# THE IRISH OF TOURMAKEADY, CO. MAYO

## A PHONEMIC STUDY

BY

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# PREFACE

The present work deals with the spoken Irish of a narrow tract extending along the west side of Lough Mask, between it and the mountains, from its northern tip to the border of Co. Galway. Part of the area was included in Co. Galway until the boundary was adjusted in 1898.

In a somewhat wider sense, this dialect belongs to what may be termed the Irish of Middle Connacht.[1] It may be added that Middle Connacht is the only major region relatively unaffected by one or other of those two great linguistic movements—spreading respectively from the North-East and from the South—that have largely moulded the history of spoken Irish since the 13th century.[2] Indeed, observers have been struck by the apparent closeness of the dialect to the classical form of Modern Irish ; a fidelity that is all the more remarkable because, unlike Northern or Southern Irish, that of Middle Connacht has depended almost solely on oral tradition ever since the fall of the classical order, over three centuries ago. Evidently the old tradition was transmitted orally with considerable success.[3]

Among previous investigators of Middle Connacht Irish, mention must be made of John Molloy, a native of the Tuam area, who ' is worthy of special mention as being the author of the first Grammar of Irish based for the most part on the language of the people '.[4] His grammar, based on his own

[1] Cf. *Urlabhraidheacht*, § 472.

[2] See *Irish Dialects*, pp. 189, 246, 263 ; *Clare Island Survey*, III, p. 7 ; *Urlabhraidheacht*, p. 135.

[3] In his well-known anthology of Irish poetry, published in 1831, Hardiman gives portion of a Fenian poem, the Lay of Ben Bulben, taken with several others, from the recital of a native of Partry. He writes : ' These metrical fragments, to the number of several thousand verses, had been committed to memory by the reciter in his early youth, amidst his native hills, where they have been transmitted from sire to son through countless generations '. See *Irish Minstrelsy*, II, p. 385.

[4] *Irish Dialects*, p. 13.





dialect and containing variations recorded from fellow-students in the Irish College in Paris, appeared in 1867. At length, towards the close of the century Ireland began to come within the scope of European dialectology, and two distinguished continental scholars, F. N. Finck and l'Abbé Rousselot, made investigations of Western Irish.[5] The latter made a palatogram study of the Irish of South Mayo in 1895 ; his informant being Rev. Stephen Walsh, a native of the Neale, who was then a student at the Irish College in Paris. The results of the inquiry were published four years later, in a lengthy article including upwards of eighty palatograms. Subsequent students of our dialect included Prof. Tomás Ó Máille, whose *Urlabhraidheacht*, published in 1927, contains the name of Pádraig Ó Meadhraigh—a native of Glensaul—among the list of informants.

The present century has seen the diffusion of the phoneme theory, together with its further development by linguists such as Trubetzkoy in Europe and Bloomfield in America. In this, as in the wider fields of language and communication, progress continues on both sides of the Atlantic : a voluminous literature exists. As compared with phonetics, phonemics involves the further step of sorting the sounds, of identifying the relevant units into which phonetic material is organized in a particular dialect or language. In this study an attempt is made to provide a phonemic inventory of the dialect of Tourmakeady ; to examine its structure in the light of modern phonemics on the one hand, and by comparison with early modern Irish on the other. The method of treatment is based, to a large extent, on the one already successfully used in the monographs on Irish dialects published by the School of Celtic Studies in the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies ; in the present work, however, attention is devoted to such matters as phoneme distribution and syllabic structure, while extensive use is made of the commutation test in proving the status of phonemes.

It need hardly be said that no investigator of a living dialect can expect to exhaust his subject : dialectologists are familiar with such variables as the rate of speech, the style of speech, the

[5] Noteworthy also in this connection is the name of G. Dottin, who was, moreover, a pioneer in the comparative study of Irish dialects. See *Revue Celtique*, xiv, xvi, xx, xxi.

speech of different age-groups, the realization of phonemes in relation to strong or weak stress, in relation to word or utterance, etc. Problems such as those await further study.

Tourmakeady itself, although the scene of strong anglicizing efforts by landlords and others in the 19th century, was entirely Irish-speaking at the beginning of this century, when an Irish college was established there. Irish is still a living language there, though the circumstances accompanying its use are changing at an ominous rate: many customs, pastimes, and beliefs, that were once part and parcel of the Irish speaker's world, are now moribund; and the innovations that replace them frequently involve foreign phrases and an alien vocabulary. The fact that it remains an economically under-developed area, with a high rate of emigration, has the twofold effect of reducing the number of speakers and increasing the import of English.

I should like to thank Prof. M. A. O'Brien, Director of the School of Celtic Studies, Prof. Heinrich Wagner, of the University of Basle and Dr. Brian Ó Cuív, of University College, Dublin for their helpful comments and advice. Prof. Myles Dillon kindly read the proofs, and made several useful suggestions. I am grateful also to the speakers, to whom much is due for their attachment to a time-honoured heritage in the domain of *Partraighe an tSléibhe*.

S. de B.

# PART I

# PHONEMIC ANALYSIS AND TEXTS

## CHAPTER I

## PROLEGOMENA

### TRANSCRIPTION

1. In the type of transcription here used each phoneme is represented by a separate symbol, which is taken as a rule from the alphabet of the *Association Phonétique Internationale*.[1] Nevertheless, in order to secure some uniformity of procedure with previous investigators of western Irish dialects, special symbols are used for certain consonant phonemes; while, for the sake of simplicity and the maximum typographical convenience, ordinary Roman letters are introduced in a few other instances where no ambiguity can result. These symbols, with their respective international equivalents in brackets, are as follows: **d** (d̪), **t** (t̪), **g** (g), **s′** (ʃ), **x′** (ç), **n** (n̪), **n′** (ɲ), **l** (l̪), and **l′** (ʎ).

Digraphs are used to denote diphthongs and affricate sounds. In the distribution of spaces the usual orthographical practice is followed as far as possible.

Regarding diacritics, a colon indicates that the sound represented by the preceding letter is long, e.g. **e:**; an acute accent placed after a consonant denotes palatalization, e.g. **m′**; where a tilde is used over a letter it denotes nasalization, e.g. **ã**; and a stressed syllable in other than word-initial position is preceded by the vertical stroke, e.g. **ə'n′is′** *anois*. The capitals **C** and **V** denote unspecified consonants and vowels, and the sign **ə** is used for a number of short vowel types, as set forth in §21.

[1] For a description of this alphabet, see *Principles of the International Phonetic Association*, pp. 1 ff.

## Organs of Speech

2. Reference is made to parts of the speech mechanism, as follows: the lips; the teeth; the teeth-ridge, namely, that part of the roof of the mouth immediately behind the teeth, which is convex to the tongue; the hard palate and the soft palate, both concave to the tongue; the tongue itself, comprising the tip, the blade which normally lies opposite the teeth-ridge, the front which normally lies opposite the hard palate, and the back which is normally opposite the soft palate; the uvula; the vocal cords; and the glottis.[2]

## Phonemes

3. The phonemes of the dialect are those features of speech occurring in it as minimum functional units, being utilized for communication between one speaker and another. As used by one speaker, the phonetic quality of a phoneme may vary within limits, since its nature is more or less conditioned by that of the particular sequence in which it occurs within the speech continuum. A number of these sub-phonemic variations can be detected by auditory investigation, and still more by instrumental methods; but they are not sufficiently marked to render a phoneme unrecognizable as such: for the native listener they remain, as it were, one and the same sound. These are the allophones or submembers of the phoneme, and that member which appears least limited in distribution and least modified by its environment is regarded as the norm.[3]

Languages differ considerably in the phonemic use they make of phonetic distinctions. Comparing our dialect with 'received' English, for instance, we observe that the phonetic difference between the initial element in the word **mi:l** *meal* and that in

[2] Wall-charts showing these include that prepared by Prof. D. Jones and published by Cambridge University Press.

[3] See Pike, *Phonetics*, 42, 115; Dieth, §§ 424 ff.; Jones, *The Phoneme*, Chap. XXIX.



the word **moul** *mole* is without semantic significance in English, where both elements belong to the same phoneme; while in the dialect a parallel difference in consonant quality marks a distinction of meaning in such words as **m'i:n'** *mín* and **mi:n'** *maoin*, where the initial elements belong to separate phonemes.

On the other hand, in the English words **mi:l** *meal* and **mil** *mill*, vowel differences are used in a manner similar to that of the dialect in such words as **m'i:n'** *mín* and **m'in'** *min*.

4. The word, a minimum isolatable form, is used by phonemicists generally as the basis of reference in phonemic analysis. Most of the examples given in the following paragraphs consist of single words. At the same time, an attempt has been made to consider the larger sequences, and some of the phenomena and variations observed therein are noted below. See Chapter VII.

## Description of Vowels

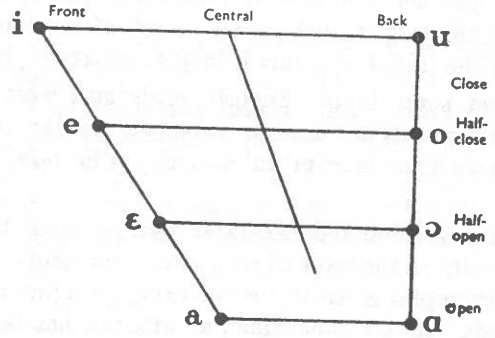
5. In vowel articulation the air-stream passes through the mouth by an opening, of which the size and shape determine the nature of the vowel: size and shape are in turn determined mainly by the height of the tongue, which can vary from close to open, by the part of the tongue that is highest, which varies from front to back, and by the position of the lips, which may vary from spread to rounded.

Standard degrees of these factors are provided in the scale of 'cardinal' vowels, consisting of eight vowels of known quality, denoted in the alphabet of the *Association Phonétique Internationale* by the symbols **i, e, ɛ, a, ɑ, ɔ, o, u.**

The first four of these are front vowels, made by the front of the tongue and separated by approximately equal acoustic distances, 'cardinal' **i** being the highest or closest possible front vowel; while the remainder are back vowels separated in like manner by equal acoustic distances, 'cardinal' **ɑ** being the lowest or openest possible back vowel.

The positional relationship between these vowels may be

shown diagrammatically by trapezoidal figures, such as the following :[1]




As regards the soft palate, which can be more or less lowered to admit the air-stream into the nasal cavity and cause various degrees of nasalization, its position is not of primary import in the vowel system of the dialect. See§ 297.

6. A vowel may be long or short, according to the time during which the articulating organs are retained in position for such a vowel. As a rule, there are concomitant differences of quality between long and short vowels. Indeed, the types might be distinguished on the basis of quality rather than length, using a separate symbol for each phoneme.[2] The use of the length criterion has, however, been sanctioned by usage ; moreover, the length-mark effects a considerable economy of symbols.

## Description of Consonants

7. According to its primary point of articulation, a consonant is described as either bi-labial, labio-dental, dental, alveolar, alveo-palatal, palatal, velar, or glottal ; involving respectively

[1] See *Outline*, pp. 36, 37. A record of these vowels, numbered DAJO 1–2, has been made by Prof. D. Jones and published by the Linguaphone Institute, London.

[2] So for example, by taking account of the relevant conventions regarding vowel length, and using capitals and lower case letters to distinguish ' short ' and ' long ' vowels respectively, the words in § 25 infra could be transcribed as **In'in'**, **ri**, **b'r'Is't'i**, **bor'hi**, **k'r'Ed'i**, **Umi**, etc.



the lips, the lower lip and upper teeth, the backs of the upper teeth, the teeth-ridge, the hard palate, the soft palate, or the glottis.

8. As to type of articulation, those consonants entailing stoppage and subsequent sudden release of the air-stream are called plosives ; those made by constriction of the air-stream are described as fricatives ; affricates are made by stoppage followed by relatively slow fricative release of the air-stream ; nasals entail the diversion of the air-stream through the nasal cavity ; laterals are made by arresting the air-stream in the centre while it escapes at one or both sides of the tongue ; and vibrants are produced by vibrating or rapidly tapping the tip of the tongue against the teeth-ridge.

9. A consonant is said to be voiced when its articulation is accompanied by vibration of the vocal cords : if such a vibration is absent the consonant is described as voiceless. The degree of actual voicing is rather variable, voiced consonants being most completely so when flanked by vowels or other voiced consonants, while voicing is reduced—with consequent overlapping of voiced and voiceless consonant allophones—in the neighbourhood of voiceless consonants, especially **s'**, **s**, **x**, and **h**.

10. A consonant becomes palatalized when its articulation is accompanied by simultaneous secondary raising of the front of the tongue towards the hard palate : this modifies the shape of the oral cavity, and gives the consonant the resonance of a close or half-close front vowel. Conversely, with regard to a consonant of which the primary point of articulation is other than velar, the back of the tongue may be raised so as to effect secondary modification of the quality of the consonant, giving it the resonance quality of a close or half-close back vowel. This development is known as velarization, and the consonant is said to be velarized.

11. For convenience in description, both true palatal consonants and palatalized consonants may be referred to henceforth as ' palatals ' ; while the term ' non-palatals ' may be used to include true velars, velarized consonants, and consonants which,

though rather of neutral quality, occur with these in phonemic contrast to the palatals. Such 'neutral' consonants include the dentals **d, t, n,** which are distinguished from their palatal counterparts by point of articulation rather than difference in quality; and **s,** which is characterized chiefly by its particular sibilance.

12. While the afore-mentioned counterpoise of palatals and non-palatals is an essential rule in the consonantal system of the dialect,[3] it cannot be regarded as an absolute one: exceptions include the phoneme **h** (cf. § 134) and the marginal phonemes (§§ 224 ff.). Juxtaposition of palatal and non-palatal consonants occurs in a small number of clusters containing **s, s', x,** or **r.** See §§ 258 ff.

13. Consonant length, a non-significant feature in the system, is influenced by position, stress, and mode of articulation, e.g. **n, l, n', l',** and **s'** are long finally after short stressed vowels.

[3] Russian, of course, is the most widely-spoken language with such a system; compare **rat** 'glad', **r'at** 'row, range', **rat'** 'army, troop'. See Boyanus, *A Manual of Russian Pronunciation*, §15.

## Chapter II

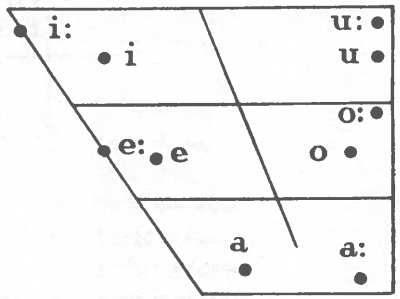
## VOWELS AND DIPHTHONGS

14. Because of their open character, vowels and diphthongs are often liable to be influenced by their flanking sounds, especially by consonants, of which the articulation generally demands a greater degree of oral closure.[1]

One important modifying factor is the place of articulation of a vowel in relation to the articulatory position of an adjacent consonant. Thus, for a front vowel in interpalatal position, the movement of the speech organs and their consequent transitional sounds or glides are reduced to a minimum, giving such a vowel maximum freedom from modification by adjacent consonant phonemes, e.g. **m'i:n'** *min*, where a close front vowel is flanked by palatal consonants. The opposite extreme is reached when the vowel occurs in a velarized context, in which case it tends to be retracted, while the transitions become more prominent, e.g. **ki:l** *caol*.

15. Stress exercises a far-reaching influence on the vowel system. The quantity of long vowels in unstressed position is reduced, while unstressed short vowels tend to be centralized, and to vary in quality according to environment and the vagaries of the speaker.[2]

16. In this dialect there are ten pure vowel phonemes, namely, **i:, i, e:, e, a, a:, o, o:, u,** and **u:**. The phonemic norm of each of these is shown on the following figure:




[1] See Rousselot, *Articulations* p. 252.

[2] A similar obscuration of unstressed short vowels is found in other languages with potent stress, e.g. Danish, English, Russian; giving rise to conflicting theories as to the phonemic status of such vowels.

## Stressed Vowels

17. Here the pure vowels are listed in contrasting illustrations, demonstrating the status of each phoneme and its significant function in stressed position :

**i:**, *mín, taos, fíor, caol, buidhe, taomadh* ; **i**, *min, fir, ruic, stuic, fuil, sil* ; **e:**, *féar, féir, séid, éalang, aer, Éabha* ; **e**, *tomhas, reic, seid, eite, ceil, sail* ; **a**, *fear, staic, raic, call, faill, mac, cairt* ; **a:**, *fearr, fagháil, áite, carr, ár* ; **o**, *col, olann, coll, cor, toirt* ; **o:**, *bó, seóil, ór, ceóil, fóill, tabhairt, pós* ; **u**, *tomadh, ogh, muc, cur, pus* ; **u:**, *cúl, siobhail, úr, súil, cúirt, cubhar.*

They may be tabulated as follows :

| i: | i | e: | e | a | a: | o | o: | u | u: | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| — | m′i:n′<br>m′in′ | f′i:r<br>f′e:r | ti:s<br>tes | f′i:r<br>f′ar | f′i:r<br>f′a:r | ki:l<br>kol | bi:<br>bo: | ti:mu:<br>tumu: | ki:l<br>ku:l | i: |
| | — | f′ir′<br>f′e:r′ | rik′<br>rek′ | stik′<br>stak′ | fil′<br>fa:l′ | * | s′il′<br>s′o:l′ | * | s′il′<br>s′u:l′ | i |
| | | — | s′e:d′<br>s′ed′ | f′e:r<br>f′ar | f′e:r<br>f′a:r | e:luN<br>oluN | e:r<br>o:r | e:v<br>uv | e:r<br>u:r | e: |
| | | | — | rek′<br>rak′ | et′ə<br>a:t′ə | * | k′el′<br>k′o:l′ | * | sel′<br>su:l′ | e |
| | | | | — | f′ar<br>f′a:r | kaL<br>koL | faL′<br>fo:L′ | mak<br>muk | kart′<br>ku:rt′ | a |
| | | | | | — | ka:r<br>kor | a:r<br>o:r | ka:r<br>kur | a:r<br>u:r | a: |
| | | | | | | — | tort′<br>to:rt′ | kor<br>kur | kor<br>ku:r | o |
| | | | | | | | — | po:s<br>pus | o:r<br>u:r | o: |
| | | | | | | | | — | kur<br>ku:r | u |
| | | | | | | | | | — | u: |



Of the possible contrasts, **o** *v.* **i** on the one hand, and **u** *v.* **e** on the other, are not observed. Overlapping of **i** and **u**, and of **e** and **o**, tends to occur between consonants of opposing quality, e.g. **b′eg/b′og** *beag*, **g′uru:/g′iru:** *giorrughadh.*

But the variety of vowel in almost every case agrees with the consonant immediately following it : a back variety before **C**, and a front type before **C′**, e.g. **keL′** *coill*, **g′uLə** *giolla*, **ger′** *goir*, **p′uko:d′** *piocóid.*[3]

## Unstressed Vowels

18. The short vowels **i**, **e**, **o**, and **u**, are found before consonants in unstressed position, e.g. **anum** *anam*, **an′im′** *ainm*, **L′ehed** *leithead*, **L′ahor** *leathar*, **e:drum** *éadtrom.* They can occur with long vowels as **V** v. **V:**, e.g. **Loxin′** *luchain*, v. **Loxa:n′** *locháin* ; although, as between the short vowels, quality is not a distinctive feature and has no significant function in the dialect at the present stage. The identity of **V** in such cases is determined by its environment.

19. But the relative laxness and instability of unstressed short vowels become still greater in word-final position. Unchecked by following consonants, they are further centralized towards the neutral position. Substitution of one short vowel quality for another would here cause no change of reaction in the listener : what matters is that a short vowel should be present. This **V** is commonly commutable with **V:** and with zero :

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **V** *v.* zero, e.g. | **bal′** *bail* | *v.* | **bal′ə** *baile*, |
| | **baL** *ball* | *v.* | **baLə** *balla*, |
| | **im′** *im* | *v.* | **im′ə** *ime*, |
| **V** *v.* **V:**, e.g. | **im′ə** *ime* | *v.* | **im′i:** *imthigh*, |
| | **baLə** *balla* | *v.* | **baLi:** *ballaí*, |
| | **a:t′ə** *áite* | *v.* | **a:t′u:** *áiteamh*, |
| | **mad′ə** *maide* | *v.* | **mad′i:** *maidí.* |

[3] Similar to the foregoing effect is that of two ' neutral ' consonants on an interjacent vowel, e.g. **duN/diN** *donn.* On overlapping of phonemes, see Jones : *The Phoneme* §§ 302 ff.

20. Obviously, each occurrence of **V** can be identified and allocated to that phoneme to which it is phonetically most similar, e.g. the words in § 19 can be written **bal'e, baʟo, im'e, a:t'e, mad'e**. Indeed, it is no more necessary to posit an extra phoneme here than it is for instance, in the case of nasals, where phonetic identity is sometimes determined by the environment, while nasalization remains as the significant quality, e.g. **maɴt (maõt)** *mannt*, **baŋk (baõk)** *bangc*. See § 350.

21. Clearly, **ə** or another appropriate sign could be used to denote **V** in all positions where its quality is non-distinctive as such, being determined by the environment. But some environments are comparatively stable, e.g. the interior of a word. In the present work **ə** is used as a sign of **V** variation in diphthongs, and in unstressed initial and word-final positions, e.g. **b'l'iən'** *bliadhain*, **ə'ɴoxt** *anocht*, **ma:lə** *mála*.

## Pure Vowels

### i:

22. The norm is a relatively long front close spread vowel, lowered about a third of the way towards the half-close position.

23. When the phoneme occurs between palatals, as in the words **b'i:m'** *bím*, **ʟ'i:n'ə** *líne*, it is virtually as close as cardinal **i**, but has rather less lip-spreading.

24. Between non-palatals, or in an open syllable next to a non-palatal, it is about midway towards the half-close line and retracted considerably towards the centre, e.g. **gi:l** *gaol*, **kri:** *croidhe*.

25. Further illustrations are **in'i:n'** *inghean*, **ri:** *rí*, **b'r'is't'i:** *briste*, **bo:r'hi:** *bóithre*, **k'r'ed'i:** *creidimh*, **umi:** *iomdha*, **vari:** *mharbh*, **i:l** *aol*, **si:hor** *saothar*, **m'i:** *mí*, **f'i:a:n'** *fiadháin*, **ti:ska:n** *taosgán*, **b'r'i:s't'ə** *bríste*, **hri:d'** *t(h)ríd*, **ki:rə** *caora*.



### i

26. The norm is a short front spread vowel, made while the blade of the tongue is in a position intermediate between close and half-close and retracted about a third of the distance from the front to the centre line. It resembles the vowel used in such words as **lip** *lip*, **hil** *hill*, in received English.

27. In the interpalatal positions the phoneme is realized as a front spread vowel, rather closer than the norm, e.g. **m'in'** *min*, **k'is'** *cis*, **g'r'im'** *greim*.

28. After non-palatals, it is a short spread vowel, about midway between the normal position and the half-close line and retracted to the centre area, e.g. **kis'ʟ'ə** *cuisle*.

29. Between palatals in unstressed position, it is a very short vowel, slightly spread, rather more than half-close, and just inside the centre area, e.g. **ʟad'in'** *Laidin*, **d'er'im'** *(a)deirim*.

30. Unstressed before palatals in word initial or medial positions, its quality is similar to that of the previous variety, though the lip-spreading is further reduced, e.g. **ə|r'i:s't'** *arís*, **gavin'** *gamhain*, **kəuir'** *cabhair*.

31. Illustrations are **m'isu:r** *miosúr*, **bin'eɴ** *baineann*, **in'hiɴ'** *inchinn*, **ɴ'iv'n'ux** *neimhneach*, **m'iʟ't'** *meilt*, **kil'a:n** *cuiléan*, **kid'u:** *cuidiughadh*, **sɴim'** *snaidhm*, **brit'i:n'ux** *bruithtíneach*, **m'il'** *mil*, **b'r'is'u:** *briseadh*.

### e:

32. The norm here is a front spread vowel, relatively long and lowered nearly midway to the half-open position.

33. When stressed between palatals, it is virtually half-close in quality, e.g. **ʟ'e:n'i:** *léine*, **f'e:r'** *féir*.

34. Next to non-palatals in word initial or final positions, it is lowered over half-way towards the half-open line and correspondingly retracted towards the centre, e.g. **re:** *réidh*, **e:vi:** *aebha*.

35. Further illustrations are **k'l'e:r'ux** *cléireach*, **ʟ'e:t'i:** *léighte*, **g'e:ga:n** *géagán*, **f'e:rux** *féarach*, **e:nrik'** *aonraic*, **e:dun** *éadan*, **t'e:rmə** *téarma*, **fare:** *farae*, **g'e:ri:xt** *géaraidheacht*, **s'e:nus** *séanas*, **bid'e:l** *buidéal*, **k'l'e:v'** *cléibh*, **rav'e:r** *raibhéar*. Regarding its occurrence in variation with **iə**, see § 79.

e

36. The norm denoted by this symbol is a short spread vowel, about equidistant from the half-close and half-open positions, and somewhat retracted from the front line.

37. When stressed between palatals, it is a front spread vowel, rather closer than the norm, e.g. **t'er'im'** *tirim*, **k'l'et'ə** *cleite*.

38. In stressed position next to **r** or a true velar, it is a short, almost half-open vowel, retracted over two thirds of the distance from the front to the centre line, e.g. **gel'ə** *goile*, **b'erhi:** *beirthe*, **kel'ux** *coileach*.

39. Unstressed, between palatal and neutral consonants, or word-finally after palatals, it is realized as an extra short vowel, lowered about one third of the way from the half-close to the half-open position, and quite close to the centre area, e.g. **m'i:l'ə** *míle*, **din'ə** *duine*, **eb'r'ə** *oibre*, **er'ed** *oiread*, **sin'eɴti:** *soineannda*. This is heard initially also before neutrals, e.g. **ə'ɴoxt** *anocht*. Cf. § 20.

40. Adjacent to neutral consonants or the diphthong **əi** in unstressed word-final position, it is a very short central vowel, nearly half-open and with very slight lip-spreading, **ka:rdə** *cárda*, **p'atə** *peata*, **əiə** *aghaidh*.

41. Examples of the phoneme are **ʟ'et'ir'** *leitir*, **k'eʟ't'** *ceilt* **k'ert'** *ceirt*, **tes** *tomhas*, **es'i:n'** *Oisín*, **sev'r'es** *saidhbhreas*, **skel'** *sgoil*, **b'ehu:nux** *bithbhineach*, **drehed** *droichead*, **ʟex'eɴti:** *laetheannta*, **keg'iʟ't'** *coigilt*, **del'i:** *doiligh*, **kuɴtes** *cunntas*.



a

42. The range of this phoneme is a wide one, but its norm appears as a short fairly spread vowel, nearly open, and retracted about half-way from the front to the centre.

43. Between velars, as in **maʟ** *mall*, **kam** *cam*, it is a short open vowel, advanced nearly half-way from the back to the centre.

44. In interpalatal position, as in **b'an'i:n'** *beainín*, it is closer and more advanced than the norm, resembling the vowel of such words as *lamp*, *chat*, in received English. A somewhat retracted variety may be heard initially before palatals, e.g. **at'** *ait*, and before **s**, e.g. **t'as** *teas*.

45. Further examples are **saɴtux** *sanntach*, **blas** *blas*, **kaʟ'ux** *cailleach*, **p'aɴ** *peann*, **arhu:** *athrughadh*, **amuda:n** *amadán*, **skatə** *sgata*, **danuxt** *donacht*, **bakux** *bacach*, **asul** *asal*, **b'aɴ** *beann*, **k'r'ad** *cnead*, **ahir'** *athair*, **tart** *tart*, **aɴtu:** *iontna*, **gaɴ** *gann*, **d'r'am** *dream*, **fad** *fad*, **dah** *dath*, **kart'** *coirt/cairt*.

a:

46. The norm represented by this symbol is a relatively long back vowel, quite open, a little in advance of cardinal **ɑ**, and with neutral lip position.

47. In a non-palatal environment after labials, it is accompanied by some lip-rounding. This is rather pronounced in the speech of some individuals, e.g. (8), being especially prominent near nasals, where the vowel is simultaneously raised towards the half-open line, e.g. **tuma:s** *Tomás*, **ma:hir'** *máthair*, **ba:hu:** *báthadh*.

48. Between palatals, the phoneme is raised somewhat from the normal position, and advanced about half-way towards the centre, e.g. **s'a:n'i:n'** *Seaáinín*, **v'ix'a:l'** *Mhichéail*.

49. There is diaphonic variation when the phoneme occurs preceded by a palatal and followed by **j** or **r**. Here a considerable minority of speakers, e.g. (4), use a long front vowel, corresponding substantially as regards position to the type described in § 42. Examples are **b'a:rʌi:** *bearnaidh*, **v'a:jə s'e:** *mheadhuigh sé*, **ja:rḍ** 'yard', **k'a:rti:** *ceardcha*.

50. Further examples are **a:** *ádh*, **b'a:rhi:** *bearrtha*, **lʌ:x** *lághach*, **a:rd** *ard*, **kuma:rtes** *comórtas*, **a:mud** *adhmad*, **a:vur** *adhbhar*, **ga:gux** *gágach*, **g'a:rxal'ə** *gearr-chaile*, **lʌ:d'ir'** *láidir*, **ra:vur** *romhar*, **ka:l'** *cáil*, **gra:n'** *gráin*, **tra:hu:l'** *tráthamhail*, **ba:d** *bád*.
Cf. §§ 361, 365.

### o

51. The norm is a short rounded vowel, intermediate between half-open and half-close, advanced nearly a third of the way from the back to the centre line.

52. It is retracted to the back line when it occurs stressed between velars, e.g. **kogu:** *cogadh*.

53. After palatals, it is a short vowel, less rounded than the norm, almost half-close and advanced to the central area, e.g. **f'oxu:** *fuchadh*.

54. Unstressed, it occurs next to **r** initially and medially, where it is heard as an extra short central vowel, with little lip-rounding, nearer to half-close than half-open in quality, e.g. **ʟ'ahor** *leathar*, **hugudor** *thugadar*, **ə're:r'** *aréir*.

55. Word-finally, after velars or the diphthong **əu**, it is a very short central vowel, practically half-open, with neutral lip-position, e.g. **təuə** *togha*, **ma:lə** *mála*, **dramə** *droma* See § 21.



56. Further examples are **mox** *moch*, **s'oxra:n** *seachrán*, **goba:n** *gobán*, **oxir'** *eochair*, **orhi:** *uirthe*, **tors'ux** *toirseach*, **pobul** *pobal*, **koli:** *culaidh*, **orʌix'ə** *urnaighthe*, **sokir'** *socair*, **port'** *poirt*.

### o:

57. The norm here is a relatively long rounded vowel, slightly advanced from the back line towards the centre, with a tongue position somewhat lower than cardinal **o**.

58. It is retracted to the back line when stressed between velar consonants, e.g. **go:ʟtes** *gabháltas*.

59. In interpalatal position it is a long rounded vowel, half-close and advanced towards the centre, e.g. **f'o:l'** *feóil*.

60. Examples of this phoneme are **k'o:** *ceó*, **o:l** *ól*, **gro:** *gró*, **o:ra:n** *amhrán*, **kaso:g** *casóg*, **o:r** *ór*, **to:rt'** *tabhairt*, **iʌto:** *ionntódh*, **g'l'o:** *gleó*, **pro:s'** *próis*, **ʌ'aʌto:g** *neanntóg*, **do:** *dóghadh*, **aʟto:r'** *altóir*, **k'o:l** *ceól*.

61. There is fluctuation between **o:** and **u:** in the vicinity of nasal consonants; whence the alternative forms of such words as **kru:n'/kro:n'** *coróin*, **ʌu:tə/ʌo:tə** *nóta*, **du:nuʟ/do:nuʟ** *Domhnall*, **g'u:n'/g'o:n'** *geóin*, or **fu:vur/fo:vur** *foghmhar*, where the nasal quality is quiescent.

### u

62. The norm denoted by this symbol is a short rounded vowel, about midway between close and half-close, and slightly advanced. It resembles the vowel heard in English in such words as **buk** *book*, **ful** *full*.

63. Before **ʌ**, it is a short central vowel, nearly close, with little rounding, e.g. **guʌə** *gunna*, **duʌ** *donn*. The same variety is heard in **funsə** *funnsa*, and after palatals, e.g. **g'uʟuxt** *giollacht*.
Cf. § 17.

64. Unstressed, it occurs word-medially in non-palatal contexts before labials, where it is heard as a very short central vowel, about half-close in quality, e.g. **anum** *anam*, **gorum** *gorm*. This sound is also found before other velars or flanked by velar and neutral consonants, e.g. **a:mud** *adhmad*, **k'aruvux** *cearrbhach*, **d'arumud** *dearmad*.

65. Further examples are **trum** *trom*, **e:drum** *éadtrom*, **s'ruŋa:n** *sreangán*, **ə'ɴ'uv** *aniogh*, **mukir'ə** *mucaire*, **rud** *rud*, **ufa:s** *uathbhás*, **kuɴtes** *cunntas*, **fuɴ** *fonn*, **s'k'ubo:l** *sgioból*, **kruka:n** *cnocán*, **umir'ə** *iomaire*, **duv** *dubh*, **puɴt** *punnt*, **uv** *ogh*, **fuʟa:n'** *folláin*, **buka:n** *bacán*, **u:tuma:li:** *útamálaidhe*, **t'r'ublo:d'** *trioblóid*.

**u:**

66. The norm is a relatively long rounded close back vowel, somewhat lowered and advanced from the cardinal position.

67. When stressed between true velars, it is retracted to the back line, e.g. **ku:xtux** *cumhachtach*.

68. In stressed interpalatal position it is a close rounded vowel, advanced over half-way to the centre area, e.g. **k'u:n'** *ciúin*.

69. When final in unstressed syllables, it tends to become a very narrow diphthong, which moves towards the norm from a more central position, e.g. **garu:** *garbh*, **kasu:** *casadh*.

70. Adjacent to nasal consonants, there is alternation between this phoneme and **o:** in many words, e.g. **bru:n/bro:n** *brón*, **du:nux/do:nux** *Domhnach*, **ʟ'u:nu:/ʟ'o:nu:** *leónadh*. Exceptions to this alternation include **mu:n'** *móin*, **o:n** *Eóghan*. Cf. **arhu:/arho:** *athrughadh*.

71. Further examples of this phoneme are **ku:l** *cúl*, **b'e:lu:x** *béalbhach*, **d'u:n'** *deamhain*, **ku:r** *cubhar*, **so:ku:lux** *sócamhlach*, **bunu:s** *bunadhas*, **kolhu:** *colbha*, **tu:rɴ'ə** *túirne*, **t'r'u:r** *triúr*, **agu:s** *agús*, **bu:r'hu:x** *búirfeadhach*, **port'u:l'** *poirteamhail*, **u:sa:d'** *úsáid*.



## Diphthongs

72. A diphthong phoneme may be described as a close-knit vowel cluster functioning as a unit. Unlike pure vowels, diphthongs entail a deliberate change by the articulating organs—particularly the tongue—from one vowel position towards that of another. Hence, a diphthong is represented by a digraph, consisting of a vowel symbol for each of its determinant components. In a falling diphthong there is a progressive decrease of prominence from the beginning to the end of its course: in a rising diphthong the opposite takes place. Instances of phonetic diphthongization are not uncommon, e.g. where vowels are flanked by vocalic transitions, but these cannot be regarded as phonemic.

Thus for example, the transitions in **maᵢx'** *maith* (§ 307), **b'ᵉo:** *beo* (§ 309) could, were they deliberately formed, be regarded as the lesser elements of falling and rising diphthongs, respectively; but since this condition is lacking, the vocalic components of such words must be interpreted as monophthongs.

73. Using the same criteria as in § 17, four diphthong phonemes can be distinguished for this dialect. These may be appropriately denoted by the digraphs **iə**, **uə**, **əi**, and **əu**. They are falling diphthongs, and none of them is very wide, e.g. the diphthongs in the borrowed words **ʈəim'** 'time', **rəiʈ** 'right', **ɖəuʈ** 'doubt', are notably narrower than those used in received English pronounciation.

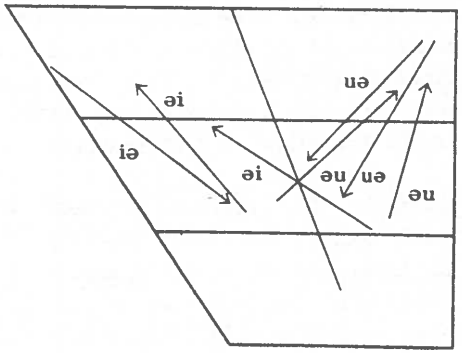
Each diphthong phoneme can function in significant opposition to a long vowel or to another diphthong, e.g.

**guəl** *gual* v. **gəul** *gabhal*,
**ʟ'iəsti:** *liastaí* v. **ʟ'əisti:** *leigheasta*,
**m'əirux** *meadhrach* v. **m'əurux** *meabhrach*.

74. The monophonemic status of a fifth sequence (**au**) cannot be substantiated. On the contrary, it must be regarded as a biphonemic cluster, consisting of the short vowel **a** followed by the semi-vowel **v**, each of which is independently commutable with another phoneme, e.g.

**ɴ'av** *neamh* v. **ɴ'ad** *nead*,
**ravur** *reamhar* v. **ra:vur** *romhar*,
**favur** *fábhar* v. **fi:vur** *faobhar* v. **fo:vur/fu:vur** *foghmhar*.

75. For each of the main diphthong varieties, the initial position of the tongue and the direction of its subsequent movement are shown on the following diagram :




**iə**

76. This combination represents a centripetal diphthong, in which the initial element is about half-long while the remainder is correspondingly reduced.

77. There is one important variety. It begins at a position below that of the vowel described in § 22, whence the tongue glides towards the half-open line somewhat in advance of the centre, e.g. **b'l'iən'** *bliadhain*.

78. The terminal point varies a little according to the environment, being retracted before non-palatals or zero. Before those non-palatal consonants with very dark resonance, the distinction between the terminal element of this diphthong and a prominent on-glide from **i:** is small, and overlapping of the two phonemes tends to occur. Cf. **k'iəʟ** *ciall*, **ki:l** *caol*, **ki:x** *caoch*, and **orɴi:xt/orɴiəxt** *urnaigheacht*.



79. Examples of contrasts with other phonemes are **d'iə** *Dia* v. **d'e:** *Dé* v. **gə d'o:** *go deó*, **b'i:** *bí* v. **b'iə** *biadh*, **m'iəs** *mias* v. **m'as** *meas*. Nevertheless, it is rather unstable. In addition to the variation noted in § 78, alternation with **e:** occurs before consonants with advanced points of articulation, e.g. **iəd/e:d** *iad*, **fat'iəs/fat'e:s** *faitcheas*, **s'iəd/s'e:d** *siad*, **mat'iəs/mat'e:s** *Maitias* ; likewise in **d'iən/d'e:n** *dian*, **e:retes/iəretes** *iarratas*.

80. Further examples of this phoneme are **p'iən** *pian*, **s'iəmsu:l'** *siamsamhail*, **ə'ɴ'iər** *aniar*, **dorus iəti:** *doras iadhta*, **bar'iəʟ** *bairriall*, **kes'iəxt/kes'i:xt** *coisidheacht*, **k'iərho:g** *ciaróg*, **f'iəvrus** *fiabhras*, **m'iənux** *mianach*, **g'uriə** *geirrfhiadh*, **ʟ'iə** *liath*, **f'iə** *fiadh*.

**uə**

81. The main variety begins near the position of that vowel described in § 66, and moves towards the centre of the half-open line, while the lips change from a slightly rounded to a neutral position. In general, the initial position is held slightly before the glide commences : this renders the initial element about half-long.

82. When followed by a palatal consonant, the terminal point is on the centre line, about midway between half-open and half-close, e.g. **bruəx'** *bruaich*, **skuəb'i:n'** *sguaibín*.

83. Oppositions to other phonemes include the following : **ruə** *ruadh* v. **ri:** *rí* v. **re:** *réidh* v. **ra:** *rádh*, **ʟuəx** *luach* v. **ʟox** *loch* v. **ʟa:x** *lághach* v. **ʟi:x** *laoch* v. **ʟax** *lach(a)*, **bruəx** *bruach* v. **bro:x** *brodhach* v. **gə bra:x** *go bráth*, **ʟuə** *luath* v. **ʟi:** *laogh* v. **ʟa:** *lá* v. **ʟu:** *lugha*, **guəl** *gual* v. **gi:l** *gaol* v. **gəul** *gabhal*.

84. Some speakers substitute **o:** for this phoneme in certain cases, e.g. **buərhux/bo:rhux** *buarach*, **vuəl' s'e:/vo:l' s'e:** *bhuail sé*. Cf. § 79. There is a tendency to shortening of the glide before vibrants, and between consonants with similar points of articulation, e.g. **suərux** *suarach*, **suəs** *suas*, and especially before nasals, e.g. **buən** *buan*, **uən/u:n** *uan*.

85. Further illustrations are **uəj** *uaigh*, **stuəm′** *stuaim*, **ʟuəxir′** *luachair*, **kuərt′** *cuairt*, **guərd′ul** *guardal*, **suəni:** *suanaidhe*, **uər′** *uair*, **guəm′** *guaim*, **uəlux** *ualach*, **kuəxo:g** *cuachóg*, **fuəsi:d′** *fuasaoid*.

### əi

86. The first variety begins over midway between the front and the centre, near the half-open line, and moves towards the position of the vowel described in § 26, e.g. **p′l′əik′ə** *pleidhce*.

87. After non-palatals the starting point is at the half-open line, nearly intermediate between the centre and back lines, whence the tongue glides in approximately the same direction as the first member of the phoneme, e.g. **məid′un** *maighdean*.

88. Preceding non-palatals or **ə**, the terminal point is more or less retracted, approximating the vowel described in § 28, e.g. **kləiə** *cloidhe*.

89. Examples of significant oppositions to other phonemes are **əir′ə** *oighre* v. **ar′ə** *aire* v. **e:r′ə** *Éire*, **əir′i:m′** *éirghim* v. **ar′i:m′** *airighim* v. **a:r′i:m′** *áirmhim*, **ʟ′əis** *leigheas* v. **ʟ′as** *leas* v. **ʟ′e:s** *léas*. Alternation with **i:** occurs in **rəin′/ri:n′** *righin*, and with **o** in **kəik′i:s′/koki:s′** *cóicthighis* (*cóicthigheas*).

90. Further examples are **ʟəidu:** *laghdughadh*, **fəid′** *foighid(e)*, **grəi** *groidhe*, **sʟəida:n** *slaodán*, **vəiə** *uaidhe*, **səidu:** *saighdeadh*, **stəir′ə** *staighre*, **əistor** *adhastar*, **m′əig** *meadhg*.

### əu

91. As heard after non-palatals, this phoneme begins at a virtually half-open position intermediate between the back and centre lines, and glides towards that of the vowel described in § 62, e.g. **sʟəurə** *slabhra*.

92. After palatal consonants, it begins at a point almost



intermediate between half-open and half-close, somewhat in advance of the centre line, and moves in approximately the same direction as the preceding variety, e.g. **d′əul** *diabhal*.

93. Significant oppositions for this phoneme are illustrated in the following words :

**dəun′** *domhain* v. **du:n′** *dú(i)n*,
**d′əul** *diabhal* v. **d′i:l** *díol* v. **d′u:l** *diúl*,
**f′əus** *feabhas* v. **f′is** *fios*, **ruə** *ruadh* v. **rəu** *raibh*,
**rəun′** *rogha(in)* v. **rəin′** *righin*.

94. In utterances, it alternates with **a:** in **kəul′/ka:l′** *cá bhfuil* ; and frequently replaces **o** before a pause in **roh/rəu** *raibh*, **s′oh/s′əu** *s(e)o*, and before a vowel, e.g. **ɴ′i: rəu e:ɴin′ə ru:m** *ní raibh aonduine romham*.

95. Further examples are **təuə** *togha*, **fəutux** *fobhtach*, **bəuur** *bodhar*, **sʟəuki:** *sl(e)abhctha*, **səu** *Sadhbh*, **m′əuir′** *meabhair*, **f′əusu:** *feabhasughadh*, **b′r′əusux** *breabhasach*, **s′əuk** *seabhac*.

## Chapter III

## CONSONANT PHONEMES

96. In the consonant system, the interpretation and classification of certain fricatives, nasals, laterals and vibrants are complicated—though not decisively so—by restrictions in positional and combinatory distribution. Cf. Chapter IV.

97. The consonant phonemes of the dialect may be tabulated as follows:

| | Bi-labial, Labio-dental | Dental | Alveolar, Alveo-palatal | Palatal | Velar | Glottal |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Plosives | **b′ b** | **d** | **d′** | **g′** | **g** | |
| | **p′ p** | **t** | **t′** | **k′** | **k** | |
| Fricatives | **v′ v** | | | **j** | **ɣ** | |
| | **f′ f** | | **s s′** | **x′** | **x** | **h** |
| Nasals | **m′ m** | **ɴ** | **n′ n ɴ′** | **ŋ′** | **ŋ** | |
| Laterals | | **ʟ** | **l′ l ʟ′** | | | |
| Vibrants | | | **r′ r** | | | |

98. A number of other consonant sounds are described below, in a section on Marginal Phonemes, §§ 224 ff.

### Plosives

99. Twelve plosive consonant phonemes occur, and are dealt





with hereunder in the following order: **b′**, **b**, **p′**, **p**, **d′**, **d**, **t′**, **t**, **g′**, **g**, **k′**, **k**.

100. The distinctive qualities are (*a*) palatal v. non-palatal, and (*b*) voiced v. voiceless, e.g.

(*a*) **b′i:** *bí* v. **bi:** *buidhe*, **p′ik′** *pic* v. **pik′** *puic*, **d′i:l** *díol* v. **di:l** *daol*, **kat′** *cait* v. **kat** *cat*, **g′er′** *geir* v. **ger′** *goir*, **k′aŋil′** *ceangail* v. **kaŋil′** *cangail*.

(*b*) **b′aɴ** *beann* v. **p′aɴ** *peann*, **bo:r′hi:n′** *bóithrín* v. **po:r′hi:n′** *póirín*, **sʟad** *slad* v. **sʟat** *slat*, **d′as** *deas* v. **t′as** *teas*, **g′iəʟ** *giall* v. **k′iəʟ** *ciall*, **gi:** *gaoth* v. **ki:** *caoi*.

101. A voiceless plosive is said to be aspirated when it is followed by relatively prominent expiration; e.g. **p** in **ʟ′apuxi:** *leapthacha* is accompanied by a slight puff of breath. This aspiration is a common feature of voiceless plosive consonants. It is absent in the case of a consonant preceded by one of the voiceless fricatives **s**, **s′**, or **x**; when under-differentiation of the voiced and voiceless qualities takes place, e.g. **smaxt** *smacht*, **as′t′ux** *aisteach*, **oxtur** *ochtar*, **skaʟta:n** *sgalltán*.

#### b′

102. This sign denotes a voiced palatalized bi-labial plosive consonant: in making it the soft palate is raised, the air-stream is arrested by bringing the lips together in a slightly spread position, and then released by suddenly separating them, while the vocal cords are in vibration.

103. Illustrations of this phoneme are **b′o:** *beó*, **b′an** *bean*, **rib′ə** *ruibe*, **b′l′ehux** *bleitheach*, **k′i:b′** *cí(o)b*, **b′r′ak** *breac*, **b′alux** *bealach*, **b′r′i:vur** *bríoghmhar*, **gam′b′i:n′** *gaimbín*.

#### b

104. This is a voiced velarized bi-labial plosive, differing from **b′** in being accompanied by slight rounding and protrusion of the lips.

105. Illustrations are **bo:** *bó*, **baʟə** *balla*, **bogux** *bogach*, **bal'ə** *baile*, **tobur** *tobar*, **kla:bur** *clábar*, **ʟu:ba:n** *lúbán*, **skolub** *sgolb*, **bro:g'i:n'** *bróigín*, **ʟ'iəba:l'** *leadhbáil*, **brokux** *brocach*.

### p'

106. This sign represents a voiceless palatalized bi-labial plosive, the voiceless counterpart of **b'**, but differing from the latter in having stronger articulation and being accompanied by aspiration.

107. Examples are **p'iən** *pian*, **p'l'eb'** *pleib*, **sp'e:r'** *spéir*, **p'r'ab** *preab*, **p'e:r'ə** *péire*, **k'ip'i:n'** *cipín*, **p'akux** *peacach*, **p'i:pə** *píopa*, **sip'e:r** *suipéar*, **sep'** *suip*, **p'uko:d'** *piocóid*.

### p

108. This denotes a voiceless velarized bi-labial plosive, differing from **b** in being voiceless, more strongly articulated, and aspirated as described above, § 101.

109. Examples are **portux** *portach*, **pa:jə** *páighe*, **potə** *pota*, **ʟampə** *lampa*, **pu:kə** *púca*, **sop** *sop*, **piɴ't'ə** *poinnte*, **ro:pə** *rópa*, **plat'** *plait*, **pe:l** *pael*, **pras'ux** *praiseach*, **krap** *cnap*.

### d'

110. This symbol denotes several varieties of sound, the norm being a voiced palatalized alveolar plosive: in making it the soft palate is raised, the blade of the tongue and the teeth-ridge make contact to stop the air-stream, which is then suddenly released; meanwhile the tip of the tongue lies inactive behind the lower front teeth.

111. In the pronunciation of some speakers, the blade of the tongue is slightly grooved and retracted so that the tip also makes contact with the teeth-ridge. The subsequent release then takes the form of a voiced palatalized alveolar fricative glide, of varying prominence, giving the phoneme a more or less affricated effect, like the sound described in § 236.



112. Illustrations are **d'i:n** *díon/déan*, **ʟa:d'ir'** *láidir*, **d'i:r'ux** *díreach*, **d'as** *deas*, **d'alug** *dealg*, **s'ra:d'** *sráid*, **k'r'ed'u:** *creideamh*, **a:rd'** *aird*, **d'er'k'** *deirc*, **d'l'is't'unux** *dlisteanach*, **ba:d'** *báid*.

113. It is commonly substituted for **ɴ'** in *níos*, *ní ba*, e.g. **ɴ'i:s mu:/d'i:s mu:** *níos mó*; likewise, in **tagi:/tagid'i:/tagig'i:** —all heard from the same speaker as variants of the verb *tagaidh*—it alternates with **g'**. The latter alternation is a widely-known one: cf. its occurrence in Breton, noted by Falc'hun, *Système*, p. 29.

### d

114. This is a voiced dental plosive consonant, made by raising the soft palate, stopping the air-stream momentarily in the mouth by putting the tip and blade of the tongue lightly against the upper incisors, and then releasing this contact quickly while the vocal cords vibrate.

115. Its resonance quality varies within the central area, being darker in sequences such as **kru:da:n** *cnúdán*, than for instance, in **e:di:** *éadaighe*.

116. Illustrations of this phoneme are **di:n'i:** *daoine*, **di:r** *daor*, **k'e:d** *céad*, **drim'** *druim*, **madu:** *madadh*, **bord** *bord*, **ʟ'adi:** *leadaidhe*, **dorus** *doras*, **gad** *gad*, **doruxə** *dorcha*, **dart'** *dairt*, **dorɴ'i:n'** *doirnín*, **fo:d** *fód*.

### t'

117. The first variety of this phoneme corresponds to the sound described in § 110, but is voiceless, more strongly articulated, and has aspiration as described in § 101.

118. Some speakers make contact rather with the tip of the tongue while the blade is grooved, so that the release is heard as a voiceless palatalized alveo-palatal fricative. Therefore, the phoneme appears as an affricated sound, like that noted in § 238.

119. There is a tendency to overlapping with regard to **t'** and **k'**, e.g. **t'arə/k'arə** *tearra*, **t'as/k'as** *teas*, **t'ɪl'/k'ɪl'** *cill*, **k'e: he:/t'e: he:** *cia hé* ? Cf. § 113.

120. Examples occur in the words **it'i:** *ithte*, **t'in'i:** *teine*, **t'i:rhi:** *tíortha*, **k'l'et'uxa:n** *cleiteachán*, **t'iəxt** *toidheacht*, **pit'ux** *puiteach*, **sagurt'** *sagairt*, **t'r'əuə** *treabhadh*, **t'r'iən** *trian*, **t'r'el's'a:n** *trillseán*.

## t

121. This sign denotes a voiceless non-palatal dental plosive, differing from **d** in having stronger and slightly more extensive tongue contact, as well as stronger force of articulation. With regard to its aspiration, see § 101.

122. Examples are **ti:v** *taobh*, **u:tuma:l'** *útamáil*, **k'itux** *ciotach*, **ti:** *tuighe*, **trav'l'a:l'** *traibhleáil*, **ʟ'ati:v** *leat-taobh*, **d'atux** *deatach*, **g'atir'i:** *geatairí*, **k'e:xtə** *céachta*, **ster'im'** *stoirm*, **tart** *tart*, **sʟat** *slat*, **t'aʟtə** *teannta*.

## g'

123. This symbol denotes a voiced palatal plosive consonant, formed by raising the soft palate and bringing the middle of the tongue into contact with the roof of the mouth at the junction of the hard and soft palates, then releasing this contact quickly while the vocal cords vibrate.

124. The point of articulation varies somewhat for this phoneme, being relatively advanced in a sequence such as **sm'ig'i:n'** *smeigín*.

125. Examples are **g'iəʟ** *giall*, **g'l'e:sti:** *gléasta*, **g'avur** *geamhar*, **ruəg'** *ruaig*, **g'aluka:n** *gealacán*, **g'e:r** *géar*, **g'a:r** *gearr*, **ʟeg'i:n'** *loigín*, **g'r'e:si:** *gréasaidhe*, **eg'ə** *aige*.



## g

126. The phoneme represented by **g** is a voiced velar plosive, articulated by the back of the tongue against the soft palate, which is raised on its nasal side to prevent the air-stream from escaping by way of the nasal cavity.

127. This consonant varies in quality a little according to context, being darker than usual between back vowels ; labialization also is more prominent in such an environment, e.g. **kogu:** *cogadh*.

128. Illustrations are **gi:** *gaoth*, **glo:r** *glór*, **gortux** *gortach*, **giv'ə** *guidhe*, **ʟagur** *lagar*, **su:ga:n** *súgán*, **to:ga:l'** *tógbháil*, **klog** *clog*, **bagir'** *bagair*, **er'o:g** *eireóg*, **skuro:g** *sgoróg*, **gaʟdə** *gallda*.

## k'

129. This denotes a voiceless palatal plosive consonant, differing from **g'** in being voiceless, aspirated, and more energetically articulated.

130. Examples are **krik'** *cnuic*, **k'iəʟ** *ciall*, **k'ark** *cearc*, **k'r'astə** *cneasta*, **ka:s'k'** *Cáisg*, **k'r'ix'** *cri(o)th*, **k'asuxt** *ceasacht*, **ʟ'ik'i:** *léigfidh/léigthe*, **f'ek'im'** *faicim*, **ak's'un** *aicsean*, **k'l'e:r'ux** *cléireach*, **k'art** *ceart*.

131. Regarding alternation of **t'** and **k'**, see § 119. It is replaced by **h** in the by-form of **k'e: bi: e:/he: bi: e:** *cia ar bi(o)th é*.

## k

132. This is a voiceless velar plosive, corresponding to **g** as regards place of articulation, but with a somewhat more extensive contact.

133. Illustrations are **ki:l** *caol*, **kru:b** *crúb*, **kid'** *cuid*, **stukir'uxt** *stocaireacht*, **i:ki:** *íoctha*, **kruk** *cnoc*, **ku:rum** *cúram*, **kiɴ'ʟ'ux** *coinnleach*, **olk** *olc*, **ark** *orc*, **ɴi:sk** *naosg*, **brok** *broc*, **kora:n** *corrán*.

## Fricatives

134. Eleven fricative consonant phonemes occur. They are described below in the following order: **v′**, **v**, **f′**, **f**, **s′**, **s**, **j**, **ɣ**, **x′**, **x**, **h**.

Relationships present are (*a*) palatal v. non-palatal, and (*b*) voiced v. voiceless; e.g.

(*a*) **v′i:ɴ′** *bhínn* v. **vi:ɴ′** *bhfuighinn*, **f′ad** *fead* v. **fad** *fad*, **s′i:l** *síol* v. **si:l** *saoghal*, **jofiɴ′** *ghéabhainn* v. **ɣofiɴ′** *ghabhfainn*, **ʟuəx′** *luaith* v. **ʟuəx** *luach*;

(*b*) **v′aʟ** *mheall* v. **f′aʟ** *feall*, **vil′** *bhfuil* v. **fil′** *fuil*, **jiəʟ** *ghiall* v. **x′iəʟ** *chiall*, **ɣra:n′** *ghráin* v. **xra:n′** *chráin*. It will be noted that (*b*) excludes **s′** and **s** (cf. § 234), while **h** does not appear in either category. As regards **h**, it should be observed that in such a word as **ahir′** *athair* the initial vowel is the one described in § 44, namely the variety occurring with a palatal determinant consonant phoneme; a fact that might be interpreted as suggesting the presence of **h′**, **h**, as separate phonemes. Alternatively, however, it can be stated that the determinant here is not **h** which is neutral but the next succeeding consonant, namely **r′**.

### v′

135. The norm here is a voiced palatalized labio-dental fricative, articulated with the lower lip against the upper front teeth.

136. Before a vowel, the phoneme is realized as a voiced palatalized bi-labial fricative, made by raising the soft palate, and bringing the lips together in a spread position, leaving a narrow horizontal aperture through which the air-stream issues, while the front of the tongue is raised towards the hard palate and the vocal cords vibrate. Examples are **giv′ə** *guidhe*, **v′i:ɴ′** *bhínn*, **s′ʟ′e:v′ə** *sléibhe*.

137. Some nasalization occurs next to nasal consonants, and erratically under the influence of a former nasal (*mh*), e.g. **siv′n′ux** *suaimhneach*, **dav′s′e:rux** *daimhséarach*, **av′r′es** *amhaireas*.



138. Illustrations are **kiv′n′ə** *cuimhne*, **v′r′ak** *bhreac*, **riv′ə** *roimhe*, **ʟ′iv′i:n′** *leimhín*, **sev′r′es** *saidhbhreas*, **riv′** *ruibh*, **kriv′** *cruimh*, **v′e:di:** *mhéaduigh*, **ʟiv′** *luibh*, **g′iv′r′u:** *geimhreadh*, **kev′l′iɴ′t′** *coimhling(t)*, **v′er′im′** *bheirim*, **ev′eɴ** *eidhean(n)*.

### v

139. This symbol represents a phoneme with several varieties: the first being a lip-rounded bi-labial semi-vowel, in the articulation of which the organs of speech momentarily take up position as for a variety of vowel, higher than the half-close line and nearly midway between the back line and the centre. It resembles the sound heard in English in words such as **wul** *wool*, **wei** *way/weigh*. This allophone occurs before a vowel or **l**, and after **a(:)**, e.g. **vem′** *uaim*, **vet′** *uait*, **vlas** *bhlas*, **duv** *dubh*, **klavsa:n** *clamhsán*, **ʟa:v** *lámh*.

140. When followed by **r** in the same stressed syllable, it is heard as a voiced velarized bi-labial, with slight friction. This sound is formed by raising the back of the tongue towards the soft palate and bringing the lips together in a slightly protruded position, while the air-stream passes between them and the vocal cords vibrate, e.g. **vrix′** *bhruith*. There may be simultaneous secondary labio-dental friction, especially in emphatic speech.

141. Nasalization of this phoneme appears in a nasal or originally nasal context, e.g. **gavni:** *gamhna*, **ʟa:v** *lámh*, **davsə** *damhsa*, **savru:** *samhradh*. See § 74.

142. Further illustrations are **ga:v** *gábhadh*, **k′l′iəvrux** *cliabhrach*, **vuəl′** *bhuail*, **s′k′r′i:v** *sgríobh(adh)*, **uv** *ogh*, **sa:va:l′** *sábháil*, **ə′val′i:** *abhaile*, **va:s′** *bháis*, **k′l′avnus** *cleamhnas*, **s′ʟ′avna:n** *sleamhnán*, **avli:** *amhlaidh*.

### f′

143. The norm is a voiceless palatalized labio-dental fricative, corresponding to the sound described in § 135, but voiceless, and articulated with more energy and labial tension, especially in stressed syllables.