144. Preceding a vowel, it is made by bi-labial spreading, accompanied by slight protrusion of the lips, e.g. **f'el'u:nux** *feileamhnach*. The use of this variety is common among older speakers.

145. Examples of this phoneme are **f'i:do:r'** *figheadóir*, **f'r'agurt'** *freagairt*, **af'l'iən'** *aith-bhliadhain*, **f'es't'u:** *feistiughadh*, **d'ef'r'u:** *deithbhriughadh*, **f'o:six'ə** *feósaidhe*, **f'r'astul** *freastal*, **f'aru:l'** *fearamhail*, **kaf'ux** *caithmheach*.

f

146. The first member of this phoneme is a voiceless velarized bi-labial fricative, the voiceless counterpart of the sound described in § 140. It occurs flanked by vowels in initial or word-medial positions, e.g. **fuədux** *fuadach*, **ni:fi:** *naomhtha*, likewise before **r** or **l**, e.g. **frasux** *frasach*, **flax'u:l'** *flaitheamhail*.

147. In final position it is a voiceless velarized labio-dental fricative, formed by raising the soft palate while constricting the lower lip and bringing it close to the upper front teeth, leaving an aperture for the escape of the air-stream, the back of the tongue being raised towards the soft palate, e.g. **t'r'uf** *triuf*. With younger speakers this sound is common in all positions.

148. Further examples are **rufi:** *rufaí*, **fi:vur** *faobhar*, **fas'un** *faisean*, **gruf** *gruth*, **lufurnux** *luibhearnach*, **fin's'o:g** *fuinnseóg*, **bla:fur** *bláthmhar*, **t'uf** *tiugh*, **guf** *guth*, **fa:n'i:** *fáinní*, **m'i:fur** *míochmhar*.

s'

149. The norm is a voiceless alveo-palatal fricative, formed by bringing the blade of the tongue close to the junction of the teeth-ridge and the hard palate, leaving a shallow groove for the air-stream ; meanwhile, the lips are slightly spread and the tip of the tongue is turned downwards. It resembles the fricative found in English in such words as *sheep*, *sheet*.

150. Next to **r**, the tip of the tongue turns upwards, giving the phoneme a retroflex quality, e.g. **s'rahor** *srathar*, **f'ars'ed** *fearsad*, **s'rufa:n** *sruthán*, **dors'i:** *doirse*.

151. Examples are **fars'in'** *fairsing*, **kis'l'a:n** *caisléan*, **s'et'r'ux** *seitreach*, **am's'ir'** *aimsir*, **fo:rs'ə** *fórsa*, **ri:s't'i:xt** *raoistidheacht*, **s'e:nus** *séanas*, **l'es'** *leis*, **s'k'iv'il'** *sgeimhil*, **d'r'is'** *dris*, **s'n'axtə** *sneachta*.

s

152. The norm here is a voiceless alveolar or alveo-dental fricative, made by raising the soft palate and bringing the blade of the tongue close to the forward part of the teeth-ridge, so as to leave a narrow groove for the air-stream, while the tip lies at the backs of the lower incisors.

153. Its resonance quality varies from dark to clear, according to the environment : in the word **i:si:** *íosfaidh* for instance, it has a palatal quality, while in **t'umsu:** *tiomsughadh* it occurs as a velarized variety accompanied by lip-rounding.

154. Further examples are **g'r'i:sux** *gríosach*, **kasu:r** *casúr*, **f'is** *fios*, **su:s't'ə** *súiste*, **sim'** *suim*, **u:sa:d'ux** *úsáideach*, **sm'i:s't'ə** *smíste*, **ski:** *sgaoi*, **slusi:** *slosaidhe*, **salux** *salach*, **spa:s** *spás*.

155. The opposition **s** v. **s'** is somewhat unstable, particularly before **k'**, where some speakers—e.g. (3)—, use **s**. Thus, the words **s'k'e:l** *sgéal*, **s'k'il'in'** *sgilling*, **s'k'i:** *sgíoth*, have by-forms **sk'e:l**, **sk'il'in'**, **sk'i:** ; cf. **s'asu:/sasu:** *seasamh*, **nə 'je s'in'/ nə 'je sun** *i n-a dhiaidh sin*. See also § 234.

j

156. The first variety is a voiced palatal fricative, made by raising the front of the tongue towards the middle of the hard palate and sending the air-stream through the narrow aperture thus formed, while the vocal cords vibrate.

157. Initially and word-medially before a vowel, the phoneme

appears as a palatal semi-vowel : the tongue does not pass the vowel limit, but is held momentarily in position for a fairly close front vowel, e.g. **jofiɴ′** *ghéabhainn*, **pa:jə** *páighe*.

158. Examples are contained in the following words : **uəj** *uaigh*, **s′o:jux** *Seóigheach*, **sij** *suidh*, **jl′e:s** *ghléas*, **jr′amo:x** *ghreamóchadh*, **ʟ′e:j** *léigh*, **kruəj** *cruaidh*, **truəjə** *truaighe*, **ji:l** *dhíol*, **ʟa:jə** *láighe*, **ji:nha:** *dhéanfá*.

ɣ

159. This sign stands for a voiced velar fricative, made by the air-stream as it issues through a narrowing formed by raising the back of the tongue towards the back part of the soft palate, while the vocal cords vibrate.

160. The phoneme is limited in distribution, occurring regularly only in utterance-medial position at word-junctions, and in word and utterance-initial position under certain circumstances. Cf. §§ 248 ff.

161. Examples are **ɣlasa:l′** *ghlasáil*, **ʟ′aɣin′ə** *leath-dhuine*, **də ɣrim′** *do dhruim*, **nə ɣi:vur** *i n-a ghaobhar*, **ɣu:n′hiɴ′** *dhú(i)n-f(a)inn*, **ɣed′** *ghoid*, **ɣa: la:** *dhá lá*, **mə ɣuəliɴ′** *mo ghuala(inn)*, **ən ɣruəg′** *an ghruaig*.

x′

162. The norm is a voiceless palatal fricative, corresponding to the first variety of **j** described in § 156.

163. The degree of friction is reduced in intervocalic position after a front vowel, e.g. **ix′ir′** *ithir*. Here some speakers, e.g. (2), use a palatalized variety of **h**, as in **d′ix′uʟ/d′ihuʟ** *dícheall*, **klex′i:n′/klehi:n′** *cloichín*.

164. Further examples are **gi:x′ə** *gaoithe*, **sa:x′** *sáith*, **x′u:l′** *shiobhail*, **ə x′iərnə** *a Thighearna*, **kruəx′ə** *cruaiche*, **ʟax′ux** *laitheach*, **i:x′ə** *oidhche*, **l′e:x′ə** *lé(ithe)*, **ə′mix′** *amuigh*, **ə x′r′e:tu:r′** *a chréatúir*, **ə x′a:n′** *a Sheaáin*.

x

165. This letter represents a voiceless velar fricative, the counterpart of ɣ, from which it differs in being more energetically articulated.[1]

166. Its quality varies slightly according to context : when flanked by back vowels it has more prominent labialization, e.g. **kroxu:** *crochadh*.

167. The phoneme is illustrated in the following words : **kloxa:n** *clochán*, **xi:x′ə** *choidhche*, **t′axi:n′** *teaichín*, **kruəxun** *cruadhchan*, **mas′ux** *maiseach*, **ʟer′ig′n′ux** *loirgneach*, **s′arux** *searrach*, **ʟoxa:n** *lochán*, **xax′** *chaith*, **fi:ʟ′ux** *fuighleach*, **doxur** *dochar*.

h

168. Concerning **h**, its phonemic status can quite easily be borne out, notwithstanding the unconformity of pattern noted in § 134. It contrasts with (*a*) zero, initially and medially, and (*b*) other consonants initially, as well as finally in **CVC** sequences.

Examples of (*a*) contrasts are **ariɴ′** *arraing* v. **hariɴ′** *tharraing*, **ə l′ah** *a leath* v. **ə hl′ah** *a shleagh*, **ə ru:n** *a rún* v. **ə hru:n** *a shrón*, **vuəl′iɴ′** *bhuailinn* v. **vuəl′hiɴ′** *bhuailfinn*, **l′e:m′iɴ′** *léiminn* v. **l′e:m′hiɴ′** *léimfinn*.

Examples of (*b*) occur in **xi:n′** *chaoin* v. **hi:n′** *shín*, **x′iɴ′** *chinn* v. **hiɴ′** *sheinn*, **də ɣu:l′** *do dhúil* v. **də hu:l′** *do shúil*, **ə jr′iən** *an ghrian* v. **ə hr′iən** *a thrian*, **sij** *suidh* v. **hij** *shuidh*, **s′as** *seas* v. **has** *sheas*, **m′ax** *meach* v. **m′ah** *meath*, **ʟ′as** *leas* v. **ʟ′ah** *leath* v. **ʟ′ak** *leac*, etc. See also § 163.

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[1] This sound is no longer current in English, and the velar narrowing required for it is a source of difficulty for many learners of Irish, some of whom fail to raise the back of the tongue, and hence replace the phoneme by **h**, while others make a complete velar closure and replace it by the corresponding plosive, **k**. Such learners likewise often replace ɣ by **g**.

169. From the phonetic point of view, this phoneme embraces a wide variety of members, differing from one another as regards place of articulation, and varying in quality according to the environment. Before a vowel, it is realized as a breathing of that sound, anticipating its quality and tongue position: in such a context it may be regarded as a breathed glottal fricative, made by the air-stream in passing through the more or less constricted glottis, e.g. **ha:n'ik'** *théinig*.

170. In final position after a short stressed vowel, it approximates the quality of the contiguous vowel, e.g. **m'ah** *meath*, **bah** *ba*.

171. A partly-voiced variety may be heard when it is flanked on both sides by voiced phonemes, e.g. **b'ehiəx** *beathaidheach*, **vuəl'hux** *bhuailfeadh*, **in'hiɴ'** *inchinn*.

172. Preceding a nasal consonant in the same syllable, it is realized as a nasal breathing, e.g. **hn'i:v** *shníomh*, **hna:v** *shnámh*.

173. Similarly, in initial position before a lateral it occurs as a breathed lateral fricative, e.g. **hl'ig'** *theilg*, **hl'avni:** *shleamhnuigh*, **də hla:ɴ't'ə** *do shláinte*.

174. When a vibrant follows it in the same syllable it is a breathed fricative, corresponding to the contiguous vibrant as regards quality, e.g. **hr'umi:** *thiormuigh*, **hri:d'** *thríd*.

175. Further illustrations are **ʟ'ahun** *leathan*, **hani:** *cheana*, **t'eh** *te*, **ʟ'ahor** *leathar*, **ʟa:hir'** *láthair*, **ʟ'ahuər'** *leath-uair*, **du:ru:/hu:ru:** *(a)dubhradh*, **haspə** *haspa*, **ʟin'hə** *loinidh*, **bo:hur** *bóthar*, **ahir'** *athair*.

Nasals

176. There are eight nasal phonemes in the dialect, namely, **m'**, **m**, **n'**, **n**, **ɴ'**, **ɴ**, **ŋ'**, **ŋ**. The palatal v. non-palatal relationship subsists, e.g.

m'aʟ *meall* v. **maʟ** *mall*, **dəun'** *domhain* v. **dəun** *domhan*, **kraɴ'** *crainn* v. **kraɴ** *crann*, **ŋ'ofiɴ'** *ngéabhainn* v. **ŋofiɴ'** *ngabhfainn*.

m'

177. This symbol denotes a voiced palatalized bi-labial nasal, formed by bringing the lips together in a fairly spread position and lowering the soft palate to let the air-stream issue through the nasal cavity, while the front of the tongue is raised towards the hard palate and the vocal cords are in vibration.

178. A more strongly-pronounced variety occurs next to **h** in word-medial position after a stressed vowel, e.g. **l'e:m'hiɴ'** *léimfinn*.

179. Examples of the phoneme are **ix'im'** *ithim*, **ʟ'i:m'e:r** *liméar*, **sɴim'** *snaidhm*, **g'e:m'n'ux** *géimneach*, **m'er'iv'** *meirbh*, **m'is'ə** *meise*, **m'i:a:** *mí-ádh*, **glam'n'ux** *gloimneach*, **sm'e:rho:d'** *sméaróid*, **m'e:ruka:n** *méaracán*.

m

180. The norm, which may be described as a voiced velarized bi-labial nasal, is articulated in the same manner as **m'**, except that the lips are not spread and the back of the tongue is raised towards the soft palate.

181. A subsidiary member of the phoneme, with a more energetic pronunciation, appears word-medially next to **h** after a stressed vowel, e.g. **krumhi:** *cromtha*.

182. Examples are **ʟumru:** *lomradh*, **xamhux** *chamfadh*, **kumə** *cuma*, **mu:ʟ'ə** *múille*, **fuəma:n** *fuamán*, **k'umhuxi:** *ciomacha*, **ma:r'hux** *máithreach*, **murt'i:s'** *moirtís*, **kam** *cam*, **anum** *anam*, **ɣumsə** *d(h)om-sa*.

n'

183. The norm here is a voiced palatalized alveolar nasal,

produced by placing the tip of the tongue against the forward part of the teeth-ridge and lowering the soft palate to let the air-stream issue through the nose, while the vocal cords vibrate and the front of the tongue is raised towards the hard palate.

184. Adjacent to **h** before or after a stressed vowel, it is articulated with greater breath force, e.g. **hn'i:v** *shníomh*, **ki:n'hə tu:** *caoinfidh tú*.

185. Illustrations are **an'hə** *aithne*, **uəg'n'es** *uaigneas*, **i:n'ə** *aoine*, **n'ij** (*do*) *nigh*, **ka:n'** *cáin*, **gan'u:** *gaineamh*, **ran'hux** *raithneach*, **tra:n'hi:n'** *tráithnín*, **kin'hi:n'** *coinín*, **fin'u:** *fuineadh*, **l'i:n'ə** *líne*, **krin'huxt** *cruithneacht*.

186. In more casual speech it can be replaced in utterance-medial position by nasalization of the preceding vowel. Cf. § 350.

n

187. This sign normally stands for a voiced velarized alveolar nasal, made by putting the tip of the tongue against the back part of the teeth-ridge and deflecting the air-stream through the nose, while the vocal cords vibrate and the back of the tongue is raised.

188. Next to **h** before or after a stressed vowel, it is more strongly articulated, e.g **hna:v** *shnámh*, **tanhi:** *tanaidhe*, **ji:nha:** *dhéanfá*.

189. Further examples occur in **krunhi:** *cronaidhe*, **kid'uxun** *cuideachan*, **m'anhu:** *meanadh*, **da:nuxt** *dánacht*, **s'iəni:l'** *sianghail*, **mə na:r'ə** *mo náire*, **anro:** *anródh*, **l'anhu:** *leathnughadh*, **t'u:xun** *tiughchan*, **bun** *bun*.

n'

190. The norm is a voiced palatalized alveolar nasal sound, formed by bringing the blade of the tongue into contact with the back of the teeth-ridge ; while the soft palate is lowered to allow

the air-stream to escape by the nasal cavity, the vocal cords are in vibration, and the tip of the tongue lies inactive behind the lower front teeth. It resembles the French '*n* mouillé' in such words as *agneau*, *montagne*.

191. A more strongly-uttered member of the phoneme occurs adjacent to **h** following a stressed vowel, e.g. **riɴ'hə s'e:** *roinnfidh sé*.

192. Examples are **iɴ'ux** *inneach*, **ɴ'art** *neart*, **torɴ'ux** *toirrneach*, **gra:ɴ'o:g** *gráinneóg*, **s'iɴ'a:n** *sinneán*, **laɴ'd'e:r** *laindéar*, **raburɴ'ux** *rabairneach*, **ɴ'i:xa:n** *nighe(achán)*, **fiɴ'o:g** *fuinneóg*, **ariɴ'** *arraing*, **s'ɴ'axtə** *sneachta*, **s'ɴ'i:v** *sníomh*.

ɴ

193. This symbol denotes a voiced dental nasal, of varying resonance within the central area : it is articulated by lowering the soft palate and placing the blade of the tongue against the edges of the upper front teeth, letting the air-stream pass through the nose, while the vocal cords vibrate.

194. Word-medially with **h** after a stressed vowel it is uttered with more force, e.g. **f'iɴhu:** *fionnfadh*, **b'r'aɴhux** *Breatnach*.

195. Examples are **aɴu:** *annamh*, **sɴi:s'i:n'** *snaoisín*, **s'iɴux** *sionnach*, **k'r'i:ɴə** *crionna*, **buɴ** *bonn*, **haɴhiɴ'** *theannfainn*, **kleg'eɴ** *cloigeann*, **sin'eɴti:** *soineannda*, **sɴa:hud** *snáthad*, **ɴi:v** *naomh*, **s'raɴ** *srann*.

ŋ'

196. This symbol denotes a voiced palatal nasal, made by bringing the centre of the tongue into contact with the back part of the hard palate and letting the air-stream issue forth through the nose, while the vocal cords are in vibration.

197. Examples occur in the words **aŋ'ul** *aingeal*, **lɪŋ'** *luing*, **miŋ'** *muing*, **k'iŋ'k'i:s'** *Cingcís*, **daŋ'un** *daingean*, **kiŋ'k'i:n'** *coinnín*, **kiŋ'ir'** *cuingir*, **sə ŋ'l'aɴ** *san ngleann*.

ŋ

198. This sound is a voiced velar nasal, corresponding to **g** as regards tongue position.

199. Examples are **k'aŋul** *ceangal*, **t'aŋi:** *teanga*, **b'r'iŋla:n** *breanglán*, **kuŋ ku:ŋg** *cumhang*, **taŋus** *tangas*, **raŋa:ʟ't'i:** *rangáilte*, **ruŋə** *ronga*, **ə ŋunus** *i nganfhios*, **fraŋkux** *Frangcach*, **s'ruŋa:n** *sreangán*, **k'aŋiʟ't'i:** *ceangailte*.

Laterals

200. The lateral consonant phonemes are four in number, namely, **l'**, **l**, **ʟ'**, and **ʟ**. The palatal v. non-palatal relationship exists, as shown by the following examples: **ʟ'a:v** *leaghadh* v. **ʟa:v** *lámh*, **ə l'a:v** *a leaghadh* v. **ə la:v** *a lámh*, **ʟ'as** *leas* v. **ʟas** *las*, **ɣa: l'asu:** *ghá leasughadh* v. **ɣa: lasu:** *ghá lasadh*, **kaʟ'** *caill* v. **kaʟ** *call*, **o:l'** *óil* v. **o:l** *ól*. Cf. **hl'ig'** *theilg* v. **hlig'** *shloig* v. **hig'** *thuig*, etc.

l'

201. The norm here is a voiced palatalized alveolar lateral sound, made by placing the tip of the tongue against the teeth-ridge near the backs of the upper front teeth, and letting the air-stream escape at one or at both sides of tongue, while the vocal cords vibrate and the front of the tongue is raised towards the hard palate. It lies between the English ' clear ' **l** in *lease* and that of German ɪn *Lied*, *Liebe*.

202. When it occurs next to **h** before or after a stressed vowel it is uttered with greater energy, and may be accompanied by slight friction. Examples are **hl'ig'** *theilg*, **buəl'hi:r** *buailfidhear*.

203. Further examples of the phoneme are **m'il'is'** *milis*, **kev'l'iɴ't'** *coimhling(t)*, **s'il'he:g'ux** *sithléigeach*, **k'l'iəvin'** *cliamhain*, **kuɴtra:l'** *conntráil*, **s'i:l'a:l'** *síleáil*, **mil'eɴ** *muileann*, **də l'abi:** *do leabaidh*, **mə hl'a:n** *mo shleaghán*, **p'l'e:a:l'** *pléáil*, **mə l'et'i:l** *mo leith-díol*, **l'e:m'** (*do*) *léim*, **kal'i:n'** *cailín*.

l

204. The norm may be described as a voiced velarized alveolar lateral: it is formed by putting the tip of the tongue against the teeth-ridge and letting the air-stream escape at one or at both sides of the tongue, while the vocal cords vibrate and the back of the tongue is raised towards the soft palate, giving it the quality of a fairly close back vowel.

205. A subsidiary member, uttered with greater energy, occurs next to **h** before or after a stressed vowel, e.g. **hlig'** *shloig*, **volhiɴ'** *mholfainn*.

206. Further examples are **falhu:** *folamh*, **sula:r** *soláthar*, **galu:n** *galún*, **p'i:blux** *pioblach*, **ləuir'** (*do*) *labhair*, **s'o:l** *seól*, **tulha:n** *tulán*, **s'k'e:l** *sgéal*, **s'a:l** *seaghal*, **di:l** *daol*, **oli:** *ola*, **bi:l** *baoghal*, **avlo:r'** *abhlóir*.

ʟ'

207. The norm is a voiced palatalized alveolar lateral sound, made by putting the blade of the tongue against the back part of the teeth-ridge and allowing the air-stream to escape at one side of the tongue, while the vocal cords vibrate. In Hiberno-English it is commonly used for -lj- in word-medial position, e.g. *William*, *million*.

208. Next to **h** following a stressed vowel it is more vigorously articulated, e.g. **geʟ'hi:** *goillfidh*, **kaʟ'hi:r** *caillfidhear*.

209. Further examples are **m'iʟ'u:** *milleadh*, **skeʟ't'** *sgoilt*, **gaʟ'i:** *Gaillimh*, **ʟ'agun** *leagan*, **toxiʟ't'** *tochailt*, **fi:ʟ'a:n** *faoilleán*, **meʟ'** *moill*, **guəʟ'a:l'** *guailneáil*, **ʟ'asu:** *leasughadh*, **aʟ'** *aill*, **seʟ'** *soill*, **biʟ'ə** *buille*, **ʟ'ag** *leag*, **s'ʟ'avin'** *sleamhain*.

ʟ

210. Here the norm is a voiced velarized dental lateral, made by the placing the blade of the tongue against the edges of the upper front teeth and allowing the air-stream to escape by one or both sides of the tongue, while the vocal cords are in vibration.

211. Adjoining **h** after a stressed vowel it is more energetically articulated, e.g. **jaʟhiɴ'** *gheallfainn*.

212. In word-final position the lingual contact is less extensive : here the phonetic distinction between **l** and **ʟ** tends to be obscure where the resonance quality is similar for both phonemes, e.g. **g'al** *geal* v. **g'aʟ** *geall*. Cf. §§ 13, 370.

213. Differentiation between **l** and **ʟ** is inconsistent in the speech of the younger generation, where words such as **koʟ/kol** *coll/col* are quite homophonous, owing to neutralization of originally distinctive features.

214. Further examples are **ʟi:** *laogh*, **ʟa:jə** *láighe*, **f'aʟtux** *fealltach*, **goʟ** *Goll*, **ʟag** *lag*, **muʟux** *mullach*, **noʟik'** *Nodlaig*, **ɴa: ʟas** *ná las*, **b'e:rʟə** *Béarla*, **koʟtur** *coltar*, **basʟux** *baslach*, **m'i:ʟto:g** *míoltóg*, **ʟa:d'ir'** *láidir*, **maʟu:** *mallughadh*, **aʟt** *alt*.

Vibrants

215. Two vibrant phonemes occur in the dialect, namely, **r'** and **r**. They are marked by the palatal v. non-palatal opposition, e.g.

ʟa:r *lár* v. **ʟa:r'** *láir*, **fuər'** *fuair* v. **fuər** *fuar*, **ar'ux** *aireach* v. **aruʂ** *earrach*, **ə hr'iən** *a thrian* v. **ə hriən** *a shrian*.

r'

216. This is a voiced palatalized alveolar vibrant, made by a slight tap of the tongue against the front part of the teeth-ridge, while the vocal cords are in vibration.

217. Adjoining **h** before or after a stressed vowel a more strongly articulated variety, accompanied by some friction, is heard, e.g. **hr'umi:** *thiormuigh*, **ar'huxus** *aithreachas*.

218. Illustrations are **t'r'aʟ** *treall*, **kir'hed** *cuirfead*, **k'r'a:vir'ə** *cneamhaire*, **ɴa:r'ə** *náire*, **ar'huxi:** *aithreacha*, **k'r'adux** *cneadach*,

pad'ir'i:n' *paidrín*, **g'r'iɴ'u:** *grinneadh*, **e:t'ir'** *éitir*, **ɣa: r'e:r'** *d(h)á réir*, **f'r'e:v** *fréamh*.

219. In consequence of extra palatalization, apparently, the phoneme is transformed in the speech of some speakers, e.g. (7), who pronounce a voiced vibrant palatal fricative—a kind of **j**—, using the blade rather than the tip of the tongue, e.g. **ma:r'ə** *Máire*, **ʟ'ahir'** *leathair*.

r

220. The norm is a voiced alveolar vibrant, made by flapping the tip of the tongue once against the hinder part of the teeth-ridge, while the vocal cords vibrate and the back of the tongue approximates the half-close position.

221. Next to **h** before or after a stressed vowel, it is uttered with greater energy, and accompanied by some friction, e.g. **hret'iɴ'** *throidfinn*, **i:rheɴ** *aorthann*.

222. Its quality varies from that of a central vowel, in such words as **g'e:ri:xt** *géaraidheacht*, to velar with lip-rounding in **s'u:rha:n** *seabhrán*.

223. Further examples are **spart'ux** *spairteach*, **pa:rik'** *Pádraig*, **ra:x'ə** *ráithe*, **fuərʟux** *fuarlach*, **ri:** *rí*, **krap'ə** *cnaipe*, **ki:rha:n** *caorán*, **torɴ'ux** *toirrneach*, **tor** *tur*, **korux** *corrach*, **b'artux** *beartach*, **kurhi:** *curtha*, **raɴ** *rann*, **trex'** *troigh*, **s'rufa:n** *sruthán*.

Marginal Phonemes

224. Though established in the dialect, certain consonants are regarded here as marginal phonemes, by reason of extraneous origin or restricted distribution. Some of these sounds, such as **ḍ** and **ṭ**, exist as sub-phonemic varieties in sandhi ; nevertheless, their chief source is the accumulation of loanwords from English, where they occur as regular phonemes.[1]

[1] Cf. *Phonemics*, pp. 142/3.

225. With the advance of a form of English as the trade language, came an increased influx of borrowings, and the impact of the English phonemic system on that of the dialect became more strongly felt. Very often, the component phonemes of a borrowed word could be rendered unambiguously by native equivalents.

Examples are **g'atə** *geata*, **bagu:n** *bagún*, **pa:pə** *pápa*, **f'e:r'i:n'** *féirín*, **s'aftə** *seafta*, **paka:l'** *pacáil*, **p'e:r'ə** *péire*, **trəia:l'** try-*áil*, **p'in's'ə** *pinse*, **bik'e:d** *buicéad*, **ra:su:r** *rásúr*, **pla:s't'e:ruxt** *pláistéaracht*, **s'u:ra:ʟ't'i:** *siúráilte*, **p'ɪntə** *pionnta*, **ruka:l'** *racáil*, **murt'e:l** *moirtéal*, **pa:va:l'** *pábháil*, **posta:l'** *postáil*, **s'k'il'u:l'** *sgileamhail*, **paso:d'** *posóid*, **badura:l'** *badaráil*, **sak** *sac*, **ba:s'i:n'** *báisín*, **kaɴə** *canna*, **boʟtə** *bolta*, **rastə** *reasta*, **postə** *posta*. A somewhat similar instance is the word **portu:n** *portún*< ' fortune '.

226. Other loan-words, however, contained phonemes not so easily accommodated to the existing system, which had to be extended in order to include them. These are **ḍ**, **ṭ**, and **z**; and the affricative combinations, **ḍz'** and **ṭs'**.

ḍ

227. This is a voiced alveolar plosive consonant, made by the sudden release of the air-stream between the tip of the tongue and the teeth-ridge, while the vocal cords are in vibration.

228. Illustrations are **ḍəuṭ** ' doubt ', **ḍumur** ' demur ', **ḍif'or** differ(ence) ', **l'e:ḍ** ' lead ', **la:rḍ** ' lord ', **af'ranḍ** ' affront ', **s'an'l'e:ḍi:** *sean*-lady, **l'aḍ** ' lad ', **ḍip'a:l'** dip-*áil*, **kre:ḍo:** ' credo ', **b'l'eg'a:rḍ** ' black-guard '.

229. As regards its occurrence in sandhi, see § 340. A similar non-significant sound develops in certain clusters, cf. § 314.

ṭ

230. This symbol represents an alveolar plosive, the voiceless counterpart of that sound described above, § 227.

231. As in Hiberno-English, it is replaced by the dental **t** when adjacent to **r**, e.g. **mo:tur** ' motor(-car) ', **trax** ' trough '; cf. **torɴə** *torna* with its later form **ṭor(u)n** ' turn ' which has a ' syllabic ' nasal consonant. See §§ 315, 340.

232. Illustrations are **kanse:ṭ** ' conceit ', **m'i:ṭa:l'** meet-*áil*, **ṭe:paṭ** ' teapot ', **a:lrəiṭ** ' all right ', **se:ṭ** ' seat ', **seṭ** ' set ', **p'e:n'ṭa:l'** paint-*áil*, **ṭo:pur** ' toper '.

z

233. This is a voiced alveolar fricative sound, similar to **s** as regards formation, but not as strongly articulated.

234. As a mutation of **s** it is not unknown, though rare in the dialect, e.g. **anumnuxi: vil' s'e: geb'l'uga:d' orɪɴ' giv' er'ə zun** *anamnachaí a bhfuil sé d'oibliogáid orainn guidhe ar a son*, (2). Even in loan-words, however, it is normally replaced by **s**, e.g. **bri:s** ' breeze ', **m'isis** ' Mrs. ', **siŋ'k'** ' zinc '. Examples of the phoneme are **po:l'i:z** ' police ', **re:l'z** ' rails ', **ḍz'az** ' jazz '.

Affricates

235. Affricate sequences are common in English, although phonemicists are not unanimous as to their interpretation in that language.[1] An affricate combination commences as a plosive and terminates as a fricative: it can therefore, be represented conveniently by a digraph, consisting of an appropriate letter for each of its segments. Two main instances occur in the dialect.[2] In accordance with the principle of symbol economy, they are here denoted by **ḍz'** and **ṭs'**, although the usual symbols are **dʒ** and **tʃ** respectively.

236. The sequence **ḍz'** may be described as a voiced alveo-palatal affricate, made by bringing the tip of the tongue into

[1] Cf. *Phonemes*, pp. 43 ff.

[2] Mention may also be made of the combination **ḍz**, occurring—with reinforced plural termination—, in the word **l'aḍzi:** lads-*aí*.

contact with the teeth-ridge, as for a plosive, while the blade is grooved in the manner described in § 149: this contact is then relaxed and the air-stream released relatively slowly, the release resembling the homorganic fricative consonant.

237. Examples are **laḍz′** 'lodge', **ḍz′iŋla:l′** jingle-*áil*, **sa:rḍz′in′ṭ** 'sergeant', **ḍz′abir′ə** job-*aire*, **ḍz′ug** 'jug', **ḍz′a:r** 'jar'.

238. In like manner, **ṭs′** can be described as a voiceless alveo-palatal affricate, corresponding to **dz′** as regards formation.

239. Examples are **p′a:ṭs′ə** *p(e)áitse*, **vaṭs′** 'watch', **bro:ṭs′** 'brooch', **m′aṭs′eɴi:** match-*anna*, **s′k′eṭs′** 'sketch'.

240. There are speakers who substitute **s′** for this combination, e.g. **s′a:k** 'chalk'; cf. **s′ans** *seans* ('chance').

Chapter IV

PHONEME DISTRIBUTION

241. The distribution of phonemes is, in speech, subject to certain limitations, as outlined in the following paragraphs.

Vowels and Diphthongs

V(:)

242. A long vowel in isolation may constitute a syllable or word, e.g. **a:** *ádh*.

243. A single vowel or diphthong may occur initially in syllables, words, or utterances, e.g. **i:s′** *aois*, **e:n** *éan*, **eg′ə** *aige*, **am** *am*, **a:l** *ál*, **im′** *im*, **ord** *ord*, **o:l** *ól*, **u:dor** *ughdar*, **uv** *ogh*, **ə′ɴoxt** *anocht*, **iəsuxt** *iasacht*, **uəxtur** *uachtar*, **əir′ux** *oighreach*, **əuɴ′** *abhainn*.

244. Vowels or diphthongs occur medially in syllables, words, or utterances, e.g. **d′i:l** *díol*, **rix′** *ri(o)th*, **f′e:r** *féar*, **b′er′** *beir*, **f′ar** *fear*, **g′a:r** *gearr*, **ʟox** *loch*, **k′o:l** *ceól*, **muk** *muc*, **ku:l** *cúl*, **t′r′iən** *trian*, **rah** *rath*, **kruəx** *cruach*, **ʟ′əis** *leigheas*, **s′əuk** *seabhac*.

245. They may occur finally in syllables, words, or utterances, e.g. **m′i:** *mí*, **re:** *réidh*, **b′r′a:** *breaghdha*, **b′o:** *beó*, **buəlu:** *bualadh*, **m′i:l′ə** *míle*, **kumə** *cuma*, **ʟ′iə** *liath*, **grəi** *groidhe*, **ʟuə** *luath*.

V:V(:)

246. Polysyllabic words or utterances may contain vowel clusters, consisting of a long vowel or diphthong followed by another vowel (see § 311), e.g. **əiə** *aghaidh*, **fu:a:l′** *fuagháil*, **əiork** *adharc*, **kru:o:g** *cruadhóg*, **s′i:o:g** *sídheóg*, **bo:i:n′** *bóín*, **gəior** *gadhar*, **kləiə** *cloidhe*, **gəuur** *gabhar*, **təuə** *togha*, **fəuurt′** *fobhairt*, **ʟ′i:a:n** *liaghán*, **spre:a:l′** *spraeáil*, **f′i:o:gi:** *fidheóga*.

Consonants

C

247. The following consonants are of free occurrence initially in syllables, words, and utterances: all the plosives; the fricatives **f′**, **f**, **s′** and **s**; the nasals **m′**, **m**, **ɴ′** and **ɴ**; the laterals **ʟ′** and **ʟ**; and the vibrant **r**. Examples appear in Chapter III, where these phonemes are described.

248. The following consonants likewise occur in syllables and words, as well as utterance-initially in the past tenses of verbal forms (owing to the disappearance of the particle *do*), and frequently in vocatives (due to the omission of *a*): the fricatives **v**(′), **f**(′), **j**, **ɣ**, **x**(′), and **h**; the nasals **n′** and **n**; and the laterals **l′** and **l**.

Examples :— **v′i:** *bhí*, **vuəl′** *bhuail*, **has** *sheas* **ji:l** *dhíol*, **x′aɴi:** *cheannuigh*, **ɣu:n′** *dhú(i)n*, **xax′** *chaith*, **v′ix′a:l′** (*a*) *Mhichéail*, **x′a:n′** (*a*) *Sheáin*, **he:mis′** (*a*) *Shéamuis*, **n′ij** (*do*) *nigh*, **na:r′ə tu:** (*do*) *náirigh tú*, **l′ig′es** (*do*) *léigeas*, **les′k′** (*do*) *loisg*, **f′adir′** (*a*) *Pheadair*, **fo:s** (*do*) *phós*.

249. Consonants mentioned in § 248 may also occur initially in loan-words, e.g. **v′an′** ‘van’, **vo:ta:l′** *bhótáil*, **l′aḍ** ‘lad’, **jaŋ′k′** ‘Yank’, **ha:l** *hál*.

250. Occasionally in interrogative utterances the nasals **ŋ′** and **ŋ** appear initially, due to the omission of the nasalizing particle *an*, e.g. **ŋ′ofa:** (*an*) *ngéabhfá*?, **ŋofa:** (*an*) *ngabhfá*?

251. The palatalized vibrant **r′** does not seem to occur in utterance-initial position.

252. All consonants can occur singly in word or utterance-medial position, except **ɣ**, which appears medially only in utterances, that is, as word-initial.

253. Details of the distribution of such consonants in relation to syllable junctions are given below, §§ 290, 291.

254. Any consonant may occur finally in syllables, and in words or utterances containing such syllables, except the fricatives **f′**, **ɣ**, and **h**. Of these, **f′** may occur finally in utterances, due to the disappearance of a following **ə**, e.g. **klif′ə** *cluiche*.

compared with **s′in′** **ɣa:** **xlif′** *sin dhá chluiche*; and **h** occurs after a stressed vowel, e.g. **ʟ′ah** *leath*.

CC

255. Either a palatalized plosive followed by **l′/r′** or a non-palatalized plosive followed by **l/r** can occur initially in syllables, words, or utterances.

Examples are **b′r′ik′** *bric*, **g′l′o:** *gleó*, **t′l′ig′un** *teilgean*, **k′l′as** *cleas*, **b′l′iən′** *bliadhain*, **k′r′e:fo:g** *créafóg*, **d′l′i:v** *dligheadh*, **brok** *broc*, **drehed** *droichead*, **plu:xti:** *plúchta*, **dlu:** *dlúth*, **bla:x** *bláthach*, **klox** *cloch*, **glak** *glac*, **pre:** *préidh*, **g′r′aʟux** *greallach*.

256. The fricative consonants, especially **s′**, **s**, and **h**, present a more complicated pattern.

257. Initial **f′** may precede **l′/r′**, and initial **f** may be followed by **l/r**, e.g. **f′l′ox** *fliuch*, **f′r′e:v** *fréamh*, **flax′u:l′** *flaitheamhail*, **fri:x** *fraoch*.

258. Initial **s** may precede any of the following: the palatalized labials **m′** and **p′**; the plosives **p**, **t**, **k**; the nasals **m**, **ɴ**; the lateral **ʟ**; and the fricatives **v** (in loans), **f′** (in sandhi).

Examples are **sp′al** *speal*, **sm′e:r** *sméar*, **spad′** *spaid*, **stuəm′** *stuaim*, **sko:r** *sgór*, **sve:** ‘sway’, **sf′u:** *is fiú*,[1] **smaxt** *smacht*, **sɴa:v** *snámh*, **sʟuəsed** *sluasad*.

259. Initial **s′** can precede any of the following: the palatals **t′**, **k′**, **ɴ′**, **ʟ′**, as well as the vibrant **r**.

Examples of these clusters occur in **s′t′iəʟ** *stiall*, **s′k′e:l** *sgéal*, **s′ɴ′i:v** *sníomh*, **s′raku:** *sracadh*, **s′ʟ′iəv** *sliabh*. Cf. § 155. In loans **s′** may be followed by **n′/l′**, e.g. **s′l′ap′a:l′** slap-*áil*, **s′n′aṭs′a:l** snatch-*áil*.

260. The following fricatives occur initially in clusters under the circumstances outlined in § 248:

(i) **v′**, **f′**, **j**, **x′**, followed by **l′/r′**, e.g. **v′r′ak** *bhreac*, **v′l′ij** *bhligh*, **jl′e:s** *ghléas*, **jr′ami:** *ghreamuigh*, **v′r′i:d′** (*a*) *Bhrighid*, **x′r′ed′** *chreid*, **f′l′e:sk** *phléasg*.

(ii) **v**, **f**, **ɣ**, or **x**, followed by **l/r**, e.g. **vrix′** *bhruith*, **xrox** *chroch*, **ɣlak** *ghlac*, **flu:x** *phlúch*.

[1] Here however, by the omission of essential lip-movement, f′ may be reduced virtually to zero.

(iii) **h**, followed by **n′**, **l′**, **r′**, **n**, **l**, **r**, e.g. **hn′i:v** *shníomh*, **hna:v** *shnámh*, **hl′avni:** *shleamhnuigh*, **hr′umi:** *thiormuigh*, **hlig′** *shloig*, **hred′** *throid*.

261. The nasals **m′**, **ŋ′**, followed by **l′/r′**, and **m**, **ŋ**, followed by **l/r**, may occur initially under circumstances similar to those stated in § 250.

Examples are **m′r′aka:** (*an*) *mbreacfá* ?, **mrix′a:** (*an*) *mbruithfeá* ?, **ŋ′l′e:sa:** (*an*) *ngléasfá* ?, **ŋli:ha:** (*an*) *nglaodhfá* ?

262. As for medial biphonemic clusters, they are very common in words and utterances, often separated by morpheme boundaries. No pairs of laterals or vibrants appear[1]; while the assimilation of a nasal to an adjacent lateral (possibly with nasalization of the lateral in the transitional stage) is a very old-established one in the language[2], e.g. **oLə** *olna*.

Typical examples of medial clusters are included in the following table:

First element of cluster	Second element of cluster: Plosive	Fricative	Nasal	Lateral	Vibrant
Plosive	**baktur** *bactar*	**taksi:** *tacsaí*	**e:gnux** *éagnach*	**kap′l′i:** *caiple*	**eb′r′ə** *oibre.*
Fricative	**e:ski:** *éasgaidh*	**tev′s′ə** *taidhbhse*	**m′is′N′ux** *meisneach*	**masLu:** *maslughadh*	**av′r′es** *amhaireas*
Nasal	**i:Ntes** *iongantas*	**unsə** *unnsa*	**iŋ′n′i:** *ingne*	**dumlus** *domblas*	**im′r′es** *imreas*
Lateral	**o:Lti:** *ólta*	**sel′s′i:** *soillse*	—	—	**ulrə** *iolra*
Vibrant	**ord′ə** *airde*	**fors′u:** *foirse*	**tu:rN′ə** *túirne*	**orLux** *ordlach*	—

[1] Except in Sandhi; see Chapter VII.
[2] Thurneysen, § 153; cf. English **kil(n)** 'kiln'.

263. A relatively restricted number of biphonemic clusters occur finally in syllables, words, and utterances. The second element of such clusters is normally a plosive, a fact which conforms to the phonetic situation: since the interruption of the air-stream is greatest in plosives, they are to be expected in positions farthest from the syllabic nucleus. Cf. § 287.

264. The following types have been recorded:

(i) **p′** preceded by **m′**, **l′ r′**; and **p** preceded by **l, r**: examples are **stram′p′** *straimp*, **skal′p′** *sgailp*, **ker′p′** *cuirp*, **korp** *corp*, **s′k′alp** *sgealb*;

(ii) **d′**, **d**, preceded by **r**, e.g. **bord′** *boird*, **bord** *bord*;

(iii) **t′** preceded by **s′**, **x**, **N′**, **L′**, **r**; and **t** preceded by **s**, **x**, **N**, **L**, **r**:— examples are **ə′r′i:s′t′** *arís(t)*, **boxt′** *boicht*, **s′iL′t′** *silt*, **saN′t′** *sainnt*, **b′ert′** *beirt*, **trust** *trust*, **es′t′uxt** *éisteacht*, **aLt** *alt*, **maNt** *mannt*, **gort** *gort*;

(iv) **k′** preceded by **s′**, **ŋ′**, **l′**, r′, and **k** preceded by **s, ŋ, l, r**, examples being **el′k′** *uilc*, **f′er′k′** *feirc*, **graŋ′k′** *grainnc*, **e:s′k′** *éisg*, **olk** *olc*, **riəsk** *riasg*, **splaŋk** *splangc*, **afurk** *amharc*.

265. It will be observed that in the final clusters the voiceless plosives predominate, namely, **p′**, **p**, **t′**, **t**, **k′** and **k**. Of the voiced plosives, **d′** and **d** occur only after **r**; while **b′**, **b**, **g′** and **g** do not appear, since clusters where they formerly appeared have been broken by epenthesis. See Epenthetic vowels, § 443.

CCC

266. Triphonemic clusters beginning with one of the fricatives **s′/s** occur initially in syllables, and in words and utterances containing such syllables. In such clusters the second and third elements are a plosive and a lateral/vibrant respectively, analogous to the sequences described in § 255.

267. Initial **s** may be followed by **p**, **t**, or **k**; these being succeeded in turn by **l** or **r**. Initial **s** may also precede **p′** plus **l′/r′**.

Examples are included in **spri:** *spraoi*, **splaŋk** *splangc*, **sp′l′iŋ′k′** *splinnc*, **sp′r′e:** *spréidh*, **stro:v** *strómh*, **skrax′** *sgraith*.

268. Another initial group comprises **s'** followed by **t'** or **k'**, plus one of the palatals **l'**, **r'** ; e.g. **s'k'r'e:x** *sgréach*, **s'k'l'i:t'ux** *sglíteach*, **s't'r'i:pux** *striapach*.

269. Three-consonant clusters occur medially in words and utterances, at the junctions of syllables ending in a consonant and others beginning in a two-consonant cluster. The following types may be noted :—

(i) A group of the kind described above, § 255, preceded by a fricative, nasal, lateral, or vibrant, e.g. **mas't'r'u:** *maistreadh*, **t'iɴ't'r'ux** *teinntreach*, **g'aɴtruxi:** *geanntracha*, **staʟtruxi:** *staltracha*, **partri:** *Partraighe*, **sumplə** *sompla*, **foskli:x** *fosgluigheadh*.

(ii) A group like those described in §§ 258, 259, preceded by a plosive, nasal, lateral, or vibrant, e.g. **pratstu:n'** *Protastúin*, **amski:** *amsgaoidhe*, **bolsko:d'** *ballsgóid*, **fars'ɴ'uxt** *fairsingeacht*, **in's't'i:** *inniste*. Still other types can arise in speech at word-junctions, e.g. **ə ɴad s v'ex** *an fhad is bheadh*.

270. With regard to three-consonant clusters in final position, see § 287.

CCCC and CCCCC

271. Quadriphonemic consonant clusters may occur medially in compound words, at the junctions of syllables ending in **C** and others beginning with **CCC**, e.g. **mi:l's'k'r'i:bux** *maoil-sgríobach*, **ʟ'e:n's'k'r'is** *léir-sgrios*, **droxs'k'r'i:v** *droch-sgríobhadh*.

Pentaphonemic consonant sequences occasionally arise in utterance-medial position at the juxtaposition of syllables ending in **CC** and others beginning in **CCC**, e.g. **kart̪ skla:ti:** *cairt sglátaí*, **muʟt stre:** *molt strae*, **ban't̪ skrahuxi:** *baint sgrathacha*.

Quality

272. Generally speaking, consonants with palatal v. non-palatal contrast do not occur together as members of a cluster, but exceptions arise in certain initial clusters containing **s**, as well as medial and final ones containing either **x** or **r** :—

(i) initial, **sp'**, (**sk'**, see § 155), **sm'**, e.g **sm'e:r** *sméar*, **sp'i:na:n** *spíonán* ; (ii) medial, **xt'**, **rd'**, **rt'**, **rs'**, **rɴ'**, **rʟ'**, e.g. **boxt'ə** *boichte*, **ord'ə** *airde*, **spart'ux** *spairteach*, **tars'ux** *tair(r)seach*, **a:rɴ'ə** *áirne*, **ku:rʟ'ə** *comhairle*[1]; (iii) final, **xt'**, **rd'**, **rt'**, e.g. **boxt'** *boicht*, **k'erd'** *ceird*, **k'ert'** *ceirt*.

1. There is a certain tendency to abandon palatalization in vibrants; see also § 251. This is due primarily to physiological factors, since effective vibration requires a rather lower and more retracted tongue-position than is usual for C'. For cases where palatalisation is retained while the identity of the vibrant is lost or modified, see §§ 219, 490.

Chapter V

THE SYLLABLE

273. A syllable is a unit of audibility, containing a nucleus or vowel with or without one or more consonant phonemes.

Monosyllables

274. An analysis of monosyllabic words occurring in the dialect reveals the existence of twelve kinds of syllabic sequences, namely, **V**, **VC**, **VCC**, **CV**, **CCV**, **CCCV**, **CVC**, **CVCC**, **CCVC**, **CCVCC**, **CCCVC**, and **CCCVCC**. The first six may be regarded as primary types, for the remainder can be derived from various combinations of these.

V

275. This type of syllable, which is not very common, consists of a long vowel in isolation, e.g. **i:** *aodh*, **a:** *ádh*, **u:** *úth*.

VC

276. Here **V** may be long or short, and **C** may be a plosive, fricative, nasal, lateral, or vibrant, e.g. **a:t'** *áit*, **i:s'** *aois*, **im'** *im*, **aɪ'** *aill*, **o:r** *ór*, **uər'** *uair*.

VCC

277. This consists of a plosive, preceded by a fricative, nasal, lateral, or vibrant, preceded in turn by a long or short vowel, or by a diphthong. Examples are **a:rd** *ard*, **iəsk** *iasg*, **olk** *olc*, **an'ʈ** 'aunt', **ord** *ord*.

CV

278. Here **V** is a long vowel or a diphthong, and **C** may be a plosive, fricative, nasal, lateral, or vibrant, e.g. **g'e:** *gé*, **fa:** *fáth*, **m'i:** *mí*, **ri:** *rí*, **ʟa:** *lá*, **ʟ'iə** *liath*.

CCV

279. This syllabic type comprises three subsidiary members, **V** in each case being a long vowel or a diphthong :—

(i) The first commences with a plosive consonant, followed by a lateral or a vibrant, e.g. **bla:** *bláth*, **g'l'o:** *gleó*, **b'r'i:** *briogh*, **kro:** *cró*, **tra:** *tráth*, **k'l'u:** *cl(i)ú*, **grəi** *groidhe*.

(ii) Here belong syllables that begin with certain fricative consonants : (*a*) **f**(') followed by a lateral or vibrant, as stated in § 257 above ; (*b*) **s**(') followed by a plosive, nasal, lateral, vibrant, or fricative consonant ; See §§ 258, 259. Examples are **fri:** *fraoigh*, **f'l'u:** *fliú*, **s'k'i:** *sgíoth*, **sve:** 'sway', **sɴu:** *snuadh*, **s'ʟ'i:** *slighe*, **s'ro:** *sróth*.

(iii) The third member consists of grammatically modified forms,[1] comparable with those cited in §§ 260, 261, namely : (*a*) **l**(')/**r**(') preceded by one of the fricatives **v**('), **f**('), **j**, **ɣ**, **x**('), **h**, or the nasals **m**('), **ŋ**('), e.g. **v'r'a:** *bhreaghdha*, **vla:** *bhláth*, **jl'o:** *ghleó*, **ɣra:** *ghrádh*, **xro:** *chró*, **hl'i:** *shlighe*, **mla:** *mbláth*, **ŋ'l'o:** *ngleó*, **ŋra:** *ngrádh* ; (*b*) a nasal, preceded by **h**, e.g. **hnu:** *shnuadh*.

CCCV

280. This consists of a fricative consonant, followed by a group of the kind described in § 279 (i), e.g. **sp'r'e:** *spréidh*, **stre:** *strae*. The sequence may be different in borrowings, e.g. **skve:ra:ʟ't'i:** square-*áilte*, where the third element also is a fricative or semi-vowel.

CVC

281. This is an extremely common type of syllable in the dialect. It might be considered as a combination of the types described above, §§ 276, 278 ; cf. **bi:** *buidhe* v. **i:l** *aol* v. **bi:l** *baoghal*. A selection of examples is recorded on the following chart :—

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[1] An independent initial nasal, as in **mra:** *mná* (earlier *bn-*, Thurneysen, § 211) is exceptional.

First consonant	Final consonant of syllable :				
	Plosive	Fricative	Nasal	Lateral	Vibrant
Plosive	**kat** *cat*	**t'ax** *teach*	**d'i:n** *díon*	**d'əul** *diabhal*	**dar'** *dair*
Fricative	**s'uk** *sioc*	**hi:s** *thíos*	**s'a:n** *Seán*	**si:l** *saoghal*	**f'e:r** *féar*
Nasal	**mak** *mac*	**ɴi:v** *naomh*	**mu:n'** *móin*	**meʟ'** *moill*	**mi:r** *maor*
Lateral	**ʟ'ak** *leac*	**ʟox** *loch*	**ʟ'iɴ'** *linn*	**ʟa:l'** *lá fhéil*[2]	**ʟa:r'** *láir*
Vibrant	**rud** *rud*	**rah** *rath*	**raɴ** *rann*	**ri:l'** *ríl*	**riər** *riar*

[2] sandhi

CVCC

282. This combines the types described in §§ 277, 278; cf. **ri:** *rí* v. **iəsk** *iasg* v. **riəsk** *riasg*. Examples are **b'art** *beart*, **s'axt** *seacht*, **miʟ't'** *moilt*, **ʟoxt** *locht*, **maɴt** *mannt*, **mark** *marc*. A fricative consonant may appear finally in loans, e.g. **s'ans** *seans*, or due to the disappearance of an utterance-final short vowel. Cf. § 287.

CCVC

283. Here is a combination of the types described in § 276, 279; cf. **s'ro:** *sróth* v. **o:n** *Eoghan* v. **s'ro:n** *srón*. Examples are **b'r'e:g** *bréag*, **glak** *glac*, **g'l'aɴ** *gleann*, **sm'id'** *smid*, **s'ʟ'ah** *sleagh*, **stal'** *stail*, **sko:r** *sgór*, and **mlok** *mbloc* (in utterances).

CCVCC

284. This type combines the sequences described in § 277, 279; cf. **ska:** *sgáth* v. **a:rd** *ard* v. **ska:rd** *sgard*. Examples are **bli:sk** *blaosg*, **skart'** *sgairt*, **smal'k'** *smailc*, **graŋ'k'** *grainnc*, **sʟaxt** *slacht*, and **mru:xt** *mbrúcht* (utterance form).

CCCVC

285. Here are combined the types described in §§ 276, 280. Examples are **sklav** *sglamh*, **stro:k'** *stróic*, **stri:s'** *straois*, **s't'r'eʟ'** *streill*, **skla:r s'e:** *sgláir sé*.

CCCVCC

286. This combines the types described above, §§ 277, 280. It is of rare occurrence, examples being **splaŋk** *splangc*, **stram'p'** *straimp*.

287. Owing to the disappearance of utterance-final short unstressed vowels, certain medial **C** clusters are exposed, giving rise to fresh final clusters, in which the fricatives **s'/s** occur preceded by another consonant. Examples are **ams(ə)** *agam-sa*, **l'iv's'(ə)** *libh-se*, **eg' iəri: k'l'i: ors't'(ə)** *ag iarraidh cliath fhuirste*. A long vowel may likewise be dropped e.g. **ə'd'er s'(i:)** *adeir sí*. Similar cases arise in relative constructions like **vari:ns** (*a*) *mharbha(nn)s*, **v'i:ns** (*a*) *bhío(nn)s*.

288. The distribution of consonants in those syllables containing clusters, namely, **VCC**, **CCV**, **CCCV**, or their combinations, may be tabulated as follows :—

Type:	Order of phonemes:					
	C	C	C	V	C	C
VCC					Fricative, Nasal, Lateral, Vibrant,	Plosive, Fricative (cf. § 287).
CCV		(i) Plosive,	Lateral, Vibrant.			
		(ii) Fricative,	Plosive, Fricative, Nasal, Lateral, Vibrant.			
		(iii) Nasal,	As (i).			
CCCV	s'/s	As CCV (i)	As CCV (i)			

Polysyllables

289. Syllable division is intervocalic when one vowel (or diphthong) occurs next to another **V** in words or utterances, e.g. **təuə** *togha*, **koli: e:di:** *culaith éadaigh*, **f'ar o: i:nux** *fear ó aonach*.

290. Single consonants belong to a preceding syllable when that contains a short stressed vowel, e.g. **afurk** *amharc*, **t'ig'im'** *tuigim*, **kaʟ'ux** *cailleach*, **fado:** *fadó*, **ev'eɴ** *eidheann*, **obir'** *obair*, **s'es'or** *seisear*, **s'uŋa:n** *seangán*.

291. A single consonant belongs to the second syllable when the first contains a long vowel, or a diphthong, e.g. **k'l'iəva:n** *cliabhán*, **s'i:l'im'** *saoilim*, **k'i:r'e:b'** *círéib*, **a:lu:** *áladh*, **ko:r'i:** *cóirigh*, **re:t'ux** *réidhteach*, **p'l'o:tə** *pleóta*, **b'e:d'ir'** *b'éidir*. The same happens after a short unstressed vowel in words and utterances, e.g. **d'ar-u-fi:** *dearbhtha*, **eg' ə ɴobir'** *ag an obair*, **sə ɴat'iɴ'** *san aitinn*.

292. In a medial **CC** cluster the break seems to occur between the consonants, e.g **eb'l'uga:d'** *oibliogáid*, **utrix'ə** *otruighthe*, **porgudo:r'** *Purgadóir*, **e:gruəs** *éagcruas*, **i:ɴtes** *iongantas*.

293. In a medial **CCC** cluster, of which the central member is a fricative, syllable division occurs after the first consonant, e.g. **bol-sko:d'** *ballsgóid*, **far-s'ɴ'uxt** *fairsingeacht*, **am-ski:** *amsgaoidhe*; where the second and third members form a sequence of the type described in § 279 (ii). When the medial cluster contains a plosive in central position, such consonant is itself the phonetic dividing point between the syllables. It can however, on the analogy of the preceding case, be aptly assigned to the second syllable, thus constituting the beginning of a sequence like that described in § 279 (i), e.g. **par-tri:** *Partraighe*, **sum-plə** *sompla*, **iɴ'-t'r'i:xt** *inntleacht*, **baɴ'-t'r'ux** *baintreabhthach*, **fos-kli:x** *fosgluigheadh*.

294. Words sometimes have alternative forms where a short unstressed vowel is assimilated to a following sonorous consonant, resulting in a so-called 'syllabic' consonant, e.g. **miɴ't'(i)ɴ' he:n'** *m'intinn féin*, **ba:r ɴə hat'(i)ɴ'ə** *barr na h-aitinne*, **hox(i)l' s'iəd** *thochail siad*. There are comparable cases in English, e.g. *bottle*, *button*, etc.[1]

[1] See Jones *Outline*, § 211, 213.

Chapter VI

EXTRA-PHONEMIC ELEMENTS

295. Reference is here made to nasalization, and to certain transitional and other non-systematic sounds occurring in the dialect.

Nasalization

296. Some speakers regularly use nasalized phonemes in certain words, e.g **ã:** in **a:t'** *áit* ; **ṽ** in **savru:** *samhradh*, **l'avnuxt** *leamhnacht*, **savin'** *Samhain* ; **ũ:** in **ku:rl'ə** *comhairle*, **ku:g** *cumhang*. Those sounds are due mainly to the influence of an originally nasal consonant, *mh*. Cf. §§ 137, 141, 350.

297. In the majority of cases nasalization is a non-significant transitional feature, incidental to the raising and lowering of the soft palate in the neighbourhood of nasal consonants. This non-primary nasalization is more noticeable among older speakers : in some instances—as with (5)—the soft palate seems to be normally in a rather lowered position during speech, with the result that a nasal quality pervades the pronunciation.

298. Nasalization is accentuated in certain contexts, e.g. in complaints, etc.

299. The modifying effect of a nasal consonant on the adjacent vowel or diphthong is more marked when both occur in the same stressed syllable ; it is most marked when the nasal is also velarized.

300. Comparatively prominent nasalization of **a:** occurs between nasals, e.g. **ma:m** *mám* ; and before or after nasals, e.g. **nar'ux** *náireach*, **il'a:n** *oiléan*, **ka:n'** *cáin*, **ma:v** *mámh*.

301. Less pronounced is the nasalization of **u:**, e.g. **mu:nu:** *múnadh*, **l'u:nu:** *leónadh*, **mu:n'** *móin* ; of **i:**, e.g. **i:nu:** *iongnadh*,

mi:r *maor*, **im'n'i:** *imneadh* ; and of **iə**, between nasals, e.g. **m'iənux** *mianach*.

302. Nasalized **a** is frequent, e.g. **klampur** *clampar*, **kam** *cam*, **gan** *gann*, **kan't'** *cainnt*, **am's'ir'** *aimsir*.

303. Further illustrations of diphthongs and short stressed vowels subject to nasalization are :—**əu**, e.g. **dəun** *domhan*, **əun'** *abhainn* ; **uə**, e.g. **suən** *suan* ; **u**, e.g. **trum** *trom* ; and **i**, e.g. **f'in** *fionn*, **drim'** *druim*.

Transitions

304. A transitional sound is an accessory feature that develops during the movement of the speech organs from one phoneme to another, especially in the same syllable, as well as finally in passing to the zero position.

305. Its prominence is proportionate to the stress and duration of its flanking phonemes, and to the difference between them as regards position or mode of articulation.

306. Since transitional sounds may be vocalic or consonantal in essence, they are hereunder denoted by minuscule vowel or consonant letters, which are raised above the line to distinguish them from the phonemic symbols. Cf. §§ 443, 444, 492 ff.

Vocalic transitions

307. The sign ^{i} denotes a slight, fairly close central vocalic sound, audible between a palatal and a preceding **u(:)**, **o(:)**, **a(:)**, **uə**, or a following **u(:)**, e.g. **b'^{i}u:** *b'fhiú*, **s'^{i}u:il'** *siobhail*, **f'^{i}u:ntux** *fiúntach*, **kruə^{i}x'ə** *cruaiche*, **o:il'** *óil*, **fa:il'** *faghál*, **ku:^{i}k'^{i}u:** *cúigeadh*, **ma^{i}x'** *maith*, **do:^{i}b'** *dóib*, **ka^{i}x'** *caith*.

308. A slight, fairly close retracted central vocalic sound, denoted by ^{u}, appears between a velarized consonant and a

flanking **i**(:), e.g. **gᵘi:** *gaoth*, **bᵘi:** *buidhe*, **fᵘi:** *faoi*, **ʟᵘi:** *laogh*, **kᵘi:r'i:** *caoirigh*, **mᵘik'ə** *muice*, **ʟᵘi:ᵘx** *laoch*, **bᵘi:ᵘl** *baoghal*.

309. A raised **ᵉ** denotes a very short advanced central half-close vocalic sound, occurring between a palatal and a following **o**(:), **a**(:), e.g. **b'ᵉo:** *beó*, **f'ᵉar** *fear*, **k'ᵉad** *cead*, **f'ᵉo:il'** *feóil*. A similar sound develops, especially in slow or drawling speech, between a palatal plosive and a following **l'**, after the dentals **d, t,** or in passing from a close or half-close long front vowel to zero, e.g. **g'ᵉl'ᵉo:** *gleó*, **dᵉit'** *duit*, **tᵉig'ə** *cad chuige*?, **s'e:ᵉ** *is é*, **l'e: m'i:ᵉ** *lé mí*.[1]

310. A retracted central vocalic sound, about half-close, denoted by the sign **°**, occurs between a velarized consonant and an adjacent **e**(:), e.g. **kᵒeʟ'** *coill*, **gᵒe:l'g'ə** *Gaedhilge*, **b'e:ᵒl** *béal*. It may be heard also between a non-palatal plosive and a following **l/r** in the same syllable, e.g. **bᵒla:x** *bláthach*, **kᵒloxa:n** *clochán*, **gᵒro:** *gró*; likewise in passing from a long close or half-close back vowel to zero, e.g. **mə voːᵒ** *mo bhó*, **gə d'ᵉoːᵒ** *go deó*. Cf. § 309.

Consonantal Transitions

311. In clusters, comprising **i**(:) followed by a syllabic non-front vowel in closely-connected sequence, a slight, voiced palatal semi-vocalic sound, denoted here by **ʲ**, may be heard, e.g. **f'i:ʲa:n'** *fiadháin*, **s'i:ʲo:g** *sídheóg*, **əʲork** *adharc*. The same may be heard when **i:** is preceded by such vowels, e.g. **bo:(ʲ)i:n'** *bóin*.

312. Between **u**(:) and an adjacent vowel in closely-connected sequence, a short voiced labio-velar semi-vocalic sound, denoted by **ᵛ**, may be heard, e.g. **ru:ᵛo:g** *ruadhóg*, **bəuᵛur** *bodhar*, **rəuᵛə** *rogha*.

313. In passing from **m** to a closely-following voiceless fricative, the soft palate is raised, the lips open, and a slight bi-labial

[1] It is heard also in certain Hiberno-English dialects, e.g. **go: ə'we:ᵉ** *go away*.

plosive, here denoted by **ᵖ**, may be audible, e.g. **l'umᵖsə** *liom-sa*; cf. **l'umᵖ he:n'** *liom féin*, which has developed the alternative form **l'um p'e:n'**.

314. In the medial group **lr,** particularly when strongly articulated, there develops a transitional sound, here denoted by **ᵈ**. Its formation may be described as follows: for the voiced alveolar lateral the air-stream is partially obstructed by contact in the middle of the mouth between the tip of the tongue and teeth-ridge. While the vocal cords vibrate, this partial closure is broken off momentarily before the vibrant begins, the result being a weak voiced plosive sound. Examples are **malᵈrux** *malrach*, **galᵈrə** *galra* (*galar*).

315. After the nasal in the clusters **ns**, **nhr**, voicing is arrested while the soft palate is raised, the tip of the tongue breaks contact with the teeth-ridge, and a devoiced alveolar plosive transition occurs: it may be written **ᵗ**, e.g. **anᵗhri:** *eanbhruith*, **ʟanᵗsə** *lannsa*, **koːnᵗhrə** *comhra*, **banᵗhrux** *bannrach*, **skanᵗhru:** *sgannradh*. A similar sound occurs after the lateral in the group **lhr**, e.g. **malᵗhrid'** *malairt*.

316. Some speakers develop a slight homorganic voiced fricative after **d'**, e.g. *deas*. Cf. § 111.

317. The same speakers develop a corresponding voiceless fricative transition after **t'**, e.g. *teach*. Cf. § 118.

Further instances

318. A long central vowel, often half-open and with neutral lip-position, may occur as a hesitation form in narrative and in conversation: it can be denoted by the symbol **ə:**, e.g. **fuəj, agus ə:, ʜ'i:r ban'u: l'es'** *chuaidh, agus —, níor baineadh leis*.

319. Certain consonantal sounds, frequently lengthened, occur in isolation with recognized meanings, e.g. **s':** ' be silent '.

320. Sounds made by ingress of the air-stream are used as interjections, to express disapproval, impatience, etc.

Chapter VII

PHONEMES IN SANDHI

321. Through the influence of an adjacent phoneme at border points in connected speech, a phoneme is liable to be modified in various ways, due to variations in the action of any of the movable organs of speech : the lips, the tongue, the soft palate, or the vocal cords. The incidence of these sandhi changes depends on the style of speaking, as well as on other factors ; but it is most prevalent in closely-combined sequences, when spoken at a rapid rate.

322. The principal changes are as follows : (i) similitude, or the sub-phonemic modification of a phoneme, whereby one of its allophones is replaced by another ; (ii) assimilation, involving the substitution of one phoneme for another ; and (iii) elision, or the replacement of a phoneme by zero, in certain circumstances.[1]

Similitude

323. Similitude of vowel phonemes is quite common, and takes place in accordance with changes in their flanking phonemes. Thus, in the word **bal'** *bail*, the vowel is the norm described in § 42, whereas in **baʟ nа: ki:** *bail ná caoi*, owing to a difference of environment, the vowel is the kind described in § 43. Likewise, in the word **ku:l** *cúl*, the vowel is the type described in § 67, while in **ku:l' l'e: g'r'e:n'** *cúl lé gréin*, it is that described in § 66. In the sequence **er' əiə** *ar a aghaidh*, the diphthong has the quality described in § 86, while in **er' məiə** *ar m'aghaidh*, its quality is that described in § 87.

324. The operation of similitude can affect the degree of voicing in a consonant, e.g. that of **m** before **h** in **t'u:rhə m'e: l'um hu:** *tiobhraidh mé liom thú* ; or that of **v** in **s'k'ri:v s'is'**(**ə**)

[1] See Jones, *Outline*, pp. 202, 214.

sgríobh sise. Plosives undergo partial devoicing before voiceless consonants, such as **k'**, **t'**, **s'**, **h**, e.g. **fa:g s'in'** *fág soin*, **bog t'eh** *bog te*, **ku:g' k'iɴ'** *cúig cinn*, **ku:g' huər'i:** *cúig h-uaire*, **ho:g' s'e:** *thó(i)g sé*, **nа: k'r'ed' hisə s'in'** *ná creid t(h)usa soin*, **ə xiḍ s'es'un** *a chuid seisean.*

325. Plosives may undergo further modification when they occur before other consonants in closely-connected sequences :—

(i) two homorganic plosives occurring together are normally realized as a single extra long stop, followed by one plosion, e.g. **ma: x'r'ed tu:** *má chreid tú*, **kat' d'as** *cat deas*, **kruk glas** *cnoc glas*, **mə xid tu'bak** *mo chuid tobac* ;

(ii) **t'** often combines with a following **s'** to form a biphonemic affricate, e.g. **s'axin' ə nа:ṭ s'in'** *seachain an áit sin* ;

(iii) plosion is realized nasally before a homorganic nasal, e.g. **er' fud nə t'i:r'ə** *ar fud na tíre*, **nux vil' mid' ɴ'i:s m'as** *nach bhfuil muid níos measa*, cf. word-medial forms such as **sp'id'ɴ'aɴtə** *speig-neannta* ;

(iv) plosion may be lateral before a homorganic lateral, e.g. **er' va:ḍ l'at** *ar bhád leat.*

Assimilation

326. The transmutation of stressed vowels is not of common occurrence ; but in syllables bearing secondary stress there are instances of **i** > **u** before **r** < **r'**, e.g.
kir' *cuir*, **kur l'es'** *cuir leis*,
xir' *chuir*, **xur s'e:** *chuir sé.*

327. Assimilation operates on unstressed word-final **i:** and **u:**, in nouns, verbal nouns, and adjectives ; as well as on certain verbal forms, when a consonant immediately follows. Short vowels in unstressed position are also subject to assimilation, both word-finally and before consonants that have undergone sandhi changes. As regards short vowels in unstressed position, there is free variation, according to the environment, the degree of semantic coherence with the sequence itself, and such factors as the tendency to lip-rounding in some speakers as against lip-spreading in others.

328. Unstressed word-final **i:** and **u:** in close sequences generally develop as follows :—

(i) > **i**, before palatals, e.g.
xiv'n'i: *chuimhnigh*, **xiv'n'i s'es'un** *chuimhnigh seisean*,
k'r'ed'u: *creideamh*, **k'r'ed'i b'r'e:g'ə** *creideamh bréige*,
k'r'asti: *cneasta*, **xə k'r'asti l'es'** *chomh cneasta leis*,
madu: *madadh*, **mur du:rt' ə madi b'eg** *mar adubhairt an madadh beag*,
ʟ'abi: *leabaidh*, **sə ʟ'abi v'eg** *san leabaidh bheag* ;

(ii) > **e**, between neutrals, e.g.
madu: *madadh*, **made duv** *madadh dubh* ;

(iii) > **o**, between palatals and **r**, e.g.
d'er'u: *deireadh*, **ta: jer'o ra:t'i:** *tá a dheireadh ráidhte* ;

(iv) > **u**, before non-palatals, e.g.
d'i:nu: *déanamh*, **ə d'i:nu gas'k'** *ag déanamh gaisg(idh)*,
kogu: *cogadh*, **kogu mo:r** *cogadh mór*,
ʟ'abi: *leabaidh*, **ʟ'abu vax'** *leabaidh mhaith*,
madu: *madadh*, **madu mo:r** *madadh mór*.

The above variations will be represented henceforth by the sign **ə** ; see § 21.

329. Short unstressed vowels in position before modified consonants develop normally thus :—

(i) > **i**, before palatals, e.g.
drehed *droichead*, **drehid' d'as** *droichead deas*,
asul *asal*, **ɣa: asil' l'es'** *dhá asal leis* ;

(ii) > **e**, between palatals and neutrals, e.g.
i:v'iɴ' *aoibhinn*, **si:v'eɴ do:** *is aoibhinn dó* ;

(iii) > **o**, between palatals and **r**, e.g.
d'im'ir' *d'imir*, **d'im'or s'iəd** *d'imir siad*,
b'e:d'ir' *b'éidir*, **ɴa: b'e:d'or riv'ə** *ná b'éidir roimhe* ;

(iv) > **u**, before non-palatals, e.g.
boxiʟ' *buachaill*, **boxuʟ ʟa:d'ir'** *buachaill láidir*.

330. Sandhi may affect one or more of the bases of classification of a consonant phoneme ; particularly the point of articulation, and the degree of palatalization or velarization of such a phoneme. Indeed, the quality or point of articulation, or both of those factors together, may be modified to such an extent that the phoneme loses its identity, and is replaced by another phoneme under the influence of the following consonant. The main classes of assimilatory consonants, and the changes they bring about, are set forth in the following paragraphs.

Bi-labial plosives

331. Assimilation of nasals before bi-labial plosives in normal speech is not unusual ; thus, the nasals **n'**, **n**, **ɴ**, are replaced by **m'** before **b'/p'**, and by **m** before **b/p**. Examples are
gavin' *gamhain*, **gavim' b'l'iəɴə** *gamhain bliadhna*,
g'l'aɴ *gleann*, **g'l'am' b'eg** *Gleann Beag*,
s'a:n *Seán*, **s'a:m bi:** *Seán Buidhe*,
k'aɴ *ceann*, **k'am bakux** *ceann bacach*.

Dentals

332. The plosives **d'**, **t'**, > **d**, **t**, e.g.
x'r'ed' *chreid*, **x'r'ed tu:** *chreid tú*,
kid' *cuid*, **kid ɴa: mi:n'** *cuid ná maoin*,
du:rt' *(a)dubhairt*, **du:rt din'ə k'i:n'** *dubhairt duine éigin*.

333. In like manner, the nasals **n'**, **n**, **ɴ'** appear as **ɴ** under the influence of a following dental, e.g.
mad'in' *maidin*, **mad'eɴ ʟa: b'aʟtin'ə** *maidin Lá Bealtaine*,
e:n *éan*, **e:ɴ duv** *éan dubh*,
i:v'iɴ' *aoibhinn*, **si:v'eɴ do:** *is aoibhinn dó*.

334. The laterals **l'**, **l**, **ʟ'**, > **ʟ**, e.g.
vil' *(an) bhfuil*, **viʟ doxur** *an bhfuil dochar*,
s'u:l *siobhal*, **gə x'u:ʟ ɴə hi:x'** *de shiobhal na h-oidhche*,
boxiʟ' *buachaill*, **boxuʟ ʟa:d'ir'** *buachaill láidir*.

l′, and s′

335. Before the point-alveolar **l′**, and the fricative **s′**, the plosives **d′**, **d**, > **ḍ**; **t′**, **t**, > **ṭ**; e.g.
im′uxt *imtheacht*, **im′uxṭ l′es′** *imtheacht leis*,
tred′ *troid*, **ə treḍ l′o:f** *ag troid leó*,
rud *rud*, **k′e:rḍ s′in′** *céard soin?*,
kat′ *cait*, **nə kaṭ s′əu** *na cait seo*.

336. Before **s′**, **s** > **s′**, e.g.
las (*do*) *las*, **las′ s′e:** *las sé*,
xas (*do*) *chas*, **xas′ s′iəd** *chas siad*.

337. The nasals **n**, **N**, **N′**, > **n′**, e.g.
glan *glan*, **xə glan′ l′e:x′** *chomh glan lé*,
raxiN′ *raghainn*, **raxin′ l′iv′** *raghainn libh*,
xir′hiN′ *chuirfinn*, **xir′hin′ s′iər** *chuirfinn siar*,
k′aN *ceann*, **nə x′an′ s′in′** *i n-a cheann soiu*.

338. The laterals **l**, **L**, **L′** > **l′**, e.g.
kol *col*, **kol′ s′es′ur** *col seisear*,
xaL′ *chaill*, **xal′ s′i:** *chaill sí*,
fo:L′ *fóill*, **gə fo:l′ l′um** *go fóill liom*,
g′aL *geall*, **g′al′ l′es′** *geall leis* (alternatively **L′**),
skaL *sgall*, **skal′ s′e:** *sgall sé*.

339. The palatal **r′** > **r**, e.g.
er′ *air*, **ors′un** *air-sean*,
uər′ *uair*, **ə nuər s′in′** *an uair sin*,
to:r′ *tabhair*, **to:r l′at iəd** *tabhair leat iad*,
f′ir′ *fir*, **nə f′ir s′əu** *na fir seo*.

s, n, l, and r

340. The plosives **d′**, **d**, > **ḍ**; and **t′**, **t**, > **ṭ**, e.g.
tred′ *troid*, **treḍ sə bri:n′** *ag troid 's ag bruighin*,
kaN′t′ *cainnt*, **ta:n xan′t si:r** *tá an chainnt saor*,

t′axt *teacht*, **N′i: t′axṭ ru:t e:** *ní ag teacht romhat é*,
sagurt *sagart*, **sagurṭ re:** *sagart réidh*,
mid′ *muid*, **rix′ə mid ra:s** *rithfidh muid rás(a)*.

341. **N**, **N′**, > **n**, e.g.
x′u:l′hiN′ *shiobhailfinn*, **x′u:l′hun skahu:** *shiobhailfinn sgathamh*,
t′aN *teann*, **t′an ser′** *teann soir*,
p′i:N′ *peinginn*, **p′i:n ruə** *peinginn ruadh*.

342. The laterals **L**, **L′**, > **l**, e.g.
kapuL *capall*, **kapul siv′n′ux** *capall suaimhneach*,
aL′ *aill*, **ta:N al riv′ə** *tá an aill roimhe*,
baL *ball*, **bal ruə** *ball ruadh*.

343. The vibrant **r′** is depalatalized before **r**, e.g.
ahir′ *athair*, **mahur ru:m** *m'athair romham*.

Blade-alveolars

344. Before the blade-alveolars **d′**, **t′**, **N′**, **L′**, the dental plosives **d**, **t**, > **d′**, **t′**, e.g.
ka:rt *cárt*, **ka:rt′ L′aNə** *cárt leanna*,
fad *fad*, **ə vad′ N′i:s f′a:r** *i bhfad níos fearr*,
k′e:d *céad*, **sə g′e:d′ -t′ax** *san gcéad-teach*,
s′axt *seacht*, **s′axt′ N′umir′ə** *seacht n-iomaire*.

345. With some speakers, **s** > **s′**, e.g.
N′i:s *níos*, **N′i:s′ t′o:xə** *níos teodh(ch)a*,
agus *agus*, **d′r′ix′a:r′ ugis′ d′r′ehu:r** *dearbh-bhráthair agus deirbh-shiúr*, **agis′ d′i:k** *agus d'ioc*.

346. **n′**, **n**, **N**, > **N′**, e.g.
kal′i:n *cailín*, **kal′i:N′ d′i:r′ux** *cailín díreach*,
dan *d'fhan*, **daN′ L′iəm** *d'fhan Liam*,
s′in′ *s(o)in*, **s′iN′ N′iv′** *s(o)in neimh*,
s′an *sean*, **s′aN′t′ax** *sean-teach*.

347. **l′**, **l**, **L**, > **L′**, e.g.
gel′ *gabháil*, **geL′ N′i:s fid′ə** *gabháil níos fuide*,

til′ *toil*, **ax tiʟ′ d′e:** *acht toil Dé*,
poʟ *poll*, **ta: poʟ′ d′i:ɴti:** *tá poll déanta*,
s′k′e:l *sgéal*, **s′k′e:ʟ′ d′as** *sgéal deas*,
ku:l *cúl*, **ku:ʟ′ ʟ′iə** *cúl liath*,
ɴ′i:l′ *ní fhuil*, **ɴ′i:ʟ′ ʟ′ar er′** *ní fhuil lear air*.

g′, k′, g, k

348. The heterorganic plosive **t** > **k** (unexploded) before **g**, e.g. **so:rt** *sórt*, **so:rk ge:l′g′ə** *sórt Gaedhilge*.

Before **k′**, **s** occasionally > **s′**, e.g.
t′iɴ′es *tinneas*, **t′iɴ′is′ k′iɴ′** *tinneas cinn*,
is *is*, **mur es/is′ k′art** *mar is ceart*.

349. **n′**, **n**, **ɴ′**, **ɴ**, are palatalized to **ŋ′** before **g′/k′** and velarized to **ŋ** before **g/k**, e.g.

mo:ra:n *mórán*, **mo:ra:ŋ′ k′e:ʟ′ə** *mórán céille*,
ʟ′e:n *léan*, **mə l′e:ŋ′ g′e:r** *mo léan géar*,
an′hi:ɴ *aithnigheann*, **an′hi:ŋ′ k′iərho:g** *aithnigheann ciaróg*,
b′l′iən′ *bliadhain*, **b′l′iəŋ gə ʟ′eh** *bliadhain go leith*,
ji:nhiɴ′ *dhéanfainn*, **ji:nhuŋ ger′esi:** *dhéanfainn d′uireasbaidh*,
k′aɴ *ceann*, **k′aŋ karux** *ceann carrach*.

Further instances

350. Final consonants of proclitics may be assimilated to following vowels, e.g.

an, **er′ə ɴ′im′** *ar an im*, **er′ə ɴasul** *ar an asal*,
ag, **ə g′im′uxt** *ag imtheacht*, **ə go:l** *ag ól*,
aon, **e: ɴ′in′i:n′ ə′va:n′** *aon inghean amháin*, **e: ɴam ə′va:n′** *aon am amháin*.

It will be observed from the preceding paragraphs that the range of possible assimilations for certain consonants, such as nasals, is a wide one. Compare, for instance, the realization of an original **n′**, which may range from bi-labial (§ 331) to velar (§ 349), while the essential quality of nasality is retained. In fact, it may be represented by mere nasalization of the adjacent vowel, e.g.

b′an′i:n′ *beainín*, **b′an′ĩ: v′eg** *beainín bheag*, cf. also *aon*, **vil′ ẽ: x′o: er′** *an bhfuil aon cheó air*, *an*, **k′ẽ: xi:** *cia an chaoi* ?.

Elision

351. A short unstressed vowel, flanked by sonorous consonants or another vowel in utterance-medial position, is elided, e.g.

ə′s′t′ix′ *istigh*, **vil′ s′e: s′t′ix′** *an bhfuil sé istigh* ?,
ə′k′i:n′ *éigin*, **din′ə k′i:n′** *duine éigin*,
is′ə *ise*, **is′ ə′du:rt′** *ise adubhairt*,
ma:r′ə *Máire*, **ma:r′ ɴ′i: xəin′** *Máire Ní Chadhain*,
g′uʟə *giolla*, **g′uʟ nə ʟ′es′k′** *giolla na leisg(e)*.

352. Elision of other vowels occurs in certain instances, due to loss of normal stress, e.g.

torus *turas*, **ə ɴ′e:ntrus** *i n-aonturas*,
bal′ə *baile*, **b′l′a: k′l′iə** *Baile Átha Cliath*,
f′e:l′ *féil*, **ʟa:l′ b′r′i:d′ə** *Lá Fhéil Brighde*.

353. When a consonant is geminated at word-borders, either through the juxtaposition of identical consonants, e.g. **mari:ɴ nə fahi:** *marbhann na fathaigh*, **f′ar ravur** *fear reamhar*, or through one of the assimilative processes outlined in preceding paragraphs, e.g. **ku:ʟ′ ʟ′iə** *cúl liath*, **ɴ′i:s′ s′in′ə** *níos sine*, **ə′s′t′ax xi:x′ə** *isteach choidhche*, then one member of such pair may be elided. Examples are **sʟa:n ə v′e:(s′) s′i:** *slán a bheas sí*, **torum (m)ə xap′i:n′** *tabhair dhom mo chaipín*, **ə go:(l′) l′iɴ′** *ag gabháil linn*, **buɴ (ɴ)a: ba:r** *bun ná barr*, **s′a:(ɴ) nə sagurt** *Seaán na Sagart*.

354. In like manner, a word-final plosive may become detached where it is flanked by consonants (cf. § 293). Examples are :—

maʟuxt *mallacht*, **maʟux d′e:** *mallacht Dé*,
oxt *ocht*, **ox g′iɴ′** *ocht gcinn*,
smaxt *smacht*, **smax ɴa: ku:rʟ′ə** *smacht ná comhairle*,
p′e:s′t′ *péisd(e)*, **p′e:s′ rubiʟ′** *péisd(e) earbaill*,
t′iəxt *toidheacht*, **t′iəx l′es′** *toidheacht leis*,
boxt *bocht*, **mak box baɴ′t′r′i:** *mac bocht baintreabhthaighe*.

355. The fricatives **v**, **j**, **x'**, **h**, may be weakened and dropped next to other consonants. Examples are :—

ti:v *taobh*, **ti: mo:r** *Taobh Mór*, **ti: do:t'i:** *Taobh Dóighte*, similarly in adverbial phrases, **ti: mix'** *taobh amuigh*, **ti: her'** *taobh thoir*, **ti: huəs** *taobh thuas*,
vu:ɴ't'i: *mhúinte*, **droxu:ɴ't'i:** *droch-mhúinte*,
fuəj *chuaidh*, **fuə s'iəd** *chuaidh siad*,
l'e:j (*do*) *léigh*, **l'e: m'e:** *léigh mé*,
max' *maith*, **ɴ'i: ma sagurt** *ní maith sagart*,
ə'mix' *amuigh*, **ə'mi sə ŋari:** *amuigh san ngarrdha*,
xax' *chaith*, **xa mid'** *chaith muid*,
ʟ'ah *leath*, **ʟ'a xə b'r'a:** *leath chomh breaghdha*, **ʟ'a b'ali:** *leath bealaigh*,
d'ex' *deich*, **d'e g'iɴ'** *deich gcinn*, **d'e f'ix'ed** *deich fichead*.

After **r'**, **x**, **r**, the fricative **ɣ** is often elided, e.g.
ɣa: *dhá*, **ed'ir' a: hrufa:n** *idir dhá shruthán*,
ɣo: *dhó*, **gar o:** *gar dhó*,
ɣix'(ə) *dhi*, **to:rt' ə's't'ax ix'** *tabhairt isteach dhi*.

356. The vibrant is often elided in *bhar*, e.g. **ə mrumux** *bhar mbromach*, **ə g'erd'** *bhar gceird* ; and regularly in the phrase *ar bi(o)th*, e.g. **f'ar ə b'ix'** *fear ar bi(o)th*.

Waning vowels

357. The fading of short unstressed vowels in final position is characteristic of Northern Irish and Scottish Gaelic dialects, and of other languages. In this dialect it is, perhaps, the most striking manifestation of a tendency to reduce unstressed vowels ; and takes place before a silence, in utterance-final position, especially after a voiceless consonant in nouns and pronouns.

Illustrations are **m'is'ə** *meise*, **ax ɴ'i:l' m'is'** *acht ní fhuil meise*,
ʃ'ɴ'axtə *sneachta*, **d'i:nhə s'e: s'ɴ'axt** *déanfaidh sé sneachta*,
doruxə *dorcha*, **ro s'e: dorux** *an raibh sé dorcha* ?,
g'atə *geata*, **ta: ɴə b'ehi: eg' ə ŋ'at** *tá na beathaidhigh ag an ngeata*,

i:x'ə *oidhche*, **fan gə d'i: ɴi:x'** *fan go dtí an oidhche*,
f'ix'ə *fiche*, **l'e: b'l'iən' əs f'ix'** *lé bliadhain 's fiche*,
klif'ə *cluiche*, **d'im'or s'iəd klif'** *d'imir siad cluiche*,
f'i:r'iɴ'ə *fírinne*, **s'in' i: ɴ'i:r'iɴ'** *s(o)in í an fhírinne*,
b'ahə *beatha*, **s'e: də v'ah** *isé do bheatha*.

358. Initial short unstressed vowels are sometimes omitted, e.g
ə's't'ax *isteach*, **s't'ax l'at** *isteach leat*,
ə *a*, **v'ix'a:l'** *a Mhichéail*,
ə *an*, **vil'** *an bhfuil*.
ə'ɴ'iər *aniar*, **ɴ'iər ə ha:n'ik' s'i:** *aniar a tháinig sí*.

359. In casual speech, the elision and telescoping of phonemes is such as often to reduce considerably the number of unstressed syllables, e.g.

b'e:d'ir' *b'éidir*, **b'e:d ɴux vil'** *b'éidir nach bhfuil*,
bi:xus *buidheachas*, **m'i:l'ə bi:s' l'e: d'iə** *míle buidheachas lé Dia*,
vil' *bhfuil*, **kəul' s'e: n'is'** *cá bhfuil sé anois* ?,
g'aʟ *geall*, **mi:ʟ er'** *mar gheall air*,
f'is *fios*, **ta:s am** *tá a fhios agam*.