ro je fri: eg' p' æ: dər 60M* (electricity).

fresh, *bhí sé seo freshen-áilte, ceann fresh a bhí ann, bhí sé fresh v' i: je fo frofn' a: l̪t̪ ə | k' a: n frej ə v' i: a: n | v' i: je frej M*, here Máire seemed to be unhappy with the first form, but still slightly unsatisfied with the repeated **fresh**. Cp. common **fresh-áilte** **fri: f̪a: l̪t̪ ə**.

level, cf. 11.139.

loose, *ag imeacht loose an bóthar 14M* (of stray donkeys); *tá sé loose lus 21Pt*; *caite loose sa lorry kat' ə l' u: s ə l' ori: 23M*; *loose-áilte lus: a: l̪t̪ ə 892M*.

mean, **mean-áilte** **m' i: n' a: l̪t̪ ə 23B**, *boc an-mhean-áilte a bhí ansin bok 'a: m' v' i: n' a: l̪t̪ ə v' i: n' jin' 43M*. Note the alternation in:

- ... *tá sé chomh mean ... ta je xə "m' i: n' ... 23B*

- ... *bhí sé mean-áilte v' i: je m' i: n' a: l̪t̪ ə 12J*.

neat, *níl sé ag breathnú an-neat n' i: l' je br' æhu: 'a: n' i: t̪ P*, *bíonn sé chomh neat-áilte i gcónaí b' in' je xə n' i: t̪a: l̪t̪ ə gu: ni: M*. Cp. *fn' ē: t̪a: l̪t̪ ə 892M* perhaps < **neat-áilte**.

regular-áilte **rigl' a: l̪t̪ ə**, generally with **-áilte** but note a younger speaker's *iad a thóigeáil regular ... 're' g' ulər 56N* in 1988 (stress perhaps due to extra emphasis).

ripe, probably most common as **ripe**, e.g. *Bíodh fhios a'd go bhfuil sé ripe b' i: ds æd gə wil' je raip' M* (of rye), *nach bhfuil siad ripe chor ar bith 20Pg*, but also *Tá swedes a' m ach nildar sách ripe-áilte fós P*.

sound, *cuide de* [i.e. *adhmad*] **chomh sound-áilte le ... agus á dteagad sé amach as ... an stór 897P, *níl sé seo an-sound-áilte inniu n' i: l' je fo 'a: n' saund: a: l̪t̪ ə n' u' M*.**

stiff, common both with and without **-áilte**, e.g. *go bhfuil mé stiff gə wil' m' e stif' 14M*, *sórt stiff eicint s̪o: r̪t̪ stif' ə k' i: n̪t' 18J*, *bhí mé cineál stiff go dtí ... v' i: m' e k' i: n̪t' stif' gə d' i: ... 18Pc*; *nuair atá duine caillte tá sé stiffen-áilte nor' ə ta din' ə ka: l̪t̪ ə ta je stif' ə n̪a: l̪t̪ ə P1b*, *chomh stiffen-áilte stifn' a: l̪t̪ ə le — le píosa giúsaí S2b*.

tender, generally with **-áilte**, e.g. *Nach tender-áilte findra: l̪t̪ ə an rud é an fata! S*, but also without, e.g. *creathnach an-tender í S*.

tough, *tá an lá inniu tough-áilte ta n la: n' i tofa: l̪t̪ ə 03C*, *Bhí siad chomh tough-áilte M* (i.e. *bairnigh*), *Tá sí tough an fheoil sin M*.

tricky, *tá sé sách trick-áilte trik' a: l̪t̪ ə S*, *tá é an-tricky ta je 'a: n' trik' i: M*.

water-proof, *An bhfuil sé water-proof? wil' je 'wə: tər, pru: f P*.

wise, *is gearr go bhfuair mé wise dhó g' ar gə wuər' m' e wais o' P*, *faighte wise-áilte dhó ar deireadh*.

wrong, used increasingly without **-áilte** since the mid 1980s: *rudaí ag goil wrong rudi: gol' raŋg 52J*, *téann siad sin wrong uaireantaí ... tá rud eicint wrong-áilte leis sin t' ain' st̪əd' jin' raŋg uər' ənti: ... ta rud ə k' i: n̪t' ra: ŋgə: l̪t̪ ə l' e' jin' 52J*.

Cp. **stink** (11.130).

11.142 Past participles

Some adjectives are past participles:

cured, *tá mé cure-áilte / cured ta m'e k'urra:l'ə / k'urɾ' M.*

engaged, of marriage generally əŋ'g'e:ɟɟ but also with -áilte, e.g. iŋ'g'e:ɟt >> iŋ'g'e:ɟa:l'ə 41M. Of phone generally əŋ'g'e:ɟɟa:l'ə but also *tá sé engaged ta fe əŋ'g'e:ɟɟ M.*

excite-áilte eg'sai:tə:l'ə >> excited eg'sai:təɟ, e.g. *bhí sé chomh hexcited v'i: fe xə^heg'sai:təɟ M.*

finished 'over and done (with)', *Dhá bhfanthadh se lá eile bhí se finished M, tá an lá inniu finished ta la: n'i f'in'ist' P, finish-áilte f'in'if'a:l'ə.*

sliced, *builín geal sliced bil'in' g'ə:l sl'aist' 19B, 23B; builín slice-áilte bil'in' sl'aista:l'ə.*

started, *nuair a start-áil muid aríst í ... go bhfuair muid started aríst í 892M1781.*

starve-áilte f'ta:r-v' a:l'ə generally, but note *tá mé starved f'ta:rvɟ leis an tart M*, note also f'ta:r-v'e:tə:l'ə 43M heard once (based on common *starvation f'ta:r-v'e:fən*).

stuck (< *stick*) generally f'tuk, e.g. *tá an doras sin stuck ta n dorəs fin' stuk M, sé an chaoi a bhfuil sé stuck ansin fe xi: wil' fe stuk ən'jin' 52J*. Rare: *Baba bhocht, stuck-áilte istigh ba:bə woxt | stuka:l'ə f't'i M.*

11.143 Abstract nouns; -acht, -áil

Abstract and action nouns are formed in -acht, which is combined with other adjectival, diminutive, and agentive suffixes yielding -á(i)l(t)e(ach)(t), -úlacht, -úilteacht, -ínteacht, -éaracht, -ireacht, -íocht, -óireacht. Less frequent are -(ach)as, -amas. See 'Nominals' (3.156 ff.), e.g. *bitch* > *biteachas, bitsíocht*.

The (verbal) noun ending in -áil can also have abstract or primarily nominal function, e.g.

smack-áil mhaith sm'æ:k'a:l' wa: SM 'good smacking';

sin é an chaoi a ndeachaigh — ndeachaigh an miser-áil dhó sin

fin' e ŋ xi: N'æ:xə, N'æ:xə ə maisəra:l' ɣo: fin' P;

is deabhalta an dose é an shift-áil s d'aultə n ɟo:s n' jif'ta:l' S 'shift work';

an damp-áil n' ɟæ:mp'a:l' 25M 'the dampness';

an chef-áil ən fef'a:l' 43Mp 'working as a chef'.

Similarly, -áil replaces English -ing, e.g. *an t-end(ing)-áil n tin'ɟa:l' M*. It has a non-abstract force replacing -ing in *ceiling suileáil* (obsolete *stonáil*, 11.79). This word has -eɾ (perhaps influenced by *siléar*) in *si:l'e:rəxi' 60Mq, si:l'e:rəxi' 76Nq* (plural), a form heard in Ceantar na nOileán, east of Iorras Aithneach, but not otherwise noted from my speakers (cp. *suileáil si:l'a:l'* only in GCF and NIGCF). The suffix -áil is added to the base in *room-áil ru:ma:l'* giving abstract force; it can replace English -ness in *an damp-áil* (above). Also *singlings* > *singl'a:l'*. In *shavings fe:v'in'i:*, however, -ings is replaced by semantically appropriate -íní.

11.144 Limited use of nominal -ó(i)g

The historical diminutive -óg has limited use with borrowings (cf. -ín 11.133).

blaze-óg bl'e:so:g M.

cob(web): cob-óg kabo:g, with plural *cob-ógaí, cob-ógs*. The plural *cobwebs* was perhaps the original base for plural *kabo:gs*.

Kyloe: *Kyloe-óg* k'e:l'h'o:g, perhaps with reanalysis of final *-oe* as *-óg*, thus resembling, for example, *breacóg*, *sceadóg*.

mouse: *mouse-óigin dhe bhean mauso:g'in' gə v'æn* Mq.

slice-óg: *slice-óg dhe cháca slaifo:g gə xəkə* S, *tá tú ag baint slice-óg ...* S.

Cp. *cadóg* 'haddock' transcribed in SID.46.1167 as *kɑ:ɔ:g*, and *dug* genitive *duig* transcribed in SID.46.1070 as *ɔ:g*, presumably representing **kɑ:ɔ:g* and **ɔ:g* respectively, although I have heard dental *d* only, i.e. *kɑdɔ:g* Sq, *ɔ:g*. These forms in SID.46 were perhaps influenced by English alveolar *d* of *cod* and *dock*, and are most likely a transcriber's error.

Added to four female personal names in *-y*:

Bid(dy): *póg Bhideog po:g v'ido:g* !(Abtm)11C.¹

Kathy: (> Katty) *garraí Khaty-óg gari: x'æ:to:g*.

Mary: *O's mo thruaigh thú ... a Mhéaróig Ní Shúrtáin !894C9* (the manuscript has lower case *mhéaróig*), palatalised *-óig* may be vocative for **!894C**, cf. 3.30. Cp. *Máire* > *Máireog*.

Sally: apparently old given lenition in *mo mháthair ... Anna Shaileoige Pheige Anna nín Eoghain Éamainn 'ac Tiobóid*. SÓC2.281, unless lenition is attributable to standardisation in published source. Cp. *Saileog Rua* ~ *Sail Óg Rua*.

To male personal name (in *-y*): *John(ny)* > *John-óg*.

Nominals

Gender

Most borrowed nouns are masculine but feminine gender is not uncommon. Phonologically many feminine nouns have palatal final consonants (including *ʃ*, *ɟ*). Feminine borrowings often have semantically corresponding feminine native words.

11.145 Feminine

Words that are prevalently feminine in older speakers' use are listed here.

alley *bheag* 'æ:l'i: v'og 32J, also *hæ:l'i: v'og*; contrast *an t-alley-way* ə tæ:l'i: we: P.

almanac, *an almanac* ən əlmən'ik 10B also ən əlmək 21Pt, *an tsean-almanac* ən' t'æ:n.əlmən'ik 10B. Referred to by feminine pronoun (10B, SM) but also masculine: *almanac* *maith* S. Note the palatal final consonant and the relation with *leabhar*, and scripted material in general (including *almanac*), which has feminine reference (11.146).

banjo, *an bhanjo* !(Aár)04B.

bank, *an bhank* əm' v'æ:ŋk Sq, also ... 'gus í ' seoladh 'mach un b[e]aince ! CABI §291(b) v. 3. In response to query *an bank* is preferred by Máire, which may well be an avoidance of lenition rather than an indication of gender: compare her genitive *barr na bank-e* bɑ:r nə b'æ:ŋk ə Mq. The word is masculine except in a place-name

¹ In the song titled *Brid Thomáis Mhrocha* the poet's sweetheart is variously called *Brid*, *Brid Óg*, *Brideach*, *Bid*, *Bid Óg*, *Bid-óg*, *Bid-each*, *Bid-in*, *Bid Bhán*, *Biddy* (úf Ógáin 1999: 75-7; CABI §34(a)-(e)). At least some of these transcriptions containing *Bid Óg* should doubtless read *Bid-óg*. Cp. *Sally* > *Saileog Rua* ~ *Sail Óg Rua* in song title.

and in the possessive pronoun for speaker 35E in: *go gcorraíonn siad chor a bích as an mBank a mbíonn siad air. ... chuile bhank sa gCuan, an cionál muiríní atá air. ... ar an mBank Ghriúánach ... Ar an mBank anoir ó Rois Cíde ansin. Tá sé sin go maith ... Tá sé. ... bíonn an bank, bíonn an bank teirim. ... Sé Doctor Lavelle a cheannaigh an, an, an bank. Agus, chuir se, chuir se gá glanadh ansin thiar e. ... 35E.*

bend, an bhend ən v'ín'ɔ̃ Mq, *barr na bend-e* bɑ:r nə b'ín'ɔ̃ Mq; but masculine in *Sé an bend* ... fe' m' b'ín'ɔ̃ ... S.

beauty *bheag* b'ʉ:ɔ̃ v'og 43M, beauty *cheart* b'ʉ:ɔ̃ x'æ:rt Mq, *is iontach an beauty í sin* si:ntəx ə v'ʉ:ɔ̃ i: ʃin' Mq, beauty *ceart* b'ʉ:ɔ̃ k'æ:rt 56B.

blaze, an bhlaze ən vl'eis 899N, cp. native feminine *lasóg, lasair, tine* and borrowed *blaze-óg*.

bugle, an bhugle ŋ ə v'ʉ:ɔ̃ ɔ̃' !!(Aár)04B.

brush *mhór* brɔʃ wɔ:r M, cp. native feminine *scuab*.

budge, *ní raibh budge chainte as Ní: ro buff xa:nt' as M*.

cane, an chane ... í əŋ x'e:n' | ... i:; also masculine: *an cane k'e:n' ... é ... cane mór* 10B.

cave, *doras na cave ... as a' gcave a ro' sé istigh inte* 852SBts152–3, cp. native *uamhain thalúna, fuaigh*.

cent *fhánach* ... í sin' t' a:nəx | ... i: 43Mq, cp. native feminine *pínn*.

clan *daoine mhaith iad* kl'æ:n' di:n' ə wāh iəd Mq.

clip *chainte* kl'ip' xa:nt' ə SM.

conceit *mhór a'm leis* kən'se:t wɔ:r am l'ej M.

convent, an chonvent əŋ xa:nəv' in' t' 08B, əŋ xa:n-v' in' t' M.

cot, an chot əŋ xa:t' 66N. Perhaps influenced by feminine *leaba*.

crawfish *mhór ... an chrawfish* xra:f' if' ... í ... sí 35E. Non-inflection in singular genitive context: *Dún Crawfish* dʉ:n kra:f' if' 35E.

crib *ghorm* krib' ɣɔrəm S, an chrib ə xrib' S.

cunt, an chunt ŋ xun' t'.

dash, dash *bhrandy* ɔ̃:ɔ̃ f' vræ:n' di: M, dash *mhaith* ɔ̃:ɔ̃ f' wā: M.

dispute, *bhí dispute fhada eidir iad* v'i: ɔ̃:ɔ̃ sp'ʉ:ɔ̃ æ:d ed'ər' iəd M.

doll *bhreá* 15W.

douse (*mhór*) dó ɔ̃:ɔ̃ (wɔ:r) dɔ'.

dredge, *thóig se dredge* driɔʃ ann, agus ní raibh aon bhít inti ... bhí sí ... 31P, dredge *phúcaín* driɔʃ fu:kɑ:n' ARN7915. Cf. fem. LFRM *druids*. Speaker 20At has consistent masculine reference: dredge driɔʃ ... sé ... é [x3] ... ann.

family *mhór aige* f' æ:m' əl'i: wɔ:r eg' ə 52P, cp. native feminine *clann*.

foul play, an fhoul play ən 'aul' pl'e: S85, cp. native *foghail* (also *ag déanamh foul play* d'i:nə | 'faul' pl'e:ə | 889P).

frolic, *bhí frolic bhreá óil ann* v'i: fræ:l'ik' vr'ɑ: o:l' a:n M, frolic *mhór óil* fræ:l'ik' wɔ:r o:l' M.

garboard strake, an gharboard strake ən' ɔ̃:mər straik' 21Pt.

gift, (*Sin é*) an ghift (ʃin' e:) ən' ʃift' M.

gullet, an ghullet əŋ ɣlʉt 894Cs, M, genitive *na gullet* nə ɣlʉt.

heel *mhór* hi:l' wɔ:r Mq.

lash, 'S *deas an lash* l'æ:f' í sin S.

League, *Blian* [leg Bliain] na Léige FFG s.v. léig.

linch pin *mhór* l'in' sp'in' wɔ:r M.

Manila, an Mhanila ə v'ə'n'el' 21Pg6013.

paint, an phaint, paint phink p'e:n' t' f' in' k' M.

pan, an phan a chuir síos ə f' æ:n' ə xur ʃis P.

plan *mhaith* pl'æ:n' wɑ:, an phlan ən fl'æ:n'.

purge *mhaith* pɔrɔʃ wā: Mq.

push, aon phush *mhór* e:n fuf wɔ:r M.

reveille *mhór* ,ræ:v'æ:l'i: wo:r Mq, *reveille mór* Mperm.
rick /*fhéir* ri:k' e:r' 36M.
rub /*mhaith dhen teanga*, cp. feminine scrub.
san(atorium), *tá san mhór i nGaillimh ta sáen' wo:r ə ɲa:l'ə* Mq, genitive 2 Declension;
 contrast masculine sanatorium.
screen /*mhór ... í / é skri:n' wo:r... i: / e:* Mq, genitive 2 Declension.
scrub /*bheag*, cp. feminine trash.
scutch /*mhór / mhaith skoʃ' wo:r / wa:* M.
shank /*chaol air fá:ɲk' xi:l e'r' M*, cp. fá:ɲk' də xoʃə M shank /*do choise*.
shelf /*bheag*.
skill /*mhaith f'k' il' wa:* .
slang /*ghránna f'æ:ɲ' ɣra:nə* Mq.
slant /*mhór* Mq.
slap /*mhór f'la:p wo:r* 43M.
slash /*bheag*.
slate /*bheag f'le:t' v'og* Mq, slate /*mhór dhe bhréag* M.
slip, *an tsliop ə t'ip' S*.
smack /*bheag / mhór di sm'æ:k' v'og / wo:r d'i M*.
smile, *tá smile gháiri air ta smail' ɣa:r'i: e'r' M*.
spell /*mhór pian sp'el' wo:r p'ian* M.
sponge /*mhór spun' f' wo:r* Mq.
stab /*bheag dhe scian f'ta:b v'og gə f'k'in* M.
staple /*m(h)ór f'te:p' il' wo:r / mo:r* Mq.
step, *tá step mhaith damhsa aige 21Pt*, step-*ín bhacaíl* Mq.
still, genitive 6 Declension still-*ach f'til' əx*.
stole /*bhán* (and *stoil*) stíl' wa:n M.
stripe, *Nach breá an stripe straip' ha:lu:n thalúna í seo* S. Cp. native feminine *stríoc*, and *stroke* below.
stroke /*gheal stro:k jæ:l siar faoina thaobh 892M* (context: 'stripe' on fish). Cp. native feminine *stríoc*.
suit, *cuirthidh mé mo suit ghlas orm héin tá sí breá trom kir'hə m'e mə su:t ɣlas orəm pen' ta fi: br'a: tru:m* M, cp. native feminine *culaith*.
telly, *an telly chéanna tɛl'i: x'e:ənə 79S*.
tile, ... tile ... *í ... ortha* M.
tin can /*mhór mhilleach t'ɲk' æn' wo:r v'i:l' əx* S.
tow /*ghlan 'to:ə 'lā:n 31P*.
train /*dheireanach tre:n' jernəx 43M*.
trammel(-net) /*mhór træ:m' wo:r, ... í;* genitive *bun na tramm(él)-e* and *na tramm(él) bun nə træ:m' (ə)* Mq. But *mará bhfuil tramm(él) træ:m' nó péire acú lena chaitheamh amach 06C*.
trash /*bheag / bhrocach træ:f vrokəx* M, P, *an trash-ín bheag sin* S.
trick /*bheag trik' v'og* Mq, so also *truic* feminine GCF, FFG20. In response to query Máire responded trick /*bheag trik' b'og* Mq first but then consistently trik' v'og /*trick* /*bheag* Mq.
trifle /*bhainne ann traif' il' wa:n' ə ə:n* S, trifle-*ín bheag (airgid) traif' il' i:n' v'og (æ:r' əg' əd')* S.
 (trip feminine *truip* FFG20.)
trough /*mhór í trax wo:r i* Mq.
tune /*t'u:n' ... í sin*. Cf. *iúin* fem, LFRM *tiúin* fem.
van, *Cé leis an van-ín v'æn' i:n' bheag bhúi sin?* M. Also van /*mór* P.
yarn /*mhór ja:rən wo:r [x3]* Mq.
 Cp. *pruinc bhrocach*, *an phruinc* (~ *an pruinc*); also *sclaití mhór skla:ti: wo:r* Mq.
 See 2 and 6 Declension, genitive (11.151).

11.146 Feminine reference

Borrowings which have masculine gender are regularly referred to with the masculine pronoun. As with native words, however, mechanisms, devices, and articles of clothing, etc., often take feminine reference (6.10). Note the feminine pronoun with beef, which is generally referred to in the masculine:

dhá mbadh í an beef a thiúthainn dó ní ...

ga mæ ji: m' b'i:f' ə x'u:rhən' dɔ' n'í ... M,

clearly influenced by feminine *feoil*. Other examples which more regularly take feminine reference are listed here.

Clothing, etc.	<p><u>brooch</u>, <i>Tá sí go deas an <u>brooch</u> sin. Spáintheidh me dhuit í M.</i> <u>inside</u>, an <u>inside</u> ... í M. <u>palm</u>, <i>seod í an <u>palm</u> fód i: m pa:m 893P.</i> <u>sweatshirt</u> í ab ea? M. Contrast masculine (reference): <i>an <u>bib-e</u> beag / mór m' b'ib'ə b'og / mo:r Mq;</i> <u>cardigan</u>, é M consistently; <u>knicker</u> <i>deas é sin n'ik'ər d'æ:s e jin' M.</i></p>
Script	<p><u>dictionary</u>, <i>Tabhair leat í 43M.</i> <u>note</u>, <i>Scríobh mise <u>note</u> dhó agus choinnigh sé í M.</i> <i>b'fhiú dhuit í a léabh b'u: yit' i: l'e:w 21C ('Ireland's Own' magazine),</i> <i>tá sí sáite thuas ansin ta ji: sat'ə huəs ən'jin' M ('RTE Guide' magazine).</i></p>
Mechanism or device	<p><u>accordion</u> ka:r'di:n', <i>tá sí ansin.</i> <u>bag</u>, <i>thiar i ndeireadh an <u>van</u> a bhí sí hiər ə n'ər'ə n v'æ:n' ə v'i: ji: 52J,</i> of a lunch bag, but generally é as Irish <i>mála</i> (é). <u>dummy</u>, <i>Cá bhfuil an <u>dummy</u> ... ab eod í ... níl sí ... ka:l' ə ðumi: ... b' od i: ... n'il' ji: ... 52J.</i> <u>globe</u> ... í. <u>machine</u>, <i>fiacra an <u>mhachine</u> ... briseadh an drad inti agus ... an drad a chuir aríst ann mar bhí sé cheana. 892M.</i> <u>mixer</u>, í, inti, 52Cr, 52J, etc. <u>pencil</u>, <i>Déarthá 'í' nú 'é' leis Sq</i> (in response to query, of <i>peann</i> and <u>pencil</u>; í is common). <u>phone</u>, <i>-Tá sí seo trom ta ji: fo tru:m 60C - ... sé ... je: 52J.</i> <u>rule</u> (for measuring), ... sí. <u>scraper</u>, <i>rud a dtugann siad scraepear ortha 11C1156.</i> <u>statue</u> ... <i>ortha M</i> (perhap statue of female), but an <u>statue</u> <i>céanna ... é S.</i> <u>suitcase</u>, ... <i>ní hin í M.</i> <u>tape</u>, <i>tabhair leat do <u>tape</u> tabhair leat í to:r l'æt də t'e:p' to:r l'æt i: P,</i> but also <i>is breá an <u>tape</u> é seo, an raibh sé sin daor, a Bhraidhean? P</i> (both referring to tape-recorder); <i>ar airigh tú í? ə r æ:r'ə tu: i: 47P</i> (audio tape). <u>trap</u> ... <i>rinne sí ... S,</i> but masculine <u>trap</u> <i>mór træ:p' mo:r S.</i> <u>washing machine</u> ... <i>sí ... M,</i> also ... <i>sé M.</i> <u>worm</u> ... <i>inti P, ... é Sq.</i></p>

Contrast flint, *air ... as* **869P4**.

Transport bicycle, *é SM; í* **69S**.
bus, both *é* and *í*.
hearse ... *í sin*.
lorry, both *é* and *í*, e.g. *Sí an leoraí a bhí aige, Tá fhios a'd an áit a mbíonn sí pearcáilte aige*.
tractor, feminine pronoun regularly for **79A**, masculine pronoun for SM.

11.147 Feminine reference from Irish equivalent

Examples of borrowings with masculine gender and feminine reference which have clear feminine equivalents (or reference) in Irish are listed here.

Irish *an ball ... í* S, Ir. *liathróid*, also *ceirtlín*.
 feminine *an blade beag atá sa scian, bhí sí oscailte aige*. **18J7810**, Ir. *lann*
 noun or (fem FGB, masc GCF, cp. *lanna* masc IA, fem LFRM).
 reference Cp. block **bla:k** ... *í* **79Jg** (of broken concrete block), Ir. *cloch*.
Easter egg ... *istigh inti* **47P**, Ir. *ubh*.
football, *tá sí ... fuṭba:l | ta ji ... M* (referring to the physical ball),
 Ir. *liathróid, ceirtlín*.
jar *é, jar mór l beag; bhí jar ansin a raibh dhá ghalún inti, 'gus bhí sí ...* ARN8596, Ir. *gloine*, fem. reference with *soitheach*.
monster, *an monster mā:nəstər ó Lough la:x Rúraí nuair a bhí sí ann* **892M**, Ir. *ollphéist*.
pony, *Deas an pony í sin d'æ:s ə pə:ni: i: jin' M*, Ir. *capall*.
skylight ... *í* M, Ir. *fuinneog*.
sloop ... *inti ... sí a bhí ag ... fl'u:p* **03C**, Ir. *bád, loing, corach*.
spread ... *sí ... í* M (of bed-spread), Ir. *pluid*.
toothbrush, *seans go dtug sí [i.e. our 47P] bóthar di [i.e. toothbrush] M*, Ir. *scuab*, Eng. *an bhrush*.
tumbler *mór whiskey, d'ól mé í, ceann eile ina diaidh tumbler mór* **fɪ:k ə, dɔ:l m'e i:, k'ɑ:n eɪ ə nə d'ɪə P**, Ir. *gloine*.
turkey generally with masculine pronoun, but *tá sí go deas sa gcurry ta ji gə d'æ:s sə gori: 52Mt, Ir. *cearc, sicín*.
wellington ... *ortha S, ... í* M, Ir. *buatais, bróig*.
yacht, *cén yacht í sin? k'e'n' jæ:t i: jin' Mq*, Ir. *bád, loing, corach*.
 Others flash *toirní, ... scanraigh sí sin mise fl'æ:f taurn'i: ... ska:ntrə ji: jin' m'ɪʃə 60M*, Ir. *tine, splanc*.
hall *deas e sin M*, but also *Tá sí an-mhór 55L85*, Ir. *foirgint, (séipéal)*, Eng. *build-áil*.*

11.148 Masculine

All nouns in -ing and -tion are masculine, e.g.

blackening *buí*, black pudding *bán*;
an meeting céanna 03C, an t-action,
an persecution, persecution mór əm p'ɔrsi:k'u:fən, p'ɔrsi:k'u:fən mɔ:r M.

Other masculine nouns that I have noted are listed here.

- aerial, *an t-aerial* SM.
alarm, *bhí alarm mór acub / ann, alarm ceoil*
 v' i: həl'ɑ:rəm mɔ:r a:kəb / ɑ:n,
 həl'ɑ:rəm k'od' M.
baby *bocht b'e:b'i: boxt* 56N.
back, *tá an back briste ta m' b'æ:k br'ijf'ə*
 Mq.
back-boiler, *an back-boiler ... é b'æ:k*
 bail'ər ... e 52J.
bellows, *an bellows mór m b'el'əs mɔ:r*
 Mq.
bib-e, *an bib-e beag / mór m' b'ib'ə b'og /*
 mɔ:r Mq.
blind, *an blind, blind ... aige.*
blister ... *tá sé ...* 45B.
bomb, *an bomb mór əm ba:m mɔ:r S.*
boodle *maith aige bu:dl' mah eg'ə* 43M.
Bovril ... *sé ba:vriil' ... fe* SM.
brace, *é S.*
breach *mór bre:tʃ mɔ:r Mq, an breach-in S.*
breeching, *breech(ing)-il mór bri:tʃil' mɔ:r*
 Mq, *an breech(ing)-il ə bri:tʃil' SM.*
breeze *breá bris br'ɑ:.*
brooch, *Tá sí go deas an brooch sin. M.*
bud, *an bud ə buɔ' S.*
budget *mór oirnis ar a dhroim aige* 893P.
bus, *tá an bus dearg sin chraichead sí an t-*
anam asad M.
calendar *mór k'æl'əndər mɔ:r Mq.*
canister *mór k'ænəstər mɔ:r M.*
capstan, *an capstan əŋ' k'æ:p'səl' 35E.*
cartridge *mór ... air k'æ:triʃ mɔ:r ... er'*
 SM.
cashmere *maith M.*
chase *mór ʃe:s mɔ:r Mq.*
cheese *bán ... é ʃi:vz / ʃi:s bɑ:n | ... e:.*
cleat, ... *é an cleat-in ... e: əŋ k'le:tɪn' S.*
creek, *istich i gcreek beag əʃt'ix' ə gri:k'*
 b'og 892M.
cricket, *tá sé ... P.*
cross, *níl an cross aige n'it' ə kra:s eg'ə S.*
cruelty, *an cruelty ə kru:l'əti:.*
deck *mór M, ag scrub-áil an deck P.*
dipper *beag ɔip'ər b'og S.*
dispensary *mór ɔis'p'in'sri: mɔ:r M.*
dole *mór millteach aige.*
doodle *beag, doodle-in beag bídeach*
 du:dl'in' b'og b'i:d'əx.
drip, *Sé an drip a bhfuil an t-action ann M.*
envelope *mór / beag ɪnd'elə:p / ɪnv'elə:p*
 mɔ:r / b'og Mq, M, S.
fall *beag S.*
feed *breá f'i:d br'ɑ:.*
- figure *fír / mná.*
flood, *an flood céadtach m fl'ud*
 k'etəx M.
flower, ... *é M.*
Friesian beag */ mór fri:ʃi:n' b'og /*
 mɔ:r M (cow).
gaff *mór a'd 06C (cp. geaf m. GCF*
 Innéacs, geaf f. LFRM).
gaffsail *cp. an gaff(s)ail əŋ g'æf'əl'*
 (brother of 21J).
galley, *an galley.*
game 'fun', *game mór g'em' mɔ:r M.*
glad *mór orm gl'æ:d mɔ:r orəm M.*
globe, *ní raibh an globe glo:b héin*
 orthub 06C; *an globe ŋ glo:b P.*
gloss *breá gl'æs br'ɑ: M, gloss breá*
 glas br'ɑ: M.
go, *an go céanna.*
goblet ... *é sin 892Mtn.*
gooseneck, *le haghaidh an yu:sn'ik'*
 (also LFRM *gúsnaic* masculine).
gramophone *breá é sin græ:m'əfə:n*
 br'ɑ: e: ʃin' M.
gross, *an gross sin əŋ grɔ:s ʃin' 05M.*
hall door *beag M.*
heap *mór he:p' mɔ:r M.*
iodine, *tá an t-iodine taidain' ag*
 imeacht aisti 896P.
jib *mór, tochtar an jib mhóir ɔjib'*
 mɔ:r, iəxtər ə ɔjib' wɔ:r' Mq.
lable ... *é.*
latitat *maith M.*
legacy *mór ... é P.*
lid *mór l'ed mɔ:r M.*
luck-penny *maith ... é Mq (but ...*
mhaith permitted).
moustache *mór 'mʊʃ'dæ:ʃ' mɔ:r 892M.*
mudguard *maith 'mi:d'g'ær:d ma: M.*
parasol *mór p'ærəsəl' mɔ:r S.*
paté ... *sé go deas M.*
pedal *mór Mq.*
piano *masculine FFG píaine.*
plank, *an plank ... as cionn an phlank*
 894Cst, *an plank ARN1364.*
pneumonia *dona n'u:mə:ni: dunə M.*
pocketbook *masculine.*
pound (fish) *masculine FFG pabhand.*
press, *an press əm pres M.*
quota *maith ko:tə: ma: M.*
raddle *dearg M, raddle buí Mq ræ:dl'*
 d'æræg / bi: M.
rally *breá báistí, rally maith báistí.*
random, *Cén sórt random é sin ort?*

k'en so:rt ræ'n'ðəm e: ʃin' ort M.
range *dubh* M.
rattle *breá ræ:tl' br' a:* P.
rice.
rifle *é sin* Mq.
rim masculine in query. Contrast rim-ín *bheag* (speaker from An Cheathrú Rua), GCF §1 rim mhaith í (but in GCF Innéacs *rim* is given as masculine).
risk *mór ru:fk' mo:r* 892M.
roll *raul ro:l*.
round.
sanatorium, *tá sanatorium sæn' ə'fo:riəm* *mór i nGaillimh* Mq.
scour *dearg*.
scut *bradach sku: bræ:dəx* Mq.
set *beag eile potaí* 892M.
shape *maith ar an lá* 27Js.
shotgun ... *ánn* S. Cp. m. *gunna*.
shutter *bán ʃutər bæn*.
sight.
sink *mór si:ŋk' mo:r* M.
sketch, *fuair mé sketch beag dhe fuər' m'e sk' eʃ' b'og je* Mq.

sorry *mór orm sa:ri' mo:r o:rəm* M.
sovereign *buí sa:vərən bi:* M.
splinter S.
spout-ín *beag spau:in' b'og* M.
spread *breá carraigín* M.
spring *maith / briste* M.
stall *mór* M.
stand *maith* SM.
stander *mór míllteach* Mq.
stove *mór* Mq.
string *bán / geal ... é* 43Mq.
tank *mór é tæ:ŋk' mo:r* e P.
temptation *beag* M.
tenín *beag* 852SbTS132.
time *maith*.
toaster *é ... aige*.
tour *beag taur b'og* Mq.
toy *beag ʃai b'og* S.
turn *maith / beag*.
view *beag* S, view *breá v'u: br'a:* M.
yacht *beag* M.
zinc *dearg si:ŋk' d'æræg* M.

Note also: splice, *Sin é an splice* S.

11.149 Feminine ~ Masculine

Although all but the most common borrowed nouns can be optionally treated as masculine (the unmarked gender), some nouns are regularly treated as both masculine and feminine. Those noted are presented here.

blast *maith / breá* S, blast *mhaith* M.
bother, often or generally masculine but influenced by bother-áil following the article in, for example, [*is*] *mór an bhother-áil soithí mo:r ə wadərə:l' sehi:* M; hence *Nach mór an bhother é! nax mo:r ə wa:dər e* M, 45P, 56N. Compare the formal 'contamination' in ba'dəl 01P (only), a blend between ba'dər and ba'd(ə)ra:l', recorded in:
bhí an iomarca bother ba'dəl inti 01P (horse).
 Speaker 01P's verb is (past) bother-áil ba'dərə:l'.
crack, *b'iontach an c(h)rack é bi:ntəx ə xræk' e / bi:ntəx ə kræk' e* S (closely following each other in discourse).
crowd, most often *an crowd əŋ krauð*, but also *cén chrowd a bhí ann k'e'n | xrauð ə v'i: an* 27Cl.
guano *maith é sin d'u:æ:n' mah e' ʃin'* Mq, but ... *ortha* S85.
heave *bheag hi: v'og* Mq, but also heave *mór* Mq.
hedge, ... *sí ...* 20My, ... *í* M, hedge mhór *is fhearr, déarthá hedge mór' heʃ' wo:r əs a:r, d'erha: heʃ' mo:r* Mq. Ir. f. *tom*.
jump *fhada ʃump æ:də* 60M, jump *mór*.
leg-ín *bheag bhídeach lamb* M, leg *deas mór lamb* M.
lift, *fuair mé lift bhreá inniubh* 66N, perhaps an instance of this speaker's apparent use of lenition with intensive function (9.176).
machine, generally *an machine*; often with feminine reference hence *an mhachine ən' v'ə'ʃin' ... í ... léithi*. 01P.

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must, an mhust n wuft S, also an must S.

power, cén phower atá a'amsa air 894C2.

plane, feminine in Sé an phlane bheag a bhíonn ... fen fl'e:n' v'og ə v'ins ... 43M, feminine pronoun in plane ... ortha [i.e. uirthi] M; mixed in (relative, cf. 8.86) an phlane a dtáinig sé sin anall air ə fl'e:n' ə dɑ:n'(k') fe'fin' ə'nɑ:l er' M.

Masculine in Mq: plane mór, plane beag, ... é Mq.

prod beag / bheag M.

rhyme, an rhyme chainte ə raim' xa:n't ə 13P, but also rhyme beag deas é sin re:m' b'og d'æs e: fin' 11Cst.

rout mhór rauf wɔ:r M, but rout mór 47P.

Cp. shout (cp. shower), shout buimí S, shout báistí SM (often), shout báistí, shout mhór bháistí, shout maith báistí, shout mhaith bháistí fauf bɑ:f't'i:, fauf wɔ:r wɑ:f't'i:, fauf ma: bɑ:f't'i:, fauf wa: wɑ:f't'i: Mq.

yard, masculine in FFG geard (also FFG20, LFRM s.v. gheárd), also masculine in conversation, e.g. yard ... é M, and query but a genitive na gyard-e nə g'ɑ:rdə was also produced in query.

11.150 Vocative and genitive

Vocative

Vocative inflection is not uncommon with masculine proper and personal nouns in unstressed -r, e.g.

A Pheteir ə f'itər', A fuckeir' ə fukər',

a Mhisteir ə v'istər' M, a Mhisteir Courtney ə v'istər' kɔ:rt'n'i M.

Note also A Noel ə n'ɔ:l Mq, ə n'ɔ:l' Mperm.

Genitive

Most borrowings do not decline for genitive case, e.g.

bellows, barr an bhellows bɑ:r ə v'el'əs Mq.

blast, torann an bhlast tɔ:rən ə vl'æ:f't Mq.

bus, luach an bhus luəx ə wus.

cashmere, ag gearradh an chashmere g'ær əŋ' x'æ:fmər M.

cooker, burner an chooker bɔ:nər ə xu:kər M.

dole, cárta dole kɑ:rtə ɔ:l, number dole n'umbər ɔ:l.

dollar, in aghaidh an dollar ən ai n ɔ:lɑ:lər M.

felloes, fellys, taobh an felloes ti:v ə f'el'əs M.

jam, jug jam ʒug ʒæ:m'.

pension, ag fáil an phension ə fa:l' ə f'infən.

Toole, Balla Toole bɑ:lə ʃu:l M.

worm, barr an worm bɑ:r ə wɔ:rəm Sq.

11.151 Declensions 1, 2, 6

Nouns that do inflect in the genitive, take type 1, type 2, and, in a handful of nouns, type 6 declensional endings.

1 Declension: nouns in -g, -n, -r, -l, -s.

action æ:kʃən, an-phíosáí actioin æ:kʃən' aige ann 18J8037.

bowl, túin an bhowil tu:n' ə waul' M.

Cole, Cole Dharach kɔ:l ɣɑ:rəx 35E, Tom-in Choile Dharach təm'in' xɔ:l' ɣɑ:rəx 35E; Cole kɔ:l Shéimín 35E, Josie Choile xɔ:l' Shéimín

35E. There is a distinct nominative by-form Cole **ko:l' 35E**.
copper, **kapər'**.
counter, *un* counteᵢᵣ əŋ **kauntər'** **64M**.
jug, *gob an juig* FFG, *béal an juig* b'e:l ə dʒig' **899P**, *lán an ju(i)g* la:n ə dʒig' / dʒug Sq.
June, *i lár a' Júin* FFG.
mug, *ólaim lán muig dhe o:ləm' la:n mig' ji* **02J**.
osier **fə:fər**, *slat (fh)osieᵢᵣ* **slat** o:fər', also **slat** fə:fər.
Peter, Son Pheteᵢᵣ **son** f'i:tər'.
pewter, *buai* pewteᵢᵣ **buai** p'e:tər'.
poorhouse, *fear pírouis* FFG s.v. pápaire 3 = **pu:rauf**.
rubber, *bróga* rubbeᵢᵣ **bro:gə** **robər'** S.
steamer, *Amhrán an Steameᵢᵣ* **o:rə:n** ə **fti:m'ər'**.
stress, *Ní raibh blas streiss* **bla:s** **strof** *orainn* M.
tractor, *rotha an tractoᵢᵣ* **roh** ən **træk'dər'** **36S**, *bosca / ola an tractoᵢᵣ* **træk'dər'** **60M**.

2 Declension: nouns in palatal final consonants (-C').

bank, *bille* bank-e **b'il'ə** **b'æ:ŋk'ə** **10C**, *cárta beaince* **43M** (written by **43M** on a public notice).
bend, *barr na* bend-e **bær** **nə** **b'in'də** Mq.
brush, *ag craitheadh na* brush-e **mar** **sin** **krahə** **nə** **brofə** **mar** **fin'** M.
cane, *lár na* cane-e **lær** **nə** **k'e:n'ə** Mq.
crib, *uachtar na* crib-e **uəxtər** **nə** **krib'ə** S.
fuchsia, for Máire the nominative is regularly **f'u:f**, e.g. *isteach sa bhfuchsia* əft'əx sə v'u:f M, *fuchsia bhreá* **f'u:f** **vr'ə:** M; genitive **f'u:fə**, e.g. *sceach fuchsia* **f'k'æ:x** **f'u:fə** M.
League, *Blian [leg Bliain] na Léige* FFG s.v. léig.
purge, *údar na* purge-e **u:dər** **nə** **porðə** Mq (but Mq found the form amusing).
rowlock, *clár na* rowlock-e **sa** **mbád** **nə** **ri'l'ək'ə** S.
san(atorium), *muintir na* san-e **mi:n't'ər** **nə** **sæ:n'ə** Mq.
screen, *barr na* screen-e **bær** **nə** **skri:n'ə** Mq.
sponge, *i lár na* sponge-e **lær** **nə** **spun'dʒə** Mq (i.e. sponge for bathing, cleaning).
tramm(el), *bun na* tramm(el)-e and *na* tramm(el) **bun** **nə** **træm'ə** Mq.
tube, *tube bheag* **t'u:b'** **v'og** Mq, *bhí mise ag casadh na* tube-e **t'u:b'ə** M.
Cp. *i lár na* *pruince* S. Also genitive of yard: *na* gyard-e **nə** **g'arðə** produced in query.

Note -x > -hi: in query in *tóin na* trough-i **tu:n** **nə** **trahi:** Mq.

6 Declension -əx: nouns in final palatals (-C' : -n', -l').

drain, **dre:nəx**; train, **tre:nəx**.
still, **ftil'əx**.
stole, *cloigeann na* stole-ach **klog'ən** **nə** **ftil'əx** Mq.
Note *lár na* cane-ach **lær** **nə** **k'e:nəx** / **k'e:n'əx** Mperm.
Other nouns in -n' do not have genitive -əx: **bær** **nə** **skri:n'ə** Mq *barr na* screen-e, but ***skri:nəx** MØperm. Cp. **kren'** fem, **kren'** **wor** M crane *mhór*,

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genitive without change: *iəxdər ə xre:n' / nə kre:n' M íochtar an chrane / na crane.*

English s, understood as genitive marker 's, can be retained following *tigh* in shop names, etc., which are situated outside of the Gaeltacht, e.g.

Tigh Dunnes' (or Dunne's) t'í: dʊns, Tigh Phenneys t'í: f'in'is M.

This is in contrast with shops, etc., situated within the Gaeltacht, e.g.

Tigh Gheraghty t'í: jorəxt'i:, Tigh Chlarke t'í: xl'ær-k'.

11.152 Plurals

Some nouns occur in the plural only, as in English, e.g.

na hames nə he:m'z / he:m's S, na shingles nə ʃɪŋg'il's,

na jeans ... tá siad nə dʒi:nz ... tá ʃiəd M.

The noun salts is treated as singular, e.g. *Sé an salts a rinne air é fe: n sa:l'ts ə ri:n' er' e M, nuair a bhí mé dhá ól nor' ə v'i: m'e ga o:l S.*

knicker n'ik'ər M is treated as singular, e.g. *knicker deas é sin n'ik'ər d'æ:s e ʃin' M.* Cp. the older borrowings also in singular *bríste*, generally *treabhsar*. Cp. *men o' war* treated as singular (11.162).

Some English singular nouns in -s, -x may be (optionally) treated as plural, e.g.

licence na laidhseans FFG, now generally singular;

appendix ... phléascthaidís 'p'en'dik's ... fl'eskəd'i:ʃ 21Pt.

A new singular is formed from the plural in police 'pɔ:l'i: 21Ptq (conservative); in bellows b'el'əs, new plural bellows-achaí b'el'əsəxi: M; gallows ('braces') is mostly used in singular, e.g. *Cá bhfuil mo ghallows? ka:l' mə jæl'əs S, treabhsar agus gallows tr'ausər ogəs g'æl'əs S, but the plural gallows-achaí g'æl'əsəxi: is also known; traces has two forms *na trace(s) nə tre:s S, na trace-annaí nə tre:səni: S.* Final s in surnames generally takes an Irish plural, e.g. *na Hopkins-achaí nə ha:pək'in'səxi: M.* The noun news usually functions as singular but note an example of the plural article in *tá tú ag fáil litreachaí uaithi is na news uilig (Mlt ?).**

Plural s can be added to Irish nominal endings, agentive -í, and -ín, -óg (4.68):

gréasaí gr'esi: > gr'esi:s 05M;

nə koləm sa:l't'i:n's 04Br na Colm Sáiltíns; cob-ógə kabə:gs.

There are a few nouns which have plurals (optionally) identical to the singular:

na haspirín nə hæ:spərn' 04Br, na Baft (cp. boffeta, bafta(h)) nə b'æf'ədi: 20Ml, na salmon nə sæmən 12J or 52J; le haghaidh tourist, le haghaidh tourist ʃehi: tʊ:rist | ʃehi: tʊ:rist 54M; cp. na Fianna Fáil iad héin nə f'ionə fa:l iəd he:n' S.

Nouns in -í, as in Irish, can have plural forms identical to the singular, e.g.

board-áilə bur:ðali:; bully buli: Mq, also bullies buli:s.

The opposition between singular and plural in both members of phrasal nouns found in Irish (4.32 ff.) is also found with borrowings, e.g.

an báid engine vs. na báid engine-achaí nə ba:d' en' dʒənəxi: 01C6181;

slat (fh)osier slat o:fər' / fo:fər vs. slatachaí fosiers slatəxi: fo:fərs.

For English phrasal nouns in the plural, see 11.164.

11.153 Endings

The following plural endings are found:

Simple:	Complex (mostly rare):
(e)s	ɹC'ə, C'ɹ, ɹC'əxi:
palatalisation, i.e. -C > -C'	C'ɹ, C'i:
i:	t'i:, C'i:
əni: (ənə)	təxi:, trəxi:, Vixi:, ɹC'əxi:
əxi: / əxə	hə
	t'ə

The most common endings are -ɹ with all types of bases, and native -əni: -*annaí* with monosyllables (for a few speakers also -ənə -*anna*), and -əxi: / -əxə -*acha(t)* mostly with polysyllables.

One can sometimes observe speakers creating plurals of borrowings 'on the hoof' as it were. In, for example, *téann tourist-achaí isteach t'en tʉrəst.əxi: f'ax* **21Pt**, there is a brief but distinct pause before the plural ending as if the speaker had to consider which ending was appropriate; the alternative *tourists* is common. Speakers differ in their application of native plural suffixes. The speaker just cited, **21Pt**, for example, was the subject of comment by the younger speaker **66N** when a plural of the word *sausage* had occurred in conversation. She found **21Pt**'s *sausage-achaí* amusing in contrast with her own *sausages*:

'*Sausages*' a déarthas muide ach '*sausage-achaí*' déarthas Peait Mháire
Veail **66N**.

There is alternation within the same discourse in the following two instances:

-kaə tu nə hek'sər'saisəni f'in' ... M *Caithidh tú na hexercise-annaí sin* ...

-hu S *Hu?*

-kahə tu nə hek'sər'saisəs f'in' ... M *Caithidh tú na hexercises sin* ... (as two words in my notes (**hek'sər'saisəs**) but stress not marked).

-wil' sɑ:səʒəxi: æ:d M *An bhfuil sausage-achaí a'd?*

-hæ: S *Hea?*

-wil' sɑ:səʒis æ:d M *An bhfuil sausages a'd?*

In fact, I recall Máire using plural *sausages* more and more through the 1990s. Similarly, Máire echoed the English plural to my nativised version, as if in correction, in:

-v'i: sæ:ŋ wəfjəxi: am Bóc Bhí sandwich-achaí a'm.

-sæ:ŋ wəfjəs M *Sandwiches*.

In these lexemes, *exercise*, *sausage*, *sandwich* (and *stitch* 11.156), native plural use occurs in place of English -es thus reflecting the particular avoidance of -es where required in English following sibilants in preference for -*annaí* (e.g. *beach*, *booze*, *hearse*, *hedge*, *range* 11.160) and -*achaí* (e.g. *blockage*, *licence*, *mattress* 11.161).

The younger speaker **69S** strikes one as making greater use than usual of native plural suffixes, e.g.

na *hanswer-achaí* nə hæ'n'sərəxi: **69S** for more usual *answers*;

tractor-achai 69S for more usual tractors;

tourist-achai 69S for more usual tourists.

He similarly shows expansion of *-achai* in native words, e.g.

leabhar > L'auarhaxi 69S for more usual L'aurha.

11.154 -s

aeroplanes eɪrəpl'eɪn's P

alleys hæ'l'i:s

balloons: *na balloons* nə bə'lʊ:nz M

bastards b'æ:stərdz 12J

batteries b'ætəri:s 64M

bicycles baɪsək'ɪl's S

birthdays b'ɜ:tdɛɪs M

Bishops: *ceann dhe na Bishops* b'ɪʃɪb's S (surname)

blackguards bl'eg'ɑ:rdz S bl'ɪg'ɑ:rdz M

boud-íos baʊdi:s M

na boys nə bɔɪs

buckos bu:kɔ:s M

butchers bu:fərs 02J, M, *buitsears* FFG

calendars k'æ:l'ændərs M

canisters k'æ:nəstərs M

capers k'e:p'ərs

Charollais' tʃer-'l'i:s SM, *jer-'l'i:s* M,

ʃarli:s 60C

clippers kl'ɪp'ərs S

clogs klɔ:gz P

collar-ties 'kɔ:lər,tʃaɪs P

complaints kəm'pl'eɪn'ts M

coupons ku:pə:nz M, 16B, 47P

crackers kræk'k'ərs

cricke(t)rs krik'ərs M

Currans kɜ:rən's 04Br

cutters ku:tərs 35E

deck-loads 'dɪk',lɔ:dz 892M3722

diapers daɪp'ərs

Dillons dɪl'ənz 35E

dispensaries dɪs'p'ɪn'sri:s M

disputes dɪ'sp'u:tɪs M

dollars dɔ:lərs

doodles du:dl's

dos dɔ:s Mq (*Ní dhéarthá *do-annaí go deo* Mq)

dummies dʌmi:s M

exams eg'sæ:m's

Fenian, *aimsir na bhFenians* ʃ'i:n'ənz 06C.

flashlamps 'fl'æʃ,l'æmp's

fliggers fl'ɪg'ərs M

Fordhams fɔ:dəms 21J

frolics fræl'ək's S

gaff (cp. gaffsails) g'æf'əl's

Galloways g'æ:l'əweɪs SM

gillies g'ɪl'i:s S

goals gɔ:lz 80A

hall-doors hɔ:l' dɔ:rs

Herefords herəfərts M

high do 'haɪ'du:s M (perhaps -ɔ:s)

hunters hʌntərs 26P

L.R.A.'s 'aɪ'ar'ɛ:s S

Italians æ:'tæɪ'ənz 21J, cp. *na hIodálaí is na Italians* nə 'hɪ:də:lɪ: s nə

'ɪtʃl' i:n'z !11C

jumpers dʒʌmpərs

kettles k'ɪtl's

lable l'e:b'ɪl's

ladies l'ædɪs

lads l'ædz, l'ædz

patrol boats p'ə'trɔ:l,bɔ:ts 35E

Queen Annes 'kwɪ:n'æ'n'z 35E (gun type)

tin cans tɪŋk'æn's

tomatoes tə'm'æ:təs tə'm'æ:tɔ:s M

tractors træk'tərs M

linch pins lɪn'tʃ'ɪn's M

lorries l'ɔ:ri:s, l'ɔ:ri:z

lungs lʌŋz

MacDonaghs m'ɪg'dʌnəs

mandars m'æ:n'dərs

mangers m'æ:n'dʒərs

Mikeos maɪkɔ:z Mq

missions m'ɪʃənz

motors mɔ:tərz 892M (boats with engines)

muscles musəls M

napkins n'æ:p'ɪk'ɪn's M

oilers aɪl'ərs

osier: *slatachái fosiers* slatəxi: fɔ:fərs

Paddies p'ædɪ:s

parasols ,p'æ:rə'sɔ:lz S

partners p'ɑ:tərs 17Mp (nautical)

pedals p'edl's

peelers pi:l'ərz 892M

pelters p'el'tərs S

pension: *dream pensions* iad héin

dr'ɑ:m p'ɪnʃənz iəd he:n' 60M

pinks p'ɪŋk's

police 'pɒ:l'is 21Ptq < *póilí* singular
praty cakes p'ɛ:ti: k'e:k's S
privies preb'is
professionals prəf'ɛʃnəls 60M
radiators ,ræ:di:'e:tərs
records rekərdz
revelles rəv'æ:l'is Mq
rifles raif'əls Mq
rocket, *racaid*s FFG
roller, cp. *rabhlars bheaga* FFG
rovers rɔ:vərs S
Russians rɒʃənz 892M
sappers sɑ:pərs S, sæ:p'ərs !21Pt
shoes ʃu:s S, low shoes l'ɔ: ʃu:s S
sills sel's 64M
skylights 'skai,laiʃt M
Sonnies soni:s 03C
soupers su:pərs
sovereigns sɑ:vərəns M
splinters spl'æntərs S
statues ʃtæt'ʊ:s

stoppers ʃtɑ:pərs 01C6306
surgeons sɜ:dʒəns M
sweaters swu:tərs 15W
swedes swe:dz
sweet swi:tz
teapots te:pəʃt
teddy: dolls is teddies dɑ:lz s te:diz M
temptations tɛm'te:ʃəns M
tigers 866E:Sc41.21
t-shirts M
trammels træ:m'il'z 892Mt
travellers træv'l'ərs M
turkeys tɜ:kiz
vagabonds v'æg'əbu:nz 892M,
 v'æg'əbu:ns M
wellingtons wel'ɪŋ'təns
willy wagtails wil'i: 'wɑ:g,te:l's M
winkers wiŋk'ərs
yarns jɑ:rəns M (**yarn-achai* MØperm)
Zulus ə'zu:ləs 18J, Zuluboots
 'su:lə,bɔ:tz 27Mdq.

11.155 Further examples

Cp. *ciubái* > plural *ciubáios* Mq?perm, *gugái* > plural *gugáios* Mq.

-s can be realised as **z**, e.g. lads l'æ:dz, lorries l'ɔ:riz, pelerines p'el'əri:n'z 11C, vagabonds v'æg'əbu:nz 892M2099.

-s with vowel alternation in beauty b'ʊ:tə M, 43M, 56B > beauties b'ʊ:ti:s 43M, also a type of potato b'ʊ:ti:s 20T.

In *ábhars* (abstract noun, de Bhaldraithe 1984: 196) and *bramans* (agentive, cp. plural and verbal noun *bramannaí*) the final -s appears to be English plural -s used with native roots in a jocose, not strictly plural, context. De Bhaldraithe notes the association of plural -s in Cois Fharráige with native roots and the language addressed to, and used by, children (NIGCF §6; 1984: 196). Of these plurals, i.e. *broibhs*, *caoranns*, *sméaras* and *toráios* (< *toradh*), only *broibhs* and *sméars* (only in the phrase jam sméars) are found in Iorras Aithneach, to which we can add *ruacam*s (1.259) and *seileastrams*.¹

¹ There is also an association with children in the plural *broibhs*. A common rhyme finishes with this very plural:

Damhsa na gcoiníní i ngarraí na heorna,
An coinín ab óige briseadh a chois,
An coinín ba s(h)ine rinne sé úchta,
Is thit ar thúin i dtóimín beag broibs. [sic]

(Heard by Nicholas Williams in An Máimín, Oileán Gharamna, West Cois Fharráige. Cp. Williams 1988: §367.)

These words also have a semantic association, i.e. they are plants or fruits. In Ó Siadhail (1978: 67–9) one finds *sméara* plural *sméaraí* and *sméaraí*[o]s, *suig salún* (< *sú talún*) plural *suig salúins*, and *úlla* plural *úllaí* ~ *úllaí*[o]s, cp. also *púiníos* 'tiny potatoes'. Plurals of borrowed plant names such as *pabhsaes* (< *posies*) and *corans* (< *currants*) may have had an influence in the development of native nouns with borrowed plural s. Given their connection with children it is tempting to define the native class with s-plural as containing 'a plant or fruit associated in particular with children'. As well as the playful use of language mixture present in these forms, two tendencies generally found in language addressed to children might also be of relevance here: (a) forms perceived to be salient or simple are

11.156 -s alternating with Irish morphs

-s ~ -C' (polysyllables in final -r or -n):

hampers commonly, but hampeir mhóra tuíobh hæ'mp'ər' wɔ:rə ti:w 18J8135
(sic recte, for *heampars* ARN).

knickers n'ik'ərs M, knickeir n'ik'ər' Mq.

sna míle murders / murdeir snə m'i:l'ə mɔrdərs / mɔrdər'.

saucelain dhubha sa:spən' yuvə M, sa:spən' 27Mdq, perhaps also *saucerpans.

-s ~ -əni: (monosyllables):

acts S, act-annaí 06C.

barges b'ɑ:rdʒəs 52J, barge-annaí b'ɑ:rdʒəni: M, 52Cr.

bends b'in'dʒ 899P, bend-annaí b'in'dʒəni: Mq.

kag, generally kag-annaí k'æg'əni:, but kags k'æ:əg's 899P.

greens gri:n's S 'green shoots, leaves', sórt green-annaí bhí chuile chineál green
ann sórt gri:nəni: v'i: xil'ə x'ina:l gri:n ən 43M (of the colour).

plans pl'æn's, plan-annaí pl'æn'əni:.

stalls ftɑ:ls S, stall-annaí ftɑ:ləni: S.

studs i mbróga ftɔdʒ ə mro:gə M, no doubt also *stɔdʒəni:.

tour, generally tour-annaí taurəni:, but tours taur's 47P.

tricks trik's S; trik's 12J, followed two minutes later by trick-annaí trik'əni:
12J.

There is alternation within the same discourse in (cf. 11.153):

Tá stitches anseo, tá go leor stitch-annaí ann

ta stífəs ən'fɔ ta gə l'ɔ:r stífəni: ən M (of person).

-s ~ -əni: ~ -t'ə (monosyllable):

poles pɔ:ls 79A, pole-annaí pɔ:ləni: 23M, but pole-te pɔ:l-t'ə 51P (only).

11.157 -s ~ -achai, etc.

-s ~ -əxi: (polysyllables):

additions æ:dʒəns Sq, addition-achai æ:dʒənəxi: Sq.

answer-achai æ'n sərəxi: 69S; -s common in back-answers.

bugles b'u:g əls M; cp. possible b'u:g ələxi: S.

covers kɑ:wərs, kwərs often, cover-achai [x1] 01CARN.

cringles kriŋk' il's 01C6051, cringle-achai kriŋk' il'əxi: 01C6006.

felloes is used as singular with plural felloeses f'el'əsəs S and felloes-achai
f'el'əsəxi:.

figures f'ig'ərs, figure-achai f'ig'ərəxi: M.

kettles k'itl's, k'itəls, kettle-achai k'itl'əxi:.

legacies l'eg'əsi:s 43Mq, l'eg'əsəxi: 43Mq less certainly.

oranges a:rən'fəs M, a:rən'fəxi: M.

used, such as plural s in contrast with native plurals, as well as (b) prestige forms; this is often related to the familiar processes of dialect and language shift (e.g. De Houwer 2003, Kulick 1992). Compare *cín* (< *cíoch*) plural *cínios* GCD §257, perhaps through association with children. Compare also *ruacam* > *ruacam*s and the rhyme which begins *Bia rí ruacain* (Williams 1988: §329). The toy boats *báid seileastrams* are also associated with children. The other native class with s-plural contains stems in final -í, often agentive (cf. 4.73, p. 722 n. 1).

pencils p' in' sil' s M, Mq, p' in' sil' əxi: Mq.

sandwiches, sandwich-achai.

splinter. Note that Seán produced splinter-achai spl' æ:ntɾəxi: when asked for a plural other than his own splinters spl' æ:ntərs S.

tablets tʰæ:bl' its most often, also tablet-achai tʰæ:bl' ətəxi: S.

teapots tɛ:pəts generally, but tɛ:pə:təxi: S-Mq.

tourists, tourist-achai 21Pt, 69S.

tractors, tractor-achai 69S.

-s ~ (-C' in query) ~ -əxi: (polysyllable in final -ɾ):

professors prɪf' esərs SM, prɪf' esər' Mq, 43Mq, prɪf' esərəxi: S.

-s ~ -əxi: ~ -V:xi: (nouns in final unstressed -y, -ow):

galleys g' æ:l' i:s S, galley-éachai g' æ:l' exi:, galley-achai g' æ:l' əxi: M.

wheelbarrows 'fi:l' b' æ:rəs, wheelbarrow-éachai 'fi:l' b' æ:rəxi:.

-s ~ -i: :

stations generally fte:fəns but nə fte:fəni: 52Cr (cf. 11.162).

turnips tɔrna:ps tɔr-n' ip' s M, turnip-í tɔrna:pi: M.

-s ~ -əxi: (~ Ø in query):

breaching brɪfəls Mq, brɪfɪl' əxi: Sq, (brɪfɪl' Mq plural = singular).

-s ~ -(h)ə ~ -V:xi: (~ Ø in query; nouns in final unstressed -y):

jockey tʰəki:; plural generally tʰəki:s, but also tʰə:ki:ə [x2] 869PSgbf.

lorries only was heard in conversation from Máire and many other speakers.

lorry-the ɾɔri:hə Mperm but it has been heard in conversation once only:
siad atá su, supply-áil su'plaiə:l' an áit thoir lena gcuid lorry-the ɾɔri:hə anis 892Mg. Also ɾɔrV:xi: Mq, ɾɔri: Mq.

Trí nó ceathair dh'fhamily-the acub gæm' əl' i:h ə'kəb ánn 24M. Contrast family-the f' æ:m' əl' i:hə MØperm, adding '... dh'fhamily-the' *cosúil le 'ainmhíthe' é sin ... gæm' əl' i:hə kosu:l' ɾɛ æ:n' əv' i:hə e: fɪn'* Mq.

Cp. Paddies generally, but Paddy-the p' æ:ði:hə 76Nq.

The noun drawer has various plurals according to three separate meanings:

-s ~ -C' undergarment, generally drawers drə:rs, also draweɾ drə:r'.

-s ~ -əni: ~ -əxi: furniture, drawers drə:rs ~ drawer-annaí drə:rəni: but also drawer-achai drə:rəxi: 43M.

-s-e 'báinín trousers' have plural drawers-e drə:rʃə S and are thus differentiated by Seán in recorded examples from the undergarment (drawers drə:rs and draweɾ drə:r').

11.158 -s combined with other endings

-s is combined rarely with other plural endings (4.69).

-s (+ palatalisation) + ə -s-e in:

drawers-e drə:rʃə S.

-s + i: -s-*aí* in:

lads-aí óga **l'ædʒi: o:ɣə 76Mt** (Doire Iorrais, mother from Ros Muc), but generally lads **l'ædʒz l'ædʒs**. Speaker **44P** (Loch Con Aortha) reports that lads-aí l'ædʒi: was also used although now obsolete. (It is still current in Ros Muc and North Conamara.)¹

-s + əxi: -s-*achaí* in query:

umbrellas **umbə'rel'əs** Sq, but Seán added 'umbrellas-achaí' *an rud ceart sa nGaeilge* **umbə'rel'əsəxi: | ə rud k'æ:rt sə ŋe:lɣ'ə** Sq.

-s + palatalisation + əxi: -s-*eachaí* in:

fee, fiseachaí 'n tsagairt'!(NUath)**894C9**.

-s + V:xi: (following a query session, 4.82):

sums-óchaí **sumso:xi: 10B**.

-s + əni: -s-*annaí* in deliberate blending.

This is found in a humorous macaronic rhyme where an Irish monoglot misunderstands his English-speaking interlocutor:

-I'll shoot you ...

-M'anam go bhfuil shoes-annaí sa mbaile ... **894C9**.

Cp. -C' + s in *boc* (buck), **bok's boics**.

11.159 Palatalisation, -C'

Nouns which end in final unstressed -ɪ (and which have palatalisation in the genitive) can be palatalised in the plural:

beateir **b'e:tə:r'** Mq, counteir **kauntə:r'** S (-ərs SØperm),

standeir **stæ:n'də:r'** Mq;

also hamper, knicker, murder (11.156).

A few nouns in -ɪ: ovein **owən'** **892M1175**, saucelain **sə:spən'**.

Cp. gramophones **græ:m'əfə:ns** Mq, **græ:m'əfə:n'** **43M** (if heard correctly).

-C' ~ -C'i: in query in clinker plural **kl'ɪŋk'ər'** **kl'ɪŋk'ər'i:** Mq.

-C' ~ -əxi: in poorhouse (11.164).

Cp. -C' + s in *boc* (buck), **bok's boics** and see -s + C' + ... (11.158).

Note also trawl(er)-éaraí **trə:l'e:ri:** M, Mq (preferred), alternatively with singular

-e:r > plural trawl(er)-éir **trə:l'e:r'** Mq. Cp. trawlers **trə:lə:rs 12J**.

11.160 -*annaí* -əni:

Monosyllables generally take -əni:. A few speakers also have the variant -ənə, e.g. speaker **20Cq**: brush-anna **brɔʃənə**, crib-anna **krib'ənə**, pan-anna **p'æ:n'ənə**, etc.

¹ Cp. older gaits > geáitsí, etc., (T. S. Ó Máille 1958–61: 148).

act, *leis na hact-annaí Gaeltachta seo*
Íef *ná hæk' d'áni: geiltæxtə fo* **06C**
m(b)ack-annaí *m' æ:k' áni: S*
beach-annaí *b' i: f'áni: M*
bear-annaí **866E**Sc41.20
booze-annaí *bú:s'áni: S*
bowl-annaí *baul'áni: SM*
breach-annaí *bre: f'áni:*
brush-annaí *brof'áni:*
bus-annaí *bus'áni:*
can-annaí *k' æ:n' áni: 73P*
cent-annaí *sin' t'áni: 43Mq*
crack-annaí *kræk' áni: S*
crime-annaí *kraim' áni: 15W*
crowd-annaí *kraud'áni:*
cut-annaí *aráin kuf'áni: ræ:n' S*
deck-annaí *dek' áni:*
dog-annaí **872P** (mechanical device)
dose-annaí *do:s'áni:*
douse-annaí *dous'áni:*
dredge-annaí *drid'áni:*
gas-annaí *g' æ:s'áni: P*
hall-annaí *hal'áni: 36P*
hearse-annaí *hors'áni:*
hedge-annaí *hef'áni: M*
heel-annaí *hi:l' áni: Mq*
hemp-annaí *himp' áni: 892Mg*
hob-annaí *ha:b'áni: S*
hog-annaí *hug'áni: 43.1167*
hold-annaí *haul' t'áni: Sq*
(clothes-)horse-annaí *ha:rs'áni: S*
hose-annaí *ho:s'áni: S*
jack-annaí *džæk' áni:*
jar-annaí *džar'áni:*
joint-annaí *džain' t'áni:*
jug-annaí *džug'áni:*
law: brehon law ... *níl fhios a' msa cé na*
law-annaí *eile a bhí ann bri:hán la:*
 ... *N' i:l' əs a:msə k' e: ná la:áni: el' ə*
v' i: a:n **02J**
leg-annaí *lamb* *Íeg' áni: Í æ:m' M*
lid-annaí *Íed'áni:*
lion-annaí **866E**Sc41.21
lord-annaí *móra la:rd'áni: mo:rə* **881J**
lot-annaí *la:t'áni: 892M* (divisions of
 kelp)
match-annaí *m' æ:f'áni:*
news: leis na news-annaí beaga *Íef ná*
N' u:s'áni: b' ogə **23M**
nurse-annaí *n' urs'áni: M*
pan-annaí *p' æ:n' áni: M*
part-annaí *p' æ:r't' áni: M*
plot-annaí *pla:t'áni: 02J*

power: na power-annaí móra *nə*
pauc'áni: mo:rə **S**
press-annaí *pres'áni: M*
prod-annaí *pra'd'áni:*
pub-annaí *pob'áni:*
purge-annaí *por'dž'áni: Mq*
rag-annaí *ræg' áni:*
range-annaí *re:n' dž'áni:*
rant-annaí *ræ:n' t'áni:*
ride: bheith ag thumb-áil *ride-annaí v' e*
tuma:l' raid'áni: 23B
rim-annaí *rim' áni:*
ring: na ring-annaí ar an gcócker *nə*
ring' áni: er' ə gu:kər **M**
roll-annaí *farraige raul'áni: fa:ræg' ə*
round-annaí *raund'áni: 43M* (drink)
roul: ceathair nó cúig dhe *roul-annaí*
k' æhər nu: ku:g' gə rau't'áni: 20C
row-annaí *rau'áni: 892M*
screen-annaí *skri:n' áni: M*
seat-annaí *si:t'áni: 43M*
shed-annaí *fed'áni: SM, jed' áni: 79St*
show-annaí *fo:ni: S*
slant: tá an oiread slant-annaí ar na
cocat sin aige ta n or' əd fl' æ:n' t'áni:
er' nə koki: jin' eg' ə **M**
slap-annaí *fl' a:p'áni:*
slate-annaí *bréag fl' e:t'áni: br' e:g* **S**
slice-annaí *slais'áni:*
snake-annaí *fn' e:k' áni: 02J*
space-annaí *sp' e:s'áni: S*
spell-annaí *sp' el' áni: S*
spin-annaí *sp' in' áni: 43M*
spit-annaí *sp' it'áni:*
sponge-annaí *spun' f'áni:*
squall-annaí móra gaoithe *skwa:l'áni:*
mo:rə gi:hə **892M**
stab-annaí *fta:b'áni: M*
stain-annaí *ste:n' áni: 04Br, fte:n' áni:*
M
stove-annaí *stov'áni: Mq*
string-annaí *string' áni: 43M*
swing: ag swing-áil ar swing-annaí
swing' a:l' er' swing' áni: M
tank-annaí *tæ:ŋk' áni:*
tear: tear-álthaidh tú leat é ina *tear-*
annaí móra fada *te:ra:lə tu: Í æ:t e*
nə te:r'áni: mo:rə fa:də **P**
top-annaí *ta:p'áni: 897P* (nautical)
track-annaí *bicycles* *træk' áni:*
baisək' il's **S**
trap-annaí *træ:p' áni: S*
trash: bhí trash-annaí beaga go leor aici

ag tíoct v'í: træ:fəni: b'ogə gə
 L'or ek'ə t'ixt M
tube-annaí t'u:b'əni: Mq
vest: eidir vest-annaí is léintreachaí
 ed'ər' v'estəni: s L'e:ntr'əxi: S
vet-annaí v'etəni: M
wig-annaí wig'əni:

Wire-annaí an Droichid wairəni: n
 drehəd' (this phrase is a place-name
 in Maínis)
yacht-annaí jætəni: M
yawl-annaí g'ələni: 46.1091, ja:ləni: S
zip-annaí sip'əni: S

Originally monosyllabic bib-e has a plural by-form bib-annaí b'ib'əni: (also *bibí*, *bibíocháí*).

The exceptional use of *-annaí* with granny may be through analogy with dual stressed *deaideo* in the following example:

granny-annaí ... *deaideonnaí* græn'i:ni ... 'd'æ:d'əni: 56Tt.

11.161 -*acháí*-əxi:

Polysyllables generally take *-əxi*.

agent-acháí e:ɔɔn'təxi: 881J
almanac-acháí a:lmən'ik'əxi: S
Angus-acháí æ:ŋg'isəxi: (cattle)
blockage-acháí bla:kəɔɔxi: M (in
 veins)
cartridge-acháí k'æ:trɪf'əxi: SM
commonage-acháí kamənəf'əxi: Mq
cottage-acháí ka:təf'əxi: S
chemist: na chemist-acháí nə
 k'em'əs'təxi M
Connaught: luach na gConnaught-acháí
 luəx nə ga:nəɔɔxi: M
convent-acháí ka:n-v'ən'təxi: M
deadwood-acháí 894C9
elastic-acháí Y'æ:s'tək'əxi: 48M
engine: na báid engine-acháí nə ba:d'
 en'ɔɔxi: 01C6181
hospital-acháí æ:spək'ɪl'əxi:
injection-acháí, jeicseanacháí FFG

furnace-acháí fərnəsəxi: 02J
language-acháí Y'æŋ'wəf'əxi: 43J
licence-acháí laɪfənsəxi: 32C
mattress-acháí m'æt:ɔɔsəxi: 03C
medicine-acháí m'ɪɔɔsɪn'əxi:
Mulkerrins-acháí mɒl'k'ernsəxi: M
 (perhaps mə-)
notice: ag leagan notice-acháí rates a
 bhí sé L'æ:gən n'ɔɔsəxi: re:ts'ə v'i:
 ʃe S
powder-acháí paudərəxi 51N
 'washing-powders'
rowlock: sna rowlock-acháí snə
 ri:l'ək'əxi: S
savage-acháí sæv'əɔɔxi: 64M
 *stoup(er)-acháí ʃtu:pərəxi: 52J
summons-acháí sʌmən'səxi: S
Quinnsworth: sna Quinnsworth-acháí
 M

Note also the Modern Irish borrowing *rothar* > *rotharacháí* 11C4548 (in *rotharacháí sa*, [long pause] *bpobal*; perhaps the speaker remembered the standard plural *rothair* during his long pause).

Polysyllables include words with syllabic consonants:

boodle-acháí bu:dl'əxi: , kettle-acháí k'ɪtl'əxi: ,

turn-acháí tʌrnəxi: S, torənəxi: 897S, P;

and those with epenthetic vowels:

fear dhe na Ferrins-acháí f'erənsəxi: S, form-acháí fərməxi: S,

worm-acháí wɔɔrməxi: Sq.

Speakers who have *-əxə* with native polysyllables have *-əxə* with polysyllabic borrowings also:

bandage-acha(t) b'æn'ɪf'əxə / -əxi: 08B.

rattle-acha móra báistí ræ:tl'əxə mɔɔrə ba:ft'i: 36S.

11.162 Extensions and less common plurals

Plurals in V:xi:

The variable plural (V:xi) alternates with -əxi: in borrowed nouns which have singular stems in -Cə and -Ci: (cf. 11.156):

bitch-éalóchaí **b'ifʃexi:** **b'ifʃoxi:**; Conroy **kən^dri:** > **kənre:xi:** 36Pq;
galley-éachaí **g'æ:l'exi:** M; guernsey **g'æ:n'si:s** probably more common than **g'æ:n'səxi:** M, **g'æ:n'si:s** **g'æ:n'siəxi:** Mq; rally-achaí **ræl'əxi:** S89.

Compare the (perhaps merely coincidental) e: in one of the plural forms of necklace recorded from Máire in response to query:

singular **n'ikl'əs** M, **n'ekl'əs** Mq, plural **n'ekl'e:səxi:** **n'ekl'əsəxi:** Mq.

Also in the Modern Irish borrowing drama > dramaí, dramaíochaí **dramiəxi:** M. Cp. céilí > **k'e:l'i:s/z**, **k'e:l'oxi:**.

Less common plurals

-t(r)əxi:, drain **dre:n'** > drain-tachaí **dre:ntəxi:** commonly, also **dre:ntɹəxi:**,
 -əxi:, **dre:n'təxi:**, but drain-achaí **dre:n'əxi:** 56Bq, drain-annaí
 -əni: **dre:n'əni:** 06S;

train **tre:n'** > train-tachaí **tre:ntəxi:** commonly, also **tre:ntɹəxi:**,
tre:n'təxi:, but train-achaí **tre:n'əxi:** 56Bq, and train-annaí
tre:n'əni: 43M.

These well-established borrowings are the only two nouns whose plural is clearly conditioned by declension rather than syllable count. They have 6 Declension genitives (drain > **dre:nəx**, train > **tre:nəx**), hence their plurals in -t(r)əxi: >> -əxi:. Rarer -əni:, however, follows the monosyllabic constraint.

-əni:, back-annaí **b'æk'əni:** Mq presumably the general form, but back-reachaí **b'æk:r'əxi:** 47Pq.

-hə For rare family-the **f'æ:m'əl'i:hə** 24M, MØperm, and lorry-the **l'ori:hə** 892Mg, Mperm, and for other rare plurals, see 11.156.

-(ə)n)i: There are four words with singular unstressed final -ən > -əni: :
blacking buí, etc., **bl'æk'ən bi:** in: blacking > *Sin a bhfuil dhe*
bhlackin(g)-aí ann **f'in' ə wil' gə vl'æk'əni:** **ə:n** S85;
engine > **ɪn'dʒəni:** 06M (more commonly engine-achaí);
Norman > **n'ɑ:rəməni:** 892M4398 (also Normans 892M; cp.
 common Irish agentive -ach > -aí; cp. Normandy);
station > **nə'ʃte:ʃəni:** 52Cr (**ʃte:ʃəns** generally).

The surface form is ambiguous between plurals -í or -annaí, analysable, for example, as black-annaí with suffix replacement.

-f'i:, -əni: Following a long vowel in row > **rɔ:f'i:** **rɔ:əni:**.

11.163 Irregular English plurals

Irregular English plurals in -men are retained:

Yeomen **jo:m'in'** 892M; Orangemen **'arəndʒ,m'in'** **'arəndʒ,m'en'** 35E;
surfacemen **sɔrfəsm'in'** S

(unstressed -man, -men are not generally reduced to schwa in Hiberno-English).

The English plural is treated as singular:

an men o' war ə m'ɪn ə wɑːr !11C,

which has a plural *men o' wars* 866ESemr104, also ! CABI §628(j) v. 5.

The singular and plural of English crawfish (variant crayfish) are optionally identical; in Irish the plural is crawfish-achaí *kɾɑ:f'ɪfəxi*; *kɾɑ:f'ɪfk'əxi*; generally, but a younger speaker has crawfishes *'kɾɑ:fʊfəs* 80C and (with no distinction in meaning) crayfishes *'kɾe:f'ɪfəs* 80C.

Nouns with Irish suffixes take regular Irish plurals, e.g.

tablet-íní *tæ:bl'əʃi:n'ɪ*;

tá go leor mean-álachaí *m'ɪ:n'ɑ:ləxi*; *leis sin ...* M.

11.164 Multi-stress and compound nouns

The choice between *-əni* or *-əxi* is in most cases dependent on syllable count (monosyllabic bases take *-əni*; whereas polysyllabic bases take *-əxi*). The syllable count for multi-stress and compound nouns, when they take native plurals, is sometimes reckoned from the word-initial syllable (thus taking *-əxi*) and sometimes from the second stressed syllable (thus, if the second stressed element is monosyllabic, taking *-əni*). By at least a superficial analysis, the former option (*-əxi*) can be taken to be lexically based, syllable count beginning at word boundary; and the latter (*-əni*) to be more phonologically based, syllable count beginning at the nearest preceding stress. There are, however, other factors involved, as evidenced by the many plurals in *-s*, and the option of inflecting the first element of a phrasal noun (e.g. cut-annaí back). The examples are listed here with un-compounded words presented first in each category.

- s cigarettes *sig'ə'rɔʃs*;
coastguards *'kɔ:f,g'æ:ɹds* 06Mc, cocoa shells *'kɔ:kɔ:fel's* SM,
common cars *kɑ:mən k'æ:rs* >> *kɑ:mən k'ɑ:rs* M, *luach na*
gConnaught Tribunes *lʊəx nə ɡɑ:nəxt trɪəb'ʊ:nz* M, Easter eggs
i:stər eg's M, knicker bockers *n'ik'ər bəkərs* S, mudguards
'mɪd,g'æ:ɹds M, painkillers *'p'eɪŋ,k'il'ərs* M, pocketbooks
'pɑ:kət,buks, pot-holes *'pɑ:t,hɔ:ls* 12J.
- s ~ *-əni*: hotels *hɔ:'tɛl'z*, hotel-annaí *'hɔ:tɛl'əni*: 37M;
cut backs *kuʃ b'æ:k's* 12J >> cut-annaí back *kuʃəni: b'æ:k'* 12J;
check-ups *tʃe'k'ɔps* M, cp. check-annaí-up *tʃe'k'əni: 'ɔp* (pronounced
hesitantly in conversation, male speaker, born c. 1947, Ros Muc). Cp.
hymacs agus JCB-annaí. *'hɑ:m'æ:k's əɡəs 'tʃe:'si:b'ɪ:əni*: (Tomás
Mac Eoin, An Bóthar Buí, An Cheathrú Rua, in 2006).
- s ~ *-əxi*: Cp. (in the same section of discourse): *tá sí ag iarraidh* suitcase-
achaí ... *dhá mbeadh sib ag tabhairt síos na* cases *ta ʃi: ɡ' iərə*
'su:t,k'ɛ:səxi: ... *ɡɑ m'ɔx ʃib' ə tɔ:tʃ ʃi:s nə k'ɛ:səs* M (a rare
example of *-ses* plural following a monosyllabic base).
- s ~ *V:xi*: wheelbarrow-éachaí *'fi:l' b'æ:re:xi*.
- C' ~ *-əxi*: poorhouse-annaí *'pʊ:r,hɑ:səni*: Mq, poorhouse *pʊ:r,hɑ:ʃ* Mq, poor-
house-achaí *pʊ:r,hɑ:səxi*: Sq; lighthouse-achaí *lɑ:θhɑ:səxi*: 892M.
- ~ *-əni*: house-achaí *pʊ:r,hɑ:səxi*: Sq; lighthouse-achaí *lɑ:θhɑ:səxi*: 892M.

- əni:** address-annaí 'æ:drosəni: 43M, appeal-annaí 'æ:p'i:l'əni: S, canteen-annaí 'k'æ:n'ti:n'əni: 21Pt, machine-annaí 'm'æ'ʃi:n'əni: 892M, m'ə'ʃi:n'əni: 01P, receipt-annaí rə'se:təni: 03C; plane-crash-annaí 'pl'e:ŋ'kræ:ʃəni: M, side-walk-annaí 'saið,wɑ:k-əni: 43M.
Both base elements are monosyllabic in all words listed here with *-annaí -əni:* plurals.
- əxi:** *na moustache-achaí* nə muʃ'ðæ:ʃəxi: M; *Antichrist* 'æn'tə,kraɪʃtəxi:, *ar na mantelpiece-achaí ann er'* nə 'm'ænʃl',p'i:səxi: ən M.
Both compound words have disyllabic initial elements. Recall suitcase-achaí 'su:t,k'e:səxi:, and compare whitewash-achaí faɪtwəʃəxi: S, and lighthouse-achaí. All these words have *s/ʃ* or *ʃt* before *-achaí -əxi:*. One does, however, find plane-crash-annaí.
- Ø There is alternating lenition and number following pinstripe in: pinstripe, *gorm* ... pinstripe *bheaga bhídeach* ...
'p'in',straip' | gərəm ... 'p'in',straip' v'ogə v'i:d'əx ... P.
Cp. feminine stripe (11.145).

Adjectives; Verbs

11.165 Adjectives

Plural

Plural borrowed adjectives are not found, except rather infrequently in colour adjectives.

green, *ceann dhe na jar-annaí* green-a *sin k'æn gə nə dʒɑ:rəni: gri:nə ʃin' 52J;*
cp. *snáitheachaí* green-a *snɑ:həxi: gri:n'ə [or] gri:nə* Mary (Janáí Beag)
Conroy, Camas and Ros Muc.

brown, *na rudaí* brown-a *dorcha sin nə rudi: braunə dorəxə ʃin' 47P.*

pink, *fataí* pink-e *fati: p'ɪŋk'ə 47P.*

Cp. *boinní* bare-a *bi'n'i: b'e:rə* in tale run.

Comparative

No inflection in: *tá se níos fat*, *tá se níos fat*, *tá se níos raimhre* M (of meat);
tá na cinn sin níos safe dho do bholg ... n'is seif' ... M.

Inflection in: *ó uise sórt níos pink-e* M.

The comparative adjective is borrowed by a young speaker:

am a mó a bheidheas ocras ort sea is slower a bheidheas siad
ɑ:m ə mu' ə v'eis okrəs ort ʃæ ə slə:wər ə v'eɪʃ ʃiəd 66N.

Other use

For place-names functioning as nominalised adjectives, e.g. *na Norway* ~ *na Norwegians*, see 11.130.

Irish adjectives are plural and lenited, as with native nouns, when following singular borrowed nouns governed by numerals, e.g.

dhá vest mhóra γα: v est wo:rə M.

11.166 Verbs with -áil

The categorical verbalising suffix is -áil, e.g.

... *bhfuil siad ag agree-áil leat* ... wil' fíəd ə gri:əl' l'æt 66N 'they suit you' (i.e. 'do not upset your stomach');

ag average-áil ga^avrəðzəl' 31Dt; *gybe-áil dʒaib'əl'*;

i mbád Tom-annaí a bomb-áladh ba:mə:lu:;

bhreach-áladar anoir vre:fʃa:lədər ə'ner' S;

faitíos go electrocute-áiltheadh sé fat' es gə^ol'ek'trək'u:təl' əx tʃe 66N;

tá na scéalta 's achuile shórt forget-áilte 10B;

ghraduate-áil siad yræ:d'u:e:təl' fíəd 23B;

pension-áilte amach p'infənə:l' ə max 18J;

sí a phoison-áil é fí: faizən'əl' e' 05M; *report-áladar rə'pɔ:r'ta:lədər 18J*;

shift-áladh fí'f'ta:lu: 14J; *summons-áilhe 866E* Semr102 (fut);

vaccinate-áilfí 'v'æk'sən'e:təl'-f'í: 32J;

trace-áil sé hre:səl' f'e P, *trace-áilte tresə:l' ə P*.

It is suffixed to English compound verbs, e.g.

blood-poison-áil 'blɒd'pəisən'əl', e.g. *Nar bhlood-poison-áil sí Jackie? nar 'vɒd'pəisənəl' fí: dʒæk'i: M* (emended from original transcription 'vɒd'pəisənəl');

joy-ride-áil 'dʒəi:raɪdəl' P (as VN);

Sé an chaoi a raibh sé dhá stall-feed-áil f'e xi: rə f'e ga 'fta:l'f'i:dəl' P;

ag top-dress-áil S; *Thastódh e sin a top-sew-áil 'təp,sə:əl' S*;

bhí sí ag breathnú upset-áilte inniu v'í: fí: br'æhu: ɒp'setəl' ə n'í M.

Slightly humorous use: *Chance go bhfuil neart go down-áilte aige go: dʌnə:l' eg' ə 43M*.

The productivity of -áil is evident in bilingual contexts where English verbs are spontaneously borrowed, e.g.

'Halt,' a deir sé. 'Go halt-ála an deabhal thú,' a deirimse

həl't' ə d'ər f'e | gə həl'ta:lə n' d'aul hu ə d'ər'əmʃə 12J.

Words that are not verbs in English may be verbalised in Irish, e.g.

Tá sé seo amuigh ag mechanic-áil m'ík'æ:n'ik'əl' (working on a bicycle)
'work at mechanics, as mechanic'.

When asked if *spoitseáil* was an Irish or English word, Seán and Máire replied:

Mar gheall go bhfuil 'áil' ina (a:l nə) dhiaidh chaith'd se gur Béarla e Sq,

Tá 'áil' ina (a:l nə) dhiaidh, is Gaeilge e Mq.

Máire is well aware of course that the basis for many verbs in -áil is English.

11.167 Exceptions

A rare example of retention of English -ing occurs in the phrasal borrowing

(*ag cogarnaíl is (ag) showing off kogərni:l' əs fɔ:ɪŋg ə:f M*).

This occurs no doubt more often with younger speakers:

ach choinnigh sí going on and on and on

ax xi'n'ə f'í: go:ŋ ə:n æn'd ə:n æn'd ə:n 66N.

Similarly, inflected English depends, but without a pronoun, occurs for older depend-áilann sé in:

depends céard a bhíonnas a'inn dhon dinnéar
 d'p' ends k'erd ə v'ins æ:ŋ' gən d'i:n'e:r 66N.

So also meant in:

nach dho mac [sic] Mháirtín a bhí sé meant m'en'ɫ a chor a bith 66N.

Some older borrowings do not take -a:l' -áil but are assigned to either the 1 or 2 Conjugation, or both:

1 Conjugation trust **trust**;

1 and 2 Conjugation humour **ju:mər** which is regressive being replaced by humour-áil **ju:məra:l'**;

1 Conjugation stay, also stay-áil, occur in a collocation with stop:

agus níor stop sé is níor stay sé ariamh go — go ndeachaigh sé dhon Mheall Rua

əgəf N'ir stop fe əf N'ir fte: fe r'iaw gə, gə N'æ:xə fe gən v'a:l ruə M;
 níor stop sé, níor stay-áil sé (go ...) N'ir stop fe | N'ir fte:a:l' fe P.

Cp. interjections: Use fuck suas san aer 'ú! also Fuck-áil sa ngarraí beag thú!

I also have one example of action as a verbal noun:

Bhí sé ag action v'i: fe g æ:kʃən 36S 'he was in action'.

Rare anomalous examples without -áil in other verbs were heard from **32Js** and from a young speaker **79S**:

sálár thhaw sé amach ceart sa:lər hə: fe ma'x k'ært 32Js,
 má chrash-ann tú ma xræ:ʃən tu 79S,

although the latter was not very audibly distinct.

The (verbal) adjective freshen-áilte **froʃn' a:l't ə** M is used where English would have fresh and freshened. Another adjective based on fresh is also common and well-established: fresh-áilte **friʃa:l't ə**; unchanged fresh **fref** is also used. Compare damp-áilte **dæmp' a:l't ə** generally, but dampen-áilte **dæmpn' a:l't ə** **19B** (Doire an Locháin). The English past participle stuck **ʃtʊk**, common as such, is taken as the base in the single token noted of:

Baba bhocht, stuck-áilte istigh ba:bə woxt | ʃtʊka:l't ə ʃt'i M.

Note Máire's confusion, caused by the vowel alternation of English freeze, in:

agus freeze-ála-, froze-ála-, froze-áilann sí é
 oɡəs fri:s:a:lə | frø:s:a:lə | frø:s:a:lən' ʃi: e M (context: frozen food).

Particles, Functors

11.168 General

For pronominal reference with nouns, see 'Gender' (11.145 ff.).

Interrogative

what is borrowed in, for example:

A -Cé leis thú? k'e l'ej hu' M. B -Le Peigín l'e p'eg'in'

A -Peigín what? p'eg'in' fwaɪt M;

Bheadh sé sin b'fhéidir what ten or twelve pound

v'ej fe ʃin' b'e:d'ər wə:ɪ ʃen' ar ʃwelv' paund 52J.

See a further example, of who, in ‘Functors’ (8.63).

Conjunctions

even though, even though *go* (n) *gceaphá nach ... i:v' ən do: ŋ æ'pə: nax ... 66N*.
in case, *Tá sé goite síos ó thuaidh just in case go mbeadh na beithí imithe* M.
once, once *go bhfuil* (an checkbook a'd) *wuns gə wíl' ... 43B*, once *wa:ns go n-imeodh sé sin, tá sé réidh. 66N*.
so now common as adverb (11.171). In 2005 I heard a speaker, born c. 1970, from East Conamara use ... so *go* ... as a final conjunction similar to so that.
so long, so long *is nach bhfuil aon fhataí acu le milleadh so laŋ s nax wíl' en æ'ti' aku' ɫ'e m'i:l'ə 23B*. so long (*is*) was heard in the same conversation three times from speaker **23B** in 1996.
therefore, therefore *bhí ... deir fəv' v'i ... 43M*.
whereas, whereas *dhá mbeadh sé ... feir æs gə m'et' fe ... M, tá sí sa mbaile*
whereas *go raibh sí ag obair agus ... ta ji: sə ma:l'ə feir æs gə ro ji: g obə'r' əgəs ... M*.
which, *dhíonadh muid go leor baint charraigín which m'ɪf' nach bhfuil caint a' bi' anis air 30Mst; which tá fiɪf' ta: 49J; which go raibh fiɪf' gə ro M*. For further examples of which *go*, see *fuits go* (8.163, also 8.123); cf. adverbial which (11.171), probably older than conjunctive use.

Coordinators

either, *cuir spleaincín either thuas nó abhus kir' splæ:ŋk'i:n' aidəv huəs nu wis*
M, *Well either go dtairneoidh wel' eədəv gə də:r'n' o: tú i dtír í ... nó go dtiúrthaidh tú leat bád ... 25Tt*.
or, -... *An mbíonn tú ag éirí luath i gcónaí? BóC*
-*Mé héin? Éirím moch muis, gá mbeadh — . Well moch or a'r mall, dhíonhadh trí huairé codlata mise anis. 21Pt* (recorded 2002).

Pronominals

Indefinite pronoun: *seo agus siúd agus what not fo gəs ju:d ogəs fa:t na:t 45N*.
Note: *cheapthainn go mbeadh plenty ansin x'æ:pən' gə m'ox pl'in'ti: ən'jin'*
[Michael Taurnton, An Spidéal, noted c. 1990].

Prepositions

for, *Ní thóigeann mise thusa for sean, a Mhary 43M < take for*.
instead of, functioning as conjunction: *Tá tú i ndan a rá 'tá se ag caitheamh gloinéachaí' instead of ən' stəd əv 'spéacláiri' a rá 21Pt*. As adverb: ... *is e seo a thóigeál instead 86R* (1994, aged eight). Cf. 11.171.

11.169 Article

The *t* of the article is as a rule nonpalatal, only one word was noted with palatal *t* (from two of my oldest speakers). Alveolar *t* is common with only. The *n* is generally palatal before hospital (> *easpaicil*) only. Before lenited palatal *fh-* usage varies. Alveolar *n'* is also found in alternation with *n'*.

an ə(n) *an Easter lily ən e:stəv ɫ'i'i: S* (nominative).
bád an engine bə:d ən en'dʒən 01C6184.
as an / dhon hospital æs ən æ:spək'il 05M, gən æ:spək'il 21Pt.

an ən' *ar nós an engine nu:s ən' in' dʒən* 10B.
san hospital sən' æ:spək' il'.
an ən' *ag an hospital eg' ən' æ:spək' il' M.*
an t- *an t-I.R.A. n tai ar e: S; chaith an t-R.U.C. é xa' n tai: ju: si' e S;*
 ə(n) t *an t-ashtray ə 'tæ:ʃtre' 20My;*
an t-instructor ən | 'tun'struktər 892Mg;
an t-O'Halloran ən to: 'ha:lərən 35E;
an t-O'Connell 35E (Ó Con Cheanaim 2002: 201);
ar ith tú an t-eating apple? ər i tu: n ti:tiŋ' æ:p'əl' [-l ?] M; an
t-elephant ə 'tel'əf' æ:n' t P; an t-ice cream eile ən tais 'kri:m' e'l ə M;
tIndependent ən 'tɪn' dʌp' in' dɪn' t ARN7094 (boat name);
thóigeadar an t-oath ho:g'ədər ə to:t S; an t-on suite n 'ta:n'swi:t
43M.

Before epenthetic schwa in *an tZulu ən tə'su:lə* 18J7119.

ə(n) t Palatal *t* heard is before a front vowel which is followed by a palatal affricate (with which the *t* of the article may assimilate) in:
badh in é an t-agent bə 'jɪn' ē' n' t' e:dʒən' t 894Cs
 (similarly, this speaker's brother 881J).
 Contrast *an t-agent ən t'e:dʒən' t 35E.*

ə(n) t Indefinite adjective *only* is preceded by *an t-* regardless of gender, as is
 ~ t Irish *aon*. The *t* is often nonpalatal, e.g.
Sin é an t-only trí rud 'jɪn' e n to:n' i: tr' i: rud M,
an t-only bean ə to:n' i: b' æ:n.
 It is, however, also realised as alveolar *t* (perhaps in assimilation with alveolar *-nl'-*), e.g.
... an t-only aistir ... n' to:n' i: | æ:ʃt'ər' ... 03C1a.

an fh- *teach an ffamily t'æ:x ən' æ:m' il' i:* [perhaps more common than] ...
 n' *ən æ:m' il' i: S,* also *dhen ffamily gən' æ:m' il' i: S;*
 n *teach an ffamily ən æ:m' il' i: S.*

Modern Irish borrowings also often take nonpalatal *an t-* ə(n) t:
an t-Óstán generally but *an Óstán* 15W;
an t-inneall ə(n) tɪn' əl 06C, 26P (as in *an t-engine ən tin' dʒən* 26P);
an t-innealtóir ən tɪn' əltɔ:r' 49J, also *ə t' in' əltɔ:r'* [sic] 16C.

There are rare instances of anomalous *an t-* before vowels in:
ar an t-: ... fíos ar achuile shórt ach ar an t-apple-tart
... f' is er' ə'xul' ə ho:rt ax er' ə tæ:pəl t'ærʃ [tæ:p'əl' ?] M;
an t-...-áil: dhá bhfeictheá an t-end-áil a bhí leis sin ga v' ek' a: n tin' d'æl' ə
v' i: t' e 'jɪn' M (of film; influenced by *end(ing)* which is presumably masculine).

11.170 Verbal past *d'* before vowels

With modern borrowings *d'* is often optional, some speakers being more prone to its use than others. Most commonly borrowings are found without *d'*, e.g.
 (past tense) *invent-áil sé é ,in' v' in' t'æl' fe e* 01J.

Speaker **43M** uses *d'* more prevalently than her parents and any other informant I know. Nonpalatalised **d** is used in all cases. Examples from **43M** and her mother Máire are:

- Máire: *d'end-áil sé suas* **din' d̪a:l' fe suəs** [x2];
D'answer-áil sé ansin é da'nsra:l' fe ən'jin' e.
 Máire's examples of *d'* have initial primary stress. Contrast past:
enjoy-áil mé ... in' d̪aia:l' m' e M (perhaps categorically),
examine-áil sí é eg' s̪æ:m' in' a:l' fi: e M.
- 43M:** *sé a d'admit-áil é fe: d̪æ:d' m' ita:l' e*;
d'admit-álthadh sí ... 'd̪æ:d' m' ita:l̪əʃ fi: ...;
d'end-áil sé suas den' d̪a:l' fe suəs;
d'intend-áil din' ten' d̪a:l'; *d'invest-áil din' v' eʃta:l'*;
d'enjoy-álthadh duine é héin din' d̪aia:l̪əx din' e hen';
d'enjoy-álthá é din' d̪aia:l̪a e.
 The past of this verb is generally *enjoy-áil* without *d'* for all speakers, including **43M** (in contrast with her frequent use of *d'enjoy-ál-* in the conditional), e.g. *enjoy-áil mise an oíche in' d̪aia:l' m' ifə n i:hə* **43M**, but **43M** was noted with *d'* even here, sometimes:
d'enjoy-áil mé mé héin din' d̪aia:l' m' e m' e hen'.

Examples before *f* are very rare, e.g.

- 64M:** *d'phhone-áil mé ... do:na:l' m' e ...*

This speaker has very little literacy in Irish so that influence from a spelling form *fónáil* (< *phone*) is highly unlikely.¹

d' + j- was noted with the verb *ghíúmar* (< *humour*) **ju:mər**. Examples without *d'* only occur in Mq's initial production:

ghíúmar sé, ghíúmaráil sé ju:mər fe | ju:məra:l' fe | Mq.

Once **d'ju:mər**, however, was suggested to her she produced (in order):

d'ghíúmaródh sé thú, d'ghíúmródh sé mé, d'ghíúmar sé mé, d'ghíúmaradar suas mé
d'ju:məro:t fe hu | d'ju:mro:d fe m' e | d'ju:mər fe m' e | d'ju:məradər suəs m' e Mq.

11.171 Adverbs

The adverbial particle *go* is used with borrowings, e.g.

tá an tape go handy ta: n' fe:p' gə hæ:n' d̪i: 25S.

Adverbs can be borrowed from English phrasal verbs (e.g. *over* below, cf. 11.10, 11.14) and set phrases (11.12). Further examples of adverbs are listed here.

¹ Stenson (1990a: 195 note 8) has no examples of past tense particle *d'* with borrowings in her corpus from the dialect of Ráth Cairn (a transplanted Conamara lect). Interestingly, the single example of lenited *f* in her corpus of spontaneous speech presented in Stenson 1990b (10–1, cp. 17–8 for elicitation) is found with the lexeme *phone*, i.e. *aon phhonecall (e:n) o:nka:l*. Given the examples of *d'V-* and rare *d'ph-* from Iorras Aithneach, and consistent *d'fhy-áil d̪laia:l'* from Tom Kelly, born 1913, Baile an Phoill, Paróiste an Chaisleáin Ghearr (north of Galway city), Wigger's claim (2003: 263) that *d'* is not found with borrowings needs to be modified.

absolutely, *tá se absolutely álainn* 43M; *tá an mheabhair caillte aige froisin absolutely ta m'vaur ka:l' eg'ə frojin' æb'sl'u:fl'i: M.*

all over, *chuadar gá thóraitocht all over. a:l o:wər* 18J8685.

all the time, *cheap mise go raibh tú all the time ann x'æ:p m'ijə gə rə tu a:l də ʔaim' ə'n M* ('always').

although: although a:l'do:, *abróidh daoine, liomsa,* 25Tt; although *déarthaidh daoine liomsa ...* 25Tt; although *níor bhuach an bád an lá sin* 25Tt.

already, *tá siad ag cuir gas already orm ta fjad ə kir' g'æ:s a:r'edj: o:rəm M.*

around, cp. *tiotha tú around ə'raund thimpeall air ...* 894Cst (rare).

as usual, *ag titim 'na gcodladh as usual.*

away, in traditional use with preposition *le*, e.g. *away leis*. With temporal function in a younger speaker's: *nuair nach bhfuil se ach coicis away kaik'i:f ə'we'* 66N.

back, *'ní thiocthaidh tú back go deo aríst anseo.'* (Suda)894Cs (also in his brother's, 881J, recording *chuaigh cuid acu back*); *caithidh mé ghoil back aríst go dtí an cnoc* 892Mt; *ó! tháinig cuid acub back ach cailleadh cuid acu* 892Mg; *dúirt an mac leis, back. -Bí muid ag goil abhaile.* 01Pt. In Seán and Máire's speech back is infrequent enough: *caithidh tú a ghoil back ar an marbhlán kahə tu ʔol' b'æ:k' er' ə ma:rələ:n S, tá tú back, hello ta tu b'æ:k' | həl'o: S, ná bí dhá chuir back S* (of clock, anti-clockwise), *Tóigeann sé sin back mé S* (of a rare word, reminding Seán of the old days when 'better' Irish was spoken), *Níor tháinig sí back S, an dtiúrthaidh siad back an prescription dhuit? ə d'urhə fjad b'æ:k' ə prəskripʃən ut' M, back ina ghasúr ina pháiste aríst b'æ:k' nə ʔa:sur nə fə:ʃt ə r'i:ʃt' M, tá mé ag goil siar back aríst ta m'e gol' fjər b'æ:k' ə'r'i:ʃt' M, d'fhan sí ina suí ansin, ní dheachaigh sí back ar chor ar bith, dúirt mise léi a ghoil back dæ:n' ʃi: nə si: n'ʃin' n'i:æ:xə ʃi: b'æ:k' xər ə b'i | du:rʃ m'ijə l'ehə ʔol' b'æ:k' M* (back to bed). Also *go gcaithinn a theacht back. gə gahən' ha:xt b'æ:k' 27Cl.* Speaker 66N uses back very often. I have heard it more commonly from speakers from Ceantar na nOileán.

back and forth, *fút, ag goil anonn 'gus anall an dtigeann tú? ... feicthidh tú an choirleach, á baint, back and forth. b'æ:k' ən' fo:rt* 894Cs.

back to normal, *Ba bhreá an rud a bheith gaibhte back to normal aríst M, sula raibh sé ag teacht back to normal aríst sa:l ə ro ʃe t'æxt b'æ:k' ʃə nər:məl [n' - ?] ə'r'i:ʃt' P.*

borders occurs adverbially in conservative use, it is known by Máire as an adverb preceded by *ar na* only. Cf. 8.132, 8.214.

by the way, *Ned gá chaoineachán héin by the way. 'bai də ,we: 18J7799.*

even: Even *bhí muid ag scríobhadh an bhoxty 'gus gá iche agus bhí muid ag ceol agus ag damsa, ag an ám chéanna.* 03C.

even go: even go *bhfuair sí rud le haghaidh an luaithe a chuir amach i:v'ən gə wuər ʃi: rud l'e hi: n luəhə xir' ə'ma:x M; Ní even gur labhair sí ort n'i: i:v'ən gər laur ʃi: ort M; ní even gur scríobh sí n'i: i:v'ən gə ʃkr'i:v ʃi M; ní even gur thug siad cúnamh dhúinn ná tada n'i: i:v'ən gər hug fjad ku:nhə ʔin' na tæ:də 64Me; san am a mbídís ' seoltóireacht nuair a bhíodar ann, ná even go nā i:ŋ gə dtí an lá atá inniubh ann 18J7713.* Note the reversion to the Irish use in: *Ní even, ní chuimil sí an swab héin di n'i: i:v'ín' | n'i: xim'əl' ʃi: n swa:b he:n' d'i M.* Negative *ní even go* may be longer established than positive even go. Also *nar i:v'ən nār xa fjad ə 'tær'əgəð l'æt | 11C2299 nar even nar chaith siad an t-airgead leat?*

even dhá: even dhá *mbeadh goal eile acub i:v'əŋ gə: m'ex go:l e'l' akəb S; even dhá n-abróthá go i:v'əŋ gə: na'braha: gə mbeithéa ag obair crua leis 25Tt.*

forever, *Grá mo chroí forever thú !894C9; tá simléar Hopkins réitithe forever ta ʃim'əl'er ha:p-k'in's reit'i:hə fur'ovər S.*

for good, *tá sí ag imeacht for good ta ʃi: g' im'əxt fa:r guð* M88.

full butt, *tá mé full butt anois rud ar bith a dhéanamh ta m'e 'ful'buʃ ə'n'ij' rud ə b'i' ə ʃi:nə M, also chuaigh siad síos ansin le full butt M.* Cf. 14 *ful buit*.

inside out, *úntaigh inside out í M.* This is now the general term, cp. *bunascine* FFG, known to Mq but not heard in her conversation.

kind of, kind of *dána kainə dɑ:nə* 78E94, also *kain əf / ɔf* 78E94, also *kainə* 78U94.

off, *go mbeadh sé gaibhte off gə m'ɛtʃ ʃe got ə a:f* S; *Cuirthidh siad off af clann thú nach gcuirthidh?* M; *má fhaigheann sé aon am off* M; *théis go bhfuil sé cast' off a'm* 43M; *go bhfuil tú i ndan fáil off ag a sé* M; *bhí sé sin go maith off v'i: ʃe ʃin' gə mah a:f* M.

(on the) verge (of), *Tá sé ar [an?] verge a bheith díolta, ionann's díolta ta ʃe er' v'ordʒ ə v'e d'ialtə | a:nəns d'ialtə* M. Cp. border(s) > (*ar* (*na*)) *bárdars* (8.132, 8.214).

otherwise, otherwise *tá sé togha 'odər,waiz ta ʃe tau* M.

over, (in calques) *Chuaigh sé over aríst air xua ʃe ɔ:vər ə'r'i:ʃt' er' M* 'went over it again'; *Ní raibh mé i ndan fháil over an Béarla a bhí aige* 43M; *Níl mé in aon áit go bhfuighidh mé over é seo gə wi: m'e ɔ:wər e ʃo* S 'recover'; *é sin a chuir over ...* 14J, 23M 'fool (someone)' (followed by *é sin a chuir anonn ...* 14J); *d'fhéadhadh an áit sin a bheith tóigthe over ag Hollands* 23M.

purposely, *an gceapann tú go dtáinig sé anoir purposely pɔrpəs-ɪ'i: dhá iarraidh?* S.

real, *fuair sí real garbh é fuər ʃi: ri:l' ga:ru: e* M, *má bhíonn an aimsir real dona ma v'i:n ən æmʃər' ri:l' dunə* M, *bhí siad real dona v'i: ʃiəd ri:l' dunə* M.

really, *í a fhágáil go mbeidh sí really ina codladh i: a:gəl' gə m'e:i ʃi: ri:l' i: nə kolə* 43M. Speaker 45P is very given to really as a discourse marker.

round about, *dhíonthaidís an battery b'ætri: seo, i square skwe:ɪ, borders bɔ:rdərs, dhá thriogh, agus naoi n-orlaí, nú b'fhéidir trí troithe ar airde, dhe bhattery cloiche round about raun' d ə'baʊt* 894Cs (describing *tornóg ceilpe*).

sideways, *bhí sé seo sideways v'i: ʃe: ʃo 'saidʷ,we:z* 894Cs.

sky high, *B'éigean dom é chuir sky high* M.

specially, *chuaigh sí isteach specially ag iarraidh rud dho Róisín xua ʃi ʃt'æx sp'ɛʃl'i: g'iarə rud gə rɔ:ʃi:n' M.*

so, *Bhí rashers agus sausages a'm sa suitcase a chuir bean Mh. D. anonn liom. So bhí gadhar acub thall le haghaidh balú, ag ceapadh gur drugs a bhí ann. So nuair a thóg mé an suitcase dhen rud. ... So shiúileadh mé ar maidin síos ann thart ar b'fhéidir leathuair théis a cúig, sé a chlog ar maidin ... agus go gcáithheadh mé fanacht leis an seanbhuachaill. So dúirt sé go raibh sé all right. Dúirt sé go mbeadh sé ag scríobh, go bhfeicheadh sé cén chaoi a mbeadh mé ag déanamh amach.* 64M.

Common in certain speakers in tag meaning 'indeed', e.g.

níl ... , so níl 'so: 'N'i:l' | 60S, and this speaker's son 79A:

ní raibh ... , so ní raibh 79A;

tá ... , so tá 68K.

still, *an bhfuil siad still fuar? wil' ʃiəd ʃt'il' fuər* 47P, *tá sé still ag drip-áil ta ʃe ʃt'il' ə drip' a:l'* 43M.

though, *an bhfuil fhios a'd céard tá ar Sheán though do:* 43M.

to a stage, *tiocthaidh sé to a stage go ... t'ukə ʃe tu: ə ʃtɛ:ɔʒ gə ...* 66N.

totally, *tá mé cured, totally ... ta m'e k'u:rʃ | tɔ:ʃl'i: ...* M.

up or down, *tá mé ag cheapadh go n-osclóidh mé barr na fuinneoige up or down* M 'in any event'.

upside down, *tá sí iúntaí upside down aríst a'msa* M.

which, *is cuma liom which. 866E*Sc262.37; *Cuma sa deabhal which, faoi ná as a chíonn* S.

Also common: anyhow, anyway(s).

Initial mutations

11.172 General

The initial mutations have the same phonological effect with the nativised consonants of borrowings as with the corresponding consonants in native words, e.g.

t, th > **t** > lenited **h**, ch > **ʃ** > lenited **h**.¹ Mutated initials peculiar to borrowings occur in eclipsis: **t** > **ḏ**, **ḏ** > **n'**; for eclipsed **j** > **n'** **ḡ j**, see 11.183. Similarly, for most speakers, borrowed lenited shl- **hl'**-, shn- **hn'**- contrast with native shl- **hl'**-, shn- **hn'**-.

Lenition does not affect borrowed: **v'**, **v** / **w**, **ʃ**, **ḏ**, **l'**, (**n'**), **j**, **t**, **ḏ** (last two very rarely lenited).

Eclipsis does not affect borrowed: **v'**, **v** / **w**, **ʃ**, **ḏ**.

The nonlenition of **l'** from English **lj** may reflect its cluster status in English, e.g. *baile Louisburgh* **ba'l'ə l'u:ʃb'ərg 869P** (cp. older *Liam* with historically medial **l'** < *Uilliam* 'William', 9.25). Borrowed **n'** from English **nj** is perhaps also not lenited, although I have no relevant examples from speakers who lenite native **n'**. The cluster **sw-** is not lenited (in the relevant example noted, *thrí swede hri: swe:əd*). Personal names in borrowed **F-** or **S-** are not lenited, e.g. *tigh Frank*, *tigh Sarah*. But apparently older *Sally-óg* in *mo mháthair ... Anna Shaileoige Pheige Anna nín Eoghain Éamainn 'ac Tiobóid*. SÓC2.281. (Cf. 11.175).

The avoidance of mutation is very obvious in many instances. An example of hesitation and repetition where the speaker seems to feel lenition, along with suffixation of *-áil*, obscures the borrowing occurs in:

Sé an chaoi ar ghrill-áil mise é, séard a rinne mise é a chuir faoin ngrill
ʃəŋ xi: r ɣrɪl'ɑ:l m'ɪf e | ʃerd ə rɪn'ə m'ɪf e xɪr' fɪŋ ɣrɪl' M.

An instance of omission of eclipsis in order to aide comprehension occurs with a borrowing in the following exchange, although such omission also occurs with native words:

-Cé mhéad atá ar an ngas aige?
k'e v'e:d ə tɑ' eɾ' ə ŋ'æ:s eɟ'ə | [i.e. [ŋ'æ: seɟ'ə]] **M**
-Ha? ha' | P
-k'e v'e:d ə tɑ' eɾ' ə ŋ'æ:s | eɟ'ə | [x2] **M**
-ha' | P
-k'e v'e:d ə tɑ' eɾ' ə ŋ'æ:s | eɟ'ə | M
-Á dheamhan fhios agam beo céard atá tú a rá.
-a: ju:nəs am b'ə: k'er tɑ tu rɑ' | P
-Cé mhéad atá ar an ngas? Gas. Gas.
-k'e v'e:d ə tɑ' eɾ' ə ŋ'æ:s | ɟ'æ:s | ɟ'æ:s | M
-ə: ɟ'æ:s | P Ó! ɟas.

Personal names in **F-** and **S-** are not lenited, as stated above, and common nouns in these initials are often not lenited. Examples of eclipsed alveolar **t-** following the preposition *i^N* (cf. 11.181) are all common nouns, place-names in alveolar **t-** are attested unepclipsed only.

11.173 Non-initial consonants; Unstressed consonants

With the loss of the pretonic vowel, English non-initial consonants can undergo mutation.

Lenition: appointment, *aon* (a)pphointment **e:n faɪn'tm'ɪn't** [x3] **52J**;

¹ I have no examples of the lenition **ʃ**, **t'** > **x'** before back vowels (including **au**). This may indicate an avoidance of the change. Seán, for example, has consistent *mo shoutsa mə ʃautsə* S (11.178), also ... *í a tune-áil t'u:n'ɑ:l* S (11.175). Cp. Eng. **hj** > **x'** (11.94).

appreciate, *Ní (a)pphreciate-álann siad an rud a gheothaidh siad* **ŋi: fri:ʃi'e:ʃa:lən ʃiəd ə rud ə jehə ʃiəd S**,

Ní (a)pphreciate-álann siad é **ŋi: fri:ʃi'e:ʃa:lən ʃiəd e: M**.

Eclipsis: *go, go, (a)bppreciate-álthaidh siad é* **gə | gə | bri:ʃi'e:ʃa:lə ʃiəd e 23B97**, with hesitation perhaps due to the conflict of eclipsis and retention of the borrowed consonant;
dhá (a)bppreciate-áladh ... ga bri:ʃi'e:ʃa:ləx ... M.

A rare example of internal eclipsis of a non-initially stressed consonant with retained pretonic syllable occurs in:

ní chloistheá duine ar bith dhá rebport-áil ná tada

ŋi: xluʃa: dɪn'ə b'i ga rə'bɔ:ʃtə:l' na tæ:d'ə S

'you don't hear of anyone reporting them or anything'.

This was followed later in the conversation by the more usual *bhíodh daoine dhá report-áil ... v i:x dɪn'ə ga rə'pɔ:ʃtə:l' ... S* 'people used to report them'. Also internal **f** is not lenited in:

i ndan an áit seo a defend-áil ə nã'n ən ʔt' fo ʔə'f'in' ʔa:l' | 892Mtn.

Lenition and eclipsis of the unstressed consonant is found (as in older borrowings) in initial position in Irish from either initial or medial position in English, e.g.

chonnect-álaidís ... chonnect-áil xɪ'n' ɛk'ʃa:lə'd' i:ʃ ... xũ'n' ɛk' ʔa:l' 894Cs;

ag casadh ar an g(a)ccordion kas er' ə ga:r'ʔi:n' S;

go, (a)bppreciate-álthaidh siad é **gə | bri:ʃi'e:ʃa:lə ʃiəd e 23B97**.

11.174 Lenition

A rare example of lenition of an Irish word governed by an English word, modelled on the corresponding Irish *mar shompla*, occurs in code-switched:

(but we'll take television) for a *shompla far ə humplə 43M*.

Surnames can be lenited as in some Irish surnames, e.g. following both female and male Christian names:

Anne Mhylotte **æ:n' v' el' əʃt' M**;

Pádraig Chlogherty **pɑ:rək' xlahəʃti: M**;

Joe Chaulfield (spelt *Cháifil*) ! CABI §520(e) v. 2.

Examples in the masculine genitive are:

i ndiaidh John Bhurton **sin ə n' iə ʔə'm vru:ʃn' ʃin' M**;

athair mór Mhac Mhylotte **a'hər' mɔ:r v' æ:k' v' el' əʃt'** (brother of **21J**).

But nonlenition is common:

inín Mhichael Berry **in' i:n' waik' əʃt' b' ori: 18J**.

Lenition in *Gilmhartin* **g' il' v' æ:rʃn' 20Pá** is influenced by regular lenition following Irish *Mac Giolla*, e.g. *Mac Giolla Mhártain*.

11.175 Nonlenition; Stops

Examples are listed according to the initial consonant involved, the leniting trigger and the class of target.¹

¹ In her data from Co. Galway, O'Malley Madec (2002: 125–6; 2004: Tables 3–4) found contextual conditioning on the presence or absence of lenition. This can be presented in percentage clines of (i) the noun *body* and (ii) borrowed nouns in general:

p	<i>do</i>	n	<i>trí iarraidh a thabhairt dó le do power paor i dtosach ... le do phower faur, 894Cs.</i>
	<i>an</i>	gen	<i>dhe bharr an press gə wə:r ə pros M.</i>
	<i>pst</i>	v.	<i>Well, um, poison-áil paizən' a:l' sé amach gach a raibh ... 892Mg</i> (note the initial hesitation and subsequent paraphrase).
p'	<i>an</i>	fem;	<i>Sí a chuir an phaint ar a héadan ... fuaireadar bosca paint bán ... an</i>
	<i>adj</i>		<i>paint fi: xir' ə f'e:n't' er' ə he:dən ... fuər'ədər buskə p'e:n't' bə:n ... ə p'e:n't' 23B</i> , cp. Máire's use (11.177).
b	<i>an</i>	fem	<i>ó! an bitch-e or: m' b'íffə M.</i>
	<i>a</i>	voc	<i>' Maith leat an chreathnach, a Brian? M (usually a Bhrian M), cp. Hello, a Brian he'l'ə: ə brain 52Mt, thug mé anoir an tape a'd, a Brian ° brain 66N.</i>
	<i>faoi</i>	n	<i>Criogadh mise faoi Bible History M.</i>
t	<i>past</i>	v.	<i>treat-áil mé tre:tə:l' m'e M.</i>
t'			Regularly unlenited.
	<i>do</i>	n	<i>do thimble də tɪmb'əl' S.</i>
	<i>a</i>	n	<i>ar a [3m poss] turn S.</i>
	<i>dhá</i>	n	<i>bhí dhá tea aige ann v'i: ɣa: t'e: eg' a:n 52J.</i>
	<i>past</i>	v.	<i>Tip-áil tɪp' a:l' mé ag an doras 889P (knocking at door).</i>
d			Regularly unlenited.
	<i>faoi</i>	n	<i>faoi deck fi: dɪk'.</i>
	<i>past</i>	v.	<i>decide-áil dəsəidə:l' (past).¹</i>

(i) *an* [gen] *bhody* 16.7% << *a* [3m] *bhody* 61.1% << *mo* *bhody* 72.2%

(ii) *an* [nom fem] 5.6% << *an* [gen masc] 20% << *prep* 53.7% << *poss pron* 73.6%

Surprisingly many of the basic linguistic points in her analysis are mistaken, e.g. the claim that *an* [gen] *treatment* (2002: 251) is a leniting context, when homorganic blocking is in fact involved, cp. 9.34; six out of ten cited examples of nonmutation (2002: 93–4) are misinterpreted, e.g. (1) lenition of the borrowing is not expected in *saghas* 'coincidence'; lenition of (nominal) preposition *thimpeall* (2002: 113) is not 'a kind of hypercorrection'. Nevertheless, her results are enlightening. It seems that the nominative feminine article *an* is a very weak trigger of lenition in borrowings; the masculine genitive article *an* is stronger; prepositions cause lenition in about half of their targets; possessive pronouns are the strongest triggers and cause lenition far more often than not. It is possible that this or a similar cline may be valid for native words as targets, where, however, realisation of lenition is far higher. (Listening to my three children, Dara, Brian and Muireann (all under 5 years old) acquire lenition, my impression of their frequency of application of lenition on native words is similar: article << prepositions << possessive pronouns. I formed this impression before reading the concurrent evidence of Ó Baoill (1992b: 69) who found that most non-application involved 'feminine nouns with or without a following adjective' during the period 21–24 months of age in his data from two children. Similarly, T. Hickey (1992: 9) concerning feminine nouns following the article.) The reasons for the differing effects of triggers are no doubt complex. One may speculate that the more robust or more categorical a trigger or class of triggers is regarding the application of lenition with native targets, the higher the percentage of lenition will also be on borrowed targets. Thus, with native targets, the article *an* can be followed by both nonmutation and mutation under rather complex conditions, where, arguably, the unmarked use is nonmutation (nom masc); prepositions also show considerable variation as triggers of lenition (and of eclipsis, *i^N*), both as a class and as specific prepositions, although they are syntactically less complex than the article; possessive pronouns, however, take categorical mutation with native targets. If the difference found between *mo bhody* >> *a* [3m] *bhody* is significant it may be explained in the context of the class of third person possessive pronouns *a^L*, *a^H*, *a^N* in contrast with simple first singular *mo^L*. One may summarise tentatively that the more inherent lenition is to a given trigger or class of triggers, the greater its tendency to lenite borrowings. Cf. Dorian (1977, especially 99–105, 106–8).

¹ Affricates, borrowed as such, are also not lenited. Stenson's (1990a: 183; 1990b) analysis of the use of borrowed alveolar stops is deficient. Borrowed alveolar stops tend not to be lenited (cp. IEM §485) whereas borrowed consonants which become dentals, some of which correspond to English alveolars, do tend to be lenited, as is clear from our dialect examples and from GCF §481 and NIGCF §85. O'Malley Madec (2002: 128) echoes Stenson's (1990a: 183; 1990b) error. The claim (Stenson 1990b:

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t	<i>ar</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ar shelf na fuinneoige er t'elp' n̩ə fín' o:ɡ'ə 20C.</i>
	<i>thrí</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>thrí tube hri: t' u:b' 04Br.</i>
	<i>a</i>	<i>VN</i>	<i>caithidh tú í a tune-áil t' u:n' a:l' S,</i> also <i>é a tune-áil t' u:n' a:l' [x3] 59P (2006).</i>
d	<i>do</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>curtha ar do dredge d̩ə d̩rɪdʒ ansin a'd 21Pg7958.</i>
k	<i>sé</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>sé complaint f̩e: kum'pl'e:n't M.</i>
	<i>an-</i>	<i>adj</i>	<i>duine an-conceit-úil é d̩ín' 'ãŋ.kun'se:t̩u:l' e M.</i>
	<i>a</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>col ceathar liom a bhí ina [3m poss] conductor ar an mbus</i> <i>kol k'æhər ɣum ə v'i: ənə 'ka:nɔktər er' ə mus P.</i>
	<i>cond</i>	<i>v.</i>	<i>fadó cane-álthá iad fadó: k' e:n' a:l̩a: iəd M.</i>

11.176 Continuants

f	<i>dhá</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>Dhá fire tobac is dhá mhug tea ɣə fair tə'ba:k s ɣə wug t̩e: S.</i>
	<i>do</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>do father d̩ə f' a:d̩ər 899N;</i> <i>Sé do fit é fe d̩ə f' it̩ e 23M (of jacket).</i>
	<i>a</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>tá sé ina flute-adóir froisin t̩ə fe n̩ə fl' u:t̩əd̩ər' fr̩ɔʃín' M.</i>
	<i>droch-</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ach droch-fair play ax 'd̩rɔx'f'e:r'pl'e: 881N ('inequality, oppres-</i> <i>sion').</i>
	<i>an</i>	<i>fem</i>	<i>an feel-áil chéanna n f' i:l' a:l' x' e:n̩ə ;</i> <i>an feel-áil is very common and has not been noted lenited.</i>
	<i>an</i>	<i>gen</i>	<i>ag fáilt an form ə fa:l't̩ ə fa:rəm 52J ('getting in form'), unless ag</i> <i>fáilt i form.</i>
	<i>a</i>	<i>voc</i>	<i>A fuckeɪt!</i> From English <i>wh</i> nonlenition is usual (<i>an whhip ən ip' 11.177</i>).
	<i>an</i>	<i>gen</i>	<i>imirt an whack im'ərt̩ ə 'fæk' 18J.</i>
	<i>dhá</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>dhá whit(ing)-ín ɣə faɪt̩:n' Mq.</i>
	<i>dhe</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>píosa dhe whit(ing)-ín p' i:sə gə faɪt̩:n' Mq.</i>
	<i>do</i>	<i>VN</i>	<i>dho do wheel-áil g̩ə d̩ə fi:l' a:l' Mq.</i>
	<i>definite n</i>		Christian names are not lenited, e.g. <i>ar Francis er' fræn'sis</i> . Contrast the older borrowing of 'Philip', e.g. <i>Baibín Fheilipe</i> .
	<i>fem</i>	<i>adj</i>	<i>cupla cloch, dheas, flat-áilte 20C.</i>
	<i>an-</i>	<i>adj</i>	<i>tá sé an-firm-áilte ta fe 'æ:n'forəma:l't̩ ə M;</i> <i>bhí se an-fly-áilte S.</i>
	<i>ard-</i>	<i>adj</i>	<i>ard-feed-áilte 'a:rd'f'i:d̩a:l't̩ ə M.</i> Lenition of verbs is very rare.
	<i>past</i>	<i>v.</i>	<i>fit-áil sé síos go deas é f' it̩a:l' fe f̩is g̩ə d'æ:s e S;</i> <i>fire-áil sé síos é faɪəra:l' fe f̩is e Mq, *d'fhire-áil M?Øperm.</i>
	<i>níor</i>	<i>v.</i>	<i>níor file-áil N' i:r fail' a:l' 18Pc.</i>
	<i>nar</i>	<i>v.</i>	<i>Nar phone-áil sé í! S.</i>
	<i>past a rel. v.</i>		<i>an t-am a flood-áil an teach ən ta:m ə fl' u:d̩a:l' ə t' æ:x M.</i>
	<i>cond</i>	<i>v.</i>	<i>Fetch-álthadh an mháthair é (Suda)894Cs.</i>
	<i>mo / do</i>	<i>VN</i>	<i>go mo / do feel-áil g̩ə m̩ə / d̩ə f' i:l' a:l' Mq.</i>
	<i>a</i>	<i>VN</i>	<i>b'éigean dom iad a file-áil b'e:ɡ'ən um iəd ə fail' a:l' 18Pc; as noun</i> <i>an file-áil əm fail' a:l' 18Pc.</i> Contrast eclipsis with lack of lenition in the following: <i>iad héin dhá bhfeed-áil héin, i leaba an páiste a feed-áil</i> <i>iəd he:n' ɡə v'i:d̩a:l' he:n' l' æ:bə m p̩a:ft̩ ə f' i:d̩a:l' S.</i>
	v'		Never lenited, occurring in initial position as a lenited consonant only

20, note 8) of neutralisation of the distinction between **f** and **t** following *n* is also erroneous. Stenson (1993, e.g. 354) is descriptively more accurate regarding dentals and alveolars, but *gamester ɡ'em'sd̩ər*, cited by her from NIGCF, should read *ɡ'em'sd̩ər* as actually found in NIGCF §§21, 39, etc., cf. 11.65, 11.66.

			in native words, e.g. <i>dhe vagabonds</i> gə v'æ:g'əbu:nz 892M2099, <i>view-áil siad an tír</i> v'u:a:l' f'jəd ə t'ir' 881J.
m	<i>an</i>	n	<i>Garraí an mobile</i> ga:ri: mɔ:bail' 60C.
	<i>dearg-</i>	n	<i>Sin dearg-mistake</i> jin' d'æ:ræg,m'ist'e:k' 14M.
s	<i>dhá</i>	n	<i>dhá second</i> ya: si/ek'in'd' (consistently).
	<i>chúig</i>	n	<i>chúig seat</i> xu:g' si:t' SM.
	<i>a</i>	n	<i>tá sé ina snorter</i> j'n'ætər a'd M.
	past	v.	Note the consistent nonlenition in the following exchange: - <i>Cycle-áil sé as Bleá Cliath é.</i> <i>saikl'a:l' f'e æs bl'a: kl'i: e M</i> - <i>Hea? hæ S</i> - <i>saikl'a:l' f'e æs bl'a: kl'i: e M</i> - <i>Hea? hæ S</i> - <i>saikl'a:l' f'e æs bl'a: kl'i: e M</i>
	<i>dhá</i>	VN	<i>tá sé dhá</i> [3m] <i>suit-áil ta fe ga su:t'a:l' M, 20My</i> (often).
	definite		Personal names are not lenited: <i>Hóra Sarah</i> goille [i.e. <i>gabh i leith</i>] <i>chugam! S;</i> <i>Joe Mháirtín Sarah</i> dʒo: wā:rt'in' se:rə. The initial cluster <i>sw-</i> <i>sw-</i> is not lenited, e.g.
f	<i>thrí</i>	n	<i>thrí fhataí ná thrí swede</i> hri: æ'ti: nā: hri: swe:əd 894Cs.
	<i>droch-</i>	n	<i>droch-shout</i> 'drox'fauʃ S.
	<i>mo</i>	n	<i>je: mə'fauʃə e' sé mo shout-sa é.</i>
	past	v.	<i>shout-áladar vót dho Fianna Fáil</i> fauʃa:lədər wɔ:t gə f'ienə fa:l S. From English s:
	<i>do</i>	n	<i>glan do snorter</i> glán də j'n'ætər Mq, ... <i>də hn'ætər Mperm.</i>
	psthab	v.	<i>slice-álaidís é</i> f'l'aifaləd'i:f e S; cp. <i>slash-álfí í froisin</i> f'l'æʃa:l-f'i: i: f'rofən' S. From English fʃ:
	<i>gur</i>	v.	<i>gur cheat-áil Dia muid</i> gər'ʃi:t'a:l' d'ia mid' 04Br.
	<i>a</i>	VN	<i>níl tada a'm le é a chew-áil</i> N'i: tād a'm l'e e: ə'f'u:a:l' 66N.

11.177 Lenition; Stops

p	<i>pl</i>	n	<i>na páipéir phlastic</i> sin 43M.
	<i>ar</i>	n	<i>ar phime</i> rabharta er' fraim' raurtə 894Cs.
	<i>an</i>	gen	<i>ag fáil an phower</i> faur sin P.
	definite		<i>ag meet-áil Phresident</i> Bush m'i:t'a:l' f'resɪdɪn't buʃ S.
	<i>an-</i>	n	<i>bhí sí an-phut</i> about v'i: f'i: 'æ:n'fʊtə'baʊt 16B.
	<i>a</i>	pres rel v.	<i>ní mar a chéile a phronounce-álann</i> frə'naunsa:lən siad S.
	psthab	v.	<i>phress-áladh sé frusa:ləd' f'e</i> 894Cs.
	<i>a</i>	VN	<i>a phlease-áil</i> fl'e:s'a:l' 12S, <i>ní féidir í a phlease-áil</i> fl'i:s'a:l' 66N, <i>é sin a phroove-áil e jin' ə fru:w'a:l' M.</i>
p'	<i>an</i>	fem	<i>an phan</i> feola sin ə f'æn' f'olə jin' S, <i>bhí paint</i> pink ... <i>an phaint</i>
	fem	adj	<i>phink</i> v'i: p'e:n't p'ɪŋk' ... əm f'e:n't f'ɪŋk' M.
	<i>trí</i>	n	<i>trí phackage</i> bainne M.
	definite		<i>tá sí ag ring-áil Phl</i> ta f'i: ring'a:l' f'i:ɟe: M.
	psthab	v.	<i>phael-álaidís</i> f'i:l'a:ləd'i:f S.
b	<i>a</i>	voc	<i>a Bhrian</i> ə vrain M.
	definite		<i>ag fágáil Bhrian</i> ə fə:gəl vrain M.
b'	definite		<i>faoi wag(on)-íní</i> B'helfast fi: wə:g'in'i: v'elf'æ:ʃt 881J.
k	<i>an-</i>	adj	<i>an-chonceit-áil</i> 'a:n,xən'se:t'u:l' M also 'a:ŋ,kən'se:t'u:l' M;
	past	v.	<i>Chonk-áil sí amach ansin</i> xə'ŋkə:l' f'i: mə:x ən'jin' 55M (of a machine).

	psthab	v.	<i>Chlock-álainn héin amach ansin xla'ka:lən' he:n ə'ma:x ən'jin' S.</i> <i>do</i> VN <i>dho do chorrect-áil xə'rek' dɑ:l' chuile bhealach 21Pt.</i>
k'	<i>a</i>	VN	<i>an bhfuil tú i ndan an fheoil a chharve-áil dhom?</i> <i>wul tu na:n ən' o:l' ə x'ær:v-á:l' um M.</i>
g	<i>trí</i>	n	<i>trí ghross tr' i: yros 05M.</i>
g'	<i>an-</i>	adj	<i>bhí an-ghlad' æ'n'jl' æ'd' orm M.</i>
	<i>dhá</i>	n	<i>dhá ghet well card ya: je't wel' k' ærd' M.</i>
	<i>do</i>	n	<i>Chuirthidís pian i do ghizzard xir' əd'i:f' p' iən ə də jisərt' M.</i>
	<i>a</i>	pst v.	<i>Dheabháil, a Jackie, nach thú a ghuess-áil e! M.</i>
t	definite		<i>fati: d' æ:rəgə horləs S fatai dearga Thhurles.</i>
	<i>past</i>	v.	<i>thhank-áil mé héin í hæ'ŋk'á:l' m'e he:n' i 21Pt</i> (event occurred in England); <i>threat-áil mé hre:tá:l' m'e M; thrip-áil mé é hrip'á:l' m'e e S;</i> <i>thrash-áil sí báid álainn hræ:fá:l' j'i' bə:d' á:lən' !11C.</i>
t'			Very rare (if at all):
	<i>past</i>	v.	past of <i>tackle-áil</i> is generally <i>tæk'kl'á:l'</i> , also understood as derived from <i>attack-áil</i> (e.g. <i>attack-áil tæk'kl'á:l' sé mé M, Mq</i>), but <i>thackle-áil hæ'kl'á:l'</i> S85 noted once and <i>hæ'kl'á:l'</i> Mperm.
d	<i>ar</i>	n	<i>níl fhios a'm céard a chuirtheá ar 'dhraught' yræ'f' t' 21Pt.</i>
	<i>dhá</i>	VN	<i>tá sé amuigh dhá dhress-áil yrosá:l' héin Sq.</i>
	<i>past</i>	v.	<i>dhrop-áil yrapa:l' sé arist é sin 10B</i> 'he desisted ... later'; <i>dhream-áil yri:m'á:l' M, dhriive-áil yraiv'á:l' M.</i>
d'			Very rare; with <i>doodle</i> in:
	<i>dhe</i>	n	'Slap, 'a deir sí, 'dhe dhoodle Tom' <i>ʃl' a:p ə d'er j'i: gə ju:dl' tɑ:m</i> (rhyme)P;
	<i>do</i>	n	<i>Tá do dhoodle / dhoodle-ín le feiceál tɑ də ju:dl' / ju:dl' i:n' l'e</i>
	<i>mo</i>		<i>f'ek'á:l' M, also ... də d'u:dl' M, mo doodle S, i ngreim ina [3m poss] doodle ŋr'i:m' ənə d'u:dl' !37M.</i>

11.178 Continuants

f			Nouns are not uncommonly lenited. The noun <i>fork fark</i> is generally not lenited indicating its status as a modern borrowing. It is, however, lenited by an older speaker (in a tale, cp. <i>forc, farc</i> DIL):
	<i>t', a</i>	n	<i>do scian agus t'fhork tærk ... a scian agus a fhork a'rk</i> (Sgbf)869Pt.
	<i>an</i>	fem	<i>an fhoul play ən 'aul'pl'e: S85.</i>
	<i>an</i>	gen	<i>ar fhuaid an fhactory er' uəd' ən' æ'k' dəri: 897S;</i> <i>teach an fhamily t'æ:x ən' æ:m'il'i:</i> perhaps more often than ... <i>ən' æ:m'il'i: S.</i>
	<i>dhen</i>	n	<i>dhen fhamily gən' æ:m'il'i: S.</i>
	<i>aon</i>	n	<i>aon fhamily ən' [ən ?] æ:m'il'i: .</i>
	<i>a</i>	n	<i>tá a fhamily sin thoir i gCill Chiaráin</i> <i>tɑ æ:m'əl'i: j'in' her' ə g'i:l' x' iəra:n' 03C.</i>
	<i>an-</i>	n	<i>an-fhoul play 'a:n'aul'pl'e: M, 18Pc.</i>
	<i>fem</i>	adj	<i>gaoth fhair-áilte gi: e:ra:l' ə 894Cs.</i>
	<i>an-</i>	adj	<i>an-, an-, fhoul-áilte 21Pg6427.</i>
	<i>mí-</i>	adj	<i>mí-fhair-áilte m' i: e:ra:l' ə 26Ps</i> (stress not noted).
	<i>past</i>	v.	Verbs are very rarely preceded by <i>d'</i> : <i>d'phhone-áil mé ... do:na:l' m'e ... 64M.</i> From English <i>wh</i> lenition was noted in <i>whip</i> only:
	<i>an</i>	fem	<i>an whhip ən ip' Mq.</i>
s	<i>a</i>	voc	<i>a shergeant ə ha:rdʒən' t' 35E.</i>

	<i>ar</i>	n	cp. <i>ar shoup house Mhaorais er</i> 'hu:p,haus wi:rəf (Abf)06C.
	<i>dhá</i>	n	<i>an dá shuítcase n da:</i> 'hu:t,k' eis M, <i>dhá shet muc</i> ARN5875.
	<i>trí</i>	n	<i>trí shummons tr' i:</i> huməns M,
	<i>chúig</i>	n	<i>chúig shet uilig atá ann.</i>
	<i>mo</i>	n	<i>mo shummons mə huməns</i> !869PZCP158, <i>mo chigarette héin mə hig'ə'ref he:n</i> 05M.
	<i>a</i>	n	<i>ina shergeant nə ha:rðən't</i> (often), <i>ina shail(or)-éara báid seoil nə he:l'e:rə ba:d fo:l'</i> (brother of 21J), <i>tiúrthaidh chuile dhuine a shandwich héin leis t'ur:hə xul'ə yin'ə ha:ŋwəf he:n</i> 'e'f M.
	past	v.	<i>shink-áil an bád hiŋ'k'ə:l' ə ba:d</i> 43.1157, <i>shack-áil tú é hæ:k'ə:l' tu e S</i> , <i>shack-áil hæ:k'ə:l' P</i> , <i>ó shet-áil tú an scód o he:tə:l tu: n sko:d</i> !P, <i>shound-áil sé í haun'ða:l' fe i</i> 881J.
	psthab	v.	<i>shink-álaidís hiŋ'k'ə:ləd'i:f</i> 892Mt.
	<i>do</i>	n	From English <i>z</i> : <i>Dúin do zhip du:n də hip</i> 56N.
f	<i>a</i>	voc	<i>Cén fáth nach ndeachaigh tú a chodladh anocht, a shlip?</i> ə hl'ip' S.
		definite	<i>féacha Shannon, airport Shhannon f'exə fæ:n'ən erpo:t hæ:n'ən S.</i>
	<i>a</i>	VN	<i>é a shlide-áil e hl'aidə:l' 52J.</i> From English <i>tf</i> :
	<i>a</i>	n	<i>ina chhampion nə hæ:mp'i:n</i> 20A.
	past	v.	<i>chhase-áil sé é he:sə:l' fe e S.</i>
	<i>dhá</i>	VN	<i>tá sí í gcónaí dhá chhase-áil ta fi: gu:ni: ga he:sə:l'.</i>

11.179 Complex noun phrases

There is optional lenition in two compounds:

Antichrist 'æn'tə,kraɪft 23M, in general more common than 'æn'tə,xraɪft 23M, 43Mq;
sawmill 'sɑ:v'ɪl 892M1273.

There is lenition of the interjection *bloody* with nonlenition of the qualified noun in (lenition remains strictly local):

níl ann ach dhá bhloody breac ... ya: vlodɪ: br' æ:k M;
marach mo bhloody glúin marəx mə vlodɪ: glū:n' M;
Níl aon bhloody paint a'm M.

(This contrasts with typical non-eclipsis in *ar an bloody ...*, 11.180.) Similarly, there is neither lenition nor *t-* before *s* of the prefixed noun following borrowed tmesis in:

Cá chuir mé mo shean-fucking-seaicéad?
ka xur' m'e mə 'hə:n'fukən'fæk'ed.

Adjectives qualifying borrowings which are governed by numerals are regularly lenited:

dhá vest mhóra ya: v' est wə:rə M.

Eclipsis

11.180 Non-eclipsis

b	<i>i</i>	<i>i Brittany a bhí sé britni: v' i: fe</i> 62J (with elision of phrase initial preposition ə <i>i</i> , cp. 7.58);
	<i>na</i>	<i>aimsir na Black and Tans æ:mjər' nə bl'æk' ŋ fæ:n's S</i> (often);
ð	<i>i</i>	<i>tá hotel book-áilte aige i Donegal ta: ho:'fɪl' buka:l' eg'ə ,ðun'i:ga:l M.</i>

t	i	tá <u>Kim</u> i <u>Tipperary</u> , <i>tá, i dThurles</i> ta: k'im' ə tɪp'ə're:ri: hɑ: dɔrləs M.
p	na	<i>siad lucht na <u>pole-annaí</u> atá thart ann ... lox nə pɔ:ləni: ta ha:rt an 23M.</i>
t	i	<i>thíos i <u>Thurles</u> hi:s ə tɔrləs S.</i>
k	na	<i>ag cuir i bhfalach na <u>club milks</u></i> ə kur' ə wa:ləx nə klub [o ?] m'ilk's 43M.
k'	i	<i>tá sé ag múnadh i <u>Killmihill</u> ta fe mu:nə k'íl' [-l' ?] m'ihil' 23B.</i>
g'	i	<i>i <u>Gallipoli</u> ə ,g'æl'əp'əl'i: 35E.</i>
f	ar an	<i>ar an <u>phone</u> er' ə fɔ:n SM.</i>
	i	<i>amuigh i <u>foreign</u> ə'mix' ə fa:rən' 40S.</i>
f'	ar an	<i>ar an <u>flute</u> er' ə fl'u:t S.</i>
	dhá	<i>dhá <u>face-álfi</u> an bealach sin é ga f'esa:l-f'i: m b'æləx jin' e S.</i>
	go	<i>b'fhéidir go <u>faint-álthá</u> dhá bhfeictheá taibhse</i> b'e:d'ər' gə f'e:n'ta:lə: ga v'ek'ɑ: taijə 60M.

Eclipsis is regularly absent with the swear word bloody, e.g.
tá an dearg-gráin a'm ar an bloody carry-on sin
ta N' 'd'æ:rəg'græn' a:m er' ə blɔ:ɟi: k'æ:ri: a:n jin' S.

11.181 Eclipsis; Stops

Examples of eclipsis as well as variation are given here.

b	na	<i>cogadh na m<u>Boers</u> kogə nə mu:rz 32J.</i> There is repetition with non-eclipsis in the second token, as if in self-correction, in Máire's: <i>... luach na m<u>bananas</u>, meas tú céard é luach na <u>bananas</u>, ... ?</i> luəx nə m'ə'n'æn'əs m'æs tu k'er:d e luəx nə b'ə'n'æn'əs .
	ar an	<i>ar an m<u>board</u> er' ə mu:rɟ.</i>
	leis an	<i>leis an m<u>board</u> l'ej ə mu:rɟ 881J.</i>
p	dhá	<i>dhá bp<u>ush-áil</u> SM.</i>
	ina	<i>tá muid ina bp<u>op-stars</u> ta mud nə 'ba:p,stərs 66N.</i>
ɟ		Eclipsis ɟ > n' is infrequent, noted in conversation from speaker 19P (P) only.
	seacht	<i>seacht (n)<u>dole</u> fə:xt n'oi: (/ noi: ?) / ɟoi: Mq,</i> <i>seacht ndiumar air fə:xt n'umər er' Mq.</i>
	naoi	<i>naoi ndo ni: n'u: M.</i>
	dhá	<i>dhá nd<u>are-áil</u> ga n'ɑ:rɑ:l Mq.</i>
	ina	<i>ina [pl poss] (n)<u>dummies</u> ənə ɟumi:s / n'umi:s M.</i>
	na	<i>teach na nd<u>ummies</u> t'ɑ:x nə n'umi:s / ɟumi:s Mq.</i>
t	na	<i>sí a bhí ag comhaireamh na d<u>tablets</u> dhomsa</i> fj: v'i: ku:r'ə nə ɟæ:bl'əts ɟumsə M, <i>bhí bád na d<u>Tommys</u> ɟā'mi:s lá i <u>Roundstone</u> 18J7142,</i> <i>ag tabhairt abhaile na d<u>tablets</u> as Meireacá</i> tɔ:r't' ə'wa:l'ə nə ɟæ:bl'əts əs m'er'əkɑ: 52J.
	i	<i>bheith istigh i d<u>tin</u> agam v'e f'ɪ i ɟin' am M,</i> <i>níl aon suim fanta i d<u>television</u> agamsa</i> n'i:l' e:n si:m' fa:ntə ɟel'əv'ɪʃən a:məsə M, <i>níl maith ar bhí i d<u>tea</u> n'i:l' mæ:h ə b'i ɟe: 43M,</i> <i>i d<u>tank</u> ə ɟæ:ŋk' 80C.</i>
		Note the variation in the following exchange: -Níl deoir uisce i d <u>tap</u> ná tada. n'i:l' d'ɔ:r' iʃk' ə ɟæ:p' na tæ:də M -Hea? hæ S -Níl deoir uisce i <u>tap</u> ná tada. n'i:l' d'ɔ:r' iʃk' ə ɟæ:p' na tæ:də M.
	deich	v'i: d'e ɟɔrŋ er' S bhí deich d<u>turn</u> air.

t	ocht	ocht d <u>tr</u> actor ox dræk'tær.
t'	i	i d <u>Tuam</u> ə d'ũ:m' 05M.
d	dhá	go mbídís dhá, dhá ndredg-áil gə m'í:d'í:f ga ga nriɔ:al' 35E.
k	as an	anuas as an gcollarbeam ... 'ga'lær,b'ē:m' 894Cs.
	faoin	faoin gcollar fi:ŋ galær.
k'	as an	as an gkettle æ:s ə g'itʃ' M.
	sa	sa gKerry pink sə g'ērə p'ink' 20T.

11.182 Continuants

f	na	in aghaidh na bh <u>fore</u> igners nai nə wa'rɪŋərz 892M.
	ar an	ar an <u>phone</u> a dúirt sé é sin, ar an bh <u>phone</u> , ar an bh <u>phone</u> er' ə fə:n ə du:rʃ' fe e:jin' er' ə wə:n er' ə wə:n M. The realisation v, rather than w, is heard particularly frequently here, e.g. ar an bh <u>phone</u> er' ə və:n M, more commonly than, for example, v is heard in ar an bhfód er' ə vɔ:d M. This preference for the v allophone with the borrowing may be because v is phonetically closer to f than the (overall more common) w allophone is. This follows the tendency for a minimal mutational distance to be between the borrowed base and its mutated form. Note in this context the variation in: ar mo <u>bhoard</u> , ... ar mo <u>bhoard</u> ann ... ar do <u>bhoard</u> ann er mə vu:rʃ' ... er mə vu:rʃ' ə:n ... er' də vu:rʃ' ə:n S.
	sa	sa bh <u>February</u> sə v'eb'əri: 09Pt, amuigh sa bh <u>fresh air</u> ə'mu sə vref' e:r 43M. Note Máire's more conservative use in the following exchange: -An bhfuil mórán eile sa <u>family</u> ? wil' mɔ:rən eɪ ə sə f'æ:mli: 45P - ... cé mhéad eile a bhí sa bh <u>family</u> ... k'e v'ed eɪ ə v'i: sə v'æ:mli: M.
f'	i	i bh <u>feed</u> ə v'i:d.
Vowel	na	ar thaobh na n <u>Orangemen</u> er' hi:v nə nə 'na:rəndʒ,m'in' 35E.
	ina	bhtodar uilig ina n <u>L.R.A.'s</u> v'i:dər l'ig' nə 'nai'ar'əs S.
	go	go n- <u>admit</u> -álthadh sí ... gə 'næ:d'm'itələʃ' fi:

11.183 j y, (h)u

Initial **j** from English **j** and **hj** (in some, especially younger, speakers, also **x' < hj**) may be eclipsed to **ɲ'** or **ŋ'** or remain unchanged, e.g.

i(n) humour ə n'ũ:mər / ŋ'ũ:mər / ju:mər / x'ũ:mər.¹

Some words in initial **j** have an alternative base in **g'**:

(yard), yawl, G(h)iúdach / G(h)iúdaí, G(h)iúdás, g(h)iúistís.

The relevant initial of a given lexeme has therefore a maximum of two unmutated variants out of a set of three (**g' (j) x'**); and three, or for some lexemes, four variants in eclipsed contexts ((**ɲ' ŋ' j) x'**). The form **ɲ'**- is used in eclipsis by older speakers, **ŋ'**- by older and middle-aged speakers with what can be generally described as words that are well established in the dialect; whereas younger speakers tend to avoid any eclipsis of **j**-. Preposed *n* (from proclitics or prefixes

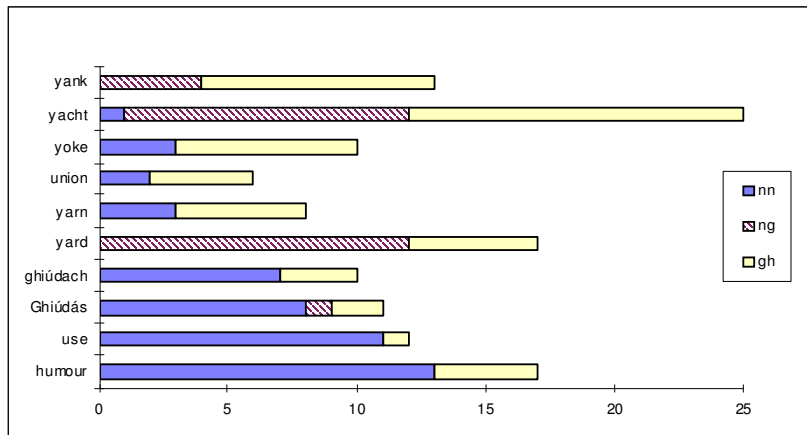
¹ Christian names are not generally found eclipsed, so that Hugh(ie) x'u:(i) k'u:(i) and Hugo x'ũ:go: are excluded from the discussion.

ending in *-n*) before borrowed *j* may be realised as *ŋ*, *nʲ* or *n*.¹ Variation in the use of eclipsis and preposed *n* is conditioned by a combination of lexical and phonological factors. Lexically, both the trigger (eclipsing word) as well as the target (eclipsed word) are of relevance. Phonologically, the phonetic make up of both trigger and target also condition the realisation.

Máire was asked to produce a sample of borrowed *j*-initial words in certain eclipsing contexts. Figure 11.1 shows her use (Mq) with each lexical base queried.² It is evident that, in Mq:

- (i) *ŋ* is common with all four lexemes in initial *ju*-;
- (ii) *ŋʲ* is common with *Yank* *jæŋkʲ*, *yacht* *jæʃt*, and *yard* *ja:rd*; words which have low vowel nuclei;
- (iii) *j* (non-eclipsis) is proportionately higher (c. ≥ 50% of tokens per word) with the series *Yank* – *yarn* in Figure 11.1 than with the series *yard* – *humour*.

Figure 11.1 Eclipsis of *j*, *y*, (*h*)*u* by lexeme; Mq



(nn = *ŋ*, ng = *ŋʲ*, gh = *j* = non-eclipsis)

The high proportionate use of *ŋʲ* before *æ* and *ɑ:* nuclei may well have a basis in articulatory phonetics. The position of the tongue for the palato-velar consonant is lower than for the palatal *ŋ*, so that by using *ŋʲ* before low vowels the least possible tongue movement is involved. The choice in the use of *ŋ* vs. *ŋʲ* under phonetic constraints can then be broadly interpreted as assimilation of place of articulation. The variant which involves the least phonological contrast is chosen. This principle of least phonological contrast is general in the mutation of

¹ GCF §537(ii)-(iii) gives a very limited sample base for eclipsis of *j*. The description there of *ŋ* with *gh*-forms of *faigh* and *ŋʲ* (optionally) with recent borrowings resembles only in broad outline the analysis offered here. In fact there is a discrepancy between GCF and NICEF, since in NICEF §88 *j* is listed with consonants that do not take eclipsis. The two lexemes given in GCF correspond to the presence and absence of eclipsis noted here for Iorras Aithneach: *G(h)úidach* taking eclipsis often and *yoke* seldom being eclipsed. This striking agreement in lexical detail would imply that the actual situation in Cois Fharráige may resemble that of Iorras Aithneach.

² Table 11.3 presents some of Máire's actual responses.

borrowings (cf. phone 11.181 above and discussion of Table 11.4 below). This explanation would predict \mathcal{N}' with nonlow front vowels such as yeast. Such words remain, however, to be tested in further research (if eclipsing speakers can be found). Explanation for at least some of the differences between phonologically similar words may be sought in their particular history and specific use in collocation. That yarn $\mathbf{j}\mathbf{a}:\mathbf{r}\mathbf{\bar{a}}\mathbf{n}$, for example, does not pattern very similar to yard $\mathbf{j}\mathbf{a}:\mathbf{r}\mathbf{\bar{d}}$ may be due to the typical use of yard in eclipsing contexts: following prepositions, e.g. $i^{\mathcal{N}}$ and $sa^{\mathcal{N}}$ (similarly, η' with yard, Table 11.4).

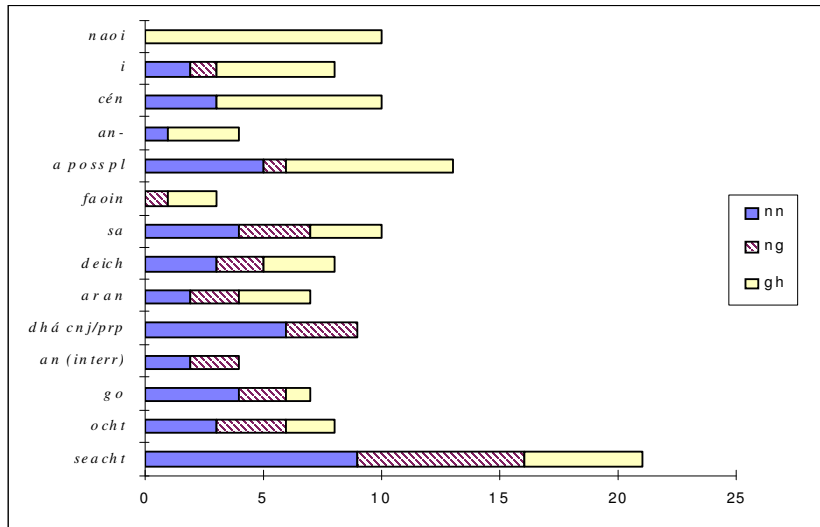
Figure 11.2 shows the same data from Máire (Mq) plotted according to the eclipsing word, or the proclitic or prefix in n . From this chart it is evident that, in Mq:

- (i) *cén* (and *aon* [x1], Table 11.3) alone are realised in $\mathbf{n}'\mathbf{j}$, i.e. preposed **-en**;
- (ii) *naoi* does not cause eclipsis; perhaps owing to phrasal dissimilation of nasal consonants. Numerals *seacht*, *ocht* and *deich* contrast strongly with *naoi*. Note that dissimilation is not evident in phrases such as *ina nGiúdaí* $\mathbf{\bar{a}}\mathbf{n}\mathbf{\bar{o}}\mathbf{\bar{h}}\mathbf{\bar{u}}:\mathbf{d}\mathbf{i}$.

Indications of possible frequency contrasts of eclipsis vs. non-eclipsis are:

dhá (conjunction and preposition) eclipses most;
verbal particles \gg prepositions; *sa* \gg *i*.

Figure 11.2 Eclipsis, also preposed $-n$, with \mathbf{j} , $\mathbf{(h)u}$ by trigger; Mq



(nn = \mathcal{N}' , ng = η' , gh = \mathbf{j} = non-eclipsis)

Some representative examples of Máire's responses (Mq) are given in Table 11.3. Not surprisingly, Máire's regular use of \mathcal{N}' with humour corresponds to an example from an older speaker: *bheat sé in úmar mhaith* 869P5.

Table 11.3 Examples of eclipsis and preposed *n* before *j* \underline{y} , (h**) \underline{u} ; Mq**

Trigger	- <i>n</i>	Lexeme	Form	Transcription
<i>ocht</i>		<u>Yank</u>	ŋ ~ j	ox̩t̩ ŋ̊æ:ŋk̊ / jæ:ŋk̊
<i>a</i> (poss pl)		<u>yacht</u>	ŋ ~ j	ənə n̊æ:t̩ he:n̊ [x1], ənə jæ:t̩ he:n̊ [x3]
<i>ocht</i>		<u>yacht</u>	ŋ̊	ox̩t̩ ŋ̊æ:t̩
<i>sa</i>		<u>yacht</u>	ŋ̊	sə ŋ̊æ:t̩
<i>an</i> (interr)		<u>yacht-álann</u>	ŋ̊	ə ŋ̊æ:t̩:lən̊ f̩ib̊
<i>a</i> (poss pl)		<u>voke-annaí</u>	j	ʔ enə j̩o:kəni:
<i>ar an</i>		<u>union</u>	j	er̊ ə ju:n̊ən̊, similarly, <i>as an union</i>
<i>sa</i>		<u>union</u>	ŋ̊	sə n̊u:n̊ən̊
<i>go</i>		<u>yarn-álann</u>	ŋ̊	gə n̊a:rn̊:lən̊ fe ʔ eʔ
	<i>aon</i>	<u>yard</u>	n̊ j	'ne:n̊ j̩a:rd̩
<i>sa</i>		<u>yard</u>	ŋ̊	sə ŋ̊a:rd̩ (consistently)
	<i>an-</i>	<u>yard-áilte</u>	j	ta ʔe 'a:n̊j̩a:rd̩a:l̩t̩ ə
<i>an</i> (interr)		<u>yard-álthadh</u>	ŋ̊	ə ŋ̊a:rd̩:ləx̩ tus̩ ɛ
<i>ar an</i>		<u>Ghiúdach</u>	ŋ̊	er̊ ə n̊u:dəx̩
	<i>cén</i>	<u>Ghiúdach</u>	j	k̊e'n̊ ju:dəx̩
<i>deich</i>		<u>Ghiúdach</u>	ŋ̊	d̊e n̊u:dəx̩
<i>a</i> (poss pl)		<u>Ghiúdás</u>	ŋ̊	ta ʔiəd̩ ənə n̊u:d̩a:s̩
<i>faoin</i>		<u>Ghiúdás</u>	j	fi:n̊ ju:d̩a:s̩
<i>i</i>		<u>Ghiúdás</u>	ŋ̊	ə n̊u:d̩a:s̩ mar̩ ɛ
<i>sa</i>		<u>Ghiúdás</u>	ŋ̊	sə ŋ̊u:d̩a:s̩ ʔin̊
<i>seacht</i>		<u>use-áil</u>	ŋ̊	ʔa:xt̩ n̊u:s̩a:l̩
<i>naoi</i>		<u>use-áil</u>	j	ni: ju:s̩a:l̩
<i>go</i>		<u>use-ála</u>	ŋ̊	gə n̊u:s̩a:l̩ə ən̊ d̊'aul̩ ɛ
	<i>cén</i>	<u>humour</u>	n̊ j	k̊e: n̊ ju:m̩əɹ
<i>i</i>		<u>humour</u>	ŋ̊	ə n̊u:m̩əɹ M
	<i>an-</i>	<u>humour-ach</u>	j ~ ŋ̊	... 'a:n̊ ju:m̩əɹəx̩ ... 'æ:n̊ u:m̩əɹəx̩
	<i>an-</i>	<u>humour-áilte</u>	j	... 'a:n̊ ju:m̩əɹa:l̩t̩ ə
<i>dhá</i> 'if'		<u>humour-ála</u>	ŋ̊	gə n̊ u:m̩əɹa:l̩a ɛ

Speaker **20C** was queried briefly for his usage in this context. His wife **20My** was present during the query session and she answered almost as many questions, at the same time or just following **20C**'s response. Their results are given together in Table 11.4. They seem to be close to each other in use and may correspond to a more progressive stage than evidenced by Máire. The opposition is reduced to ŋ̊ vs. j, with a higher use of j (i.e. non-eclipsis).

Table 11.4 Eclipsis of *j* \underline{y} , (h**) \underline{u} ; 20Cq, 20Myq**

Trigger	Lexeme	ŋ̊	j	Speaker
<i>sa</i>	<u>humour</u> (base ju:m̩əɹ)	✓		20C, 20My
	<u>yard</u> (base ja:rd̩)	✓		20C
	<u>G(h)íúdás</u> (base g̊ - 20C)	✓ 20C	✓ 20My	
<i>dhá</i> 'if'	<u>yacht</u>		✓	20C, 20My
	<u>voke</u>		✓	20C
	<u>use-áilteá</u>		✓	20C, 20My
<i>dhá</i> (poss pl)	<u>humour-á(i)(e)á</u>		✓	20C, 20My
	<u>use-áil</u>		✓	20C
	<u>humour-áil</u>		✓	20My

The process of loss of *n̄* can involve its replacement by *ɲ*, i.e. *n̄u:mər* > *ɲu:mər*. The greater retention of eclipsing *ɲ* in contrast with *n̄* in this context may be due to the fact that *ɲ* is a consonantal eclipsis only (i.e. native *ḡ* > *ɲ̄*) whereas *n̄* can be both consonantal (i.e. native *d̄* > *n̄*) and vocalic, so that *ɲ* retains more transparency and phonological similarity with the base consonant. As stated above in the discussion of Figure 11.1, the principle of maximum phonological similarity between the base and its mutated form is clearly evident in the mutation of borrowings. This tendency was first illustrated by Stenson (1990b) based on the usage of all consonants in her data. There are, however, speakers who are far younger than **20C** and **20My** and who use *n̄* (before *ju-*, examples below): **27Mdq**, **47P** and **66N**. There is clearly a considerable amount of variation in this variable which would repay future study. I have collated only three instances of genitive plural *na^N* before relevant words; they have *ɲ* and *j*:

rí na nGiúdaíthe ɲ u:di:ə̃ | 852Stn, rí na nGiúdaíthe ɲ u:di:ə̃n̄ leis 852Stn;
ar chaipín na Yeomen nə jo:m̄ in̄ 892M4307;
sagart na Ghiúdaíthe ju:di:hə 892M5496.

At least some of the youngest speakers apparently use *j* exclusively, e.g. *dhá use-álthá é ga ju:sə:lə ɛ 56B*. This example was produced in conversation by speaker **56B** following Máire's (her mother) eclipsed form of the verb *use-áil*. Speaker **56B** was clearly amused by the eclipsis and produced the form cited here as if she were copying Máire but without reproducing Máire's eclipsis. On the other hand, speaker **66N** has *dhá n-use-álthaim ga n̄ u:sə:lə n̄*.

11.184 Other examples

Other lexemes and further examples of this class are listed here.

<u>Union</u>	<i>j</i>	<i>(bhí léine) chomh geal leis an Union air Mq</i> <i>(V̄ i: L̄ e:n̄ ə) xə ḡ æ:l̄ L̄ eʃ ə ju:n̄ ən er̄.</i>
<u>yard</u>	<i>j, ḡ</i>	Generally <i>an yard ən ja:rd̄</i> , but <i>na gyard-e nə ḡ a:rd̄ə</i> produced in reply to query.
<i>G(h)iúdach,</i> <i>G(h)iúdaí</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>cén Ghiúdach k̄ e:n̄ ju:dəx Mq,</i> <i>sagart na Ghiúdaíthe ju:di:hə 892M5496.</i>
	<i>ḡ</i>	<i>(le) Giúdach ḡ ju:dəx 46.368, l̄ e ḡ u:dəx 01J, ḡ u:dəx S,</i> <i>Giúdaí ḡ u:di: 892M5502, S;</i> <i>na Giúdaíthe ,nə 'ḡ ju:di:h̄, 46.368, nə ḡ u:di:hə 894Cs.</i>
<i>G(h)iúdás</i>	<i>j, ḡ</i>	<i>ju:dəs S, ḡ u:dəs 20C.</i>
<u>humour,</u> <i>g(h)iúmarach</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>nach í atá humour-ach nax i: ta ju:mərəx M;</i>
	<i>ḡ</i>	<i>giúmarach 894C3;</i>
	<i>x̄</i>	<i>x̄ u:mərs 47P, with n̄ in in humours ə n̄ u:mərs 47P.</i>
<i>ghíúistís,</i> (cp. <u>justice</u>)	<i>j</i>	<i>an ghíúistís n̄ ju:ʃt̄ i:ʃ P;</i>
	<i>ḡ</i>	<i>ḡ u:ʃt̄ i:ʃ 11C, P, e.g. ina ghíúistís ... le ghíúistís 11C5009–10.</i>
<u>yawl</u>	<i>j, ḡ</i>	<i>yawl-annaí ḡ a:ləni: 46.1091, ja:ləni: S (j- only Sq).</i>
<u>Yeomen</u>	<i>j</i>	<i>ar chaipín na Yeomen nə jo:m̄ in̄ 892M4307.</i>
<i>Ghiúróip,</i> <i>Ghiúróib(h),</i> <u>Europe</u>	<i>j</i>	The various forms as well as the various usage with the article reflect diachronic changes in borrowing, e.g. older <i>san Ghiúróib sə n̄ u:ro:b̄</i> , more recent <i>i Europe ə ju:rəp̄</i> . Regularly with initial <i>j</i> following <i>sa: sa Ghiúróip sə ju:ro:p̄ S</i> , but also <i>san Ghiúróib sə n̄ u:ro:b̄ 06C</i> ; also without the article <i>i Ghiúraip ə ju:rəp̄ 13P</i> . Recall the loss of the glide in the genitive <i>na hlóróibhe nə</i>

hó:ro:ĩ ə 869P, na hlúraipe nə hu:rəp'ə 35E7028, but also h+j > x' in:

na hlúróibe nə x' u:ro:b'ə 06C, nə x' o:ro:p'ə 26Pc.

In query 27Mdq has:

sə n' u:rəp'(), sə n' o:ro:p'(); genitive nə x' o:rəpə .

In reply to query 21Jq alternates use of the article:

sa Ghiúróip, ag Ghiúróip, muintir Ghiúróip

sə ju:ro:p', eg' ju:ro:p', mi:n'ər' ju:ro:p' [x3].

(Cp. genitive nə hju:ro:b'ə LFRM Iúróib.)

Other mutations

11.185 Aspiration (*h* + 'Vowel')

Proposed *h* is realised before vowels of nouns and verbs. With nouns, *h* occurs commonly with the plural article *na*^H, e.g.

tá na hærəplənes ag goil siar ta nə he:rəpl'e:n's ə gəl' fjar S.

Instead of eclipsis in plural (genitive):

ag múnadh na hinfants mu:nə nə hinf'ən'ts Pt.

But *h* is also avoided, e.g. (with nouns)

na exams nə eg'zæ:m's [x2] M, dhe na apes gə nə e:p's M.

Following the preposition *go*^H, and adjectival *chomh*^H:

go hIsle of Wight ... in Isle of Wight gə hail' ə wait ... ən ail'ə wait P;

bhí sé chomh hexcited v'i: fe xə'æg'saitəd M.

An example of variation with the impersonal verb is found in:

hordain-áladh é ... agus — e — ordain-áladh é

har'den'alu: e ... ugəs, e [hesitation filler], ar'den'alu: e P.

For *Europe* in *na hlúraipe nə hu:rəp'ə ~ nə x' u:ro:b'ə 06C*, etc., see 11.184.

11.186 Preposed *t*- to s (*t* + s)

Realisation of *t*- before s is not particularly common. For prefixed *t*- of the article before vowels, see 11.169.

Preposed *t*- before s- can be realised as **tʃ** or **tʃʲ**, e.g.

an tʃlip ə tʃ'ip' S;

aon tʃslap ariamh en' tʃ'æ:p' ə'r'iəv 20C.

Given that both native *tsl*- and borrowed *tʃs*- can vary in their realisations, it seems likely that the distinction between native and borrowed words in this context may exist for some speakers (i, ii) but not for others (iii, iv) or speakers may have only optional distinctions. Those speakers who distinguish between native and borrowed words will:

- (i) contrast native **tʃ**- or **tʃʲ**- with borrowed *tʃs*-words in **tʃ**-; or
- (ii) not lenite -**ʲ**- and contrast native **tʃʲ**- with borrowed **tʃ**- or **tʃʲ**-.

Speakers who do not distinguish native and borrowed words may:

- (iii) lenite -**ʲ**- and have native **tʃ**- and may use **tʃ**- with borrowed words; or
- (iv) lenite -**ʲ**- and alveolarise *t* before -**ʲ**- and therefore have native **tʃʲ**- and may also have **tʃ**- with borrowed words.

For example, Máire is a speaker of type (ii) with **tʃʲ**- vs. **tʃ**-, e.g.

an tʃlí ə tʃ'í: M vs. an-tʃslaughter 'æ:n'tʃ'atər M.

11.187 Examples

Article: *an tslip* ə tʰip S.

Note the proper names:

Fuaigh an tSawpit fuə n tɑ:p'it (*Fuaigh an tSáipit*),

Hornpipe an tSail(or)-éara 'hɑ:rŋpaip' | ən te:l'e:rə 881J.

Prefix *an-* (intensifier): in *an-tslaughter* 'æ:n'tl'ɑ:tər M.

Prefix *sean-*: *sean-tshail(or)-éara 'fan,te:l'e:rə* (brother of 21J).

Preposed *t-* before *s-* is used very regularly by (some) older speakers; following *dhen* / *dhon* and *aon* in my examples:

dhen tcement ... aon tcement gən tim'in't ... e:n tim'in't 899D ARN6576,
6612, *e:n tə'm'in't 05M*;

dhen tsoup gən tu:p 03C; *aon tsummons en tuməns 20My*.

English *tʃ*, when borrowed as *f*, can take *t-*, e.g.

an-tchance 'æ:n't'æ:ns 03C.

For further examples, following prefixes, such as *an-tsure-áilte*, see 9.40.

More often, however, *t-* before *s-* is avoided.

Article: *an t-* with the word *ceil(ing)-áil si:l'ɑ:l'* is very rare. It has been noted from only one speaker, 894Cs, in contrast with scores of other speakers, including Seán and Máire:

ar an tceil-áil, ti:l'ɑ:l' [x3] (Suda)894Cs;

An bhfeiceann tú an ceil-áil bhreá sin? en tu n si:l'ɑ:l' vr'ɑ: fin' S,

an ceil-áil n si:l'ɑ:l' M.

Prefix *an-* (intensifier): *an-set-áilte 'æ:n'setɑ:l't'ə 866Et* (Sc185.2).

chéad: an chéad secondary ə x'ed sek'əndri: S.

11.188 *tsn-*

Irish *tsn-* has various realisations (typically (nonpalatal): *tn*, *tⁿn*, *hn*, *tr*, 9.160). With borrowed initial *sn-* prefixed *t-*, i.e. *tsn-*, appears to be used less frequently than other forms in *ts-*. The change of *n* to *r*, i.e. *tr*(^h)-, has not been noted in conversation nor produced unprompted in reply to query but is permitted by Máire. There is an alternant, in query, *tⁿ'*, which is not found with Irish words. On the other hand, *tn'* is not found with borrowings. Examples from Máire (Mq) are:¹

<i>fⁿ'</i>	'a:n'f ⁿ 'aip'	<i>an-snipe</i>
<i>hn'</i>	'æ:n' ^h n'aip'	<i>an-tsnipe</i>
<i>t^hhn'</i>	er' ə t ^h hn'aip'ɑ:l'	<i>ar an tsnipe-áil</i>
<i>tn'</i>	'æ:n'tn'aip'	<i>an-tsnipe</i>
	'fæ:n'tn'æ:tər	<i>sean-tsnotter</i>
<i>tⁿ'</i>	'fæ:n't ⁿ 'æ:tər	<i>sean-tsnotter</i>
<i>tr'</i>	'æ:n'tr'aip' Mperm	<i>an-tsnipe</i>

¹ Unfortunately, I did not record in my notes the presence or absence of nasal release. It may have been present, particularly in *hn'* and *t^hhn'*.

12 Onomastics

Personal names

This section is by no means a comprehensive description of personal name usage but rather an exposition of some of the main features I have noted in the course of my study.¹

12.1 Phonology and morphology

One Christian name, and one apparent surname used to designate an individual, both of which end in *-r* and are declined in the 1 Declension, were noted with palatal finals in the nominative. The palatal *r* has spread from historical genitive and vocative cases, especially perhaps from the forms in the surnames *Ó Céileachair* (perhaps via ‘Kelleher’) and *Ó Crochúir*. E.g.

Ceallachar: *Ceallachair a' tréanfhear* !894C9;

Crochúr: *Crochúr Ó Caoidheáin* 894C9, but also **kroxu:r' S, krxu:r' du:** (perhaps **duw**) **nə haurdo:g'ə S Crochúir Dubh na hOrdóige; kroxu:r' yu nə haurdo:g'ə M Crochúir Dhubh na hOrdóige.**

Cp. *Meachair*, perhaps related to *Ó Meachair*.

The frequently unstressed *Mac* in patronymics² can be replaced by the frequently unstressed *Ó* — the other common initial element which precedes the main stress in surnames. *Mac* can also undergo metanalysis. For instance, the common legendary *Cormac m(h)ac Airt* (e.g. **korəmək wək a:rt' 04B1**) is also realised as *Coramac ó Cairt* !894C9. Another more commonly occurring example is the surname *Mac Thuathaláin* (*Mhac Fhualáin*), now **ə ku:lə:n', o: ku:lə:n', xu:lə:n'**, and, designating a person of that surname: **ku:lə:n;** also *Mac Sheoinín* > *Ceoinín ə k' u:n' i:n', k' u:n' i:n', ə x' u:n' i:n', x' u:n' i:n'; *Mhag Fhionnáin* > (person of that surname) *Gionán*. Similarly, *Mac Dhonncha* became a *Conncha* with genitive *Uí Conncha*; and *Mac Con Iomaire* became (a) *Con Iomaire* with distinctive genitive in combination in *Mac Uí Con Iomaire*.*

Inflection: nominative, vocative and genitive

Surnames with historical *de* or with *de* in their modern standard forms, have either *ə* or no unstressed patronymic element. They are uninflected for case, e.g. vocative *a Dhorcha Brún*, genitive *Éamann Liam a Búrc*. Patronymic *Mac* and *Ó* do inflect.

12.2 *Mac, mac*

One can distinguish three types of *Mac / mac* in names: patronymic, non-patronymic (i.e. not in the surname) and use in old names of characters in folk-

¹ Cf. de Bhaldraithe (1977: 282–7); de Bhaldraithe's chapter in Hartmann et al (1996: 311–6); CGT p. 36, footnote; Fox (1963; 1978: 66–81), Dorian (1970a–b), É. Ó hÓgáin (2000–1). Cf. Ó Cuív (1986b).

² 'Patronymic' is used in the wider and more abstract sense of an element in a name which can, or formerly functioned to, indicate derivation from an ancestor, i.e. *Ó, Mac, 'ac, ə 'a', əkən (Ó) / 'ac Con, ə (de)*.

lore. The male patronymic **mak** *Mac* is not heard commonly in vernacular or traditional (local) surnames. In most surnames historical *Mac* has become (ə) **k-**, in some instances alternating with **o:** **k-**, ə **x-** and **x-**. *Mac Dhonncha*, for example, is ə **kunəxə**, but one example of *Mac* occurs in specific reference:

fær gə xlu nunəxə ... hā:n'ək' mā'k ūnəxə gə d'i: e' fear dhe chloinn nDonncha ... tháinig Mac Dhonncha go dtí é 11C2828–35.

For more common *Mac Uí* in this use with other surnames, see 12.21. Female *Nic* has not been heard, the corresponding vernacular being *Ní C-* (12.7). *Mac* does, however, occur in *Mac Suibhne*, the surname of *Mícheál M(h)ac Suibhne* the Mayo poet (†1820) who lived to the west of Iorras Aithneach. See also in the List (12.10) below: *Mac Aoidh*, *Mac Cormaic*, *Mac Giollarnáth*. In song further traditional forms of surnames are instanced, e.g. *Séamas mac Guibhir ... Séamas mag Uivir* 1894C6, i.e. historical *Mag (Mág) Uidhir*.

There is also a use of *mhac* followed by an unlenited male Christian name, most often in the form *'ac*, not functioning as a patronymic in a surname but meaning 'son of'. This usage is no longer productive, e.g.

Mícheál 'ac Eoghain, *Seán 'ac Pádraig*, *Seán 'ac Séamais* 869P2;
Séamas Thomáis Pheadair 'ac Risteaird Mhichíl 'ac Tomáis SÓC2.279;
Peige Sheáin 'ac Páraic 'ac Féilim 'ac Maolra SÓC2.279.

Séamas Thomáis is Colm Bheairtle 'ac Dhonncha's (speaker 27Cb) grandfather, and *Peige Sheáin* is his great-grandmother († c. 1888, SÓC2.279); the use of *'ac* in these instances is found in the fifth generation from Colm, implying the last sons who took *'ac* (i.e. *Peadar 'ac Risteaird* and *Seán 'ac Páraic*)¹ were born roughly around 1800. Similarly:

Beartle Sheáin Thomáis 'ac Aodha ['ac] Éamainn 'ac Tiobóid a bhéarfaí air SÓC2.280–1 (square brackets in source; this *Beartle* was born c. 1860, *Tomás 'ac Aodha*, presumably roughly around 1800).

The only instance of lenition following *'ac* that I have noted is followed by a lenited adjective in the same initial consonant:

Seán 'ac Páraic 'ac Féilim 'ac Mhaolra Mhóir SÓC2.284 (perhaps influenced by the alternant with *mhic*: ... *mhic Maolra Mhóir* SÓC2.285), the lenition of *Maolra* here is in contrast with:
Tomás Réamainn Mhichíl Thomáis 'ac Réamainn 'ac Maolra Mhóir SÓC2.284.

Even following inflected genitive case (*mh*)*ic*, nonlenition of the Christian name is the rule:

Páraic Féilim mhic Maolra Mhóir; *Leic Sheáin 'ic Pádraig*;
klā:n v̄'ihil' ək' taig' 11C, klā:n v̄'ihil' ək' taig' | klūn nū:nəl' v̄'i:
ĩntəb 'jɪn' | 892M2765–8
clann Mhichíl 'ic Taidhg, cloinn nDónaill a bhí iontub sin.

Reduced to ə in **klā:n v̄'ihil' ə taig' 21Jq** *clann Mhichíl 'ic Taidhg*.

¹ As conjectured by S. Ó Cathasaigh (SÓC2.284), this *Seán 'ac Páraic* may be the person mentioned in Tomás Ó Máille (2002 [1936]: 18). There Ó Máille states: 'Sa 19^ú céad bhíodh nuashloinnnte mar Sheán 'ac Pádraig, i.e. gan aon séimhiú.' The reference to the nineteenth century can be equated with my calculation of the last generation who acquired *'ac* being born c. 1800: i.e. in the first quarter of the nineteenth century *'ac* was still productive. The question of *'ac Pádraig* and the like becoming 'new surnames' is of course dependent on the extent to which the original surname is 'forgotten'. Cp. de Bhaldraithe (1977: 282).

This use of (*m*)*ac* in cognomina contrasts with current use where the dependent genitive (of the father) follows directly the preceding name (of the son) and where *mac*, not used to form new names, is followed by definite noun lenition, e.g. *Seán Bheairtle, sé Seán mac Bheairtle*. Absence of expected '*ac*' was noted following *Páraic*; it seems to be an instance of sandhi elision between homorganic consonants of nonpatronymic '*ac*'. Nonlenition is retained in the correct position:

Páraic Séamais (brother of *Éamann 'ac Séamais*) **35E**, *Micil Pháraic Séamais* ARN8414 (recte 8416), 8418 (for expected **Páraic 'ac Séamais*, perhaps born around 1800–20 given he is a grandfather of speaker **35E**'s grandmother);

Páraic 'ac Féilim varies with *Páraic Féilim* in:

Séamas Mór Pheáitsín Pháraic Sheáin 'ac Páraic 'ac Féilim 'ac Maolra ... Féilim Mhicil Sheáin 'ac Páraic 'ac Féilim 'ac Maolra ... ar Pháraic Féilim mhic Maolra Mhóir. SÓC2.284–5.

The element *mac*, whether or not equated in the dialect with the historical patronymic *Mac*, also occurs in names of characters in traditional narrative.

12.3 Nominative

<i>Mac</i>	mæk	m'ik'əl' mōk / mæk saivn'ə 11C <i>Micil Mac Suibhne</i> ,
	māk	in specific reference <i>a deir Mac māk Suibhne</i> 11C ,
<i>mac</i>	māk	korəmæk māk a'rt' <i>Cormac mac Airt</i> ,
		gaul māk mo:r'n'ə Mq <i>Goll mac Moirne</i> ,
		f'i:n ma ku:l' 11C <i>Fionn mac Cúil</i> ,
	mæk	gol mæk mu:r'n'ə 04B1 <i>Goll mac Moirne</i> ,
		f'i:n' mə ku:l' 11C <i>Fionn mac Cúil</i> ,
<i>Mhac</i>	wāk	m'ik'əl' wāk saivn'ə 11C <i>Micil Mhac Suibhne</i> ,
<i>mhac</i>	wāk	'f'i:n' 'wo:r 'yɑ:k 'u:l' 11C <i>Fionn Mhór mhac Úil</i> ,
	wæk	korəmæk wæk a'rt' 04B1 <i>Cormac mhac Airt</i> ,
		f'i:n' wə ku:l' 11C <i>dho Fionn mhac Cúil</i> ,
	(wæk)	ʃɑ:n yæk [k' ?] pɑ:rək' 892M4252 <i>Seán mhac Pádraig</i> ,
<i>'ac</i>	ək	m'ēhɑ:l' ək saivn'ə 892M <i>Mícheál 'ac Suibhne</i> ,
		<i>Máirtín 'ac Eoin</i> SÓC1.81, <i>Séamas 'ac Páraic</i> !894C9 ,
<i>mhic</i>	v'ik'	mɑ'nənɑ:n v'ik' lir'k' 04B1 <i>Manannán mhic Luirc</i> ,
	v'ə	f'i:n' v'ə ku:l' 11C <i>Fionn mhic Cúil</i> (sic nominative),
<i>'ac</i> (or ' <i>ic</i>)	ək'	with surnames in <i>Giolla</i> :
		ʃɑ:n ək' g'olə'nɑ: [sic] 11C3119 <i>Seán 'ac / 'ic Giollarnáth</i> ,
		probably also common case:
		<i>Jó Mhaitiais 'ac / 'ic Giolla Phádraig ək' g'olə fɑ:rək' 36S.</i>

There is a sequence of **wa ... və ... māk ... mak ... i:** in:

Fionn mhac Cúil mhac Cormaic mac Airt mac Tréin Mhóir Uí Bhaoisne,
f'i:n' wa ku:l' və kormæk' māk a'rt' mak 'tr'e:n' 'wo:r' i: 'wi:ʃn'ə |
(Asc) **11C**.

Recall the rare *Coramac ó Cairt* **!894C9**.

ʃi: v'æ:ɾʃl' o: flahərtə 11C *tigh Bheairtle Ó Flathartaigh;*
bean Bheairtle Ó Flathartaigh 11C;

hi:s ʃi: o: ɣunəxu: ə v'idə: 899N *thíos tigh Ó Dhonnchú a bhíodar.*

Nominative *a Ch-* alternates with genitive *Uí Ch-* in (where C = consonant, Ch = lenited consonant):

Éamann a Choscara S, pa:rək' ə xoskərə M Pádraig a Choscara; mi:n'ər'
fa:rək' i: xoskərə M *muintir Phádraig Uí Choscara.*

12.6 Con

Con is invariable (although occasionally lenited) and occurs in common surnames: **o: / ə kə'n-** in *Ó Con Fhaola*, **ə kə'n'-** in *'ac Con Raoi*, **ə kə'n'-** in *'ac Con Iomaire*. Also in less common **kə'nā:w̃ə 18J** *'ac Con Shnámha*, **kli:n'ə kə'nā:w̃ə 21Pg** *cloinne Con Shnámha*. E.g.

m'ik'əl' f'æ:dər' ə kə'ni:lə S *Micil Pheadair a Con Fhaola;*

p'eg'i: n'i: kə'ni:l̃ə !894C *Peigí Ní Con Fhaola;*

kli:n'ə kə'n'umər'ə cloinne ('ac) Con Iomaire.

Lenition of *Con* following *Uí* is rare (cf. 12.24):

Mac Uí Chon Raoi 892M4009, !894C CABI §549 v. 2, also Mac Uí Con Raoi;

Mac Uí Chon Fhaola B19.54 (x2).

12.7 Female Ní, etc.

Ní ~ Uí (~ zero)

Ní is the female equivalent of male *Ó*, e.g. *Peadar Ó Con Fhaola, Peigí Ní Con Fhaola; Anna Ní Cheannabháin*. Both *Ní* and *Uí*, however, are found with females in surnames that do not have corresponding male *Ó*. The surname *Conra Conncha* has no patronymic with males, but note female: *Brid Ní Chonra*. *Conncha* is generally *'a Conncha* with males (< *'ac Dhonncha*; distinct from *Ó Donnchú*, female presumably *Ní Dhonnchú*). With females *Ní Conncha* is general, e.g. *Bairbre Ní Conncha, Meáirg Ní Conncha*; but also *Meáirg 'a Conncha*. In the genitive with females *Ní Conncha* is general, but *Uí* is also used:

ʃi: wa:r'ə n'i: kunəxə S *tigh Mháire Ní Conncha;*

ʃi: v'ɑ:g' i: kunəxə S *tigh Mhéig Uí Conncha.*

There is apparently no distinction in usage between maiden or married surname in the female genitive *'a / Ní / Uí Conncha*.

Exceptionally, *Ní* is found following a male Christian name, in the nominative, in *Maolra Ní Maoil Chiaráin 892M* (examples 12.11). This surname mostly occurs as *Ó Maoil Chiaráin* and it is unique in two respects in the dialect: (i) it is the only current surname which contains the element *Maoil* (before the main stress); (ii) it is the only surname with patronymic *Ó* which consistently uses *cloinne* (12.22 (6)) rather than *muintir* in indefinite reference, such as in *fear go Chloinn Uí Mhaoil Chiaráin 869P4, ... chloinne Mhaoil Chiaráin, ... chloinne Maoil Chiaráin* (cp. 12.22). It seems likely that metanalysis (of the underlined elements) in *dhe chloinn(e) Uí Mhaoil Chiaráin* gave rise to the use of *Ní Maoil Chiaráin* following a male Christian name, as noted in *Maolra Ní Maoil Chiaráin 892M*.

Ó was heard with a female in *Brid ... Brid Ó Briain ... Brid 'O'Brien'*.

The obsolescent element *nín* occurs outside the surname system, meaning ‘daughter of’ and corresponding to male (*m*)*ac* (12.2):

Anna Pheatsa Mhóir Ristird Mháire nín Eoghain Éamainn 'ac Tiobóid, nó Anna Shaileoige Pheige Anna nín Eoghain Éamainn 'ac Tiobóid. (Ciallaíonn an focal 'nín' iníon nó inín). SÓC2.281 (the first two tokens of nín have initial capital, Nín, in the source).

It seems both *nín* and *'ac* were productive in this use until the generation born around 1800. The last generation followed by *nín*, i.e. *Máire nín Eoghain Éamainn 'ac Tiobóid*, may have been roughly contemporary with *Tomás 'ac Aodha ['ac] Éamainn 'ac Tiobóid* SÓC2.280 who was also of the last generation to be followed by *'ac*, and who was born, one might conjecture (12.2), some time around 1800.

12.8 Names in Fenian cycle and heroic tales

Cormac mhac Airt

Nom: *korəmæk wæk a:rt' 04Bl Cormac mhac Airt, Coramac ó Cairt !894C9;*

Voc: *ə xorəmæk wæk a:rt' a Chormac mhac Airt!*

Other examples under *Fionn mac Cúil* below.

Fionn mac Cúil

Apart from common variation in the *mac* element, this name generally consists of nominative *f'ín ma ku:l' Fionn mac Cúil*. There is, however, some variation in all three elements in the nominative:

f'ín ~ f'í:n'; ma ku:l' ~ mak u:l'; ku:l' ~ ku:l.

A clearly higher-register pronunciation with short vowel in *Fionn* also occurs:

nom *f'un 04Bl Fionn, voc ín' 04Bl a Fhinn,*

gen *ɛf'ín' wak f'ín' 04Bl a Oisín mhac Finn,*

nom with article *ən' in ɔgəs ən' e:n' 04Bl an Fhionn agus an Fhéin(n).*

Nominative: *a dúirt Fionn f'í:ən | 11C, d'air'ə f'ín mə 'ku:əl | [sic] 11C d'éirigh F. m. C.; er' f'í:n ma ku:l' əgəs 11C ar F. m. C. agus ... ; wuəx f'í:n mə ku:l' ə x'e:d xle'ə | 11C bhuaich F. m. C. an chéad chluiche, agus bheannaigh sé dho Fionn mhac Cúil f'í:n' wə ku:l' | 11C, tra: gər air'ə f'í:n' 'wɔr 'yək 'u:l' | 11C Tráth dhár éirigh Fionn Mhór mhac Úil, nuair a tháinig F. m. C. f'í:n' v'ə ku:l' agus an Grabaire Beag isteach 11C; d'fhiathraigh sé dhe Fionn mhac Cúil 'f'í:n' ,wa ,ku:l' cé raibh ... 11C.*

Note *Doir seo agus doir siúd gob é an fuarscéal é siúd ná Fionn mhac Cúil mhac Cormaic mac Airt mac Tréin Mhóir Uí Bhaoisne, f'í:n' wa ku:l' və kormæk' māk 'a:rt' mak 'tr'e:n' 'wɔr' i: 'wi:f'n' ə | (Asc)11C.*

Vocative: *ín v'ə ku:l' 04Bl a Fhionn mhic Cúil; -Tabhair do bhreith 'gus do gheasaí anís, a deir sí, ' Fionn! f'í:ən | 11C, ortsə f'í:n' və ku:l' 11C ortsə, a Fionn mhac Cúil; 'í:n' v'ə 'ku:əl' 'ɑ:rd'ri: ... 11C a Fhinn mhic Cúil, a Ard-Rí... .*

Genitive: *v'í' je nō:əs 'f'í:n' 'wɔr 'yək 'u:l' | 11C bhí sé ar nós Finn Mhór mhac Úil.*

Note *iər e: əs ɔxt 'f'í:n' wā' 'ku:l' wā'k 'korəmæk' māk 'a:rt' | 11Ctn iarr é as ucht Finn mhac Cúil mhac Cormaic mac Airt.*

Oisín mac Finn, voc *ɛʃi:nʷ wak fʷinʷ* 04Bl *a Oisín mhac Finn*.

Goll mac Moirne, nom *gɔl mək mɔ:rNʷə* 04Bl, *gaul mak mɔ:rNʷə* Mq, *gə ɣaul wak mɔ:rNʷə* 00Ttn *dho Gholl mhac Moirne*.

Others

ma'nəna:n v'ik' lirk' 04Bl *Manannán mhic Luirc*;

er' v'i:n' e:dən' v'ik' e:f'ən' v'ik' ā·vli' | (Asc)11C *ar Bhinn Éadain* (< *Éadair*) *mhic Éifinn mhic Amhlaoidh*.

12.9 Plural

Plurals of both Christian names, surnames, and occasionally other nouns used in names, are formed through palatalisation of the final consonant, or by adding *-í* to the base (rare), *-s/z* (frequent, especially with bases in final vowels, and also final coronals, also in mono- and polysyllables, no doubt more common with modern borrowed names and words), *-annaí* (with monosyllabic bases), *-achaí* (with polysyllabic bases), also *-iochaí*, etc., (common with nouns in final (long) vowel). Plurals of surnames are also formed by making a plural from the nominaliser *-ach*. These plurals usually refer to people named after a certain individual or people of the same surname. Another use is that of reference to individuals of the same name, e.g. *tá Pádraiceachaí go leor ar an mbaile seo* 'there are many 'Patricks' in this townland'.

-C' Christian name: *xo m'e suəs eg' nə kol'əm' ən'ʃin'* 23C *chuaigh mé suas ag na Coilm ansin* (*Cóilín Choilmín's* family) also *nə kol'əm' S* (*Colm* being his father); *na Coilm* [in *Fínis*] S; *fear dhe na hÉamainn a bhí sa Más* ARN8400, cp. the idiomatic use in the phrase *ceann eile dhe na hÉamainn* (14 *Éamann*); *na Labhcáis* 03C; *Loch na Séamais*.

Surname: *bád na gCúig* ARN7195, in local place-name *Cora na gCúig*.

-í Christian name: *na Diarmaidí* M.

Surname: *na hlarnánaí* 32J (plural of *Iarnánach* or perhaps *Iarnán*).

-s, -z Christian name: *nə hæ:ndr'us* S *na hAindriús*, *nə ko:ls* 14M *na Cól's* (*Cóilín Jó Bhairbre's* (my 20C) family), *nə ɟa:ni:s ə'l'ig'* 21Pt *na Janaíos uilig* (*Janaí's* wife and family), *nə ma:t'us* M, P, 21J *na Maitiús*, *nə m'æ:xər's* ~ *nə m'æ:xərs* M *na Meachairs / Meachars*, *nə p'i:ts* 897P *na Píts*, i.e. men called *X Phíotair*;

Christian names: *nə b'e:b' xahəls* [sic] *el'ə* 20My *na Béib Chatha(i)ls eile* (other women like *Béib Chathail*), *nə d'iar:məd' l'iams ʃin'* 14M *na Diarmaid Liams sin*, *nə 'ɟo: ˌwa:rkəʃi:n'z an* 66N *na Jó Mharcaisínz ann*, *na Páraicín Mhacaíos* M, *nə sən ʃa:ms* 25S *na Son Teams*.

Phrase with Christian names: *nə kla:n hja:n' ɟæ:n'is* 18J *na clann Sheáin Janaíos* 'the (group of) people known as *clann Sheáin Janaí'*.

Surname: *nə kə'ni:ləs ʃo* 25Mn *na Con Fhaolas seo*, *nə dunəxu:s* 21Pt *na Donnchús*, *nə he:n'us* S, *e:n'uz* 32J *na hÉinniús*, *agus Guairims* 866ESc23.9, *e:n la:bru:s an* 21J *aon Labhrús ann*, *ʃ ax gə nə n'æ:xtər's* 21Pt *teach dhe na Neachtairs*.

Borrowed surname: *fear dhe na Gouldens gu:l ɟəns*.

- annaí* Christian name: **nə ɔ̃o:əni: 21J** na *Jónnaí* (e.g. in reference to speakers **881J** and **894Cs**), na *Liamannaí* M, (e.g. **Ní: d̃i:w nə l'íəməni: xor ə b'ih e M ní i dtaobh na Liamannaí ar chor ar bith é**), **nə pa:ʃəni: 52P** na *Paitseannaí*, **nə ʃa:məni: 897P** na *Teamannaí* (*Team's* family).
Combined name: **ma:r'ə ɣauəni:** S *Máire an Ghabhannaí* (women of that name).
Surname: **nə krani: 37T, 66N** na *Craitheannaí*.
- achaí* Christian name: **nə ha:ntən'əxi: 32J** na *hAntaineachaí*, **nə ʃe:məsəxi: M** na *Séamasachaí*, na *Tiobóideachaí 892M*. Cp. na *Tomásachaí* used in Cois Fharráige to name Tomás de Bhaldraithe's family. Persons of the same Christian name: **pa:rək'əxi: 20C** *Pádraiceachaí*.
Borrowed surname: **f' erənsəxi 18J** *Ferrons-achaí*.
- iochaí*, etc., Persons of the same Christian name: *Beairtle* > **b'ærɫ'f'e:xi: 20Cq**, *Máire* > **ma:r'e:xi: 20Cq**, **ma:r'ə:xi: 21Jq**. Cp. **k'æʃə:xi: 32J** *Ceaitseóchaí* (from *Leitir a hArd*).
- Ø There are two examples of zero plurals; na *Beaifidí* (descendents of *Páraic an Bheafidí*); **nə m'æ:xər' 52Cr** na *Meachair*; note the surface correspondence with -C' and -í plural endings.

12.10 Morphosyntax of surnames

Surnames can be divided into those whose nominative form generally has:

- I** no preceding patronymic¹ and unlenited initial, e.g. *Cúg*,² *Pól*, *Tomás*;
- II** preceding **ə** (< *d(e)*) and unlenited initial, e.g. *a Búrc*;
- III** no *Mac*, *Ó*, *a* but may be lenited, e.g. *Breatnach*, *Ceoinín*;
- IV** preceding **o:** (generally without lenition), e.g. *Ó Briain*;
- V** preceding **mak**, e.g. *Mac Suibhne*;
- VI** preceding **əkən**, e.g. *a Con Raoi*.

There is an attestation of **d'e d'ə de** for vernacular **ə** in *de Bán* (cf. 12.11, also *de Búrca*). One might argue that **kən** should be classified as part of the surname resembling *Maoil* in *Ó Maoil Chiaráin*. The optional loss of ('*ac*) *Con* following *dhe* in, for example, *bean / fear dhe chloinne Iomaire* (more commonly **gə xlin' ə kən' umər' ə ... dhe chloinne ('ac) Con Iomaire**), strengthens the case for classifying *Con* with other patronymics which are also lost in this structure (unlike *Maoil*). *Ó Maoil Chiaráin* can be classified with type **IV** because *Ó* precedes it. Surnames in (**ə**)**kən**, on the other hand, cannot be readily classified in other types except for *Ó Con Fhaola* in type **IV**.

Table 12.1 lists the combination of patronymic and lenition (C- = nonlenited consonant, Ch- = lenited consonant) noted from a sample of the more commonly occurring surnames, as well as use of nominaliser *-ach* and plural forms.

¹ As stated on p. 2056 n. 2, 'patronymic' is used in the wider and more abstract sense of an element in a name which can, or formerly functioned to, indicate derivation from an ancestor, i.e. *Ó*, *Mac*, '*ac*, *ə* '*a*', **əkən** (*Ó*) / '*ac* *Con*, *ə* (*de*).

² Nonlenition includes feminine *Máire Cúg* and examples inflected for the genitive as in *Tomás Cúg* > *Brocach Thomás Cúg 20M*.

Table 12.1 Morphosyntax of surnames

NAME	Type	C-	C- gen	Ch-	a Ch-	a C-	Ó C-	Ó Ch-	Uí Ch-	Ní Ch-	-ach	Plural
<i>Bairéad</i>	I (III)	+			(+)						+	-aí
<i>Bia</i>	IV						+	+				
<i>Breamach</i>	III	+		+							+	-aigh
<i>Brian</i>	IV						+		+	+	+	
<i>Brún</i>	I	+										
<i>Búrc</i>	II					+					+	-aí
<i>Cadhan</i>	IV	+	+				+					-in
<i>Caena</i>	IV			gen			+			+		-igh
<i>Caodhán</i>	IV					+	+					-in LFRM
<i>Caolach</i>	IV						+		+		+	
<i>Carbad</i>		+				+						-id
<i>Cathán</i>	IV						+					
<i>Cathasach</i>	IV						+			+	+	
<i>Ceallach</i>	IV					+	+		+			-igh, -achaí
<i>Ceamabhán</i>	IV						+		+		+	-in
<i>Ceoinín</i>	III			+		+						-í
<i>Clochartach</i>	IV					+	+					+
<i>Conra</i>	III	+		+						+		-íoch
<i>Conaire</i>	IV			+			+	+	+			+
<i>Coscara</i>					+				+			+
<i>Cúirín, Curraoin</i>	IV						+			+		
<i>Cúl</i>					+							
<i>Cú(a)lán</i>	IV		+ ^a	+ ^a	+ ^a	+ ^a	+ ^a			+	+ ^a	-in, ^a -naí ^a
<i>Cúg</i>	I	+										-ig
<i>Dónall</i>	IV (+)						+					
<i>Donnchú</i>	IV	+		+			+	+	+			-s
<i>Éinniú</i>	IV	+					+			+		-s
<i>Flathartach</i>	IV						+			+	+	-igh, -taí
<i>Gaora</i>	IV				+	gen	+		+	+	+	-igh
<i>Grialais</i>	II					+					+	-acha
<i>Guairim</i>	IV	+				+	+			+	+	-achaí
<i>Iarla</i>	IV						+					
<i>Lábhruí</i>		+										
<i>Laidhe</i>	IV						+		+			
<i>Loideán</i>	IV						+				+	-in, -ach gen
<i>Madaín</i>	IV			+			+		+			
<i>Máille</i>	IV						+		+		+	-igh, -í
<i>Mainchín</i>	IV						+			+	+	
<i>Maoil Chiaráin</i>	IV						+		+	+		
<i>Maolán</i>	IV								+	+		-in
<i>Mongán</i>				+	gen					+	+	-in
<i>Neachtair</i>	IV	+					+		+			-s
<i>Nia</i>	IV		+				+			+		
<i>Pól</i>	I	+									+	-igh
<i>Seoige</i>	I	+									+	-igh
<i>Tomás</i>	I	+									+	
<i>Uaithnín</i>	IV						+		+	+	+	-í, -eachaí
							Con					aCon
<i>Con Fhaola</i>	IV	+				+	+			+	+	-s
<i>Con Iomaire</i>	VI					+						
<i>Con Raoi</i>	VI					+						
			Mac	ac	ac Ch				Uí C-	Ní C-		
<i>(M)ac Dhonncha</i>					(+)	+	+		+ C-	+ C-		
<i>Mac Suibhne</i>	V	+		+							+	

^a These examples of *Cú(a)lán* in this table are from Seán.

The *Mac* element (in Type **V**) can vary as **mak/wak/wək/ək**. There is also a less common element **wəg**. The element **əkən** can become **kən** (particularly in certain collocations), and can be omitted in others. Many surnames have a choice of preceding zero or (patronymic) **ə** or **o:**, (**ə** or **mak**). Surnames, such as *Coscara*, which have general **ə** followed by lenition, are not given a separate category: they are often close to, or can be subsumed as a subtype in, type **IV** (the type with **Ó**). There is often also a choice of leniting the initial stressed consonant. Combinations of initial elements are found, e.g. **o: kən Ó Con** in **o: kən'hilə 70Se Ó Con Fhaola**. Some surnames show considerable variation and can be regarded as belonging to more than one of these six types. For example, (*Mac Dhonncha* has forms resembling types **II**, **V** and **VI**. From the few examples I have of a *Graith* it appears to be unusual in having optional *a* following *muintir*, i.e. *muintir (a) Ghraith*.

12.11 List

Surnames given in Table 12.1 and some less familiar ones are listed here.

Áille: **ɑ:ʌ ə 32J Áille**, **nə hɑ:ʌ ə 32J na hÁilligh**, **nə nɑ:ʌ əx 32J na nÁilleach**, *dhe mhúintir Áille 898P*.

Mac Aoidh: **t əhər' mə ki: ... f'ɑ:dər m'ə k'u: 892M3764 an tAthair Mac Aoidh ... Father McHugh**.

Bairéad: *Maidhle Sheáin Buiréad* ARN5773, *Coilmín Sheáin Buiréad 21J*, *tigh Bhríd Buiréad* ARN5853; *teach a dtugann siad tigh Bhuiréad air 31P*, *Céibh Bhairéad* Rob.94, *fear dhe Bhuiréadach as Leitir Othard 11C*, *dream eile dhe Bhuiréadái 06C*. One family in An Meall Rua, Maínis take **ə wir'ed(ə)** consistently, e.g. **ʃəm'i:n' ə wir'ed(ə) Teaimín an Bhairéad(aigh)**. The **ə** here is the article, i.e. *Teaimín an Bhairéadaigh*. In Fiocharnaigh: *Páraic Buiréad* often, but also *Páraic an Bhuiréadaigh 35E*.

Bál: *fear dhe na Báls*, *Stomán Bál a bhí air, ar a athair. 892Mg*.

Bán: *sé an t-ainm a bhí ar an sagart, u-, Bernie Bane b'or-n'i: b'e:n' i mBéarla, an tAthair Beorní de Bán, '... a Athair Bheorní de Bán' b'or-n'i: d'e 'bā:n | ... æhər' v'or-n'i: d'ə 'bā:n | 11C* (introduction to and beginning of verse).

Béarach: *an Béarach 11C, 60M b'er:həx, Macaí Mháire Ní Bhéaraigh v'er:hə 21Pt* (a native of Leitir Mealláin), *k'e:v' ə v'er:hə Céibh an Bhéaraigh*. Descendants of James Berry, a native of Mayo born 1842, (who, it is said (**60M**), built *Céibh an Bhéaraigh*) are resident in Carna and are now known as Berry (**b'eri: 60M** 'Berry', **nə b'oris 60M na** 'Berrys'). Cf. L. Mac Con Iomaire (1992: 46).

Beirn: *A Mheargaí Ní Bheighirne, 'chailleach gan stuaim ! CABI §498 v. 1.*

Betsy (Englishman who came to live in *An Cnoc Buí*). Called **Betts 11C3551**.

Bia: **tumɑ:s o: b'ia P, 'tūmɑ:s o: 'b'i: (Atb)11C Tomás Ó Bia, ə 'hūmɑ:f i: 'v'ia (Atb)11C a Thomáis Uí Bhia**.

Bolastran, cf. **Balderston** (11.26, 11.99).

Breatnach: *Peadar Breathnach 892M3636,-43,-50 vs. ar Pheadar Bhreathnach 892M 3644,-47; nū:r̥ə v̥f'æ:n̥həx !894C Nóra Bhreatnach, Peaidí Bhreathnach 52J*.

Brian: **b'æ:r'x'ʃ'ə o: br'ian' M Beairtle Ó Briain; p'eg'i:n' n'i: vr'ian' M Peigín Ní Bhriain, br'ianəx S Brianach; gə xlā:n x'ɑ:n' i: 'vr'ian' 11C dho chlann Sheáin Uí Bhriain**. The patronymic 'O' is commonly elided in **ɔ̃o: brain** *Jó O'Brien*, from Maínis, whose name can be abbreviated to simple **brain Brien**.

Brún: **dorəxə bru:n, ə ɣorəxə bru:n !03Ct Dorcha Brún, a Dhorcha Brún**.

Búrc(a): *Éamann a Búrc; clann Pheaidí a Búrc* ARN7301, *Micil, a Búrca. ... a Búrca, ... a Búrc. 11C5060-9, an Búrcach Rua 11C*. Cp. *Pádraic de d'í Búrca, Pádraic ... a Búrc. (d'í is probably spelling pronunciation) SM*. For name of a type of potato *búrcach, búircín*, see 14.

- Cadhan*: **ʃa:mi: kain** P *Teamaí Cadhan*; **ʃa:ni: kain** S *Janaí Cadhan*; **m'ik'i: kajjən** 18Bm *Micí Cadhan*; **nə kain'** S *na Cadhain*; *sé an t-ainm a bhí ar an mac Tadhg Ó Cadhain taig o: kai'n'* | 11C, **m'ik'əl' o:n' i: xai'n'** | 11C *Micil Eoghain Uí Chadhain, Bríd Ní Chadhan (Chadhain ?)* also known as *Bidí Cadhan*; *muintir Chadhain* 866ESc23.10.
maik'əl kain, **wi:n'ər' kaiin'**, **kaiin'**, **nə kaihi:n'** 20Mlt
Maidhcil Cadhan, mhuintir Cadhain, Cadhain, na Cadhain.
- Caena*: **gə v'ik'əl' o: ke:nə** | 11C *dho Mhicil Ó Caena, Bríd Ní Caéana* ! CABI §453 v. 3, *Mac Uí Chaena* 11C, **ke:nəx, mārəkəs** [o: ?] **ke:nə** S *Caenach, Marcas (Ó) Caena, in' i:n' v' æ:ʎ' i:n' x:e:nə !894C *inín Bheairtlín Chaena, nə kainə v' gə 21J *i nGlinisce ... na Caenaigh Bheaga.***
- Caodhán* (< perhaps < *Mac Aodháin*): **tuməs o: ki:a:n'** 20Mlt *Tomás Ó Caodháin, Pádraic a Caodháin* 20M, *púacán Cholm a Caodháin* 11C, **mi:n'ər' xi:a:n'** S *muintir Chaodháin, tigh Chaodháin* 11C5817.
- Caolach* (perhaps < *Ó Caollaidhe* or *Ó Cadhla*): *fear go Chaolach* S, *muintir Chaolaigh* S, **ə humə:ʃ i: xi:lə** !21Pt *A Thomáis Uí Chaolaigh, mac le Marcas Ó Caolaigh* ARN8231, *Cóilín Mharcais Uí Chaolaigh* ARN7107. *Crucán Pheadair a Chaolaigh ə xi:lə* 18J.
- Carbad*: *Meaite Carabad* !894C9, *tigh Mhaitias a Carbad* 11C2299, (*fear*) *dhe na Carbaid* **ka:rəbəd'** 35E, *de Charbadach* sóC2.281; currently English **ka:rəbət** *Corbett* is used.
- Caisideach*: *An Caisideach* **kaʃ' əx Bán** !(Acdb)43Js.
- Cathalán*, Cahalane: **gari: xahələ:n, f'ær gənə k'əhəl'ən's** 25M *Garraí Ch~, fear dhe na Ceathailins.*
- Cathán*, **kuhə:n**, also **ka:hə:n ka:hə:n** 21Pt; *déarthainm gur Cathán kuhə:n a tugtar ar mhuintir Ros Muc, na 'Keanes' Ros Muc agus Chill Chiaráin* 21J. (Apparently 'Keane' represents *Cathán* in Ros Muc, and *Caodhán* in Glinisce, although not consistently, e.g. **koləm o' kuhə:n'** 20Mlt *Colm Ó Catháin* in Glinisce.)
- Cathasach*: *Seán Ó Cathasaigh* 892M, *Ó Cathasaigh ... fear dhe Chathasach* 892M, *Maitias Ó Cathasaigh o: kahəsə* SM, *Máire Ní Chathasaigh ... dreithiúr dho Sheáin Ó Cathasaigh.*
- Cearbáin* (perhaps < *Ó Ciardhubháin*): *cho dona le Seán Cearbáin* 894C3, **gari: x'a:n' x'ærəbə:n'** 25M *Garraí Sheáin Chearbáin.*
- Ceallaigh*: *Seán Ó Ceallaigh* ARN8278, *Seán Ó Ceallaigh ... Seán a Ceallaigh* ARN3173, *a dtugaidís Pádraic Ó Ceallaigh air ... mac leis ... Peadar a Ceallaigh ...* 892M, *mac Sheáin Uí Cheallaigh* ARN8185, **k'æ:ləxi: 09B** *Ceallachaí*, **k'æ:lə 09B** *Ceallaigh.*
- Ceannabhán*: *Tomás Ó Ceannabháin* 05M, *tigh Mharcais Uí Cheannabháin* ARN5832, (pl) *Ceannabháin* 866ESc23.8, *na Ceannabháin Bhána* !894C9 (also Williams 1988: 35 §36a), *pósta le Ceannabhánach* 894C9, *an Ceannabhánach* ARN8178.
- Ceoinín* (< *Mac Sheoinín*): **p'æʃ ə k'u:n'in'** 06C, 18J7144 *Peait a Ceoinín, Micil Sheámais a Cheoinín ə x'u:n'in' 11Pt, *Seán Cheoinín, nə k'u:n'in'i: M na ~í, corach Cheoinín* ARN7214.*
- Ciobún* (< *Mac Giobúin*): **k'ibu:nəx, f'ær gə nə k'ibu:nəxi:** 03C *~ach, fear dhe na ~acháí.*
- Cionaoith*: **mula:n x'uni:** 21Pt *Mullán Chionaoith.*
- Clochartaigh*: *Seán Ó Clochartaigh* **klohərtə** 892M, **ə v'ik' i: xlohərtə** !11C *A Mhic Uí Chlochartaigh, Micil a Clothartaigh* 11C, *an Clochartach ə klohərtəx* 06C, **nax klahərtə m'ə** 66N *nach Clochartaigh mé.* Cf. Clogherty.
- Clogherty, *a Mhiostar Clachairtí* !894C9, **ʃa:n'in' kla:xərtʃi: / klahərtʃi:** 14M, **pa:rək' xlahərtʃi:** M *Seáinín ~, Pádraig Ch~.* Cf. *Clochartaigh.*
- Coirbín*: *fear dhe Choirbín* ARN2753, *Dumhach na gCoirbíní* ARN2712.
- Coisteala*: **əʃ kiʃ' ələx** 11C *an Coistealach.*

- Conaire* (cf. *Conra*): (this is a recent borrowing of a standard form used for *Conra*)
pɑ:rək' o xín'ər'ə, **ʃt̪æ:ʃu: fɑ:rək' i: xín'ər'ə** S *Pádraig Ó Ch-*, *steaitsiú Phádraig Uí Ch-*, **tɑ:l'ur: xun'ər'ə** S *Táilliúr Ch-*.
- Con Fhaola*: **m'ik'əl' f'ædər' ə kə'nɪ:lə** S *Micil Pheadair a ~*, **m'ik'əl' fɑ:rə(k') kə'nɪ:lə** *Micil Phádraic ~*, **pɑ:rək' o: kən'hi:lə** (heard from a teenage male speaker An Aird Thiar in 1985) *Pádraig Ó ~*, *tigh Pheadar a Con Fhaoltha* **11C3631**, **p'eg'i: n'i: kə'nɪ:lə** **!894C** *Peigí Ní ~*, **klɪn'ə kə'nɪ:lə** S *Cloinne ~*, **kə'nɪ:ləx** **27C1** *~ach*.
- ac Con Iomaire*: **gə xlin' ək ən' umər'ə** *dhe chloinn 'ac Con Iomaire*. With unreduced *Mac* in **'pɑ:rək' 'ma:k ə 'N'əmɪr'ə** SID1 xvii pt. 46 spelt by Wagner *Pádraig Mac an Iomaire* (my **869P**).
- a Conncha* or *ac Dhonncha* (rare (specific) *Mac Dhonncha*): *Seán a Conncha*, *Seán Choilm a Conncha*, *Micil Pháraic Conncha* **892M4247**, **m'ik'əl' o: kʉnəxə** **892M3137** *Micil Ó Conncha*, *Máire Ní Conncha* **03C**, **ʃi: wɑ:r'ə n'i: kʉnəxə** S *tigh Mháire Ní Conncha*, **ʃi: v'ɑ:g' i: kʉnəxə** S *tigh Mheáig Uí Conncha*; **f'ær gə xlu nʉnəxə ... hɑ:n'ək' mɑ:k ũnəxə gə d'i: e' fear dhe chloinn nDonncha ... tháinig Mac Dhonncha go dtí é** **11C2828–35**.
- Conra* (old borrowing < *Conroy*, cf. *Conaire* and *Ó Con Cheanainn*: 2000): **br'i: n'i: xunhrə** **09S** *Brid Ní Ch-*, **mɑ:r'in' n'i: xunrə** M *Máirtín Ní Ch-*, **tɑ:l'ur: xunrə / kunrə**, **mɑ:k v'ærx-l'ə xun'rə** S *Táilliúr C(h)-*, *mac Bheairtle Ch-*, **tɑ:l'ur: o: kʉn'rə** **11C** *táilliúr Ó ~* (also known as *táilliúr Bhríd* ARN5821), *táilliúr Conra kunhrə / kunrə* **21J**, **kunrɪəx** **05C** *Conraíoch*.
- Con Raoi*: **kun'ri:** M, *Feichín a Con Raoi* ARN8515, *fear dhe chloinne Con Raoi*, *Mac Uí Chon Raoi* **892M4009**.
- Con Shnámhá*: **kə'nɑ:wə** **18J**, **klɪn'ə kə'nɑ:wə** **21Pg** *cloinne Con Shnámhá*.
- Mac Cormaic*: **mə kor'mək'** S (this form may be a realisation of, or a blend with, English 'McCormac, McCormick').
- Coscara* (< *Ó Coscraigh*): *Éamann a Choscara* S, **pɑ:rək' ə xoskərə** M *Pádraig a Choscara*, *a Pháraic Uí Choscara* **892M3055**, *a Choscara* **892M3287**, **mi:nf'ər' fɑ:rək' i: xoskərə** M *muintir Phádraig Uí Choscara*, *an Coscarach* S.
- Cualán*, *Cúlán* (< *Mac Thuathaláin*; *Mhac Fhualáin*): *Máirtín Chúláin*, *Peige Chúláin*, *Seán a Cúláin*, *A Choilm a Cúláin*, *Seán Ó Cúláin*, *tigh Cháit a Cualáin* **892M**, **nə ku:lɑ:n'** S *na ~in*, **nə ku:lɑ:ni:** S *na Cúlánaí*, *Cúlánaí* **11C**, **ʃi: n xu:lɑ:nə** M *tigh an Chúlánaigh*; *Bean eile dhe Chúlánach a bhí inti sin* **11C**.
- Cuana*: **k'e:ʃ vroxə ku:n** S *Céit Mhrocha Cuana* (from Innis Bearchain, English *Cooney* also used).
- Cuirín*: **o: kur'in'** **11Ct** *Ó ~*, *Cuiríní Crapach* S. Cf. *Curraoin*.
- Cúg*: *Ritsí Cúg* ARN7183, *Máire Cúg*, *gsg Brocach Thomáis Cúig* **20M**, *pl bhí Cúig ann* **21J**, *bád na gCúig* ARN7195, *gen pl Cora na gCúig* (in *Cill Chiaráin*).
- Cúil* (perhaps < *Mac Comhghaill*): *Seán a Chúil* FFG s.v. *Seán mhac Chúil*; *Féilim a Cúil* **11C**; *duine uasal dhe mhuintir Chúil gə wɪ:nf'ər' xul' mé **11C**.*
- Curraoin*: **br'i:d' n'i: xurɪn'** *Brid Ní Churraoin*; **kurɪn'əx** *Curraoineach*. Also transcribed in my notes as **n'i: xorɪn'**. Cf. *Cuirín*.
- Dónaill*: **pɑ:rək' o: dū:nəl'** **892M** *Pádraig Ó Dónaill*, *leithide Pháraic Ó Dónaill* **892M4454**, **m'ik'əl' o: dū:nəl'** **11C** *Micil Ó Dónaill*, *Séamas Dónaill* **11C2827**, **gə xlu nu:nəl'** *dhe chloinn nDónaill*. Cp. local place-name *Seanadh 'ac Dónaill*.
- Mac Dhonncha*: cf. *a Conncha*.
- Donnchú*: *B[h]al Ó Donnchú* CABI §12(b), *B[h]al Ó Dhonnchú* CABI §34(b), *Val Bheartla Ó Donnchú* CABI §43(b), *Val Bheartla Dhonnachú* CABI §68(a), *Val Bheartla Don[n]chú* CABI §267, cp. *Veailín Dhonnchú* (Quinn and Mac Con Iomaire 1997: 14); *tigh Ó Dhonnchú* **899N**; **o: dunəxu:, maik' v'ik'əl' i: ɣunəxu:, gə wɪ:nf'ər' ɣunəxu:, nə dunəxu:s** **21Pt** *Ó Donnchú*, *Maidhc Mhicil Uí Dhonnchú*, *dhe mhuintir Dhonnchú*, *na Donnchús*.
- Duán*: **du:wɑ:n' iəd** **23M** *~in iad*, **nə du:wɑ:n'** S *na ~in*, **nə du:wɑ:ni:** *na ~aí*.

Éadromán: A! muise, a deir sé, nach is dona í do chulaith, a deir sé, A Dhonncha Uí Eadramáin! !03V.

Eidhin: **f̥an o: ain'** !(Ams)04B *Seán Ó Eidhin*.

Éinniú (cp. Ó hÉighnigh, Ó hAdhnaidh, Ó hÉanna, Ó hÉanadha, Ó hÉanaf): *Máirtín Ó ~, Máire Ní ~, Máirtín ~, na h~s S.*

Eithir: *Máire Ní Eithir, de mhuintir Eithir Sc248.*

Fártaigh (< *Fathartaigh*): **f̥art̥ax, nə f̥art̥a 21Jq** *Fártach, na Fártaigh*. Also *Faherty, Farty f̥art̥i: 18J*, perhaps also *Fahert(y)-ach f̥art̥ax 18J*. This is apparently not an old surname in the area (21J). The pronunciation **f̥art̥ax** seems to indicate the phonology of central Cois Fharraige. Cp. *Cuirthe mé scéal go'n Mháimín ag Marcas Ó Fárta'* ! CABI §625 v. 1.

Flathartaigh: **flah̥ert̥ax**, e.g. **f̥am o: flah̥ert̥a 897P** *Team Ó ~, fear dhe Fhlathartach lah̥ert̥ax as an Trá Bháin 11C, Páraic Labhráis Uí Fhlathartaigh ARN8311, Bríd Ní Fhlathartaigh as Bun Gabhla in Áraim, plural flah̥ert̥a 11C.*

Floinn: **b̥ad̥ l̥i:n'** !(Atb)11C *bád Fhloinn*; cf. place-name *Tomn Uí Fhloinn* (12.27).

Gaora (< Ó Gadhra): **ko:l̥i:n' f̥ar̥ək' ə ɣi:rə S** *Cóilín Phádraig a Gh-, f̥unə f̥ar̥ək' i: ɣi:rə S* *Teóna Phádraig Uí Ghaora, síos faoi tigh Mháirtín Ní Ghaora. 35E, Máire Ní Ghaora 36S, kar nə ɣi:rəx / ɣi:rə M carr na nGaorach / na nGaoraigh, na Gaoraigh sin ... clann Sheáin Uí Ghaora ARN8252, na Gaoraigh 892M2799, muintir Ghaora 11C2799.*

Mac Giolla Phádraig: *Jó Mhaitiais 'ac Giolla Phádraig ək' g'olə f̥ar̥ək' 36S, Cloinne 'ac Giolla Phádraig klin' ə ə g'olə f̥ar̥ək' 36S.*

Mac Giollarnáth: **f̥ā:n ək' g'olə:nā:** [sic] 11C3119 *Seán 'ac Giollarnáth.*

Gionán (< *Mag Fhionnáin*): **g'una:n i: he:n', nə g'una:n' S** ~ *í héin, na ~in.*

Goulden, *fear dhe na Gouldens gu:l' d̥əns* as *Áraim* (married to *Peige Chúláin* of An Aird Mhóir).

a Graith, a Craith (Mac Graith, Mág Raith): **pa:r̥ək' ə gra: 11C3552** *Páraic a Graith, gə w̥i:n' əɾ ɣra: 11C3558* *dhe mhuintir Ghraith, bhí cailín beag thuas i nGlínsce, ... , dhe mhuintir a Ghraith, ə ɣra: 11C; nə krani: 37T, 66N* *na Craitheannaí.*

Grialais (< *Mac Niallghuis*): *Tomás a' Grialais 894C9, fear dhe Ghrialaiseach 897P, na ~acha.*

Gríofa: *Máire Ní Ghríofa 05Mt, an Gríofach 05Mt.*

Guairim: *Seán 'ac Guairim 894C9 = Seán Ó Guairim 894C9, f̥a:n ə guə'r̥əm' 11C, 'b̥ær̥t̥l' o: guə'r̥əm' | 11C* *Beairtle Ó Guairim, Bríd Guairim M, seanathair mór Bhríd Ní Guairim ARN5018, bád Teamaisín Guairim ARN7065, 7071, dúirt Guairim seo 866ESc27.19, carthanas Mhuintir Ghuairim (Ó Con Cheanainn 2002: 194, n. 44), agus Guairims 866ESc23.9, fear dhe Ghuairim 876JDT96, fear ... dhe Ghuairmeach ARN5396.*

Hassard: *Team Hassard hasaird 11C.*

Hares: **he:rs ə v' i: ə:n S** ~ *a bhí ann.*

Iarla: *Maidhc Ó Iarla 11C, Micil Ó Iarla 11C, buachail an-ghéimíúil dhe mhuintir Iarla 11C, na hIarlaí 20MI.*

'Kneafsey' (?): **n' e:v' əs 21J**, *bhí Néibheasachaí n' e:v' əsəxi: i nDumhaigh Ithir 21J.*

Labhrú: **ko:l̥i:n' la:vro:** S88 *Cóilín Labhrú, la:vru: 892M4245 (Leathrach ~), la:vru:, la:ru: S, la:bru: M, Cóilín / Bidí / Tigh Labhrú la:bru: 21Jq, ta'lhə lauru: 20M Talamh ~* (field-name in Gabhla, named after a certain *lauru:* from Roisín na Mainchíoch). *Leathrach Láfrú* FFG s.v. *leathrach*. (English 'Lavery'.)

Laidhe: *Murchadh Ó Laidhe ... a Mhurchadh Uí Laidhe óc204, nu:rə wru:xə i: la: iZCP157 Nóra Mhurchadh Uí Laidhe, tigh Mhac Uí Laidhe óc194, sean-Mhac Uí Laidhe óc194, fear go mhuintir Laidhe 866Eóc217; also Sc288.*

Laighléis: *Mala Laighléis ma:l(ə) la:l' e:f 03C.*

Lap: *Tadhg Lap ... doras Thaidhg Lap. ... Seoirse Lap 866ESc223.*

- Lochrán*: **ʃa:n oː loxra:nˈ** 11C *Seán Ó Lochráin* (in English **ʃaːniː oː laxrənˈ** 11C ‘Johnny O’Loughrane’ but given as ‘J. J. O’Loughlen, J.P.’, in Robinson and Mac Con Iomaire 2002: 8–9).
- Loideán*: **li:dˈa:nəx, nə li:dˈa:nˈ, ʔiː n li:dˈa:nə** M ~ach, na ~in, tigh an Loideánaigh, **ʔiː nə li:dˈa:nˈ** M tigh na ~in, **dˈæ:x nə li:dˈa:nəx** S i dteach na ~ach, **dˈæ:x nə li:dˈa:nˈ** S i dteach na ~in, na Luideáin [x1] 892MARN, Micil Ó Luideáin 892M, 11C.
- Luaithre* (perhaps < Ó Luachra): tigh Sheáin Uí Luaithre 1894C9.
- Madain*: *Jó Mhadaín; Seán Ó Madain*, tigh Sheáin Uí Mhadaín, *Peats Ó Madain ... Veail Pheats Uí Mhadaín* (perhaps also ... *Pheatsáí Mhadaín*).
- Mag Fhearaille* (< *Mac Fhearghaile*): *Ridire Mhag Fhearaille* 1894C9.
- Mag Uibhir*: *Séamas mac Guibhir ... Séamas mag Uivir* 1894C6.
- Máille*: **ʔiː hūmāːʃ iː waːlˈə** 894Cs tigh Thomáis Uí Mháille, **ən maːlˈəx** S an ~ach, **nə maːlˈə** 894Cs, S na Máilligh. *Don Mháilleach Dúirt an Máille ansin* Sc248.33, 249.29.
- Mainchín*: *Colm Mhainchín* 52J, **ʃoːsəf oː maːnˈi:nˈ** 20Mlt *Seosaf Ó Mainchín*, **gariː xˈæːʔoːg nˈiː wæːnˈhi:nˈ** 45M *Garraí Cheaiteog Ní Mhainchín; ar an Mainchineach māːnˈhi:nˈəx* seo 11C.
- Máirtín*: *Coirnéal Máirtín*, **māːrˈiːnˈəx walˈə nə hīnʃə** 11C3246 *Máirtíneach Bhaile na hInse*.
- Maoil Chiaráin*: **gə xˈa:n oː miːlˈ xˈiəra:nˈ** 11C *dho Sheán Ó Maoil Chiaráin*, **miːlɾə nˈiː(ː) miːlˈ xˈiəra:nˈ** 892M4142,-7,-57 *Maolra Ní Maoil Chiaráin*, **fuə wɪlɾə nˈiː məlˈ xˈiəra:nˈ** 892M *Fuaigh Mhaolra Ní Maoil Chiaráin, go Chloinn Uí Mhaoil Chiaráin* 869P4, **fˈæːr gə xliːnˈ iː miːlˈ xˈiəra:nˈ** 11C3579 *fear dhe Chloinn Uí Maoil Chiaráin*.
- Maolán*: *Máire Ní Mhaoláin; bhí Maolán seo ... bhí sé ...* 866E26.21; *na Maoláin, klinˈ iː wiːla:nˈ M *cloinne Uí Mhaoláin*.*
- Mongán*: **ʔiː ʃoːiːnˈ wuŋɡaːnˈ** S tigh *Jóin Mhongáin, Máire Ní Mhongáin, nə muŋɡaːnˈ 36T *na ~in, muŋɡaːnəx S ~ach.**
- Neachtair* (< Ó Neachtain): *fear dhe (na) Neachtair ... Beairtle Ó Neachtair* ARN3146, **bˈæːrʔlˈə vˈikˈəl iː nˈæːxtərˈ** S *Beairtle Mhicil Uí ~*.
- Néill*: **ʃa:n a nˈeːlˈ** M *Seán Ó ~*, **ʃeːməs oː nˈeːlˈ** 48M *Séamas Ó ~*.
- Nia*: **ʃa:n oː nˈiː** !S *Seán Ó Nia, laukəs oː nˈiː 11C *Labhcás Ó Nia* (lack of lenition is significant for 11C), **ūːnə ˈjæːs nˈiː nˈiː** | !11C *Úna dheas Ní Nia, gariː xˈa:nˈiːnˈ nˈiː* 20M *Garraí Sheáinín Nia, bhí teach eile go mhuíntir Ní ann S, fear eile go mhuíntir Ní ann S*.*
- Paor*: **nə peːrə** S, **nə pairə** 21J *na Paoraigh, pairəx 21J *Paorach, bˈe ləː elˈ ɪɡˈ ə beːrəx* (brother of 21J) *beidh lá eile ag an bPaorach* (proverb).*
- Peircín*: *duine de na Peircíní as an Trá Bháin* 35E.
- Pól*: **ʔaːm pɔːl, kˈiəraːn pɔːl** S *Team ~, Ciarán ~, pɔːləx S, 27Cl *an ~ach, nə pɔːlə S, 27Cl *na ~aigh*.**
- Raifeartaigh*: **paːdˈiːnˈ oː rafərtə** ARN7359 *Páidín Ó Raifeartaigh* (song title).
- Reid* (< perhaps *Read, Reid*): **talhə fˈæːʔsə reɟ, baːlə fˈæːʔsə reɟ** 45M *Talamh Pheatsa Reid, Balla Pheatsa Reid*.
- Ruán*: *na Ruáin as Gaillimh* ARN6353.
- Seoige*: *Máirtín Seoige* 21Pg, *Máirtín Steaife ~ach* S, *ba Seoige a bhí íontub sin ... na Seoige* 892M2767–80 (one could also spell *Seoigh*). Place-name *Dúiche Seoige / Sheoigeach*.
- Mac Suibhne*: **mˈikˈəl wāk/māk/mək saivnˈə** 11C *Micil M(h)ac Suibhne, mˈəhəl ək saivnˈə 892M *Mícheál Mhac Suibhne, a Mheicheáil ac Suibhne* 892M, *a Mhicil Mac māːk Suibhne* 11C, *tigh Mhicil Mac māːk Suibhne* 11C, *a deir Mac māːk Suibhne* 11C, **ə saivnˈəx** 11C *an Suibhneach*.*
- Súilleabháin*: *MigDeara Shúilleabháin thoir i Loch Con Aor* 892M.
- Tomás*: *Tomás atá i Leitir Othard, Marcas Tomás* 11C3251, **mˈærkˈiːnˈ tuməs** S *Meaircín Tomás, ə tuməsəx* 23M *an Tomásach*.

Trae: **tre**: ARN6235; **tre:ərs** 27Mdq *Trayers*.

Tuathail, *le taobh Sheáin Ó Tuathail* 892M4678.

Uaithnín, (also *Uaithne* 20Ml): **o win'hi:n' 892M1682**, **o: wun'hi:n' 25M Ó ~**; **wen'hi:n' S, nə won'hi:n'i: ~ won'hi:n'əxi: S na Uaithnín(eacha)í**, similarly, in place-name **tolə wu'in'hi:n' M Tulaigh Uaithnín**. Also **min't'ər' u:n'ə 20Ml muintir Uaithne, nə hu:n'i:n'i: 20Ml na Uaithníní**. Also **nuələ N'ir wur'hi:n' 11C Nuala Ní Uaithnín, mi:n't'ər' wur'hi:n' 11C muintir Uaithnín**. *Tigh Mháirtín Uí Uaithnín*. ~-ach **wen'hi:n'əx a bhí inti SM**. Perhaps also with loss of internal *n*: **wohi:n'əx ə v'i: ən fe:məs x'ə:n' v'if'ə S ~each a bhí ann, Séamas Sheáin Bhile**.

Walace: **waləs**.

White: **bə:d fəiʃ** (Atb)11C *bád White*.

12.12 Local surnames in Irish and English

It seems that the English version of surnames is used particularly with people who are extraneous to a local community. For example, a man who married into Maínis and is known to be a *Caenach* from Gabhla, is nonetheless referred to as 'Keaney' in Maínis. Similarly, another man married into Maínis is known as 'Patrick Joyce' in Maínis but as *Peait Teamas Pheaitín Seoige* in his native Coill Sáile, according to his wife. His son is known in Maínis, however, as *Janaí Seoige*. Similarly, a certain man referred to in Maínis as 'Michael Clogherty' (speaker 21Ml) is from Bun na hAbhann but the Irish version of this surname, *Clochartaigh*, is common in Maínis, for example, in reference to families who are native of Maínis. This practice is related to the common use of English in official functions where surnames are typically of relevance. The practice might explain, in part, the three versions of what appears to be the same surname in **ə kən ri: 'ac Con Raoi** (native), **kunrə Conra** (older borrowing < 'Conry', with the reflex of final 'y' retained in *Conraíoch*), and **kanri: 'Conroy** (modern form; cf. Ó Con Cheanainn 2000).

Syntax and semantics of personal names

12.13 Genealogical cognomina

Seán (12S) cites the name *Peait Pheaidí Phaits Pháidín Phádraic* as an example of (a) the tradition of sons being given the father's Christian name and of (b) the length of some cognomina. This also demonstrates (c) the dominance of male descent in cognomina and (d) the tendency to vary forms of the same Christian name so that identical forms do not usually follow each other directly in a person's cognomen. In listing an individual's parentage, however, identical variants do occur one after the other, e.g.

Éamann Éamainn Pháidín Éamainn Shéamais 'ac Éamainn 'ac Tiobóid
SÓC2.281,

Maitiú Mhichíl Mhichíl bhí ar a athair SÓC2.282;

Seán Sheáin Sheáin Fhéilim Mhíc [sic leg. for *mhic*] *Dhonnacha* SÓC2.285.

Many people have two or three appellations, those of their mother or father (at home) and those of marriage or place of marriage. For example, speakers 16M and 19P are known in their native Maínis as *Máire Mhicil* and *Pádraic Mhicil*, after their father a native of Maínis, but in Roisín na Mainchíoch and An Aird Mhóir they are known as *Máire Bhídeach* and *Pádraic Bhídeach* after their

mother who was from Bior and An Aird Mhóir. In fact as children they were known as *Máire Bhideach* and *Pádraic Bhideach* also in Maínis but their mother died young and only *Máire Mhicil* and *Pádraic Mhicil* is now used in Maínis. Speaker **20C**'s father is known in Maínis as *Jó Bhairbre* after his mother, a native of Maínis, but in An tOileán Máisean he was known as *Jó Mhaitiú Thaidhg* after his father, a native of that place. Hence **20C** is known in Maínis as *Cóilín Jó Bhairbre*. Seán's (**12S**) sister *Meaigí Choilm* from Carna married in Coill Sáile, her husband's home (*Peait Bhid (Núra)*). Her children are known to Seán's side of the family as *Pádraic Mheaigí*, *Deara Mheaigí*, etc., but in Coill Sáile as *Pádraic Pheait*, *Deara Pheait*, etc., after their father. In fact, she herself is known in Coill Sáile as *Meaigí Pheait Bhid*. (Another example *Cóilín Mháirtín Sheáinín* ~ *Cóilín Sheáin Ántaine* is cited below, 12.14.) An example of the two bases, from explanatory conversation, is:

in'ín' x'án' x'ún'ín', b'æn fa:rək' xol'ín' wat'e:f P

inín Sheáin Cheoinín, bean Phádraig Chóilín Mhaitéis (referring to **48M**).

Similarly, in more deliberate mode, when listing a person's parentage, both the father's and the mother's pedigree can be given, and even more possibilities occur when the various grandfathers and grandmothers are taken into account:

mo mháthair, Anna Pheatsa Mhóir Ristird Mháire nín Eoghain Éamainn 'ac Tiobóid, nó Anna Shaileoige Pheige Anna nín Eoghain Éamainn 'ac Tiobóid. ... Maidir le Peatsa Mór — Peatsa Mór Ristird Fhéilim 'ac Ristird Mhichíl 'ac Tomás [sic] — bhí air do réir an tseanchais. Ba Chlann Donnacha é agus de Charbadach ar thaoibh a mháthar. Peatsa Mór Shisile Hanraoi Mhaitiais a bhéarfaí air ar an taobh eile. SÓC2.281.

American descendants, first generation Americans living in America in my examples, can be named according to the Irish system. For example, the emigrant *Deara Choilm*, has children **ɸæ:rə b'og, k'æ:ɸ'ín' ɸæ:rə S Deara Beag, Ceailín Deara.**

12.14 Abbreviation; Plural

Abbreviation

The commonest way of shortening appellations is to truncate an older generation or two, e.g. *Janaí Shéamais Dhiarmada* (my **12J**) is more often called *Janaí Shéamais*. Less commonly the second youngest generation may be omitted. If we take A, B, etc., to indicate the names in descending order of seniority, the second item is lost in:

CBA > CA (B, the name in brackets is sometimes omitted): in the case of children of: **ɸa:n (waik'əl') wā:t'u: S Seán (Mhaidhcil) Mhaitiú; ma:r'ə (ɸa:ni:) he:məɸ M Máire (Janaí) Shéamais.**

DCBA > DBA (C, the name in brackets was omitted): in the case of children of: *Marcas (Sheáinín) Sheáin Mhicil M* (infrequent), *Jó (Bhéib) Sheáin Ántaine* **60M** (frequent). *Jó Beag Mháirtín Bheairtle* is generally known as such even though according to **12S** *Jó Beag Jó Mháirtín Bheairtle* is used when, for example, *Jó Beag*'s father is included in the reference. So also in husband wife relationship; *Cóilín Sheáin Ántaine P* (husband of *Béib Sheáin Ántaine*, my **10B**, in Maínis better known as *Cóilín Mháirtín Sheáinín*, my **11C**, from his father, in Maoras).

Plural

The plural of a Christian name can stand for the principal's nuclear family, e.g. **nə hæ:ndr'us** *na hAindriús* referring to *Máirtín* and *Maidhcil Aindriú*, or descendants, e.g. grandchildren in **nə ha:ntən'əxi**; *na hÁntaineachaí* referring to *Béib Sheáin Ántaine* and *Bairbre Chiaráin Ántaine*; *na Coilm* referring to *Colm's* own children and descendants. *Maidhcil Mhaitiú's* descendants are commonly referred to as **nə ma:t'us** *P na Maitiús*, less often **nə maik'əl wa:t'us** *na Maidhcil Mhaitiús*.

12.15 Basis

The vast majority of local appellations are based on one or other parent's names, most often the father's. Note the case of the mother's surname used in the following:

clann Pheadar Ceartar ... 11C, ... ba Seoige a bhí sna Ceartars, ba Seoige a bhí iontub sin, ach, 's dó-, thugaidís Ceartar orthub, is dóch go mba Ceartar an sloinne a bhí ar a(n) máthair. ... Peadar Ceartar Seoige. 892M2765-7, -81.

Children who have their fathers' Christian names often take *Beag* in their own names, sometimes diminutive *-ín*. A son can also be called *Son(aí)* ('Son(ny)') or *Mac / Maicín*, a daughter *Sus* ('Sis') or *Béib, Béibín* ('Babe'). Both *Beag* and *-ín* can also simply mean 'small'. In the case of tall grown-up children, this can lead to *-ín* co-occurring with *Mór*, e.g. *Séamaisín Mór*. It is noteworthy that the children of *Séamaisín Mór* are referred to by *Seán* and *Máire* as *Seán Shéamais(in)*, *Meicheál Shéamais (Mhóir)*, *Bairbre Shéamais (Mhóir)*, i.e. without the *-ín* suffix when the epithet is retained.

The verbs used to denote the process of naming are *glaigh ar* and *tabhair ar* 'call, name', but also *baist*, literally 'christen'. E.g.

Bhí Seaimpín baistí ar Mhaidhcil Shéamais, MigDiuna a bhí ann SM; Níl fhios a'm cén fáth ar baisteadh as mo mháthair mé ... is dóichí go mbíonn go leor daoíní baistí as a máthair 23B.

There are other semantic bases.

12.16 (1) Occupation

Some people are named from their profession or occupation or associations with a profession or livelihood:

bádóir: Máirtín an Bhádóra a thugaidís air 06C.

beaifíd: Páidín an Bheafídí, Páraic an Bheafídí. This man was the first to use baft sails in the area, his descendants are known as na Beafídí (20MI).

bolgach: Síomán na Bolgaí, Síomán a Con Fhaoltha a bhí air sin 11C3083. The name given to a man who lanced people as a cure for smallpox.

cléireach: Cléireach Thomáis Phaitseach kl'e:ðəx humɑ:f fa:ʃəx M, P kl'e:ðəx ə'mɑ:f fa:ʃəx P explained by P and understood by M as kl'e:r'əx humɑ:f fa:ʃəx P, əŋ kl'e:r'əx M, P. His children were known as, for example, Micil an Chléirigh ... cléireach a bhí ina athair m'ik'əl ə xl'e:ðə ... kl'e:ðəx ə v'i: n æhər' M. On another occasion the basis of the cléireach appellation was explained in: déarthainn gur boc smeairteáilte a bhí ann.

fiódóir: Seán Fíodóir. Seán Beag Sheáin Fíodóir 866ESc223.22.

gabha: Máire an Ghabha, of an Aird Thoir, thus named through association with

- one of her relations who was a blacksmith. Thus of her offspring, e.g. *corach an Ghabha ... crabhaid na hAirde Thoir* ARN7214–6.
- geata*: the man who worked the level crossing or ‘gate’, where the road from An Caiseal meets the main road, on the railway to An Clochán (Clifden) was known as *Fear an Gheata S.*
- gréasaí*: *Labhrás a’ Ghréasaí* SÓC1.83, *Bid an Ghréasaí* **18B**; *Muintir an Ghréasaí* (speakers **881J**, **894Cs**, etc.) **35E**.
- margadh*: *mar bhí sin fear anseo fadó a dtugaidís Tadhg an Mhargaidh air — de leaid óg. Agus níl aon lá ó bhí sé deich mbliana d’aois nach mbíodh sé ag gach uile aonach agus ag gach uile mhargadh* **866E**Sc259.
- ‘sailor’: one of Seán’s grandfathers was known as ‘*Jaic* the sailor’. He was in fact a sailor.
- scoil*: *Seán na Scoile* **24N**, one of the first schoolteachers in the area.
- scolb*: of thatcher, *m’ik’ál’ nə skoləb S*, **18Pc** *Micil na Scolb*.
- saor*: *t’i: ɔ̃o: ə t̪i:r’ M t̪iħ Jó an tSaoir*.
- táilliúr*: *ta:l u:r xunʔ rə / kunʔ rə S táilliúr C(h)onra, ta:l u:r b’æ:rəʔ S táilliúr Bearait*.

12.17 (2) Toponymics

Other names contain toponyms, referring to place of birth and/or nurture, e.g. *Bríd Áraínn*; *Seán Bheara*, *Bideach Bheara*, etc., more commonly known as *Seán Bheairtín*, *Bideach Bheairtín*, etc.; *ƒeməs nə korən S Séamas na Corann*; *maik’əl’i:n’ rəʃ/s ruə S Maidhcilín Ros Rua*; *f’ɛʃtə S* also *f’ehi:n’* and *maik’əl’i:n’ hæ:n ək du:nəʔ 27Mdq Feiste* (~ *Feichín*) and *Maidhcilín Sheanadh ‘ac Dónaill*; *Jó Pheadair Shíodúch* (*Peadar Shíodúch* lived nearest *Síodúch*, all other houses in *Roisín na Mainchíoch* at the time were by the shore (**21J**)); *mā:r’i:n’ xɑ:rənə S Máirtín Charna*.

Or lived in or at:

Veailín an Droichid S (in *Gabhla*).

-*v’i: n rud k’ɛ:nə er’ waik’əl’ M Bhí an rud céanna ar Mhaidhcil*.

-*maik’əl’ v’er’əka: əb’ e: S Maidhcil Mheireacá ab é?*

Muimhneach: Máire’s grandmother was known as *ma:r’ə wi:n’əx Máire Mhuimhneach*. She came from Co. Clare. Her name, *Máire Mhuimhneach*, was explained as being the Irish for *m’eri: hers* ‘Mary Hehirs’.

Sáiltín sa:l’i:n’, *Sáilt sa:l’ɥ*, (< *an Sáilín sa:l’hi:n’* in Maínis, according to Seán **12S**): *Tugann siad Sáiltíní orainn, Seán Choilmín Sáiltín, Seán Choilm Sáilt abraíonnas cuid acú. Colm Sáiltín. ‘Ní Colm Sáiltín a bith é ach Colm an tSáilthín,’ a dúirt fear faoi m’athair fadó. Níor thug muide Sáiltín ariamh orainn héin S. Colm an tSáilthín le ceart ach thugaidís Colm Sáiltín air le sórt mí’únadh S. This Colm Phádraig a Cúláin* (by right, i.e. Seán’s father) was also known as *Colm an Mheiricin* (his father was a returned emigrant from the United States) and lived in Carna. When Seán was a child an old woman in Glinsce enquired who he was:

-*Cé leis é sin? a deir sí. To which her neighbour replied:*

-*Le Colm an Mheiricin. Sé is fearr a thuigtheas tú.*

Seán had another anecdote regarding his father’s by-names. A man who himself had a by-name *Learaí a’ Phortaigh* enquired once of his neighbour:

-*Thiar tigh Choilmín Sáiltín a bhí tú aréir, ab ea? To which she replied:*

-'S nar baisteadh Coilmín Sáiltín chomh maith leat héin, a Learaí a' Phortaigh!

Children often distinguish grandparents by toponyms, e.g. Seán, from Carna, knew his grandmother called *Meáirg Ní / 'a Conncha* as *Mamó Chill Chiaráin*.

The inhabitants of some places or townlands are given various nicknames, more or less derogatory. Those I have noted contain animal names and names for types of people. In Iorras Aithneach: *Coiníní Mhainse*, also *buíogaí Mhainse* ! CABI §563(a) v. 8 (yellow skin was not admired (SÓC2.283)), *Giúdaí Fhiocharna*, *Boicíní Charna*, *Crántachaí Chalthadh Fhínse* (where pig-rearing was very common), *Gliomaigh na hAirde Móire* (where lobster-fishing was prevalent), *Carógaí Chill Chiaráin*, *Meandaráin Ros Dugáin*, *Seilméidí Loch Con Aortha*, *Crántachaí Dhoire Iorrais*. In Ros Muc: *Pocaidí Ros Muc*, *Amhais an Túrlaigh*. The agentive suffix *-adóir* occurs in **ʃl̪ˠ ækədoːr̪ˠ iː** *Sleacadóirí* designating the inhabitants of *Innis Leacain*. Compare *Gleannadóirí* of inhabitants of *An Gleann Mór* in *An Cheathrú Rua* as reported in L. Mac Con Iomaire and Robinson (2002: 357).

12.18 (3) Personal connections

Personal connections other than the child–parent relation can come into play:

Marriage:

Máire an tSeaimpín;

maːr̪ˠ iːn̪ˠ d̪iŋkən 23C *Máirín Diuncan* (our **43M**).

Residence in other's house:

Máirtín Bheairtín (Uí Chlochartaigh), less commonly known as *Máirtín Bheara*, from *Bior (Oileán Bheara)*, married *Ceate Mhrocha* in *An Aird Mhóir*. He was then commonly known as *Máirtín Mhrocha* from his wife's father who lived with them. Even *Máirtín's* own son was known as *Jó Mhrocha*.

Seán (**12S**), from Carna, whose surname is *Cúlán*, was known as **ʃan xulˠaːn̪ˠ** *Seán Chúláin* in *An Aird Mhóir*, where he came to live after his marriage, not because of his own surname but because he and his wife *Máire (16M)* and family was staying with *Peige Chúláin* in *teach na gCúláin* (according to **21Pt**).

Named after a (better-known) sister:

laid̪n̪ ə v̪ˠ iː iːn̪ˠ ə ... m̪ˠ eːr̪iː æːn̪ˠ v̪r̪ˠ iːd̪ˠ ə ɣau uɡəx mid̪ˠ oɾə mar̪ ʃaːl̪ ɡə ro ʃiː n̪ˠ eːn̪ˠ əx ʃe br̪ˠ iːd̪ˠ ə ɣau, bəj iː br̪ˠ iːd̪ˠ ə ɣau ə dr̪ˠ ehur̪, m̪ˠ eːr̪iː æːn̪ˠ ə ɣau ʃe k̪ ært̪ iː *S Laidhdean a bhí inti ... Méaraí-Ain Bhríd an Ghabha a thugadh muid uirthi mar gheall go raibh sí in éineacht le Bríd an Ghabha, badh í Bríd an Ghabha a dreithiúr, Méaraí-Ain an Ghabha le ceart í.*

Named from an incident helping a priest to escape (e.g. ABg 67):

nə saːɡərt̪ˠ, koləm ə taːɡərt̪ˠ, p̪ˠ ædər ə taːɡərt̪ˠ *S na Sagairt, Colm an tSagairt, Peadar an tSagairt.*

Named by transference of overseer's surname:

Fear dhe Chathail a bhí ag geaingéail ar Phádraic (Ó Uaithnín) is bhí súil bhocht air. Is chuir sé boighdeán ar a shúil. Rinne Pádraic an rud céanna, bhí súil bhocht air héin. Is dúirt na fir a bhí ag obair leis -Ó! tá Cathail

a'inne héin anis! Sé an chaoi chéanna ar tugadh Blácaigh ar Bhlácaigh Ghlínsce sin amuigh. Sloinne é Cathail. (Notes taken from S and M.) (The descendants of *Pádraic* in particular resent this by-name. They are nevertheless known, for example, as *Béib Chathail*, etc., who is more correctly *Béib Choilm Phádraic*. The reference to *na Blácaigh* is to a family properly named *Ó Caodháin*, e.g. the well-known singer *Colm an Bhlácaigh* or *Colm Ó Caodháin*, my **894C**, named from an employer who was a *Blácach*.)

12.19 (4) By-names and nicknames

- Adharc*: *Colm (Mór) na hAdhairce* from *Fínis*. Apparently from his blowing a cow's horn as a foghorn for boats. Surname apparently *Guairim*. (**21J**.)
- An tAsal*: *Jó Ristird a Búrc ... Agus bhí gleo mór aige, tús a shaoil. Agus as an ngleo agus an mbéiciúch thugaidís An tAsal air.* ARN2463. Nickname resented by *Jó*.
- An Caid* (< cod): The personal name *əŋ ka:ɸ, ʃa:n ə xa:ɸ an Caid, Séán an Chaid* were explained by S in *ʋ i' ʃe xə fola:n' ʋ e br' æ:k Bhí sé chomh folláin le breac.*
- Caipín*: A man of *Cloinn nDonncha* from An Aird was known as *Caipín Chite Mhichíl*. His son was known as *Pádraic an Chaipín*.
- Canaicht ka:nəxt* (< Connaught, Connacht): Nickname given to a man in connection with the newspaper 'The Connaught Tribune'.
- Cearc*: *klə:n du:wə:n nə ɡ'ærk ə hugəd'i:ʃ orhəb, klə:n sun he:məʃ nə ɡ'ærk 23M clann Duán na gCearc a thugaidís orthub, clann Sun Shéamais na gCearc* (owing to reputation for alleged hen-stealing).
- Coileach*: *Feistí Coiligh*, also *Feichín an Choiligh*, native of *Fínis*, people nicknamed *na Coiligh Bheaga*, to which they objected. Apparently, as the story goes, *Feichín* used to wake the household, since they had no cock. Surname *Con Fhaola*. (According to **21J** and his son **63S**.)
- Cup* (< cup), *Sásar* (< saucer): A woman who married a man nicknamed *Peaitsín Cup* was nicknamed *Saile Sásar*.
- Duinín*: A son who was named after his father, was called *duinín* (diminutive of *duine*) by his mother after her husband's early death in order to avoid the sorrow of hearing her deceased husband's name. His descendants are now, for example, *Maidhcil Pheadair Dhuinín*.
- Gairbhín*: My notes are unclear whether the form *ɡa:r' i:v' i:n' Gairbhín* is a place-name or personal name of *Beairtín Ó Clochartaigh*, an ancestor of speaker **06Mc**, from Baile na Cille, north of An Clochán. There is a townland called An Taobh Garbh (Tievegarraff) in Baile na Cille (Rob.41).
- Gerlín* (< 'girl'): A nickname given to speaker **14M** from her father's habit of using it as a pet-name for her.
- Giorria*: an *Giorria* nickname for *Cloinn nDónaill* in Roisín na Mainchíoch, e.g. *Jó Veail (dhe Chloinne Cloinn nDónaill)* (and relatives). The name was so resented by *Cloinn nDónaill* that the local place-name *Cluais Ghorria* was referred to as *Cluais by Veail*. (**21J**.)
- Greadadh*: *Gréasaí bróg a dtugach muid Greadadh air ... Greadadh ɡr' æ:də 11C* (of a shoemaker from Gabhla).
- Jaic*: By-name given to a large, strong (and childless) woman. (*Jaic* is a common name for a 'donkey'.)
- Seaimpín*: *Maidhcil Shéamais* was known as *an Seaimpín*, his children are known as *Maidhcil an tSeaimpín*, etc. His wife, *Máire Bheairtle (Uí Chlochartaigh)*, was also known from her marriage as *Máire Mhaidhcil Shéamais* and *Máire an tSeaimpín*.
- Teobar*: Nickname remaining in name of house *ʋ i: n' tɔ:bər tigh an Teobar*. Apparently from a man whose wife said to him 'Scaoil teobar leis' regarding a boar he had. (According to **21J** and his son.)

12.20 (5) Adjectival forms; Further remarks

Use of adjectives such as *bán* ‘albinotic’ (also ‘fair-haired’, although I have no example from Iorras Aithneach to hand), *dubh* ‘black-haired’, *buí* ‘sallow’ and *bacach* ‘lame’ is common. Note *mór*, *dubh*, *buí* in:

Na Tiobóideachaí Móra a tugtar ar an sliocht sin de bhárr athair a theacht rompu a raibh Tiobóid air, agus an-mhéid ann. ... Maolra Dubh a bhí ar fhear acu; lena bhreácha d’fhear a tugadh sin air. Bhí mac eile aige a raibh Aodh Buí an Truisle air; de bhárr truisle, céim bhacaola, bheith ann, a tugadh sin air. Is dóigh gur buí-chraicneach bhí sé freisin — dath craicinn nach moltaí. SÓC2.280, 283.

The epithet *Mín* was applied to a certain smooth-skinned man, born in the late nineteenth century. It was resented by his descendants. Note also *sé an t-ainm a thugaidís ortha ... Sadhbh Mhagarlach*. ARN8893. The superlative adjective occurs in the cognomen *Joe Mhicil Sheáin is Óige Uí Chathasaigh* SÓC2.282. Finally, note nominalised feminine *bán* in *ḁæḁ ḁ nḁ bæn ḁ S Jaice na Báine; na Seoigh sin, mianach Jacka na Báine* SÓC2.284.

Further remarks

Speakers sometimes use their own names in self-reference, to add ‘colour’, e.g.

d’aul fa:pə:l’ jɪ:nəs mɑ:r’ə M Deabhal seapáil a dhéanthatas Máire;
v’i:hu: buələ wɑ:rkəf 64M bhítheadh ag bualadh Mharcais;
Deabhal Páraic Mhicil a bhí amuigh nuair a bhí Janaí amach roimhe 12J.

A similar self-reference occurs with *cnámhannaí* in:

Nár raibh slacht ar chrámhannaí Mháire ar chuma ar bich mara ndeacha’ sí ag caithe’! 05Mt.

The genitive of apposition is found in *maik’əl’ ə wɪr’ S Maidhcil an Mhaoir* who was himself a cattle steward (and whose father was apparently not a steward). Cp. *Feistí Coilligh* (12.19).

Christian names formed from two names have been noted in people born in the early twentieth century and especially since the 1950s, e.g. c. 1900 ‘Mary-Anne’, c. 1950 ‘Michael-Coleman’.

12.21 Surname use

When the surname is given with two or more Christian names, the surname can be in the genitive (associated with the final Christian name) or nominative (associated with the first Christian name), e.g.

b’æ:ɾl’ə v’ik’əl’ i: n’æ:xtər’ S Beairtle Mhicil Uí Neachtair;
Cól Dharach Ó Cathasaigh / Uí Chathasaigh Mq.

Both uses are acceptable (Mperm). The genitive alternate is considered to be better (‘correct’) in this context by some speakers. It is of course the historical usage.

12.22 Designations with surnames; (1) — (5)

Surnames refer to definite and indefinite individual persons and groups. Eight basic structures are described in this section:

(1) Without Ó, with Mac

A definite individual can be referred to by using the unaltered surname, e.g. *Cadhan*, *Éinniú*, *Mac Dhonncha* (12.2), *Mac Suibhne* (12.10), *Guairim*, *Bairéad*,

Cúlán. The examples are of surnames which can be preceded in other circumstances by *Ó*, *Mac* and those without any preceding element (types **I**, **III–V**, 12.10); the *Ó* is dropped in this use. The article is generally absent in the singular but was noted in *leis an gCúlán ... an Cúlán* **52C** (permitted by Mq). Inflected for the plural these surnames can have either definite reference, e.g. *na Ceannabháin*, or indefinite reference, e.g. *Cúláin* (12.9).

(2) *-ach*

Denominative *-ach* can be added to the surname to refer to a definite (with the article) or indefinite (without the article) individual, e.g. *Bairéadach*, *Caenach*, *Ceallach*, *Cinnéideach*, *Con Fhaolach*, *Cúlánach*, *Béarthach*, *Búrcach*, *Pólach*, *Seoigeach*, *Suibhneach*, *Tomásach*. Examples are of surnames which can in other circumstances be preceded by *Ó*, *Mac*, (*d*)*e* and those with no patronymic. The ending *-íoch* occurs in *Conra* > (rare) *Conraíoch*. Denominative *-ach* is the usual use with adjectives, e.g. *An Búrcach Mór*. An example of *-ach* with a surname in adjectival function is *ba bád Cathasach a bhí inti*. ARN8217.

Denominative *-ach* in some instances is used instead of, or alternating with, the surname, e.g. *Teamín an Bhairéadaigh*, *Máirtín Steaife Seoigeach*, and *Máire an tSeoigh* in Maoras whose father, *Seoigeach* not originally from Maoras, was known as *an Seoigeach* (including in personal address *a Sheoigh*).

(3) *Bean / fear dhe (na) (-ach)*

An indefinite reference such as ‘she is an O’Malley’ can be made by using a personal noun, in this case *bean*, followed by partitive *dhe* followed by the base surname or more often the denominative *-ach* version, e.g. base: *fear dhe Choirbín*, *bean dhe Chúg*, in *-ach*: *fear dhe Bhreatnach*, *fear dhe Bhúrcach*, *fear dhe Phólach*, including plural reference in *triúr dreathá(i)r dhe Mháilleach*. Examples are of surnames with *Ó*, (*d*)*e* and no patronymic. The initial noun (*fear*, *bean*) can be dropped, e.g. *gə xuntriəx i: jin’ 05C dhe Chonraíoch í sin*; *Ba Chlann Donnacha é agus de Charbadach ar thaoibh a mháthar*. SÓC2.281. A similar construction is: *fear / bean dhe na* + plural (nominalised) surname, e.g. also plural *bean dhe na Caodháin* (LFRM *Caodhán*). This is also used with modern borrowings, e.g. *f’ar gə nə ‘he:ʃəl(’s | ə v’i: br’æhū nə ‘d’iə | 896P fear dhe na Hazells a bhí ag breathú ina diaidh* (overseeing kelp); *fear dhe na Féarlíos as Albain 896P*; *fear dhe na Peels p’i’f’z i mBleá Cliath 03C*.

(4) *Is*

Indefinite reference can also be made in copula usage ‘is X subject’, e.g. *Is Con Iomaire í sin*; *Ar Cúlán é?* So also denominative *-ach*, e.g. *Ar Cúlánach é?* Similarly, ‘is muintir X atá i(n) subject’, e.g. *gur muintir Uaithnín a bhí inti* **11C**.

(5) *Mac Uí*

Definite males can be referred to by preposing *Mac Uí* to surnames in *Ó* and in *a Con*; *Ó* becomes *Uí* regularly in the genitive, *Uí* precedes *Con* (rarely *Chon*) in this construction. Examples: *Mac Uí Bhriain*, *Mac Uí Loideáin*, *Mac Uí Nia*, *Mac Uí Uaithnín*, *Mac Uí Con Raoi* also *tigh Mhac Uí Con Raoi*, *Mac Uí Chon Raoi* **892M4009**, *Mac Uí Con Shnáma*. Note the vocative in query: *a Mhac Uí Dhonnchú* **21Ptq** (based on nominative *Ó Donnchú*). More conservative: *ə v’ik’*

i: **xlohərtə** !11C *A Mhic Uí Chlochartaigh*. An example in genitive position is: *tigh Mhac Uí Laidhe* ÓC194. Prefixed *sean-* occurs: *sean-Mhac Uí Laidhe* ÓC194.

12.23 (6) — (8)

(6) *Dhe chloinn(e) / mhuintir*

An indefinite reference such as ‘he is a Conneely’ can be made by using the personal noun followed by *dhe chloinne* or *dhe mhuintir* followed by the surname.¹ *muintir* is regular with surnames in *Ó* (the *Ó* is absent here), e.g. *fear dhe mhuintir Chaena*, ... *Chaotháin*, ... *Chaolaigh*, ... *Ní*. (I have heard neither **Dónallach* nor **Donnchach* / **Connchach*.)

Cloinne is used with surnames in *a Con* and *Ó Maoil Chiaráin*, as well as sometimes with other surnames in *Ó*, e.g. *fear dhe chloinne Con Fhaola*, ... *Con Iomaire*, ... *Con Raoi*, ... *Uí Mhaoláin*; ... *go Chloinn Uí Mhaoil Chiaráin* 869P4, *cloinne Mhaoil Chiaráin*, *cloinne Maoil Chiaráin*. It occurs in dependent genitive position in:

Ghortaigh an chaint sin beirt Chloinn’ Mhac Con Rí 876JDT97.

It occurs in plural function in, for example,

nə klɪn̩ˈəxi: wi:l̩ ˈx̩iəɾɑn̩ ˈx̩e:nə *S na cloinneachaí Mhaoil Chiaráin chéanna*, ‘(they are) the same Mulkerrins’;

Sea, na Cloinne Con Fhaola, bhí ceilp acub, insa mbád 892M3499.

The initial is sometimes unhistorically lenited, e.g.

Tá me maraí ag chloinne Con Fhaoltha S.

The form **klun** (< *cloinn*) is regular with *Ó Dónaill* and *’ac Dhonncha*:

fear dhe chloinn nDónaill xlu nu:nal̩ˈ,

fear dhe chloinn nDonncha xlu nunəxə.

Speaker 21J regularly prefixes *cloinne* to **klun** (< *cloinn*) in:

cloinne cloinn nDónaill 21J,

indicating that he probably does not analyse the **klun** element as (identical to) *cloinn*. Speaker 32J pronounces:

f̩ær gə xli:n̩ˈ ʉnəxə 32J *fear dhe chloinn Dhonncha*.

In copula syntax:

Níor de Chloinne Con Raoi Thiobóid an dream sin SÓC2.282.

In copula syntax, the preposition *dhe* is sometimes absent (with no lenition in zero-copula) or elided (with retention of lenition in zero-copula use), e.g.

clann Ba Chlann Donnacha é ... SÓC2.281;

Chlánn Dhonncha í ón Déis !866E CABI §60(c) v. 3;

Clonn [nD]onacha í ón Déis !897S CABI §60(b) v. 2;

muintir sílim gurb ea, gur muintir Uaithnín a bhí inti 11C.

(7) *Cloinne, muintir*

Cloinne and *muintir* are also used to refer to people of the same surname, e.g. *cloinne Con Fhaola* ‘Conneelys’; *muintir Chaotháin* ‘Keanes’; with a borrowed surname: *ar láthair tí Mhuintir Ferns*. SÓC2.283. Examples with definite reference but indefinite form are:

i mBaile Chon Fhaola ... bhuail faitíos é go maródh Cloinn ’ic Con Fhaola é, mar ní rabh aoinneach dhe aon chine faoin ngréin ina gcónaí sa mbaile seo ach Cloinn ’ic Con Fhaola; B19.53;

¹ *cloinne* derives from the dative of *clann* in *cloinn a Con* < *cloinn Mhac / Ó Con* (1.52).

Agus chuadar ag tabhairt tarraint amach dho Chloinne Con Fhaoltha. Sí an bád sin anois atá ag Peadar Ó Caolaigh a bhí ag Cloinne Con Fhaoltha an lá sin. ARN7821.

Muintir and *clann* are of course used with their more general meanings preceding (personal names followed by) surnames; ‘people, (older) relatives’ and ‘offspring’ respectively, e.g. *muintir Phádraig Uí Choscara, clann Choilm a Búrc*.

(8) Without Ó / Mac; with -ach

Surnames, without patronymic if the relevant surname has one, are also used with the preposition *ar in*, for example, *Cúlán atá air* ‘he is a *Cúlán*’. In this use surnames in *-ach*, genitive *-igh*, have been heard in the *-ach* form, e.g. *Flathartach a bhí air*.

12.24 Surnames in a Con

There generally is no change of the *a Con* element in the various cases, i.e. nominative, vocative, and genitive: *Seán, a Sheáin, Sheáin a Con Fhaola*. Note that following *cloinne* the *a* is absent, according to M:

klín'ə kə'nɪ:l̪ə d'ɛ:rhəx mid' n'ɪ:l' ə ə b'ih ɑ:n M

‘*Cloinne Con Fhaola*’ *a déarthadh muide, níl ‘a’ ar bith ann* (i.e. not **cloinne a Con Fhaola*).

Note also the usage exemplified in *Mac Uí Con Fhaola* in (5) above. Recall also that *cloinne* is used with these surnames, generally preceding *Con*, e.g. *bean* (etc.) *dhe chloinne Con Iomaire*. Following *cloinne*, however, *Con* can be absent, e.g.

is uaidh a shíolraigh go leor den Chloinne Raoi dá raibh thart SÓC2.280,

but usually **klín'ə kən ri:** *cloinne ‘ac Con Raoi*. In speaker **21Pt**’s usage *Con* is regularly absent in *bean* (etc.) *dhe chloinn(e) Iomaire*. (Also heard from another speaker whose name was not noted.) Speaker **21Pt** permits retention of *Con* here. Note his statement in discussing surname usage:

Tiúρθaidh tú ‘Mac Uí Con Iomaire’ ar ‘Chon Iomaire’. ‘Is Con Iomaire í sin’, ‘is bean dhe chloinn(e) Iomaire í’ **21Pt**.

12.25 Some noteworthy forenames, Christian names, etc.

Ábhall **ɑ:wəl** (Suda)**04B**, a hound’s name (apparently); also **ɑ:wəl** (Suda)**894Cs**; in tale named *Urchar Daill faoi Ábhall* involving *Oisín i ndiaidh na Féinne*.

Aibhistín: **ʃe:məs hjá:n’ ‘e’v ɪʃt’i:n’** **892M2407** *Séamas Sheáin Aibhistín ... ac Con Raoi*.

Aidhe Ó Chaiphtín ‘aí’o: **xæpt’i:n’** **04B**, ‘aí’o: ‘**xæpd’i:n’** **11C**, name of dog (traditional run).

Ainde (Andy): **p’i:p æn’ də wo:r’** **!05M** *píopa Ainde Mhóir*.

Ainscéalaí: character in tale. *té bhain a’ ceánn gon Ain-scéalaí* **870B1.510**.

Aisli(ng): **ma rug ... ni:w æ:ʃl’ə ni:w ɔ:m bæ:ʃt’ə** (MP)**04B**, this passage is in other sources: *mar a rug ... Naomh Sibéal (Sibéal) Naomh Eoin Baiste*.

Baib **bæ:b’ M**, *Baibín* **bæ:b’i:n’ M**, e.g. *Máire Bhaibín (Mhicil Sheáin)*, form of *Bairbre*.

Beagach: *Bhí fear in Árainn a dtugaidís a’ Bheagach air, fear mór millteach a bhí ann, choinic me héin e S*.

Bideach Bheairtle, more officially *Bríd Ní Chlochartaigh*.

Bidín Shéamais, from *Maínis*. Also *Bidín Phíotair*.

Bíúite **b’u:ʃə** (< beauty): *chomh gar agus chuaigh an taibhse dho Bhiúite* ARN7230.

Bóirne: *na Bóirne agus na Cumhail* **ku:l’ ... dá ainm ... agus chuir stad cogadh ar a chéile ... tháinic na Bóirne ...** **00Ttn**.

Brian ‘ac Lóbais, Seán an Chlófais: from the song *An tIolrach Mór*;

- gə x'una:l vr'ien ə klo:bəf** (l) d'ə fə:r ə xa^(h)l' ə wi: | !06C *dhe chineál Bhrian 'ac Lóbaís, dhe phór Chathail Bhuí;*
Thug mé sraoille leibideach, mac amadain is óinsí, cineál Sheáin an Chlófais agus pór Chathail Bhuí. k'ina:l x'a:n' ə 'xlo:fəf əgəs 'mo:r [sic] 'xahəl' 'wi:ə | !11C.
Briartach (< Muirheartach): Briartach 'ac Con Raoi ARN5808, Team Thomáis Sheáin Bhriartaigh ARN7097.
Céadach, Céadtach: an Céadach 866ESc61.17, Céadtach LL162.
Ceaití k'æ:ti: bád Shéamaisín Cheaití ARN8245.
Ceaitseóchaí k'æ:fo:xi: 32J (people from *Leitir a hArd*, perhaps *Éinniú*; drowned on *Tonn Uí Fhloinn*).
Ceatar: Peadar Ceatar Seoige 11C (native of An Caiseal).
Cnogaire krūgər'ə: dog's name in a traditional run 11C.
Cóile Mhichíl Shéamais ARN3579.
Cól, Jimí Chóilín Chól M, Cól Mhaitéis S.
Colm Cill koləm k'il' 892M, S (the saint).
Cumhail, cf. Bóirne above.
Cuileann: kil'an | 869P Cuileann, better known as *Culann*, owner of the famous hound in the Ulster cycle of tales.
Dábhais: gə glin:nəf ji: da:wəf ɔ:n ɔ:l !P go gclaonthadh sí Dábhais ón ól.
Dabhradán, an: ən daurəda:n, nū: si:r la:mpərd mak ba:n^driən il'a:n ɔr t'e:d (Smbb)04B *An Dabhradán, nó Saor Lampard mac banríon Oileán ar Téad*, tale title.
Dabhradánach, an: phós mac Rí in Éirinn, sé an t-ainm a bhí air, an Dabhradánach, ə daurəda:nəx 11Ctn.
Darach: Darach Mór Ó Cathasaigh, Cóilín Dharach 05C.
Deara (< 'Dara') də:rə.
Dearg Mór, (an): character in a Fenian lay. kolhə ɔgəs kim'ər'ək'ə ən d'er'əg' wə:r' 04B1 culaith agus coimirce an Deirg Mhóir, ə jærəg mo:r | wə:r' 04B1 a Dhearg M(h)ór!, mac le Dearg Mór mé, (Atm)11C.
Déidbhean: Character in rhyme: an Déid-bhean !870B1.
Diarmaid: Diarmaid agus Gráinne and genitive Dhiarmada agus Ghráinne > Diarmaid a Ghráinne 32J.
Dionachaí: Dionachaí Dee 7 Muirisí Fóid 894C9 (in old saying).
Dorcha: dorəxə bru:n !03Ct Dorcha Brún.
*Dú Dara: du: 'dærə ARN8284, Dú Dara du: 'darə Sheáin Thaidhg ARN3310. Perhaps fə:rək'in' ə yu dærə 11C5862, fə:rək'in wə dærə 892M5945 Phádraigín Dhú Dara, kol'in' fə:rək' wə dærə S Cóilín Phádraig Dhú Dara, also ... wə darə M, Pádraigín Dhú Dara pə:rək'in' wədærə 21J, ... x'a:n' wədærə 56Pe ... Sheáin Dhú Dara. Dú Dara is anglicised as 'Dudley' (cp. D. Ó Corráin and F. Maguire 1990 s.v. *Dubaltach*).*
Dúidín: Páraic Dúidín 897St (of Leitir Calaidh).
Eibhilín: local traditional pronunciation heard in Cartúr Eibhilín kartu:r ev'əl'in' 21C.
 This Christian name is now generally pronounced *ail'in'* (from Munster pronunciation).
Eoghan: ɔ:n ɔ: kaiin' | 11C Eoghan Ó Cadhain, m'ik'əl' ɔm' i: xai'n' | 11C Micil Eoghain Uí Chadhain.
Featha Can: from the Fenian tale Pálás na Coill Chaorthainn. f'æhə ka'n 892M (of the *Fianna*).
Feilipe: bhí Feilipí dhe mhuíntir Ghuairim. 21J.
Fiacna (< Fiachna): from the Fenian tale Pálás na Coill Chaorthainn. f'iaəknə 892M (of the *Fianna*).
Finíneach Fionn, an: nickname given to Fionn mac Cúil. gər wə:ʃt' mo:r'n'ə ɔrt ... ən f'in'in'əx f'u:n 04B1 gur bhaist Moirne ort ... an F~ F~.
Finnbheara, an: ə f'in'v'ærə 05M an Finnbheara ... máistir na síog.

Gearalta Fitzgerald **892M**, *Gearalta Chill Dara* **892M**. Perhaps originally a plural *Gearaltaigh* 'Fitzgeralds'.

Griabhar: in *mɑːr ə ɣr' iəvər* **36S** *Máire Ghriabhair*, *gr' iəvər* **36Sq**.

Guilean: *orsə ɡil'ən o:ɡ ... ə ɣil'ən' o:ɡ* (Lam)**04B** *arsa Guilean Óg*, '... a *Ghuilin Óg*.

Iabhra: see *Íobhaí*, following entry.

Íobhaí: *ʃeməs i:wɪ: kən ri:* *Séamas Íobhaí Con Raoi*. This *Séamas* was the great-grandfather of **35E**'s grandmother. *Íobhaí* is a pet form of *iəvrə* *Iabhra* (> *Maidhm Iabhra*) which is the local correspondent to English 'Ivor', according to **35E**. Cp. *Griabhar*. (The historical form is *Íomhar*. Perhaps *Íomha(i)r Con Raoi* > *Íobhaí Con Raoi* through influence of *Raoi*. But this leaves (lack of nasalisation and) *Iabhra* unexplained.) Cp. *íobhar* Clad152 'ivory'.

Jósaif: cf. *Seosa(i)f*.

Labhcás: *laukas fa:d'i:n'* *M Labhcás Pháidín*; *Labhcás a' Cúil* local poet.

Ládrámán Loirc: a character in traditional tale, corresponding to the well-known *Labhraidh Loingseach* of literature.

Lorcán: *Seáinín Lorcáin* ARN8062.

Mac, Maicín: *Mac Pheatsa(i)* ARN8001, 8067, *ʔi: 'wāk 'fa:rək' ... ʔi: wā'k ə wuəl'ədər* **06C** *tigh Mhac Phádraig ... tigh Mhac a bhuaileadar, Janaí Mhac* **892M**; *Máirtín an Mhac* **23B**; *ma:k/ma:k'i:n' ə bu:rk koləm ə v'i: er'* *S Mac I Maicín a Búrc, Colm a bhí air; Pádraig and Bríd Mhaicín S* (in *Tigh Mháirtín Saera*). *Jó Beag* (*Jó Mháirtín Bheairtle* was also called *Maicín S*.

Maccaí: synonymous with *Maicín*, *Sonáí*. *pa:rək'i:n' wə:ki:* *S Pádraigín Mhacaí*.

Mac Dara (local patron saint): genitive *Mhic Dara*. *i:hə nə f'e:l'ə v'ik' 'da:rə* **896P** *óiche na Féile Mhic Dara*, *la:l' v'ik' da:rə* **894C**, *la: l'ək' 'dæ:rə* **892M** *Lá Fhéil Mhic Dara; Cóilín Mhig Dara* (my **27C1**) son of *Mac Dara*.

Mac Duach (patron saint of *Cill Mhac Duach*): *ar choimrí Dé is Mhic Duach* **10B**.

Maidheaic: from the Fenian tale *Pálás na Coill Chaorthainn*; *maidæk'* **892M** (Viking); *Miadac* **852S**.

Máilse: *bean eile ... as Maínis a raibh Máilse uirthi ... a cuid bád féin aici ... Phós Máilse i Ruisgide* [*Ros Cíde, Ros Muc*], *agus is dá stiollúch cuid de Mhuintir Uelba atá ann anois*. *sóc1.82*; cp. LFRM s.v. *Máils* (e.g. *bád Mháils* (perhaps the same individual referred to in *sóc1.82*), also *Máilse*, i.e. *mal's ə*), form of *Máire*.

Máireog: *ma:r' o:ɡ* (lived in Dumhaigh Ithir) **06C**; *br' iən wa:r' o:ɡ* *S Brian Mháireog*, used by Seán as a by-name for me, unrelated to my mother's or any other relation's Christian name.

Manannán, *an Manannán*, *ma'nə:nə:n v'ik' lirk'* **04B1** *Manannán mhic Luirc*.

Márgan (< Morgan): *m' æ:rk'i:n' wa:rgən'i:n'* *Meaicín Mhárganín (Uí Laidhe)*.

Meachair: *Meachair a bhí air, e héin a chuir Meachair air héin deir siad is gur fhan Meachair ariamh air S, Team Mheachair M, ma:r't'i:n' v'æ:xər'* *S Máirtín Mheachair, nə m' æ:xər's, nə m' æ:xərs* *M na Meachairs*.

Meáirt(eannaí) *m' a:r't, m' a:r'təni:*; the latter heard in *m' a:r't v' a:r'təni:* **51M** *Meáirt Mheáirteannaí*.

Meatúsalam (biblical): cf. 14.

Méimín: *Méimín Pheadair S*.

Méine: *Bhí bean fadó anseo a ro' Méine Mhór ora, b'as taobh amuigh í S*.

Micileachaí: *Bhí fear eile i nGaillimh ro' ~ air* **03C**.

Míleadh: *ə ləɾəɡ ə 'v'i:n' v'i:l'i o:n spə:n'* **04B1** *a lorg an Bhinn-Mhílidh ón Spáinn* 'Oh descendant of fine Míleadh from Spain'.

Muireán: *rígh Muireán a' rópa* **RBÉ**.

Muirisí: *Dionachaí Dee 7 Muirisí Fóid* (in old saying)**894C9**.

Nábla: *Séamas Nábla a bhí air, Nábla an t-aínm a bhí ar a mháthair* ARN7453. Also *Nápla*.

Naois (< *Naoise*): *an Naois* **866ESc34, 35**.

- Neidhin* (< *Niamh*): **n'ain' ə xu:l' o:r'** 894Cs *Neidhin an Chúil Óir*.
Neileog: **br'i:ɔ̃ n'e'l'o:g** SM *Brid Neileog*.
Nuala: **nuələ n'i' wur'hi:n'** 11C *Nuala Ní Uaithnín* (poet).
Paid: **mak ɔ̃o: fa:d'** S *mac Jó Phaid*, **b'æ:n ɔ̃o: fa:d'** 56N *bean Jó Phaid*.
Paitse: **pa:ʃə 12J**, **ɔ̃o: fa:ʃə wo:r** 05M *Jó Phaitse Mhór*.
Paitseach: **ʃæ:mp'i:n' f'æ:ɔ̃i: fa:ʃəx** S *Seaimpín Pheaidí Phaitseach*, *Teamín Thomáis Phaitseach* ARN8588.
Peaits: **p'æ:ʃ wā:t'e:ʃ 18J**173 *Peaits Mhaitéis*. Also *Paits*, *Paitse*, *Paitseach*, (etc.).
Peatsa: *Peadar Pheatsa* ARN7242.
Peige: *Núra agus Peige M*.
Peigsa: **son f'ek'sə** *Son Pheigsa*, in plural **nə p'ek'səxi**: 27Cl *na Peigsachaí*.
Pin p'in' (< *Penelope*).
Pionsa Piolóid (for standard *Pointias Píoláit* also also *Píoláid*) in *A Rí ar tugadh breith ort faoi Phionsa Piolóid a dhuil trí bhás na Croiche* !869P6.
Pípi p'i:p'i: (apparently < *Penelope*).
Réitín, Ruaitín, also *Rítín, Ruaitín*: names of two animals in a traditional run 11Ct.
Riocard rukərd 899P, genitive **rukərd'**.
Rotha Mic / Mhic Sine (both *Mic* and *Mhic* are nominative) 869P4.
Rí Chrua an Iarainn: *tá trí bhuidéal, insa domhan thoir, a deir sí, ag inín Rí Chrua an Iarainn ri: xru: ən' iəɾəN' ... ag inín Rí Crua an Iarainn ri: kru: ən' iəɾəN' ...* 11Ctn.
Ruic: *Ruic a Búrc* (in saying) 894C9.
Saor (Sor) Lampard, cf. *an Dabhradán*.
Seánóg ʃəno:g S.
Seosa(i)ʃ: **ʃo:səf' ə kuələ:n'** 11C *Seosaif a Cualáin, Seosaif a Búrc* 11C2462, **ʃo:səf' o: ma'n'in'** 20Mlt *Seosaif Ó Mainchín, ʃo:səv' 21J, ɔ̃o:səv' o: ki:lə* 892M4651 *Jósaif Ó Caolaigh, ni:w' ɔ̃o:səv' !05M Naomh Jósaiv* now more often **ɔ̃o:səf' Jósaif**.
Seonac ʃunək M, gen id *Tomás Sheonac tūmā:s hjū:nək* 11Ct.
Síle: *Jó Shíle, Con Fhaola a bhí ansin é héin*.
Sisile: *Peatsa Mór Shisile Hanraoi Mhaitiais* s0C2.281.
Son: **son f'i:təɾ', maik'il' ə v'i: eɾ'** 03C *Son Phíotair, Maidhcil a bhí air, son f'ek'sə* *Son Pheigsa*. (Transcribed **sun** in original notes, **sun** is perhaps a by-form.)
Sonaí: **p'æ:t̥si: soni:** S *Peatsaí Sonáí*, whose father was **soni:** **ɔ̃o:si:** S *Sonaí Jósaí*; explained as **ma:k'in' e ʃin'** S '*Maicín' é sin; ... dhá mbeadh beirt ar aon ainm amháin*. (Transcribed **sun**i: in original notes, **sun**i: is perhaps a by-form.)
Steaiʃe ʃtæf'ə: *Steaiʃe Chúláin S, Seán Mháirtín Steaiʃe Cúláin* 35E, *Steaiʃe Seoige* 35E. Form of 'Stephen'.
Teamannaí (sg): **markəs waik' ʃa:məni:** S *Marcas Mhaidhc Teamannaí; ó chlann Éamann Teamannach* ARN8586.
Teónaí (Tony): **ʃu:nə fa:rək' i: ʃi:rə** S *Teóna Phádraig Uí Ghaora* (deceased); **ʃo:ni: n ai:l'ə:n'** S *Teónaí an fhaoileáin* (Ros Muc) (I also recall *Teónaí chac an fhaoileáin*); used as by-name by S, e.g. **hə'l' o: ʃu:nə** S *Heileo Teóna* (addressing B6C).
Tréan Mór, attested in genitive: *Fionn mhac Cúil mhac Cormaic mac Airt mac Tréin Mhóir Uí Bhaoisne mak 'tr'e:n' 'wo:r' i: 'wi:ʃN'ə | (Asc)11C*, also *mac Tréan Mhór Uí Bhaoisne māk tr'ē:n wo:r i: wi:ʃN'ə* 852S. From the inflection and stress it seems best to interpret *Tréin Mhóir* as {proper noun + adjective} rather than compound genitive of the historical nominative *Tréammhór* (e.g. *Tréan-mhór*, genitive in *Clann Tré[a]nmhóir*, G. Murphy 1953: 391, 352).
Váitéar: **wat'er** 56N (in genitive position, following son's name, without genitive inflection).

Place-names

12.26 Shortening of longer place-names

Longer place-names can have shortened variants. Most shortened by-forms contain the article, with the exception of *Loch Scainbh* > *Scainbh*. Cp. Cp. West Conamara *na buachaillí as Searc* (i.e. *Innis Airc* ‘Inishshark’) cited in *uí Ógáin* (2002: 535). In Place-names of the form Head + Genitive there are examples of the Genitive word being dropped, e.g. *Cuainín na Smaol* is often abbreviated to *An Cuainín*; *An Ceann* for *Ceann Léime*. Cp. *An Aird* also known as *Aird an Chaisleáin*. A qualifying adjective *Mairbh* is commonly dropped in names containing the attributive noun-phrase *an Duine Mhairbh*, e.g. *Garraí an Duine*, (less commonly) *Garraí an Duine Mhairbh*; *Binn an Duine* Rob.92; *Loch an Duine* Rob.93. There are also examples of the Head element of the place-name being dropped. *Scainbh* alternates with *Loch Scainbh*, e.g. *thiar ag Scainbh ... Loch Scainbh* 899P. *An Gorm* is also *Maidhm Gorm* (*Ghorm* ?) according to speaker 12S. In one passage 21Pt (tSc5) has:

er' wi:m' v' æ:ri:, er' ə m' æ:ri:, ə v' æ:ri:
ar *Mhaidhm Bhearaí*, ar an *mBhearaí*, an *Bhearaí*.

Cf. *Maidhc Shiúbháine Bhig* (12.27). Compare also in 21Pt (tSc5):

eg' kar:əg' ə m' æ:kən, eg' ə ga:rəg'
ag *Carraig a Meacan*, ag an *gCarraig*.

Similarly, *thoir ag an*, *tá fhios a'd an u-*, *an*, *Gheabhróg*, *thoir ag Oileán na Geabhróige ansin* ARN7959, *Oileán na nGeabhróg* Rob.130; so also *Giúróg* or *Oileán na nGiúróg* Rob.79 in *Innis Nia*. The article is variable or optional in (*An*) *Aill D(h)ubh*, (*An*) *Caisín* (*Cuan Chaisín*), (*An*) *Caladh Mór*, (*An*) *Daingean*.

The forms *Trá Charraig na bPortán*, *Trá Bhoilgeach*, and *Trách Bolg* (all three of which most likely correctly refer to the beach opposite *Carraig na bPortán*) suggest that *Trách* in this instance may derive by metanalysis from *Trá Ch-*, although a reflex of older *trácht* ‘strand’ is also a possibility.

Two plurals are noteworthy:

na hAirdeannaí (< *an Aird* (*Thoir* / *Thiar*));
na hÁrainneachaí (all three islands of Aran < *Árainn*).

12.27 List of selected place-names

A list of some local and non-local place-names (noted more or less at random during the course of this study) is presented here.¹

Ábhach, an, ən *ɑ:wəx*, Most precipitous part of the south face of Cnoc Mordáin in Coill Sáile (cf. *Cloch Ábhach* Rob.90). *Y e fa:nə nə ha:wi: 34M le fána na hÁbhaí*.

Acra (na Scoile), *Acra na Scoile*, *an Acra S*, name given to the school-yard (*gheáird na scoile*) in Carna.

Aill an Phórtair, In Cruaich na Cara, ARN7557.

Aill Bhán, an, In Cruaich na Cara. *Ar an Aill Bhán* ARN7559.

¹ Cf. Robinson (1990, 2002), Hartmann et al. (1996: 298–310), S. Mac an Iomaire (2000: 178–80). For some townlands in Cois Fharráige, see de Bhaldraithe (1943) and Ó Con Cheanainn (1970–1). For one townland in Erris, Co. Mayo, see S. Ó Catháin and P. O’Flanagan (1975), also, with some additional townlands, S. Ó Catháin and C. Uí Sheighin (1987: 111–24); cp. Carloway, Isle of Lewis (Cox 2002).

- Aill Dá bhFionn**, **ɑ:l dɑ: v'ĩ:n 11P, 18J**; **Aill an Dá bhFiann**, **ɑ:l ə dɑ: v'ĩ:ən 27Mdq**,
On shore of Leitir hArd. Transcribed as *Aill dá bhFia* **18J**7914, 7982, *Aill an dá Bhinn* (?) Rob.95.
- Aill Dubh, an**, In Maínis, **20Pá**.
- Aille, an**, In Cuainín na Smaol, south of main road, west of minor road, in Maínis. *Thiar ar an Aille* **60M**.
- Aill Eachrais**, **ɑ:l æxɾəf 56Pe**, In Roisín na Mainchíoch. Cp. *Céibh Aill Eachrois* Rob.99.
- Aill Eoghain**, **ɑ:l o:n'**, South of OILEÁN LACHAN. *Bhíodh muid amach ar Aill Eoghain ... tá sí an taobh ó dheas dh'Oileán Lachan. 896P* (cutting strapwrack, *coirleach*).
- Aill Mhór Ghleannán**, *Aill Mhór Ghlionnán* Rob.94.
- Aill na Món**, **ɑ:l(ˈ) nə mu:n, 19B** (Doire an Locháin), **60M**, Beside TRÁ AN URLÁIR in Maínis. (Perhaps originally *Aill na Móna* (from peat beneath strand here.)
- Aill na nÉan**, **eg' ɑ:l nə n'ɛ:n 16P** *ag Aill na nÉan*, Rob.79.
- Aill Sheachnais**, **ɑ:l hæ:xnəf 10B**, In An Meall Rua, Maínis.
- Aircín Thoir**, (an t-) **32J**, In An Meall Rua, Maínis.
- Aird, an**, **ən ɑ:rd'**, gen **nə hɑ:rd'ə**, *san Aird* S. Differentiated into *An Aird Thoir* and *An Aird Thiar* which can be referred to collectively in the singular, dual or plural, e.g. ... **N'iar æs nə hɑ:rd'əni**: S ... *aniar as na hAirdannaí. Istigh i Loch na gCaor, eidir an dá Aird.* ARN5056. *Tháinig Maitiú agus a dhreathárrachaí ... a chónaí don dá Áird.* SÓC2.282.
- Áithe na Graí**, **ɑ:hə nə grai 35E**, In Roisín na Mainchíoch.
- Alba(i)n**, Scotland. **er' ha'lhə a'ləbən' 869P** *ar thalamh Albain ... ar thalamh Albain ... ar thalamh Albain ... shulá bhfága tú Albain ... in Albain. kũmpəni' æ's a:ləbən 894Cs* *cumpanaí as Alban ... tá cumpanaí Alban ... muintir Alban.*
- Amadán, an t-, n ta:məda:n** S, Wave.
- Árainn**, gen *Árann*, Aran island known in English as 'Inishmore', and also called *Innis Mór* (not in traditional local usage of Iorras Aithneach). Also all three Aran Islands collectively. *Nuair nach bhféadthá breathú ar Árainn, ach é fheiceál uait, as cíonn an Chím. 889P. Craiceann canbháis (ag muintir Árainn) 46.1092. Na hÁrainneachaí*, all three Aran Islands, *tao' muigh dhe na hÁrainneachaí* ARN7006; also *Oileáin Árainn*, e.g. *a bhí chomh mór le cheann [sic, slip] a bith dh'Oileáin Árainn. 11C3049.*
- Árainn Bheag**, Fabulous island west of Árainn, Ó Con Cheanainn (2002: 222–4 et passim; cf. D. Ó hÓgáin 1999: 249–50) also Sc288–92.
- Árainn Mhóir**, Inishmore (An tOileán Mór, cf. ÁRAINN; also spelt 'Arenmore' and called 'the greatae Iland of Aren' (Freeman 1936: 56, 60f, 63)). *Ach ba bhinne bád Janaí ag goil farraigí Árainn Mhóir !NUath11C.*
- Ardán, an t-,** In Maínis, S.
- Ard an Bheairic**, In Carna, **52J, 60M**.
- Ard an Phosta**, North of the main T-junction in Maínis, **52J, 60M**.
- Ard na gCadhan**, West of CASADH VEAIL in Maínis.
- Ard Sceallán**, **ɑ:rdʃk'ulɑ:n 60M**, In CUAINÍN NA SMAOL in Maínis, **60M**.
- Ardtrá, an; Ardthrá, an, n 'ɑ:rd,tra' ~ n 'ɑ:rd,hra: 21J**, Soft strand on northern point of Fínis. (Because of the soft wet sand, one feels one is walking against a slope on this strand before reaching Fínis proper, hence *Ard-*, according to **21J**.)
- Atanraidhe**, Athenry, East Galway. *Go hAtanraidhe* 'a long distance'. **xir' hən' bin'əx gə hætən'rai** S *chuirthinn buinneach go hAtanraidhe*. Cp. BAILE ÁTHA AN RÍ.
- Athlónadh, an, ən 'æ:l' hĩ:nə 32Jt**, Promontory in shore in An Meall Rua, Maínis.
- Bád Mhainse**, In Carna. **'kra:s,wə:hər wɑ:d wĩ:nʃə** S(?) *crasbhóthar Bhád Mhainse.*
- Bád Tin, an, əm bɑ: tĩn'**, Small area south of the main road and east of the minor road leading to CUAINÍN NA SMAOL in Maínis. (From piece of tin or sheet metal once left there, most recently used as a stopgap in field wall.)

- Baile an Gharraí Mhóir**, *ba'ə ɣa:ri: wo:r' 21C*, In An Meall Rua, Maínis. (Named from An Garraí Mór, field at eastern end of by-road in central An Meall Rua, **21C**.)
- Baile Átha an Rí, Bleá'n Rí, bl'ɑ: n ri:** M, Athenry, East Galway. Cp. ATANRAIDHE.
- Baile Átha Cliath, Bleá Cliath**, Dublin. *Go baile Bhlá (sic) Cliath 875T1*; cp. *baile Bhleá Cliath* reported from Corca Dhuibhne, Co. Kerry (Mac Mathúna 2002: 144).
- Baile Loch Riach, Baile Locha Riain**, Loughrea, East Galway. *ba'ə lox riəx 11C5723*. *Ghár ab liomsa Port Úmna 'gus Baile Locha Riain [sic] !03C CABI §70(b) v. 3*.
- Baile na Críthín**, *n'í fɑ:g-f'ər g e:n xri:v xi:rhən' o xai'l' wal nə kr' i:hən' nax ə m'ei eg' ɣæds ə wal' ə d' i:nə dʒɑ:i'* (Acs)**04B**
ní fágfear dh'aon chraobh chaorthainn ó choill Bhaile na Críthín nach mbeidh ag leaids an bhaile ag déanamh jái.
- Baile Uí Bheacháin, Baile Uí Bhiacháin**, Ballyvaughan, Co. Clare. Commonly *ba'ɪ i: v' iəxɑ:n'* also *ba'ɪ i: iəxɑ:n'* **899P**.
- Balla an Deoráí**, Ruin in Cruaich na Caoile, ARN7642; given as *Balla an Dithreabhaigh* [recte *Díthreabhaigh*] Rob.98.
- Balla an Ghearráin, ba:lə jurɑ:n', In Fiocharnaigh, Maínis. *Balla amach ar aghaidh sciobóil Pheaitín (Vuilliam) i Maínis M.***
- Balla Leailí, ba'lə ɣæ:l'i:** **899P** (< Lally), A *stáid* (small pier) across from Céibh an Dóilín, Loch Con Aortha. This (*Balla Leailí*) is perhaps *Céibh Aill na dTornóg* Rob.96.
- Balla na Ceártan**, Between *tigh Mhaidhcil Pheadairín* and *tigh Sheáin* in Fiocharnaigh, Maínis, SM.
- Balla na Stíleach, ba:lə nə st'i:l' əx**, Once a stillhouse, later a barn, now a ruin in **19P**'s land in Fiocharnaigh, Maínis, SM, P.
- Balla Rainilí** (perhaps **Grainilí**) **899P**, Apparently near Loch Scainbh, Roisín na Mainchíoch and Caladh Fhínse.
- Ballasta, an, ə baləstə, ə balhəstə**, Reef in Cuan Chill Chiaráin (Kilkieran Bay). *Ar an mBallasta 31D*.
- Barr Aille, ba:r æ:l' ə 60M**, South of Céibh an Bhéaraigh in Cartúr, Maínis.
- Barr na gCrompán**, Rob.80.
- Barr na nÓrán**, North of Baile na hInse, Rob.70.
- Beainc Ghriúánach, an**, Bank in Cuan Chill Chiaráin (Kilkieran Bay). *Goil síos ar Bheainc Inse Ghainimh ansin aríst, ar an mBeainc Ghriúánach muiríní móra agus dath dearg atá orub sin. 35E*.
- Beainc Inse Ghainimh**, Scallop bank near Inse Ghainimh, Cuan Chill Chiaráin (Kilkieran Bay), **31P, 35E**.
- Bealach an Chinn**, Sound between An Ceann Ramhar, Innis Nia, and, to the east, Leitir hArd, Iorras Aithneach. *Go raibheadar thuas i mBealach an Chinn — an seainil atá eidir pobal Chloch na Rún agus pobal Charna. 892M2785*.
- Bealach an Cholbha**, Sound between Cruaich na Caoile and An tOileán Beag (Oileán na Cruaiche Beag, Rob, Map).
- Bealach an Doirín, æs b' æ:ləx ə dor' i:n'** SM as *Bealach an Doirín*. Ballagherreen, Co. Roscommon.
- Bealach an Drú, 20C** (location not known by speaker).
- Bealach Mhíchíl 'ic Eoghain**, Channel (and reef) at SCEIRDE. *Eidir an taobh thiar dhe Sceirde agus an mullán atá tao' thiar dhe tugann siad Bealach Mhíchíl 'ic Eoghain air. b' æ:ləx v' iñi:l' ə k' o:n' er' 892M, ... sin eidir an dá Sceirde, Sceirde Beag is Sceirde Mór, agus ní r' ann a deir siad ach leithead an bháid. 06C*.
- Bealach na Léime**, Sound east of Ceann Léime (Slyne Head) lighthouse, comprising three smaller sounds known as **Bealaí na Léime**. ARN7853–62. Also heard as *Bealach a' Léime 20C*. Found in the saying: *skru:d tu: m'e: mar ə skru:d ə ma:k ə tæhər' ə goɫ' b' æ:l'i nə ɫ' e:m' ə 04B scrúd tú mé mar a scrúd an mac an t-athair ag goil Bealaí na Léime*.

- Bealach na Srathra**, (also **Bealach na Srathar 60M**, **Bealach na Srathrach** Rob.97), Sound between Maínis and an tOileán Máisean. *A' dul soir Bealach na Srathra* Clad169.
- Bealach Oileán Aimhreide**, Sound between Oileán Aimhreide and an tOileán Máisean.
- Béal an Átha Fada**, *b' eil an á: fa'də 11C*, Rob.69.
- Béal Feirste**, Belfast. *næ:k'ə v'e:l' f'erj'tə 892M* in *aice Bhéil Feirste*.
- Beanna Beola, na**, The Twelve Pins. *I mullach Chruc [an ?] Bheanna Beola a bheidís* ARN8356.
- Bearchair**, *b'æræxər'*, Perhaps for INNIS BEARCHAIN or *Beannchar* (Derry, Offaly; Bangor, Co. Down; cf. *Beanachair* FFG24), in *Shiúil mé Bearchair, a deir sé, dhá bhruach Loch Éirne, mainistir bhred le tá i gCill Chaoi* (SGuair)11C.
- Beatraí, an**, (< battery (*cloch*)), In Fiocharnaigh, Maínis. *Thíos ag an mBeatraí, ceann an Bheatraí 20Pá*.
- Beirteach Bhuí, an**, M, Bertraghboy (oyster bed, bay). Also **an Bheirtreach**, e.g. *D'fhága sí an Bheirtreach ar maidin go moch Déardaoin* !(NUath)11C. Also *Cuan na Beirtrí Buí*.
- Binn Bhuí, 23M**, *Ar mhullach na Binne Buí 21Pt*. *Binn Bhuí* Rob Map (Cill Chiaráin).
- Binn Éadair, Binn Éadain**, less often **Beann Éadain**, Howth, Co. Dublin. *er' v'i:n' e:dən' v'ik' e:f'ən' v'ik' ā'vli' | (Asc)n 11C* *ar Bhinn Éadain mhic Éifinn mhic Amhlaoidh, ə m'ɑ:n e:dən' 11Ct* *i mBeann Éadain*.
- Bior, b'or**, Island south of An Aird Mhóir. Also *Oileán Bheara*.
- Biorán, b'urɑ:n**, *Bhíodh muide amach ar Aill Eoghain, 'gus áit eile dtugaidís Biorán air, 'gus tao' thiar dh'Oileán Lachan. 896P* (cutting strapwrack, *coirleach*).
- Boifinn, (an); Innis Boifinn**, Inishbofin. *Gurb in é an chaoi ar éirigh Boifinn 892M3054. tæ: m bif'ən' fin: ti:n' !Pt tá an Boifinn faoin toinn; i mBoifinn ... tháinigeadar go Boifinn 11C. i:n' əf' bɒf'ən' Innis Boifinn*.
- Bóithrín an Chroinn Mhóir**, Road at An Crann Mór in Maínis, **32J**.
- Bóithrín an Gharraí Mhóir**, Road in Maínis, **32J**.
- Bóithrín na Puití, 79St**, Road on north edge of Loch Bhun an Chluife between An Aird Thiar and Dumhaigh Ithir.
- Bolg Beag, an**, West of Cruaich na Caoile, Rob.91 (*Boilg Bheag*). *Ar an mBolg Beag 15Pr*.
- Bolg Mór, an**, West of Cruaich na Caoile, Rob.91 (*Boilg Mhór*). *Siar ag an mBolg Mór 16P*.
- Bóthar Loch an Ghadaí, 21J**, At TOIM BEOLA. Also known as **Bóthar an Aicearra, 21J**.
- Bóthar Loch an tSáile**, In Galway city. ARN7272.
- Bóthar na Dreanthaí, bo:hər nə dr'æ:nhɪ: P**.
- Bóthar na gCreaga (Móra), bo:hər nə gr'æ:gə mo:rə 20C**, Clifden road north of Roundstone.
- Bóthar na mBriogadán, bo:r nə mr'ugəda:n (20M's brother)**, Road east of Gabhla.
- Bóthar Veail Sheáin, bo:hər v'æ:l' x'ɑ:n' ə hugəd'i:f' er' bo:hər ə xruk bi: S** *Bóthar Veail Sheáin a thugaidís air*, [now generally] *bóthar an Chnoc Buí*. Knockboy road.
- Brandáin, na, nə brandɑ:n' S; Breandán, an, ə br'ændɑ:n 35E**, Brandon, Co. Kerry. *Muintir Bhrandáin Clad171. Is fada an lá nach bhfaca mé na Brandáin chomh follasach Clad169. I gCaltha an Bhreandáin 35E, ó thuaidh dhen Bhreandán 35E*.
- Breandán Mór, an**, Brandon (Head ?), Co. Kerry. *hɪ:mpəl ə vr'andɑ:n' mo:r 35E* *thimpeall an Bhreandáin Mór*.
- Brocaigh, an**, In Cill Chiaráin. *Tá áit i gCill Chiaráin: a' Broca' [sic] S. An Bhrocach* Rob.89.
- Bruach Dubh, an**, (At sea) *Tao' thiar dhe na Foiriúin, sa mBruach Dubh 21Pt*.
- Bun an tSrutháin, bun ə truhɑ:n' 23Jt**.
- Bun Dorcha**, On *An Caoláire Rua* (Bundorragha, northern shore of Killary Harbour). In the pun: *-Raibh múirín ann? a d'fhiathraigh fear dhe [asked of man urinating]. -Ó! a deir se, múirín as bun dorcha S.*

- Cacalóid Bhiorach**, Rock in Aird Bay north-east of Portach Mhaínse. (There are two rocks named *Cacalóid* in Cuan na hAird (Aird Bay): one opposite Portach Mhaínse, another east of Cora na Rón. *cacalóid* means 'broad and low [person or object]'. From nickname of large men in the vicinity. (Information from **27Cb**.) *Cacalóid Bhiorach* is named from the nickname of people from vicinity, who, the story goes, used always inadvertently strike the rock with their boat, earlier known as *Carraig Leath Tuile*. (Information from **47Ps**.) Cp. ('sé) *cacalóid athair na bródaí* CABI §563(a) v. 1, (c) v. 3). Cp. (in the same bay) *An Chocolóid Leathan* **879B**DT86 (father of **27Cb**). Cp. *camalóid*.
- Caisín, an**, also **Caisín**, Bay near Leitir Calaidh. *Sa gCaisín* **31Dt**, *Caisín* **31Dt**, *go Caisín ... thall i gCaisín* **23Jt**.
- Caladh an Aifrinn**, In North-West Maínis, Rob.97.
- Caladh an Bháid, ka'lhə wə:ɸ** **892M**, In Dumhaigh Ithir.
- Caladh Fhíne, kalhə wi:nfə** generally, **kalhə wi:nfə** **892M**4651; Rob.88.
- Caladh Mór, (an), (ə) kalhə mɔ:r**, *Ar an gCaladh Mór* **16P**. *I dtír un an Chaladh Mhóir* **16P**. *Thoir ag Caladh Mór ... soir le Caladh Mór* **11P**.
- Caladh Shíobháine Buí, kalhə x'ʉ:ɹn'ə bi:** P, On the shore to the north of the larger lake in Maínis.
- Campainn**; also **Crampainn, an, ə xɹampən'** **27Md**; also **Maidhm Crampainn**, Wave near Ceann Mása. *Maidhm ... amach ó Cheann Mása, dtugann siad Campainn air.* **892M**.
- Caoláire, an**, also **Caoláire na Gaillimhe**, Galway Bay. Note the absence of the article in: *í seo i lár Caoláire ina staic* ARN7086.
- Caorán Charna**, Highest point in Carna, south of BÁD MHAÍNSE.
- Caorán Mhaínse**, Highest point in Maínis. Also known as DROIM NA GCROTACH.
- Caorán Mór, an**, In Maoras **15Pr**.
- Caorán na mBuachaillí**, In Maoras, also known as TALAMH CHORMACÁIN, **15Pr**.
- Cara, an**, In An Aird Mhóir.
- Cara an Ghearráin, ka:rə jurə:n'**, Location not known, used in set phrase. *Ba chuma liomsa gá nagabhthad se go Cara an Ghearráin S* '... if it went very far east'.
- Cara Mhóir, an**, The causeway from An Crompán into Maínis. *Amach a' Chara Mhóir S*. Robinson (2002: 69–72).
- Cara Oileán an Bhromaigh**, In An Leath-Mhás.
- Carcair, an**, *An Charcair*, Path through gardens where a large piece of bog oak (*carcair giúsaí* S) was used as a stopgap. (In Seán's (**12S**) home holding in Carna.)
- Carraig a Meacan, ka'rəg' ə m'ækən** **01J**, **21Pt**, **31P**, Rock south of INNIS MÚSCRAÍ, Rob.128. Also *siar ag an gCarraig* **21Pt**.
- Carraig Á Mhiú, karəg' ʉ: v' u:**, South of An tOileán Máisean, Rob.98. *Bhíod sé lá eile i gCarraig Á Mhiú* ARN7835.
- Carraig a Míle, ka'rəg' ə m'i:l'ə** generally, including **892M**, but also **ka'rəg' m'i:l'ə** **892M**, West of Cruaich na Caoile.
- Carraig an Chomair**, Rock off Coill Sáile, Rob.90. *Thóig muide muiríní ... anuas ó Charraig an Chomair ansin, amach ó Choill Sáile* **31P**.
- Carraig an Ghunna**, Rock south of Maínis **08B**.
- Carraig Chearc**, Rob.57 (*Carraig Cearc*). *Tá carraig thiar, ar, thalthamh Iorraís Mhóir, a dtugann siad Carraig Chearc ortha.* **11C**.
- Carraig Fhada mhic Eoghain, ka'rəg' 'ædə v' i 'k' o: 'h' n'** **11C**st, cf. TEAMPALL RÓNÁIN.
- Carraig Iolraigh, an, ə xa:rəg' olrə** **01J** *an Charraig Iolraigh*, Rock west of CEANN GÚLAIM. *Carraig Iolra* Rob.128.
- [**Carraig Liath, an**], *Ón gCarraig Léith* **894C3**.
- Carraig Mánas, Siar faoi Charraig Mánas** **18J**7101 (near Sceirde ARNII, p. 301).
- Carraig Mhór, an**, On shore of Roisín an Chalaigh, facing Oileán na Cara, **60M**.
- Carraig Moilt, ka'rəg' mi:l'** **47Ps**, Cp. *Oileán Moilt* south of Roundstone, Rob.79.
- Carraig na Blaoithe, ka'rəg' nə bli:hə P**, also **Carraig na Blao** **60M**. In Tóin an Roisín, Maínis, Rob.97.

- Carraig na bPortán**, also **Carraig na bPortáin 60M**, In bay east of Maínis.
Carraig na hAilte, ka'ræg' nã hail'ã (nearest to Árainn) **01J**.
Carraig na hIfreann, ka'ræg' nã hefr'ãn 21Pt (An Aird Mhóir), Cp. *Tobar na nIfearnán* and *An Ifearnáin* Rob.87.
Carraig na mBan, Rob.97, In sea on southern coast of Maínis.
Carraig na nDuibhéan, Rob.94.
Carraig Ó Loinscigh, ka'ræg' a' lĩ:nʃk'ã 11C (unless actually *Carraig dhá Ghlinisce*), *An bhfuil coirleach ar Charraig Ó Loinscigh? 11C*. Cp. *Carraig an Ghloinigh* Rob.94.
Carraig Risteaird Uí Laidhe, ka'ræg' haultã ARN1603, Possibly < *Carraig Chabhaltaigh*, cf. Rob.79.
Carraig Thomáis 'ac Réamainn, Off An Más. *Tá mullán i mBéal an Mhása a dtugtar Carraig Thomáis 'ac Réamainn air*. SÓC2.284.
Carraig Uí Chaolaigh, North-east of Cruaich na Cara. *Bhíodar ag goil síos eidir dhá Charraig Uí Chaolaigh* ARN7825.
Cartúr Eibhilín, kartur: ev'ãl'i:n' 21C, West of TRÁ AN MHEILL RUA in Maínis.
Casadh Veail, Sharp right-angled turn in road north of school in Maínis. Named after the man who once lived above this bend, in living memory.
Cathair na Roinn, In Fenian lay: **brunãm' ort ərʃ, or ʃeʃən, f'æ:rən f'iar o: xahər' nã ri:n' gə f'ãl nã mart**, (Lam) **04B** 'Bronnaim ort,' ar seisean, 'fearann fíor ó Chathair na Roinn go Feall na Mart'.
Ceainideá, Canada. Also nickname used by Fínis people referring to their bogs in far west. Roisín na Mainchíoch, in reference to cold and wind in contrast with milder Fínis.
Ceann an Chlaí Mhóir, Seaward end of An Cláí Mór on east coast of Maínis.
Ceann Bóirne, Black Head, Co. Clare. **fjar' ʎe k'ã:n bo:r'n'ã** !Pt *siar le Ceann Bóirne*. Also **k'ã:n bo:lãn'ã** (Asc) **10B**.
Ceann Gúlaím, Golam Head, LEITIR MEALLÁIN (Lettermullan). *Ceánn Gólaim* (in note, perhaps (transcribed) following **894C**'s pronunciation), *Ceann Gúlam* !**894C9**, ar an gcósta ó Cheann Léime go Ceann Gúlaím **11C**.
Ceann Léime, Slyne Head. *Ní raibh ó Cheann Léime go Cárna aon fhear chomh maith leis S, agus cuireadh thair an gCeann iad **11C**.
Ceann Mása, In an Más.
Ceann Ramhar, an, Southern part of Innis Nia. *Ar an gCeann Ramhar* ARN3141, ar ghob an Chinn Ramhar **18J7973**.
Ceannúir, k'æ:nu:r' 36S, Canower, south-west of An Caiseal (Cashel). *Tá Cúlánaí thuas i gCeannúir i gcúnaí **11C**.
Ceathrú Rua, an, Carraroe, gen *muintir na Ceathrún Rua* **35E7561**, na *Ceathrún Ruaí*.
Céibh an Bhéaraigh, k'e:v'ã v'e:rhã, In East Maínis. (Pier said to be named after its builder James Berry, local descendants known as Berrys. **60M**.)
Céibh an Phortaigh, In North-West Maínis, main pier.
Céibh Bhairéad, Rob.94, in Leitir hArd.
Céibh Bhéal Chara, In Leitir hArd, opposite Innis Troigh.
Céibh na Dólainne, 32J, On largest beach in An Meall Rua, South-East Maínis.
Céibh na Troscainn, 32J, In Maínis west of Portach Mhaínse.
Céibh Sheachnais, k'e:v' hæ:xnəʃ 10B, In An Meall Rua, Maínis.
Cill Bhríde, k'i:l' vr'i:d'ã 11Cst, cf. TEAMPALL RÓNÁIN.
Cill Chaoi, k'i:l' xi:, Kilkee, Co. Clare. *Mainistir bhreá le tá i gCill Chaoi* ! (SGuair) **11C**.
Cill Cuimín, ã g'i:l' kim'i:n' 03C i *gCill Cuimín*. Cp. *Cill Chuimín* (Kilcummin), Co Kerry.
Cill Rónáin, k'il ru:nã:n' !(NUath)11C, Kilonan, Árainn (Aran).
Cimín, an, Plot of land in Glinsce S.
Cláí Mór, an, The wall and area separating AN CLÓBHAR from the rest of Maínis. *Tao' thuas gon Chlaí Mór* S, **10B**.
Clóbhhar, an, (< clover), Area of fine land south of ROINN MHEADHGLAIS, in An Meall Rua, Maínis. *Sé an 'crowbar brigade' a fuair a' Clóbhhar sa Meall Rua* S.**

- Cloch an Mhíle**, M.
- Cloch an Taibhslinn**, klox ə taivʃlʲənʲ 64Ct.
- Cloch**, an, (At sea) *Siar leis an gClochar ... le Leac an Chlochair* 21Pt.
- Cloch an Tobair**, also ə xloxərʲ 32J an *Chlochair*, Rocky promontory south of CÉIBH NA DÓLAINNE, where Tobar Cholm Cille is situated.
- Cloch** **Mháire Ní Ghríofa**, In An Aird Thoir, at the shore. Named after speaker 05M's grandmother who owned the land on which this feature stands (05M).
- Cloch** **Mharcais Mhóir**, In An Aird Thoir, ARN8263.
- Cloch** **na Salach**, At western headland between Cuainín na Smaol and An Sáilín in Maínis, near *tigh Thaidhg Jó Bhairbre* (25T). *hiər eg kloxər nə sa:ləx P thiar ag Clochar na Salach, N'i:l' e:n a:t' əN' iər o' xloxər nə sa:ləx ... P níl aon áit aniar ó Chloch na Salach ...*. Also **Cloch** **na Salóg** 60M.
- Cloch** **na Síóg**, At Maoras beach, 15Pr.
- Cloch Eoghain Uí Chadhain**, klox o:n' i: xain' 32J, At AN CRANN MÓR, Maínis.
- Cloch** **na Rón**, also **Cloch Rón**, an, also **Clo(i)ch Rónta**, **Cloch** **na Róin**, Roundstone. *Gon Chloch Rún; i mbaile na Cloch Rún; i bpuráiste na Cloch' Rón; i bpobal na Cloch Rún; also i bpobal Roundstone*, all in 869P2–5. *I Roundstone, i gCloich Rónta glo runta* 01C6348; ə glox nə rún' 06C i *gCloch na Róin*. Spelt 'Clochronta' in S. Ridge (1969: 91, 94).
- Cluain Aidhl**, k'e:v' xlū:n' ail' huəs 06C *céibh Chluain Aidhl thuas, kru:n ail' 20M, 20MI. Cluain Aidhle*; Cloonisle Rob.73.
- Cluain Beag**, klū:n b'og [sic] 06C. Rob.73. *Bhí an traein ag tíocht go Cluain Beag an t-am sin* 06C.
- Cluain Tarbh**, klū:n tær'ur 892M3124, In Dublin.
- Cnocáin Bhreaca**, na, Cp. *an Cnoc Breac* Rob.93. *Theighidís amach go dtí na Cnocáin Bhreaca agus amach faoi, Cnoc Ghlinisce, Glaise Bharr 's na háiteachaí sin, agus nádís bráca ...* 06C (context: *ar buaile*).
- Cnocán an Bhodaigh**, kruk:a:n ə wodə 18J, North-east of An Aird Mhóir (in GLEANNÁN (*Glionnán*), Rob.94). *Thoir i gCnocán an Bhodaigh* 18J8888. Cp. Robinson (2002: 29–30); *Cnocán na mBuachaillí* Rob.89.
- Cnocán Bheithean(aí)**, kruk:a:n v'ehən / v'ehəni: 45M, In Roisín an Bholgán (Rob.98). *Beithean(aí)* is taken by speaker 45M to be a personal name. (If so, it may represent Mahony or Brehany. Cp. the biblical place-name Bethany. Perhaps related to *beith* FGB 'birch'.)
- Cnocán Raithní**, On the eastern-most part of BIOR, 21Pt.
- Cnocán Ruaidí**, kruk:a:n ruədi:, In Cuainín na Smaol, Maínis.
- Cnocán Sheachnais**, In Maínis (on Máire's holding).
- Cnoc Bolb**, knük boləb 892M5793, Benbulben, Co. Sligo.
- Cnoc Ghlinisce**, kruk [ɣ'ʲ] inʃk' ə 06C, In Glinsce, Rob.93.
- Cnoc Mordáin**, Rob.96. xi'n' o:t' ʃi: f'æx ə gruk maurdə:n' M *choinmeodh sí teach i gCnoc Mordáin* (of good housekeeper).
- Cnoc na Draighní**, ə'mix' er xruk nə drain'i: !(AnB)898P *amuigh ar Chnoc na Draighní*.
- Coillín**, an, m. West of Carna, Rob.90–1. əŋ koL'i:n', æs ə goL'i:n', f'æ:r ə xoL'i:n' M *an Coillín, as an gCoillín, fear an Choillín*.
- Coill Sáile**, Also **Caol Sáile** 896P. Rob.90.
- Cóirthíní**, na, nə ko:r'hi:n'i:, (At sea) 78P.
- Cois an tSruth**, North-west of An Clochán, Rob.48. *Amuich i gCois an tSruth goʃ ə tru* 11C5200.
- Cois Dreabhair**, (Also Cois Treabhair; Cois an Treabhair Rob.73.) *koʃ dr'aur' 18J7998*.
- Connachta**, Connacht. *I gConnachta*. 11C5573, *ar fud Cúige Chonnachta* 869P2.9, *i gCúige Chonnachta* 11C4116. Cp. GLEANN (TH)IARCHONNACHT S.
- Cora Bhán**, an, East of CALADH AN AIFRINN in Maínis, 21C. Further west according to others. (Not known to 06Mcq.)

Coradán, an, In DUMHAIGH ITHIR **15Pr**.

Cora Dhóite, 15Pr.

Cora Dhréin, an, M85, In AN COILLÍN, (bend in road at) north-east corner of *Cnoc an Choillín*; perhaps also *an Cor air Éin* M85. Also **Cora Chréin, an**, in *ser' eg' ə gorə 'x' ē:n' 25M soir ag an gCora Chréin*.

Cora na hAirde, In An Aird Mhóir, Rob Map.

Cora na Rón, korə nə ru:n, Between An Coillín and Leitir Deiscirt.

Cora Ros na nÚll, Promontory in Maoras where national school is situated, **15Pr**.

Cora Rua, an, xor(ə) ruə, In West ROISÍN AN CHALAIHD.

Corcaigh, korə, Cork (county and city). *Thíos sa sain i gCorcaigh. 11C*.

Corcal, an, Marsh south of LOCH ÓRNA in Maínis.

Corcal Mheaircín, Marsh west of LOCH HAPCINS in Maínis, on land owned by Meaircín Mhárgan Uí Laidhe (now deceased), LFRM s.v. *corcal*.

Cor na Binn, kor nə b'ín' !(Acb)**04B** *Cor na Binn* (in song of that title < *Col na Binn, Ó Gallchobhair* 1940: 226–8).

Craidhig na gCon, kraig' nə gun 20M [and this speaker's brother], Explained as *creig na gcon*. Nearby **Tamhnach Chraidhg na gCon** or **Tamhnach na gCreag**. (Perhaps related to *gráí*, cp. *Aill na Graí a:l' nə grai 20M*, location not noted; ÁITHE NA GRAÍ. Alternatively, cf. 1.203.)

Crampainn, an, Cf. CAMPAINN.

Crann Mór, an, High ground central Maínis where coastguard flagpole once stood.

Crasbhóthar an Mhéil, 'kra:s,wə'hər ə v'e:l' M, P (< mail), T-junction where the road from An Caiseal meets the road to An Clochán.

Crasbhóthar an Mheill Rua, also ... **an Mheall Rua 60M**, T-junction in South Meall Rua, Maínis, where road separates, west to An Tóin Ghoirbh (lane now disused), east to Trá an Mheill Rua.

Creig an Tornaí, kr'eg' ə taurni: 21J, In Fínis. Perhaps also *Creig an Tornáil* according to speaker **21J**.

Creig Mhóir, an, Highest boulder, and surrounding area, north of LOCH HAPCINS in Maínis. Cp. AN SIÁN.

Criathar na Mónóg, In Carna S.

Cróchnaid, kro:xnə'd' M, kro:xrəd' 11C2367, kro:xlət' 12St, kro:xnət' ~ klo:xnət' 20M's brother, Island in bay south of An Caiseal. *Cruachnait* Rob.71.

Crompán na Liamhán, kru:mpa:n nə l'ia:wa:n 60M, In North-West Maínis.

Cros an Mháma, Maam Cross, North Conamara. **kros ə wə:mə 16C** (in radio interview, perhaps translation of English). English 'Maam Cross' is in general use. The Irish official version, An Teach Dóite, is sometimes heard in vernacular. Also written as *Crosbhóthar an Mháma*.

Cruacha, na, The islands *Cruaich na Cara* and *Cruaich na Caoile*. *Curtha thimpeall na gCruach(a) an dtigeann tú* ARN7177.

Cruaich an Caoile, kruə nə ki:l'ə.

Cruaich na Cara, kruə nə karə, Also called *Oileán Mhic Dara*.

Cuainín na Smaol, In South Maínis S. Also (abbreviated to) *An Cuainín*.

Cuan an Cháilthín, Cuan an Cháirthín, In An Aird Mhóir. **ku:n ə xar'hi:n'** S, also **ku:n ə xal'hi:n'**, spelt *Cuan an Chaithlín* [recte *Cháithlín*] Rob.87.

Cuan an Fhir Mhóir, Bay between An Cheathrú Rua and Na hOileáin (Greatman's Bay). *Soir taobh Chuan an Fhir Mhóir xū:n ə'n' ir' wə:r' 11C*.

Cuan Chaorthainn, kū:ŋ xi:rhən', In Leitir hArd, e.g. ARN7914.

Cuan na Bothóige, kū:n^ə nə bohə:g'ə 06C, Cuainín na Bothóige Rob.94. *Cuan ... atá istigh sa Leath-Mhás a dtugann siad Cuan na Bothóige air. 06C*.

Cúige Uladh, Ulaidh, Cúige Ultach, Ulster. **'ku:g'olə 892M2704 Cúige Uladh. æs 'olə 892M2731 as Ulaidh. Go dtáinigeadar gon Chúige Ultach ... as an gCúige Ultach 866E5c248.4, 32. Personal nouns: ku:g'oləx SID.46 s.v. Cúige Uladhach, aultəx Ultach.**

- Cuisneachaí Choill Sáile, 897P** (presumably based on *cuisle*), In Coill Sáile. Cp. ‘*Na Sruthracha* or *Na Sruilleachaí*’ Rob.96 in neighbouring Loch Con Aortha.
- Daingean, an**, Strait between Béal an Daingin and Eanach Mheáin, Na hOileáin. *Leath taoille i gcúnaí, ghothá an Daingean. 889P. Bhí tú i ndán a ghoil síos Daingean nuair a bheadh drochlá ánn. ... as Cún an Fhir Mhóir amach, as an Daingean, 889P.*
- Damba, an, an dambə 60M**, (‘dam’.) **1.** Raised area on road above TRÁ AN URLÁIR in Maínis, **60M. 2.** (At drain) near CÉIBH AN PHORTAIGH draining as far as AN CORCAL in Maínis, **60M.**
- Damhras, dāvrəs**, West of Maoras, Rob.95.
- Daoilinn, an**, (At sea) **gən di:l’ən’ 37J** *dhen Daoilinn.*
- Diméin, an, ə dəm’ə:n’**, In Leitir hArd, Rob.95.
- Diúilicín, an**, Rock north of Ros Cíde, Ros Muc. -’ *Bhfuil fhios a’d an chuisle, ansin atá suas ag Rois Cíde? Ó thuaidh dhe Rois Cíde? Tá carraig ó thuaidh a dtugann siad an Diúilicín ortha. 35E.*
- Doire Cholm Cille, der’ə xoləm k’i:l’ə** !(SGuair)**11C**, Derry.
- Doire Fhada**, Cf. Rob.75 (73), Cp. Doire Bhó Riada, Sraith Salach. *Mám Éan amuigh, Agus mrá Doir’ Fhada !894C9.*
- Doire Iorrais, der’ ‘orəf, der’ə ‘rof, dor ‘orəf 892M, SM, 18J, 71D, dorə ‘rof 30Mst**; Rob.91–2.
- Doire Mhian, dor’ə v’i:n 20M**, In Leitheanach, Rob.80.
- Doire Soileach, dor’ə sol’həx 36S, dor’ə səl’həx 20M**, South of An Caiseal, Rob.74.
- Dolachtaí, na**, Rob.94.
- Dothala**, In Carna. *Ar bhóthar Dhothala S*, spelt *Dothulach* Rob.88.
- Droichead an Iúcaire**, In Doire Iorrais. **drohəd ən’ ukər’ə ner’ orəf 11C3352** *Droichead an Iúcaire i nDoire Iorrais. Cp. Droichead an Úcaire in Seanadh Chaola* Rob.85.
- Droim na gCrotach, dri:m’ nə grutəx 21C**, Also known as CAORÁN MHAÍNSE.
- Dromlach an Sciath, (Dronlach an Sciath)**, (In Fenian lay) **ə t’æ:ŋgəwə:l’ ... gə dru:mləx ə f’k’iə 04Bl** *ag teangamháil inín Rí Lochrann go Dromlach an Sciath* perhaps -nl-; **gə dru:nləx ə f’k’iə 04Bl.**
- Dúiche Seoige, Dúiche Sheoigeach**, Joyce Country, North Conamara. **du:ə f’o:ɣ’ə, du: x’o:ɣ’əx** generally, also *Dúiche Seoigeach*, but **r’ə:f’ yū:n’ k’o:ɣ’əx 892M** *thar éis Dhúiche Sheoigeach, əm mɪn’t’ər’ ən’iʃ | yū:n’ə k’o:ɣ’əx 892M4002* *an muintir annis, Dhúiche Sheoigeach* (this speaker commonly delenites x(’), also commonly inserts phrasal ə).
- Dúileac, Dúileic, du:l’ə:k 892M3751, 21Pt**, Rocks south of INNIS MÚSCRAÍ, Rob.128.
- Duirlinn Mhór, an**, also **an Duirlín Mhór 60M**, Shore west of An Trá Mhó(i)r, Maínis.
- Duirlinn na Spáinneach, du:r’l’ən nə spā:n’əx, 1.** In Dumhaigh Ithir. **2.** In An Leath-Mhás. In reference to soldiers of the Spanish Armada who are said to have landed here.
- Dumhach Bheag an Aircín, 32J**, In An Meall Rua, Maínis.
- Dumhach Chaoín, du: xi:n’**, Beach and dunes in Cartúr, North-West Maínis.
- Dumhach Chormacáin**, In Maoras **15Pr.**
- Dumhaigh Ithir, du:i’ ‘ehər’, du:ə jehər’, duə jehər’, du: ‘jehər’, du: ji:hər’**. *I nDúí Íthir 894C9, Dumha Íthir !894C9*, Rob.92.
- Dumhaigh Mhó(i)r, an, du:ə wə:r’, duə wə:r’, du: wə:r’, 1.** In Maínis. *Sa / ar an Dumhaigh Mhó(i)r. 2.* In Dumhaigh Ithir, **15Pr.** Rob.92.
- Dún Cráifis**, Rock near Sceirde. Named from an episode when a crawfish, over which two fishermen were disputing, was thrown away from the boat on to the rock (according to **35E**).
- Dún Gudail, nə f’k’ aird’i’ ş du:n gudəl’** !(Abr)**04B** *Na Sceirdí is Dún Gudail.*
- Dún na nGall, du:n ə ŋa:l**, also **duən ə ŋa:l 892M3152**, Donegal.
- Easa Rua, an** (gen), Assaroe, Co. Donegal. (In) *Bhí sé ar nós Finn Mhór mhac Úil nuair a leag sé a mhéir ar bhradán caoch an Easa Rua vrudə:n ki:x ən’ ə:sə ruə 11Cst.*

- Feall na Mart**, (In Fenian lay) **brunəm' ort əɾʃ, or ʃeʃən, f'æ:rən f'iar o: xahər' nə ri:n' gə f'ɑ:l nə mart**, (Lam)04B 'Bronnaim ort,' ar seisean, 'fearann fíor ó Chathair na Roinn go Feall na Mart'.
- Foiriúin, na; Foiriúin, an**, Rocks south of OILEÁN LACHAN, Rob.128. *Ceann Gúlaím ar choirneál na — Foiriúin Charraig a Meacan* 31P. *Ag an bhFoiriúin* 21Pt. *Taobh ó thuaidh dhen Fhoiriúin ó Thuaidh* 21Pt. (Also other rocks elsewhere, cp. Rob.98.)
- Fraochoileán, fri:xəl'ɑ:n**, Northwest of Leitir hArd.
- Froigh, an**, Name of a certain high field in Cill Chiaráin: **ən ro SM an Fhroigh**.
- Fuaigh an Deoraí**, In Cruaich na Caoile, ARN7642; cp. BALLA AN DEORAÍ.
- Fuaigh an Turlaigh / Turlach (Ó Laidhe)**, In Cruaich na Caoile. **fuə n tairlə 892M**4171, **ə wuə n tairlə 892Mt**, **fuə ən tairləx**, **fuə n turləx o: lai 892M**4250, **fuə n turlə 21Pg**4250, the last form may be the historically correct version. The form **tairlə** has been influenced by the diphthong in **lai**.
- Fuaigh Chao(i)l, an, n uə xi:l 32J**, Narrow cave in cliff on east shore of Máfnis.
- Fuaigh Mhaolra Óig, fuə wi:lɾ o:g' 11C**, also **Fuaigh Mhaolra Ní Maoil Chiaráin, fuə wɪ:lɾə n' i: məl' x' iə:rɑ:n' 892M**, In Cruaich na Caoile.
- Fuaigh Mhóir Thóin an Mhása**, In An Más, ARN8400.
- Fuaigh na Caillí**, In Cruaich na Caoile. ... *Oileán na Cruach air, agus bíonn sé héin daite le cailleachaí dubha. Agus Fuaigh na Caillí i gCruaich na Caoile.* 892M.
- Gairfean, an, gar'əf'ən**; also **Gairfeanach, an**, Townland in South-West Ros Muc. **k'e:v' nə gar'əf'n'əx** [perhaps **gar'əf'ən'əx**] 20A *Céibh na Gairf(i)neach*. Cp. LFRM s.v. *Gairfean*.
- Gais(e), an**, In Máfnis, the channel in the shore which flows into the bridge. *Níl se ina dhiathrá fós tá an taoille sa nGais S. ma'x ə ɣaf M amach an Ghais. hor' er' ə ɳa:ʃə M thoir ar an nGaise*.
- Garbhcharraig, ga'ru'xarəg'**, (At sea) *Ar Gharbhcharraig* 15Pr.
- Geansa**, Guernsey, in the Channel Islands.
- Ghiúróip, an**, etc., f., Europe. (With *sa*) **sə n'uro:b', sə ju:ro:p', sə n'urəp(')**, **sə n'orəp(')**; (with *i*) **ə ju:rəp', ə ju:rəp;** (gen) **nə ju:ro:p'ə, nə ho:ro:v'ə** [perhaps -v'ə], **nə hu:rəp'ə, nə x'uro:b'ə, nə x'orəpə**.
- Glaise Bharr**, (In) *theighidís amach go dtí na Cnocáin Bhreaca agus amach faoi, Cnoc Ghlinse, Glaise Bharr 's na háiteachaí sin, agus nídís bráca ...* 06C (context: *ar buaile*).
- Glaise na bhFoiriúin**, Sound between NA FOIRIÚIN (Rob.98) and OILEÁN AIMHREIDE.
- Gleann Airm**, North of Drogheda. **gl'ɑ:n ær'əm' o: huə gə ɣrohəd ɑ:hə 03C** *Gleann Airm, ó thuaidh dhe Dhroichead Átha (ab as mo mhuintir)*.
- Gleannán**, East of An Cnoc Buí. **miŋg' æ:də ɣl'ina:n' S moing fhada Ghleannáin. Glionnán** Rob.94.
- Gleann Iar-Chonnacht, Gleann Thiar-Chonnacht, gl'ɑ:n iər'xunəxt 11C**2828, **gl'ɑ:n 'iər'xunəxt S, gl'ɑ:n 'hiər'xunəxt S**.
- Gleann Thóchain M, Gleann Thóchan SM, Gleann Óchain M, Gleánn Chóchain** !894C9, In Na Beanna Beola (Glencoaghan) Rob.77. *Cruc Gleann Thóchan S*.
- Gleann Toircín, gl'ɑ:n terk'in'**, East of An Caiseal, Rob.81.
- Glinn Chatha, gl'iŋ xahə**, In the parish of Ros Muc, Rob.110.
- Gob Leac Bhaile, gob l'æk wai'l'ə 21Pt**, East of BIOR. *Tao' thoir dhe Bhior ansin, Gob Leac Bhaile atá air* 21Pt.
- Goirtín, an**, West of Roundstone, Rob.79. *Thiar sa nGoirtín M*.
- Gorm, an**, Swell in front of SCEIRDE MÓR. *Bhí siad ar an nGorm M. Amach ar an nGorm S. = Maidhm Gorm (Ghorm ?) S*.
- Guaire an Ultaigh, guər' ə n aultə 32J**, (Area of) graveyard in Máfnis.
- Gualainn na Cloiche Móire, 899P**, Apparently in Doire Iorrais.
- Imleach Á Rua, i:ml'əx ɑ: ruə 11C**5776 (*Imleach dhá Rú [Rua Index]*, Emlaghdauroe Rob.77). *Aniar ón gClochán, in áit a dtugann ... Imleach Á Rua air. i:ml'əx ɑ: ru: er' 11C*.

- Innbhar, Innbhear**, Rob.115. *ə N' i: N' vər* M in *Innbhar*, also *i: N' ur* **49J**, *drohəd i: N' vər* M *Droichead Innbhar*, *bun i: N' vər* **18J** *Bun Innbhar*.
- Innis Bearchain**, *i: N' əf b' æ: rə xən'* **18J**, *i: N' əf b' æ: rə xər'* **11C**. *Anonn thair Innis Bearchair* **11C**; Rob.129.
- Innis Bigir**, *i: N' əf b' i: g' ə r'*, Rob.96.
- Innis Dreamhair**, North of Leitir Calaidh, south of Ros Cíde, Ros Muc; Rob.129.
- Innis Múscraí**, *i: N' əs mū: skəri:* **896P**, *i: N' əf mū: skri:* **11C**, Rob.94. *Maidhm Mhór Innis Múscraí?* **11C**.
- Innis Oirc**, Rob.126. *i: N' əf ferk'* **11C** (perhaps -ə f-). In *Innis Oirc ... i dtír go hInnis Oirc* **11C**.
- Innis Srathair**, *i: N' ə(s) srahər'*, *i: N' ə(f) srahər'*, Rob.97.
- Innis Troigh**, *i: N' əs tro* **892M**, *i: N' əf tro* **21J**, West off Leitir hArd in Roundstone Bay, Rob.95.
- Inse Iathrach**, (dep), For *Innis Caorach* (Mutton Island, south off Galway city). *I ród na Gaillimhe ag ceann dheire Inse Iathrach* [Eoghan Ó Neachtain óc209].
- Inse Bhó Cinn**, *i: N' əf wə: k' i: N'*, Island, spelt *Inis Mhic Cionaithe* Rob.121 (*Inis Mhic Cionnaithe* Robinson 2002 Map), in CUAN AN FHIR MHÓIR. *Fua' sé ar ancaire ag Inse Bhó Cinn, san oíche*. **20A**.
- Inse Ghainimh**, *i: N' əf ɣa: n' ə*, Island in Cill Chiaráin Bay, Rob.130. Also pronounced *i: N' ən ə ɣa: n' ə* !!(Ams)**899N** implying *Inse an Ghainimh*.
- Inse 'ac an Trí**, *i: N' əf ək ə 'tr' i:* **03V**, Island in Loch Coirib, with official modern spelling *Inis Mhic an Trí*, earlier English forms 'Inishm'tryer' (Freeman 1936: 52, 55), 'Insimictrir' (Hardiman 1846: 22).
- Iorras Aithneach**, *orəs æ: n' həx*, **1**. (a) South-western part of the Carna peninsula; area west of An Coillín and Glinsce or west of An Coillín and Leitir hArd. *Thiar ... áit eicint in Iorras Aithneach a bhí sé ... píosa maith le díonamh aige aniar as Iorras Aithneach aníos thrí Seanadh 'ac Dónaill is aníos thrí Loch an Bhuí* **899PLC** (to arrive at *Cnocán an Aifrinn* on *Cnoc Mordáin*). *Isna bailteachaí thimpeall orainn héin anseo (An Aird Thiar), an áit a dtugann muid Iorras Aithneach air. Sin mórán na cupla baile tá thart orainn ach cuire muid Maínis is cupla ceann eile isteach leis.* **11C5005**. *Thiar faoi Iorras Aithneach agus ar fud na coda eile de pharáiste Chárna.* **SÓC1.83**. (b) Sometimes more vaguely, perhaps equivalent to 'the Carna area'. *Bhí go leor dhe mhuíntir Iorras Aithneach seo an t-am sin ann, dhe mhuíntir Charna.* **ARN8230**. *Agus rinne sí aniar ar Iorras Aithneach, aniar ar Charna* **ARN8844** (of a native of Maínis). **2**. Area west of Aill na Brón. *Ó Mhullán Aill na Brún siar* (Piaras Ó Gaora, Raidió na Gaeltachta, C.0132). **3**. (In literary and modern literate usage). The Carna Peninsula (from Doire Iorraís to Leitheanach ó Dheas).
- Laidht-habhas Eochail**, *lai: thaus ə: xəl'* **21Pt** (< lighthouse), In Árainn.
- Lathach Chúl Tuaf**, In Dúiche Sheoigheach **869P5.140**.
- Lathach / Lathaigh na bhFód**, *lahə nə wə: d* S, *lax / lahəx nə wə: d* **37T**, In Roisín an Chalaidh, Robinson (2002: 71–2).
- Leac an Chlochair**, (At sea) *Siar leis an gClochar ... le Leac an Chlochair* **21Pt**.
- Leacán**, *l' ika: n*, *Liocán* Rob.91–2, In DOIRE IORRAIS. *Ansin thoir i Leacán l' ika: n* **889P**.
- Leacht Charraig Iolraigh**, *l' æ: xt xə: rə g' urlə* **21Pt**, Cf. CARRAIG IOLRAIGH.
- Leac Láir**, (At sea) *Amach go dtí Leac Láir* **21Pt**.
- Leac na bhFaoilleán**, (At sea) *Aníos ó Leac na bhFaoilleán* **21Pt**.
- Leacrachaí na Saipears**, (< sappers), West of LEIC NA GCAORACH, Maínis, **36T**.
- Leac Uí Mhongáin**, **21Pt**, (At sea.)
- Leathraigh Ghorm**, *an. ə l' æ: rhə ɣorəm* **31P**, At sea, far out from Maidhm Shean-Pheait, **31P**.
- Leathraigh Mhóir**, *an. ə l' æ: rhə wər'* **21Pt**, (At sea.)
- Leic an Troilseáin**, *Leic a' treidhlseáin* **!894C9**.
- Leic Bhuí (Ard)**, *an*, Near coast (in context of sailing from Cloch na Rón to Caladh an Bháid). **892M**. *An Leic Bhuí* in Dumhaigh Ithir **15Pr**.

- Leic Dheirg, an**, In Cruaich na Cara. Note the weather saying: *gá: ma:nf'i: kr'æ:nhəx er' ə l'ek' jer'əg' ə gruə nə ka:rə hukəd je fl'ox S dhá mbainfi creathnach ar an Leic Dheirg i gCruaich na Cara thiocthadh sé fliuch*. Cp. Rob.98 and *Leacracháí Dearg* Rob.91 in Cruaich na Caoile.
- Leic Mhóir, an**, (At sea) *Amu' ag an Leic Mhóir* **21Pt**.
- Leic na gCaorach**, also **Leac na gCaorach 60M**, South-eastern tip of Maínis.
- Leic na Scíthe, l'ek' nə jk'i:(hə) S**, In Roisín an Chalthaidh.
- Leic Sheáin 'ic Pádraig**, On Carraig a Míle. *Choimmigh muid a haghaidh ar Leic Sheáin 'ic Pádraig, er l'ek' x'á:n' ək' pə:rək' sin í an leic is foide isteach i gCarraig a Míle* **892M**.
- Léim an Reithe**, Sound between Cruaich na Cara and Cruaich na Caoile.
- Leitir hArd, l'et'ər' 'ihə:rd, l'et'ər' ə'hə:rd, l'et'ər' ə'ə:rd, l'et'ər' o'hə:rd, l'et'ər' 'ohə:rd, l'et'ər' 'oə:rd, l'et'ər' 'ohə:rd, l'et'ər' hə:rd, l'etr' 'ohə:rd, l'e 'trə:hə:rd, l'et'ər' ə:rd. æs l'et'ər' 'ohə:rd hie:r S as Leitir hArd Thiar**; Rob.95. Perhaps derived from *Leitir Dhochartaigh* (1.257).
- Leitir Mealláin, l'et'ər' m'ulə:n'** generally, but **l'et'ər' m'ulə:n' 35E** as if **Leitir Mulláin**, Lettermullan, Conamara.
- Leitir Seanaidh, l'et'ər' j'rə:nə** [sic j'r-] **20M**, East of An Caiseal and Gleann Toircín. Rob.81, Robinson (2002: 10–1).
- Liabhrás, Liabrás, Liabhras, l'iv'ra:s 892M, l'iv'rəs 892M, l'iv'bra:s**. Wave / shallow west of An Más, between Tóin an Mhása and Oileán Mhic Dara ARN4284. *sa gcuan, Cuan an Mhása ná amach ansin siar ag Liabhrás* ARN3723. Rob.94 *Liabhras*, Map *Liabhrás*.
- Liatraim**, Co. Leitrim. *I gCondae Liatraime*. **35E**7546.
- Loch an Bhuí**, Rob.95. *Chomh fairsinn is tá gaineamh Loch an Bhuí M*, **14M**.
- Lochán Charraig a Meacan, 21Pt**, On CARRAIG A MEACAN.
- Lochán Dhúileac, 21Pt**, On DÚILEAC.
- Lochán na nGéabh, loxə:n nə ŋ' e:w 04B** 'at sea'.
- Lochán Vuilleam** (or William), **loxə:n wi'əm**, Pond in shore west of TRÁ AN URLÁIR in Maínis.
- Loch Buaille, lox buəf' ə 15Pr**.
- Loch Éirne**, Lough Erne, Co. Fermanagh. *Ní ghlanthadh uisce Loch Éirne mé SM*, (of offence committed).
- Loch Hapcins**, In Maínis. Named from nearest household to pond, from the surname of speaker **19B** (native of Doire an Locháin, East Cois Fharraige). Also **LOCH NA CREIGE MÓIRE**.
- Loch na Creige Móire**, Smaller pond in Maínis, below AN CHREIGE MHÓIR **01J, 60M**, more commonly now **LOCH HAPCINS**; also **LOCH TEAM MHEACHAIR**.
- Loch na hEircinne, lox nə herk'ən' ə 18J**, In An Cnoc Buí. *Loch na hEircine* Rob.90, *Loch na hEircíne* (related to *arcán* according to Robinson 2002: 55 (cp. *oirne* 'pet dog', *oircnín* 'pigling' DIL)).
- Loch na nÁithean Bhuí, lox nə nə:hən wi: 20M**, also **Loch na hÁthai Buí, lox nə hə:hi: bi:** (brother of **20M**), East of Gabhla; *Loch na nÁthanna Buí* (or perhaps *Loch na nAibhne Buí*, or *Loch na nAibhneacha Buí*) Robinson (2002: 47–9 'there are three watercourses connecting with it').
- Loch Órna**, Larger pond in Maínis, **60M**. *Loch Uaráin* Robinson (2002: 84–5). Also **LOCH THEACH NA SCOILE**.
- Loch Pháidín Rua, 15Pr**.
- Loch Scaibh, lox skə'n' əv'**, In Roisín na Mainchíoch and Caladh Fhínse, Rob.88. *Thiar ag Scaibh ... Loch Scaibh* **899P**.
- Loch Tana, lox ta'nə 15Pr**.
- Loch Team Mheachair**, = **LOCH NA CREIGE MÓIRE, LOCH HAPCINS**. *Bhí se chomh maith dhom e chaitheamh 'mach i Loch Team Mheachair M* '... throw it away'.

- Loch Theach na Scoile**, Larger pond in Maínis, **01J**. Also **LOCH ÓRNA**, **60M**.
- Logán, an, ən luɔːn**, At Sceirde. *Chua' muid go Sceirde, ... amach ansin, tao' muih dhen Logán ansin a bhí muid. 31P*.
- Londans, na**, Reef at Sceirde. *Tá maidhm amuith ag Sceirde dtugann siad na Londans ortha S85*.
- Lotai Ghleann Chóchain, loti: ɣlːɑːn xɔːxən' P**, Rob.77.
- Luimneach**, Limerick. **limr' əx 25S**, **li:mɾ' əx 866Et**, S, **li:mɾ' əx 894Cs**, genitive *Luimnigh(e) li:m' n' i 46.365 Condae Luimnigh, li:mɾ' i: 894Cs*.
- Madra Allaidh, an, ə mɑːd(ə) rɑːlə**, Rock in Galway harbour.
- Maidhc Shiúbháine Bhig, an, maik' hu:æ:n' ə v' ig' 21Pt**, (At sea) *Soir ar an Maidhc Shiúbháine Bhig*.
- Maidhm an Urláir**, Reef between **MULLÁN CHARRAIG A MEACAN** and **CARRAIG A MEACAN 21Pt**. Cp. *Maidhm an Úrláir* Rob Map (between *Fraochoileán* and *Oileán na Cruaiche Mór*).
- Maidhm Bhearaí, Ar Mhaidhm Bhearaí 21Pt**. Also *an Bhearaí, ar an mBhearaí 21Pt*.
- Maidhm Chanailí, 21Pt**.
- Maidhm Éinniú, 32J**.
- Maidhm Fhéilim**, Reef east of Sceirde. *Ag iarraidh bran ... soir dhe Sceirde áit ' dtugann siad Maidhm Fhéilim air. 892M*.
- Maidhm Fuaigh an Phréacháin, mi:m' fuə m' fr' iəxɑ:n' 892M**, West of Cruaich na Caoile.
- Maidhm Iabhra, mi:m' iəvrə 35E**, Reef at Sceirde, named after *Iabhra 'ac Con Raoi* (forefather of **35E**).
- Maidhm Mháirtín Thaidhg, 32J**.
- Maidhm Mhichíl Bhuí, 21Pt**.
- Maidhm M(h)ór, an**, Off **INNIS MÚSCRAÍ**. -... *an Mhaidhm Mór. 31P -Maidhm Mhór Innis Múscraí? 11C*.
- Maidhm Mhullán na Brón, mi:m' wulɑ:n nə bru:n 21Pt**.
- Maidhm Mór Charraig a Míle, Agus cén deabhal áit ar chuma ar bich an dtíochad sé suas léithi, ach thiar ag Maidhm Mór Charraig a Míle. 06C**.
- Maidhm na Gualann, Amach faoi Mhaidhm na Gualann 21Pt**.
- Maidhm Oileán Lachan, 11C**.
- Maidhm Sheáin Risteaird, mi:m' x'ɑ:n' rɪft' ərɔd' 21Pt**.
- Maidhm Shéamais Áille, 21Pt**.
- Maidhm Shean-Pheait**, (Next) out from **Maidhm Oileán Lachan, 11C**.
- Manainn**, In west Conamara, Rob.66. *Thiar i Manainn 11C*.
- Maoilín na gCadhan, In centre of An Dumhaigh Mhóir in Maínis, 60M**.
- Meall Mheait, m'ɑ:l v' æt' 21Pt**.
- Meilsceánach, an, ə m' ailʃɑ:nəx** [sic -lf-] **892M**, On eastern shore of Maínis.
- Meilsceán Glas**, Place-name near sea, S85.
- Meirfínn Mhóir, an**, (In Fenian lay) **har ti:n' gən v' er' əf' ən' wo:r' 04B1** *thar toinn dhon Mheirfínn Mhóir*.
- Muileann Mhaidhle**, North of **AN COILLÍN**, cf. Rob Map (Part 2) and Robinson (2002: 114–5). *Amach leis an criathrach. Chuaigh sé amach thar Mhuileann Mhaidhle, chuaigh sé amach Cruc Ghlínsce, amach a raibh ann ... sé an áit dheireanach a d'aithnigh sé ... amach timpeall Chruc an Chaisil. 11C*.
- Muirbhreach Mór, an, m. 31M**, In Roisín an Chalaídh.
- Mulláin Choimhthíoch, (na)**, Western edge of Sceirde. *'Gus, ' traimeáil bhí muid, amach ag an áit a dtugann siad na Mulláin Choimhthíoch air, nə mulla:ŋ xohiəx er' sin é an chuid is foide siar dhe Sceirde. 892M. Thiar ag Mulláin Choimhthíoch Sceirde 892M*.
- Mullán a Meailistín, mulla:n ə m' æ:l' æʃt'i:n' 21Pt**, Also called **MULLÁN CHARRAIG A MEACAN**.

- Mullán an Cheallaigh**, *mūlā:n ə x'æ:lə*, Off An Aird Mhóir. *Agus nach bhfuil mullán i mbéal Céibh na hAirde Móire ansin dtugann siad Mullán an Cheallaigh air an bhfuil?* **11C** -Tá. **896P**.
- Mullán an Toirbh**, **21Pt**.
- Mullán Charraig a Meacan**, **21Pt**, Also called MULLÁN A MEAILISTÍN.
- Mullán Chionaoith**, *mula:n x'uni*: **21Pt**.
- Mullán Corr**, **an**, In Carraig a Míle. *'Gus seod focal a bhíodh a'inn: Fad ó chéile an Mullán Corr is tigh Pheadí a Búrc i gCalthadh (an) Bháid. Mar is i gCarraig Míle tá an Mullán Corr.* **892M**. *Ar an Mullán Corr* **16P**.
- Mullán na Brón**, *mula:n nə bru:n* **21Pt**. *Tiompall Mhullán na Brún* **21Pt**.
- Mullán Scoiltíthe**, **15Pr**.
- Muráite Dhomhain**, **an**, Sound between Cruaich na Cara and na Foiriúin. *Amach an Mhuráite Dhomhain* **21Pt**.
- Oileáinín an Bháite**, Near Roisín an Chalaigh and An Crompán, **32J**.
- Oileán**, **an t-**, Island on Loch Oiriúlach in An Turlach Mór, Ros Muc, ARN1536.
- Oileán Aímhréidh**, also **Oileán Aímhreide** **47Ps**, West of An tOileán Máisean. *Go dteighidís go hOileán Aímhréidh gə hil'ə:n æv̄r'ə* **18JARN**.
- Oileán an tSeoigh**, *il'ə:n ə t'ɔ:g'ə*, Tiny island between Maínis and Innis Srathair.
- Oileán Dá Bhruithneog**, *il'ə:n dɑ: vrin'hɔ:g* **35E**, To the west of ÁRAINN MHÓIR (Inishmore), and east of An tOileán Iarthach. (The official spelling is *Oileán Dá Bhranóg* but only *Oileán Dá Bhruithneog* is known to Robinson (1986: 115–6) from local use.)
- Oileán Doilif**, **an**, *ə t'il'ə:n del'əf' er'* **35E** ... *air*. In *an Domhan Thoir*. (Perhaps *Doilife.)
- Oileán Gorm**, **an**, *Istigh ar an Oileán Gorm ... isteach ar an Oileán Gorm* **11C**; Rob.71.
- Oileán Iarthach**, **an**, **1**. West of Innis Bearchain. *bɑ:d ə'n' il'ə:n' iərhə* **18J**183 *bád an Oileáin Iarthaigh*. **2**. West of Ros Muc peninsula. **3**. West Of Árainn. *Oileán Iarthach Árainn* **35E**.
- Oileán Lachan**, South of Maínis.
- Oileán Mana**, South of An Aird Mhóir, **21Pt**.
- Oileán na Cara**, On landward side of Maínis bridge, between Maínis and ROISÍN AN CHALAIÐH, M.
- Oileán na Cruach**, North of Cruaich na Caoile. Cp. *Oileáin na Cruaiche* Rob.91 and *Oileán na Cruaiche Beag / Mór* Rob Map. *Oileán eile ansin amuigh a dtugann siad Oileán na Cruach air, agus bíonn sé héin daite le cailleachaí dubha.* **892M**.
- Oileán na nGeabhróg**, **Oileán na Geabhróige**, East of Innis Dreamhair, Rob.130. *An Gheabhróg ... Oileán na Geabhróige* ARN7959.
- Oileán Ura**, *il'ə:n orə* **27Md**, *il'ə:n orhə* **47Ps**, Rob.57 (correct *Úra* of Rob Map).
- Páraic Bhán**, **an**, also **an Pháiric Bháin**, f., Well, across the road from the national school (and used previously by school) in Maínis. *ən fɑ:rək' wɑ:n, tɔbər nə pɑ:rək'ə bɑ:n'ə* M *Tobar na Páirice Báine*. *ən fɑ:rək' wɑ:n', eg' ə bɑ:rək' wɑ:n', tɔbər nə pɑ:rək'ə bɑ:n'ə* **31Mq** *ag an bPáiric Bháin, Tobar na Páirice Báine*. Also TOBAR NA PÁIRCE BÁINE, etc.
- Páras**, *pɑ:rəs* **866Etn**, Paris (French capital). Now generally as English, e.g. *p'ærəs* **35E**9187 'Paris'.
- Poll an Bhúircín**, **32J**. (From a tailor named *a Búrc* who lived there.)
- Poll an Choire**, (also **Poll an Choirbh** **60M**, perhaps through analogy with AN TÓIN GHOIRBH), Tidal flow and eddies between Innis Srathair and Maínis.
- Poll an Droichid**, 'Tidal flow under bridge' in Maínis. *Baile beag bídeach tao' istigh dhe Pholl an Droichid* M (of Maínis).
- Poll an Ghlaisoileáin**, *paul ə 'ɣlɑ:f'il'ə:n'*, In An Aird Thoir, Rob.87. *Istigh i bPoll an Ghlaisoileáin* ARN8241.
- Poll Buí**, **an**, *ə paul bi*: **11C**, In Na hOileáin (*taobh thall dhen chuan*) **11C**; *ka:l'ə m fair' wɪ*: (Atb)P *Cailligh an Phoill Bhuí* (of boat).

- Poll Dobhrán, paul do:ra:n 60M**, Between AN CHARRAIG MHÓR and ROISÍN AN CHALAIÐH.
- Poll na Cloiche Báine, 899P**, Apparently in the Loch Con Aortha–Doire Iorrais area.
- Poll na gCuifeanach**, In Maoras, **15Pr**. (Used to store contraband (from Guernsey).)
- Poll na Leitheog, 60M**, In shore north of ARD NA GCADHAN in Maínis.
- Portach an Trinse**, In Maínis, **portəx ə tr'i:nʃə S**.
- Port Láirge**, Waterford. **ʃæn'ɔ:lə m'e gū:n fort 'la:r'g'ə | !(Asp)11C leindeálthaidh mé i gCuan Phort Láirge**.
- Port Mhuirbhí, port wir'əv'i: 27C1**.
- Posta, an**, In Cartúr, Maínis, where there was formerly a post-box.
- Rinn Mhaoile**, Rob.39. **ə ri:n' wi:l'ə !(NUath)11C i Rinn Mhaoile**.
- Ríocht na Bean Mhogail**, (In hero tale) **ri:xt nə b'ā'n vogəf | ~ ... wogəf | 869PSgbf Ríocht na Bean Mhogail**.
- Roinn Mheadhgrais, ri:n' v'aigrəʃ 11C**, also **Roinn Mheadhglais ri:n' v'aigləʃ 21C**, South of graveyard as far as Claf an Chlóbhair (cf. AN CLÓBHAR) in Maínis.
- Roinn na bhFataí**, In An Aird Mhóir, **ri:n nə wə:ti: S**.
- Roisín an Bholgán, roʃi:n' ə wələgə:n S**, East of Carna, Rob.98.
- Roisín an Chalaídh, roʃi:n' ə xə'lhə**, Largest island on causeway between Maínis and mainland, Rob.98.
- Roisín an Tamhnaigh**, (or ... **na Tamhnaigh**, cp. *tamhnach* > *i lár na tamhna* **866E-Sc63.13**; *Loch an Tamhnaigh* Rob.94) **roʃi:n' ə tāvnə**, also **Roisín an tSamhadh, roʃi:n' ə tāwə 27Cb**, Townland between Carna and An Cromptán, Robinson (2002: 66–7, spelt *Roisín na Tamhnaí*, a form I have not heard).
- Roisín na Mainchíoch, roʃi:n' ə man'hix** also **ruʃi:n' ə man'hix**, Townland east of Carna, Rob.99.
- Ros Cíde, roʃ k'i:d'ə**, i.e. [ro ʃg'i:d'ə], In Ros Muc, Rob.112. Note the spelling *Ruisgíde* SÓC1.82.
- Ros Dubh, ros du 36S**.
- Ros Rua, (an), roʃ ruə S, ros ruə S, 36S**. *Timpeall an Ros Rua ə ros ruə 11C*.
- Roundstone, 852S2**, The general term for CLOCH NA RÓN.
- Rungaí, na, 29C**, Railings on causeway in Maínis, also known as *Vaidhearannaí an Droichid*.
- Sáilín, an, ə sa:l'i:n'**, also **an tSáilín 32J**, In South-West Maínis.
- Sáirdín, an**, Sardinia (perhaps noun 'Sardinian') **ən sa:r'di:n' | !(SGuair)11C, Cf. TUIRCÉIS**.
- Sceirde, Sceirde Mhóir, Sceirde Mór, Sceirde Beag, ʃk'a:rd'ə**, Rugged islands southwest of Iorras Aithneach. *Eidir an dá Sceirde, Sceirde Beag is Sceirde Mór 06C*. *Amuich i Sceirde ag gliomadóireacht ... tháinic sé isteach as Sceirde 05M*. The genitive in one source is found as both *Ag túin Sceighirde Móir' thiar ...*, ... and *ag túin Sceighirde Móire !894C9*. *Ag goil amach ar charraigneachai Sceirde 06C*. *Gan aon fhear ar charraig Sceirde ach é héin 892M*. (As plural) *Isteach ó na Sceirdí. 06C*.
- Sconsaí Bhaile an Mhóinín**, In Maoras. *Scúnsaí Bhaile 'n Mhóinín !894C9*.
- Scrib, ʃkr'i:b'**, In parish of Ros Muc, Rob.108. **Crasbhóthar Scríbe**.
- Seanadh**, In place-names: **ʃanə xi:lə**, **ʃanə nə baul**, **ʃanə k do:/u:nə'l'** (genitive ... **k' ...**), **ʃanə f'e:ʃt'i:n'**, **ʃanə wə:x**, **bo:hər ʃanə wə:x**, **ə'ma:x ʃanə wə:x S Seanadh Chaola** [Rob.85], *Seanadh na bPoll*, *Seanadh 'ac Dónaill* [Rob.99], *Seanadh Phéistín* [on road from Ros an Mhíl to Uachtar Ard], *Seanadh Mhach*, *bóthar Seanadh Mhach*, *amach Seanadh Mhach*. Also **ʃanə sɛ** (brother of **20M**) *Seanadh Soith*, Rob.93.
- Sián, an, ən ʃi:ən**, Large boulder, forming summit of AN CHREIG MHÓIR, on western edge of An Dumhaigh Mhóir in Maínis.
- Siánaí Bheara, ʃi:ə:ni: v'ærə**, Rocks east of Bior. Taken to mean (and resemble) 'the testicles of 'Point' (BIOR)' so that *bhain mé na siánaí as* can refer to castration (of

- beast). (Called *Carraig Shiobhán Uí Bheara* in Rob.88. This is taken as erroneous by **21Pt.**) Information from **49J** (who queried **21Pt.**)
- Silínteacht, an, ə́n' t̪il'i:n̪t̪əxt 09S**, On eastern shore of Maínis, where water used to drip, **09S**.
- Síodúch**, In Roisín na Mainchíoch, Rob.99. Genitive unchanged, **ɟo: f̪ædər' hi:du:x, dri:m' hi:du:x S Jó Pheadair Shíodúch, Droim Shíodúch.**
- Sligeach**, Sligo. As *Sligeach í, chuaigh sí go Sligeach inniu M.*
- Spaidhc, spaik' 31P** (< Spike Island), Most common for INNIS MÚSCRAÍ. *Tao' amuich ansin dhe Spaidhc 31P.*
- Sraith Sháile, fru hɑ:l'ə 875P, ʃrə hɑ:l'ə 892M2874, sru hɑ:l'ə 20MI**, Between Cluain Aidhl and An Caiseal, Rob.85.
- Sruthán an Bheanna**, In Barr an Doire, east of An Cheathrú Rua, on Cuan Chasla. (*Sruthán an Bheannaíthe* Rob.117). *Go Sruthán an Bheanna* ARN7565–6.
- Sruth Colabáin**, (< *Orthanán* 'Jordan', in a charm, LFRM s.v. *Fóthallán*; perhaps influenced by *Colmán* and 'Columba'). *Chua Peadar go Sruth Colabáin.*
- Staihre Buí, an**, In Cruaich na Caoile (near light), **06C**.
- Stopóg Mhaidhle, stupo:g wail'ə 21Pt** (< Myley, form of Myles).
- Straidhp Bhán, an**, Between Maoras and Dumhaigh Ithir, **15Pr**.
- Talamh Chormacáin**, In Maoras, also known as CAORÁN NA MBUACHAILLÍ, **15Pr**.
- Tamnach Mháire**, In Glinsce, Rob.94. *Tamnach Mháire, ar dhúirling Thamhnach Mháire 894C3.*
- Tamnach na Staicannaí, 11C5780.**
- Tanaí Bhuatais, tani: wuətəʃ 16P.**
- Taobh Uí Fhloinn**, Cf. TONN UÍ FHLOINN.
- Teampall Mhuiris, t̪əmpəl wir'əʃ 11Cst**, Cf. TEAMPALL RÓNÁIN.
- Teampall Rónáin, t̪əmpəl r̪o:n̪n̪ 11Cst**, (In tale) *téirigh i dtosach ... go Teampall Rónáin. Agus mara bhfaighe tú cead é a chuir ansin ... téirigh go Teampall Mhuiris ... téirigh go Carraig Fhada mhic Eoghain ... téirigh go Cill Bhríde.*
- Tigh Bhab Sheáinín 01J**, also **Tigh Bhab 60M**, Small house (shed) on western edge of Cuainín na Smaol in Maínis.
- Tigh Shiúbháine**, In Cuan na hAirde. *Áit a dtugann siad Faoi Tigh Shiúbháine air, 'un tí Shiúbháine 894C9.*
- Tincéaraí, na, 47Ps**, Small rocks in mouth of Cuan na hAirde near Bealach na Srathra.
- Tiúin Mhic Éide, 11C2643. Tiúin Míc Éadaí, 11C2656**, For standard Tuar Mhic Éadaigh (Tourmakeady, Co. Mayo).
- Tobar Chlochar na gCuit**, In Maínis, **60M**.
- Tobar Cholm Cill**, also **Tobar Colm Cill, 60M**, In shore on southern side of CUAINÍN NA SMAOL, **60M**.
- Tobar Dhumhaigh Chaoín**, In DUMHAIGH CHAOIN, Maínis, **21C**.
- Tobar na Páirce Báine 60M, Tobar an Pháirc Bháin 60M, Tobar Phádraig Uí Chathasaigh 60M**, Well east of school, and once used by school, in Maínis. Also AN PHÁRAIC BHÁN, etc.
- Tobar na Seacht nInín**, Near AN CRANN MÓR in Maínis.
- Toim Beola, tim' b'olə 01J, tim' b'olə 21J, Tuím Beola !894C9**, West of An Caiseal, spelt *Tuaim Beola* Rob.86.
- Tóin Ghoirbh, an, tu:n' ɣor'əv'**, In Maínis, An Meall Rua, *ar An Tóin Ghoirbh*. Rob Map.
- Toinn, an, ə́n t̪i:n̪ 11Pt**, From context in recording: off Damhras, cp. TONN UÍ FHLOINN. *Aníos dhen Toinn ... í bhaint ar an Toinn 11Pt.*
- Tóin na Cille**, perhaps **Tonn na Cille, tu:n nə k'ir'ə 16P**.
- Toinn Ghil, an**, (At sea) *Amach ar an Toinn Ghil t̪i:n̪ jil' sin i lár eidir Dúileac, agus Oileán Mhic Dara. 892M3751.*
- Tonn Uí Fhloinn, 1**. In An Bheirtreach Bhuí. **2**. South of Maínis between Carraig Fhada and Oileán Lachan **32J. tu:n i: li:n̪ !(Apam)S, 32J, fa'rəg'i: hu:n' i: li:n̪**

!(NUath)11C *farraigí* ... , *tun' i: li:ŋ'* !(Apam)05M, 20C. Also **Taobh Uí Fhloinn**, *ti:w i: li:ŋ'*, *ti:w i: li:ŋ'* M. *fa:rəg'i: hi: wi: li:ŋ'* !(Acl)898P *farraigí Thaobh Uí Fhloinn*. Associated near-by sandbank: **Muc Ghaineamh Thonn Uí Fhloinn**, *muk ya:n'ə hu:n' i: li:ŋ'* 05M.

Trá an Mheall Rua, also ... **an Mheall Rua**, Largest beach in An Meall Rua, in Maínis.

Trá an Urláir, Small western section of beach at AN TRÁ MHÓIR in Maínis. **60M**. (*Urlár* refers perhaps to the peat beneath the strand here, not seen at the rest of An Trá Mhóir (cp. *go horlár corcaighe* Aithd. D. 4.12. DIL s.v. *airlár*; *urlár bachta* FGB s.v. *urlár*), cf. AILL NA MÓN.)

Trá Bhoilgeach, an, 60M, also **Trá Charraig na bPortán 60M**, Beach furthest to the south-east in Maínis, **60M**. Cf., however, TRÁCH BOLG.

Trá Bhrídín, South of CÉIBH AN BHÉARAIGH in Maínis, **43M, 60M**.

Trá Charraig na bPortán, cf. TRÁ BHOILGEACH.

Trách Bolg, South of CÉIBH AN BHÉARAIGH, **01J, 21C**. (Explained by **01J** as *trá an bhoilg*. Also called TRÁ BHRÍDÍN, **60M**.)

Trá Fhada, an, 32J.

Tráin Rua, Trá Rua, South of CARRAIG NA MBAN in Maínis, **60M**.

Trá Mhó(i)r, an, Largest strand in South Maínis.

Trá Rua Spaidhc, 21Pt, In SPAIDHC (Spike Island).

Trá Uaithne, (an), tra: uə'n' hə 18J, ən tra: win' hə 27Mdq, Near INNIS TROIGH.

Tuircéis, an, ən terk' e:ʃ, Turkey. (In song) *Tiochaidh dlí go hÉire ... agus amach as rialtas tiochaidh na hÍodálaí is na Litolínz, Beidh an Tuircéis Chríostúil ... ann ar an mbealach céanna a'inn, Ach beidh faire géar acub i ndiaidh an Sáirdín*. !(SGuair)-11C. (Gen) *Ardri na Tuircéise 866ESc319–72*.

Tulach na mBan, toləx nə ma:n 12J, Cp. *Loch Tulach na mBan* in Glinsce Rob.94.

Tulaigh Bhuí, an, ə tolə wi:, In north Caladh Fhínse, above lake, **21Ptq**. *Bhí fód móna thíos ann chomh dubh, agus chomh maith cheap sé, agus bhí amuich ar an Tulaigh Bhuí*. 11C3029.

Tulaigh Uaithnín, tolə wun' hi:n' / win' hi:n' M, In Cartúr, Maínis.

12.28 Field-names

As in the rest of Conamara, most of the thousands of tiny fields in Iorras Aithneach, have names. Some features (e.g. wells, large rocks) within fields have separate names. Some of these names are known to single households, others are known to the wider community. A very small sample of these names from my notes, mostly on Maínis, is given here to illustrate the nomenclature of field-names, now falling into disuse.¹ *G.* = *Garraí*.

Field-names of Jó O'Brien, 01J, Maínis

G. Mheaircí, G. na mBád, G. Nóra Rua, An Gleann Mór, G. an Locháin.

Field-names of Feist Fheichín Uí Cheannabháin, 04F, An Aird Thoir

G. an Locha, G. an Bharaille, Portach an Chutair, Gleann an Tobair, G. an tSiáin, Cúl an tSiáin, Muirbheach Thaidhg (na Buile), Gáirdín Thaidhg (na Buile). Also *Tobar an Chutair*.

¹ Compare Cox (2002: 14) 'Future Survival' §2.4 where the 'ultimate extinction' faced by 'a great number of names' 'was aptly illustrated' by an informant who said of a place-name not far from her house '*S ann thall an sin a chleachd e bhíth!* 'It used to be over there!'

Field-names and minor toponyms of Meaircín and Jó Pheadair Uí Chlochartaigh, 17Mp, 21Jc, Maínis

G. an Táilliúr, An G. Gaíneamh, G. na Cloiche Móire, G. an Sceichí gari: ən ʃk'ihí: , G. an tSáilín gari: ən ta:l'hi:n', G. na mBád, Cnocán Mháiría krukɑ:n wɑ:r' i:ə, G. Mháiría, G. Mhaitiú, G. na nUltach, An Dumhach, G. Gaíneamh na gCaorach, G. Pháidín (na Cárdála), G. Sheáin Shadhbh, G. na hÁithe (for poitín), G. na Meaingeals, G. na nInniún.

Field-names and minor toponyms of Seán and Máire Uí Chúláin, Pádraig Ó Con Fhaola, 12S, 16M, 19P, Maínis

Holding inherited from Peatín Vuilleam: *G. an Chlochair, G. na mBád, G. an Duine (Mhairbh), G. an Tairbh, G. na gCocaí, An G. tao' thiar dhe Gh. na gCocaí, An G. Sáile, Aill na gClochartach.*

Máire's father's holding (and some adjoining fields): *Portach an Trínse, G. na Soile M G. na Soile ~ Soilí ~ an tSoile S also An G. Slat, G. tao' thoir dhen Phuitigh Mhóir, G. tao' thiar dhen Phuitigh Mhóir (perhaps these two fields were once called G. na Muice Beag and G. na Muice Mór M), An Bóithrín Puití, Tobar Mháire Ní Fhlathartaigh, G. Mháire Ní Fhlathartaigh M ~ G. na Meaingils S¹, G. Aill an Dilisc, G. an Tobair Mhóir, An G. Lín, G. na hAille Móire M G. an Aill Eibheann S, G. an Sciobóil also An G. ó thuaidh dhen Scioból, An G. ó dheas dhen Scioból Mór, Balla na Stileach, G. na Stileach, G. Mhaitiais also G. 'Qhuinn', An G. Sléibhe, G. an Bhóthair, G. Bhile, An G. Caol, An Píosa Caol, An G. Beag, Cnocán Sheachnais, G. Vueilbe [< Welbey], An Criathrach, An Aill Bhán, Píosa na hAille Báine, G. Ghuairim, G. Mhaitéis (in west, distinct from G. Mhaitiais in east), G. na hAille Móire (also distinct from field of same name further to the east), G. na Locha, An Cimín, An G. Crua, G. (~ Garrantaí) na hIothla(i)nn, An G. Ard, An G. Cipíneach, An Chorainn also Na Garrantaí Ard, An G. Nua, G. an Tí, G. an Tobair.*

Field-names and minor toponyms of Mícheál Ó Hoipicín, 60M

An Iothlainn also called G. Teach an Chairr, G. Pheaitín Jan, G. na Locha, G. Choilmín, An G. ó Dheas (which contains An Aill Mhór), Garrantaí Veail, Cimín Chorraoin, Balla Chorraoin, G. Pheige, G. na Muice, Na Struips ~ Na Struipeannaí, G. na Cruithneacht, G. an Gheata, An G. Beag faoin gCláí, An Iothlainn Mhór, Tobar Leiteas ʎetəs, G. na Scoile, G. na Searrach, An G. Gaíneamh, An G. Mór, G. an Mhuimhnigh gari: wi:n'ə, G. Deach gari: d'æ:x, An Chorrach, Na Corracháí, G. Gheithin gari: jehən', An G. Sáile, G. an Locháin gari: ə loxɑ:n', An Muirbheach, An Dumhach, G. Beag na Lao, G. na Slat, G. an Choirnéil, Poll Teaimín, Píosa Láir an Dumháí Mhóir. These names are all on his own holding (comprising, at least, two older holdings), except the last three, which adjoin his land.

¹ Here Seán and Máire differ substantially in their use. In this instance Máire, who is native of this holding, clearly has the older form (*G. Mháire Ní Fhlathartaigh*).