

CHAPTER XI

VOWELS AND DIPHTHONGS

LONG VOWELS¹

á, ái

412. These normally = a:, e.g. *sgoláire skula:r'ə*, *páipéar pa:p'e:r*, *ádh*, *náire*, *áladh*, *cáin*, *eadái*.

Exceptions are a in *áinle* *fan'l'o:g*, *fábhar favur*, and the alternative forms *fáilte*, etc. cf. § 365.

ao, aoi

413. These = i:, e.g. *casaoid kasi:d'*, *aon (h)i:n*, *sgaoi ski:*, *aoine*, *caol*, *aonach*, *saor*, *maor*.

Exceptions are e: in *Gaoidhealg*, *aon* (when not a cardinal number); ei in *slaodán*.

é, éi

414. These generally = e:, e.g. *cléreach*, *Éire*, *lé*, *mé*. Exceptionally ei in *éirghe*, and in its cognates; e in *éisteacht*, etc.; a: in *oiléin il'a:n'*, *caisléin kis'l'a:n'*.

i: in the word *clé* (this is noted as 'faulty' in Gramm. Tracts, § 139; cf. Thurneysen, § 94);

i in *léigim l'ig'im*, *léigean*, etc.

¹ In Irish, a long vowel in a non-initial syllable tends to clash with the regular word-stress, and opposing trends are discernible:—

(i) The rule of stress predominates, while the vowel either (a) retains its length, or at least its phonemic identity (see §§ 6,366,367), as is usual in Connacht, or (b) is shortened, as is common in Northern Irish and Scottish dialects, and was the case in Early Irish (Thurneysen, § 43).

(ii) The vowel prevails, and takes the stress from an initial short vowel. Traces of this development occur in Connacht, but it is most widespread in Southern Irish, furthered no doubt, by Anglo-Norman influences (cf. *Irish Dialects*, p. 83 ff.). In consequence of this, the short vowel (a) loses its basic V quality and is changed in accord with its flanking phonemes in the particular word (§ 422), and (b) may even disappear, where the resultant combination of its flanking phonemes is consistent with one of the normal patterns of distribution (§ 435).

éa, éu

415. These normally = e:, e.g. *réusún re:su:n*, *éugcóir e:go:r'*, *éan*, *céad*.

Exceptionally, a: in *cinéal k'in'a:l*, *Michéal m'ix'a:l*, *muinéal min'a:l*, *oiléan*, *cuiléan*;

i: in *déanamh*, *déanta*, etc.;

In *ghéabhaínn*, etc., o represents the latest in a series of changes which have occurred since the Mid-Irish period. See Bergin: *Ériu*, II, 37.

eo, eóí

416. These generally = o:, e.g. *deór d'o:r*, *eolas*, *beó*, *feóil*; but o:/u: in nasal contexts, e.g. *leónadh l'o:nu:/l'u:nu:*, *aindeóin*, *in'o:n'/in'u:n'*.

i, io

417. These = i:, e.g. *cios k'i:s*, *díreach*, *mí*, *sioda*, *ri*, *iochtar ixtur*, *farior/faraor*.

Exceptions are i in *Michéal*, *dicheall* (cf. *dithcheall*, *Scáthán Shacram.* na hAithr., xxix).

ó, ói

418. They generally = o:, e.g. *póg po:g*, *tóir*, *mór*, *óg*, *fód*. Exceptions are u: next to nasals in *móin*, *mó*; o:/u: in *óinseach*, *coróin*, etc.; a in ós a chionn as e x'in.

ú, iú, iúi, uí

419. These vowels generally = u:, e.g. *priosún p'r'i:su:n*, *súil su:l'*, *cúl*, *úr*, *fiú*, *ciúin*, *rún*.

Exceptionally o in *amhantúr avunctor*.

DIPHTHONGS

ia, iai

420. These generally = *iə*, e.g. *fiacail, grian, aniar, Dia, diaidh*.

Exceptions are *i*: in *striapach, fiadhnaisce f'i:n'is'i:*, and before lost fricatives, e.g. *fiadháin*; *e*: in by-forms of *dian, iad, iarraidh*, etc.; *i* in *sgiathán s'k'iha:n*.

ua, uai

421. These generally = *uə*, e.g. *tuarastal tuerustul, fuadach, cluas, suan, buaitear, fuasaoid*.

Also *u*: in nasal contexts such as *uan u:n, snuadh snu:, ruainne ru:n'ə*, and before a long back vowel in *cruadhóg*;

o: in alternative forms of *uabhar uevur/o:vur, bualadh*, etc., and in surnames; is shortened before unvoiced consonants in *uathbhás ufa:s*, etc.; = *o* in *buachaill¹, i in suaimhneach, suaimhneas siv'n'es*; *ve* in *uaim, uait*, etc.²;

i: in *smuaineadh smi:n'u:*, and its cognates.

SHORT STRESSED VOWELS

a

422. This vowel = *a*, e.g. *slat, mac*; before non-palatal *mh*, e.g. *amhlaidh, samhradh, samhail, § 457*; before nasals and laterals, e.g. *cam, gann, sanntach, talamh, mall*; before vibrants, e.g. *margadh, barrach barux, carrach, tart*.

a:, before *rr, rd*, e.g. *pardún pa:rdú:n, barr, fardorus fa:rdorus*; § 491; before laterals in *thall ha:L, ar ball er' ba:L*; in a common form of *ann a:n*; with lost fricatives, § 462.

¹ The source here is probably *ó*, a more archaic form, which from the 7th century onwards gave way gradually to *úa*. Both *bóchaill* and *búachaill* are attested for Old Irish. (Lewis-Pedersen, § 13; Thurneysen, § 60 n.).

² Cf. *vuem*, etc. in Scottish dialects, where the development can be traced back to the 16th century.

u, before certain syllables containing a long vowel¹, e.g. *bradán bruda:n, casán/cosán kusa:n, damáiste dumá:s't'ə, fallán/follán, camán kuma:n, bacán buka:n, sgadán skuda:n, sparán spura:n, cabáiste guba:s't'ə*; similarly in *pácaire pukir'ə, cnaphtha krapi:/krupi: ; o*, in *brachán broxa:n, gabhtha gof:*

ei, with lost fricatives, e.g. *adharc, aghaidh, § 462*;

əu, likewise in *labhairt leuurt', cabhair*; *o:* in *tabhair, gabháil, § 456*.

ai

423. This vowel normally = *a*, e.g. *cait*; before palatal *bh, mh*, e.g. *Aibhistín av'is't'i:n', Cnoc an Daimh kruk ə dav'*; before laterals and nasals, e.g. *baile, cailleach, faill fal', bainne ban'ə, sainnt, aingeal*; before vibrants, e.g. *aire ar'a, dair, faire, fairsing, fairrge farig'ə, mairg*.

a:, before certain groups containing vibrants, § 491, e.g. *Fairche fa:r'hi:, i n-airde ə na:rd'ə ; o*, in *airde* (not preceded by *i n-*); *e*, e.g. *Aibréan eb'r'a:n, aice ek'i:, aige eg'ə*; similarly in *tairbh ter'iv'*; and before fricatives, § 452, § 462, in which position it may = *a:*, e.g. *maighistir, or i*, e.g. *snaidhm, or ei, e.g. maighdean*.

i, before a long vowel, e.g. *caisléan, § 422 n.*
zero, e.g. *do thaisbéin sé spa:n' s'e:*

ea

424. This vowel = *a*, e.g. *eas as, Peadar, deatach*; before non-palatal *mh*, e.g. *cleamhnas, geomhar*, see also § 457; before nasals and laterals, e.g. *teallach t'alux, peann, feall f'al, ceann, § 488*; before vibrants, e.g. *fear, earrach, beart, ceart, dearcadh d'arku:*

a:, frequently before *rr, rn*, e.g. *gearr, bearnaith, § 491*; likewise with lost fricatives, e.g. *leaghadh l'a:v*, see § 462;

¹ In 'Southern' Irish, such long vowels attracted the main stress, whereupon the weakened initial vowel changed its quality according to the environment. Connacht speakers apparently imitated this pronunciation, but restored the stress to the now modified first syllable. Cf. *Irish Dialects*, p. 99.

ei, eu, with lost fricatives, e.g. *feabhas, treabhadh, meadhrach*, §§ 456, 462.

i, u, before syllables containing long vowels, § 422n, e.g. *measgán m'iska:n, seangán, sreangán, meannán m'ina:n, spreasán sp'r'isa:n, creagán k'r'uga:n*; *o*, in *seachrán, deacair d'okir'*; *i* in *measardhacht m'isori:xt*; *e*, in *beag*; *e:* in *bheas*.

ei

425. This vowel = *e*, *breitheamhnas b'r'ehu:nus, leitir, seisear, ceirt, beirt, deithbhír*.

i, in nasal contexts, e.g. *meilt, greim, meisneach, meisge, geimhreadh*, § 453, 488.

e:, in *beidh b'e:j*; *a* in *meitheal m'ahul*.

eo

426. This normally = *o*, e.g. *deoch d'ox, eochair*.

i

427. This vowel = *i*, e.g. *pic p'ik', briseadh*; before nasals and laterals, e.g. *mil, im, cinnte k'in't'i:, intinn in't'in', millteach m'il't'ux, imeórad im'r'o:d*.

e, e.g. *idir, tirim*, alternatively in *fireann f'ir'en/f'er'en*; *a*, in *innté an't'i:*;

i:, with lost fricatives, e.g. *dligheadh*, § 462.

io, iu

428. These vowels = *i*, before *n(n), t(h)*, *s*, e.g. *sionnach, fios, cioth k'ix'(ə), fionn*; preceding *ch* they = *o*, in *fliuch, fiochadh/fiuchadh f'oxu:;*

u, in *tiugh, sioc, siopa s'upa*, before laterals, and (occasionally) nasals, e.g. (*an*) *iomarcaidh n'umurki:, liom l'um, giolla*, before *rr*, e.g. *giorra g'urə*;

e/i, in *bior b'ir/b'er, biorach b'irux/b'erux*.

a, in *ionnta, ionann*, etc.

i:, u:, with lost fricatives, §§ 456, 462.

o

429. This vowel = *o*, *obair, cogadh, pota, ro-mhór ro-vo:r*; before laterals and vibrants, e.g. *solas, olc, bord, toránn, tolladh tolú:, poll, coll kol, corrach*.

u, before nasals, e.g. *lomradh, sona suni:, sonas, fonn, bonn, bun, onóir uno:r', domblas, tomba*, likewise in *brosgar bruskur, ocras*, and before syllables containing long vowels (§ 422n), e.g. *copóg kupo:g, soláthar sula:r, copán kupa:n, sgoláire*.

e, before *s*, e.g. *tosach, osna esnə*, with a lost fricative in *tomhas*.

a, a tendency that goes back to the Old Irish period. It occurs after labials, e.g. *boladh balhu:, fosgadh fasku:, folamh*; likewise in *dona, crothadh, orc, cosgairt kaskurt'*, §§ 488, 491.

o:/u:, eu, with lost fricatives, §§ 457, 462; *o:* in *dortadh, ortha o:rhe*, and in alternation with *u:* in *comháireamh ko:r'u:/ku:r'u:*.

oi

430. This vowel commonly = *e*, e.g. *troid, soisgéal*; before laterals and vibrants, e.g. *coil, doiligh, coirce, coir ker'*.

i, next to nasals, e.g. *soineannda sin'entí:, roinnfidh, roimhe*, § 488, likewise in *foide/faide fid'ə*; *oiléan* (§ 422n).

a, in *croiceann krak'en, goimh gav', sloinneadh SLAN'u:, gloine* (where the sound *glan'i:* represents the Middle Irish form, *glaine*)¹.

o, before certain non-palatals, e.g. *foirseadh, boicht,*

ai, with lost fricatives, e.g. *loighead Leid*, § 462.

u

431. This normally = *u*, e.g. *cruth kruf, dubh, muc, cuma*.

o, before *ch* in *ucht oxt, luch LOX*; before vibrants, e.g. *tur, turas, urchar/orchar oruxur, urnaughte, purgód porugo:d', ursa ors'ə*, § 491.

i, between dental and *s* in *tusa*.

u:, with lost fricatives, e.g. *ughdar*, §§ 456, 457, 462.

¹ (The *ai* is also preserved in Scottish Gaelic, *Borgstrøm*, § 11.

ui

432. This vowel = i, e.g. *fuil fil'*, *uisge*, *suim*, *druim*, *cuir*, *cuimhne kiv'nə*, *Muire mirə*.

e, e.g. *uilc el'k'*, *chuige*; before vibrants in *uiread er'ed*, *cuirp ker'p'*, *uireasbhaidh*, also = o, e.g. *uirthe*, *a mhuirnín e vorn'i:n'*, § 491.

a, in *stuidéar stad'e:r*.

i:, with lost fricatives, e.g. *fuighleach fi:l'ux*, § 462.

SHORT UNSTRESSED VOWELS.

433. Short unstressed vowels generally disappear initially in a number of verbal forms, e.g. *adeir*, *adubhairt*, *atá*. Cf. *thaisbéin*.

434. Such vowels are normally retained in the words *amach*, *amuigh*, *amárach*, *anuraidh e' norhi:*, *anuas*, etc. See § 373.

435. The influence of 'Southern' Irish can be detected in a few words, where a long vowel or a diphthong in the second syllable, preceded by l or r, attracted to itself the primary stress. But the inherently sonorous lateral or vibrant tended to absorb the adjacent weakened vowel, or to be itself anticipated and form an initial CC group with a preceding consonant; whereupon the original initial vowel disappeared and the word, thus reduced, regained the regular pattern with its stress on the first syllable. (See §§ 294, 497; and *Irish Dialects*, pp. 99 ff.). Examples are *arár ra:n*, *biorán b'r'a:n*, *peiriaclach p'r'ieklux*, *corón kro:n'*, *paráiste*, *forfhás*, *coláiste*, *galánta gla:nti:*.

436. Word-final a, e, = o (§ 19), e.g. *peata*, *beatha*, *fada*, *bliadhna*, *ghleanna jl'anə*, *cóirce*, *duine*, *uайдhe*, *comhairle*.

i: (cf. § 367), e.g. *nádúrtha na:du:rhi:*, *léine*, *teine*, *clisde k'lis'ti:*, *oile/eile el'i:*, *eala*, *rinne rin'i:*, *cumhra ku:rhi:*; in

past part. e.g. *molta molti:*, *déanta*, *leagtha*, *briste*, *buailte bual'ti:*; in plurals, e.g. *sgeana s'k'ani:*, *bróga bro:gi:*, *guaille gual'i:*, *daoine*, *caiple*. In at least some of such words the occurrence of an i:-like vowel must be of long standing e.g. *súile su:l'i:* (O.I. *súili*), *cnámha kra:vi:* (O.I. *cnámai*). Frequently -i and -e are in free fluctuation in early modern Irish orthography.

437. With lost fricatives, ai, i, ui = i:, e.g. *agaibh agi:*, *brógaibh bro:gi:*, *aithreachaibh ar'huxi:*, *doiligh del'i:*, *ceannuigh*.

438. a, ea, iu, with lost fricatives, = u:, e.g. *madadh*, *milleadh*, *obriughadh eb'r'u:*, *déanamh*.

439. In non-final position, quality depends on environment cf. §§ 18, 329.

ai, i, ui = i, e.g. *banais*, *Nodlaig*, *socair*, *capaill*, *milis*, *meinic fairsing*, *tuigim*, *áluinn*.

ea = e, e.g. *Éireannach e:r'enux*; = i:, e.g. *goibhneacha* (?*goibhnidheachd*) *gev'n'i:xt*; = ie, *faítcheas fat'ies*.

a, i, = o, e.g. *thugadar hugudor*, *imirt im'ort*,

a, ea, o, = u, e.g. *éadan e:dun*, *amharc*, *bacach*, *peacach*, *portach focal*, *cailleach*, *soitheach sex'ux*, *meisneach*, *eashog aspuk*, *éadtron e:drum*, *anam*, *doras/dorus*.

440. Final a, e, and non-final ai, i, ui, ea, disappear in *lach(a)*, *aithmhéal(a) af'e:l*, *foighid(e)*, *sochraíd(e)* *soxi:d'*, *Éabh(a) e:v*, *glas-uain(e)* *glasuən'*, *tróc(ai)re tro:kr'e*, *faois(i)din fi:s't'un*, *pribh(i)léid p'r'i:v'l'e:d'*, *inn(i)stear in's't'or*, *tarr(ai)ngearn tar'n'i:N*, *muinnt(e)rdhas mi n't'r'es*.

ADDITIONAL UNSTRESSED VOWELS.

441. A short vowel appears regularly in áth a:he, ci(o)tl k'ix'ə, ri(o)th rix'ə, cuid kid'ə; cf. céacht(a), cloidheamh klav'ə As to loan-words such as *geata*, see § 225. The prep. pron. air is by some speakers pronounced er', by others er'ə.

442. A long vowel has developed in second person plural imperatives, e.g. *bídh b'i:g'i:*, *déanaidh d'i:nig'i:*, etc.; cf. § 113. Among the scholars who have concerned themselves with this oft-discussed feature are Bergin (*Gadelica*, i, 73 ff), Ó Máille (ZCP, ix, 350 ff), Sommerfelt (*Ériu*, ix, 68 f), O'Rahilly (*Irish Dialects*, 58 ff), Breathnach (*Ériu*, xvi, 49 ff).

THE EPENTHETIC VOWEL.

443. When preceded by a short vowel, a word-final consonant cluster is simplified by the development of an epenthetic vowel, if (i) the first element in the cluster is *l* or *r*¹, and the second is one of the voiced consonants *b*, *g*, *m*, or palatal *bh*, e.g. *sgolb skolub*, *dealg d'alug*, *borb borub*, *meirbh m'er'iv'*, *orm orum*, *mairg mar'ig'*, *fearg f'arug*;² or (ii) the first element is *n*, and the second either *m* or palatal *bh*, e.g. *bainbh ban'iv'*, *seinm s'in'im'*, *ainm an'im'*.

444. Word-medial clusters are similarly broken by epenthesis between *n/l/r* and a voiced labial, *g*, or *ch*, e.g. *seanmóir s'anumoir*, *searchas s'anuxus*, *Alba(in) alubin'*, *salchar saluxur*, *seirbhís s'er'iv'i:s'*, *dearmad*, *airgead ar'ig'ed*, *margadh marugu:*, *dorcha doruxe*, *dearbhtha d'arufi:*, *urchóid oruxo:d'*.

¹ See §§ 304 ff. The effect of such groups is, of course, not peculiar to Irish; e.g. in such words as *warm*, *worn*, etc. southern English speakers suppress the *r*, while other dialects introduce an epenthetic vowel into the consonant group.

² The word *earball rubul* (and perhaps *purgadóir*, § 497) is a case of epenthesis with subsequent loss of stress by the initial syllable and its ultimate disappearance. Cf. § 435; Lewis-Pedersen, § 159; Borgström, § 191.

CHAPTER XII

CONSONANTS

PLOSIVES

b

445. This normally = *b'*, *b*, e.g. *bás*, *beagán*, *gob*. Exceptionally in *abaidh ap'i:*, it is replaced by the voiceless labial plosive, as also in the combination *sb*, e.g. *easbog*, *sblangc/splangc*, and next to *th*, e.g. *lúbtha lu:pi:*; palatal *b* = *b* in *bideach bi:d'u:ux*.

d

446. *d* normally = *d'*, *d*, e.g. *gad*, *deas*, *dochair*, *duine*. Exceptions are (i) assimilation to an adjacent consonant in the medial clusters *dn*, *dl*, *dr*, e.g. *codladh kolu:*, *Nodlaig*, *céadna k'e:ni:*, *gránda gra:ni:*, *ordlach*, *Pádraig pa:rik'*, cf. *maidne mad'in:e*; (ii) replacement by velars in *de*, *do*, e.g. *do Dhia gə jie*, and by *h* in a form of (a) *dubhradh du:ru:/hu:ru:*; (iii) = the corresponding voiceless plosive in the combinations *sd*, *chd*, e.g. *sduamdhá stuəmi:*, *uachdar uəxtur*, *baisdeadh bas't'u:*, and before voiceless consonants, e.g. *ceardcha*, *bhféadfa*, *goidthe get'i:*; (iv) non-palatal *d* = *d'* in *duilleabhar d'il'u:r*, cf. § 450 (v); (v) disappears in *de Búrc(a) ə bu:rk(e)*.

g

447. This normally = *g'*, *g*, e.g. *gaol*, *geamhar*, *léigim*, *óg*.¹ Exceptions are (i) devoicing in the cluster *sg*, and word-finally after an unstressed vowel, e.g. *comhrag ku:ruk/ko:ruk*, *Nodlaig*, *easbog*, *Pádraig*, *tháinig*, *sgian*, *Cáisg*, as well as medially next to

¹ (Substitution of *k'* for *g'* in word-medial position is exemplified in the adjective *cúigeadh ku:k'u:u*).

th, e.g. *leagtha l'aki:*, and in *duibheagán div'uka:n*; cf. however, *carraig karig'*; (ii) disappearance word-medially in weak forms of *agam am*, *agad/agat ad*, *againn an'*; (iii) non-palatal *g = g'* in *tóghaim to:g'im'*, etc.

c

448. This normally = **k'**, **k**, e.g. *caora*, *cearc*, *púca*. Exceptionally (i) replaced by **x** in *dociúr doxtu:r*, and by a corresponding voiced plosive in *cabáiste guba:s't'ə*; (ii) **k'** alternates with **t'** in *cé/cia*, *céard*, etc.

p

449. This normally = **p'**, **p**, e.g. *pian*, *pota*, *sompla*. Exceptionally, non-palatal **p** = **p'** in *páitse p'a:ts'ə*.

t

450. *t* normally = **t'**, **t**, e.g. *teach*, *talamh*, *tart*, *tuile til'ə*, *tuighe ti:*.

Exceptions are (i) assimilation to an adjacent consonant in *Breatnach b'r'anhu*; (ii) voicing in *cunntae*; (iii) disappearance in *acht ax*; (iv) alternation with **s'** in *tarathar trahor/s'rahор*; (v) palatal *t = t'* in *teastáil tasta:l'*, *tiomáin tuma:n'/tuma:l'*, and non-palatal *t = t'* before *ui*, *oi*, in *tuigim*, *tuitim t'it'im*, *tuilleadh t'il'u:*, *toidheacht*.

FRICATIVES

bh, *mh*

451. Palatal *bh*, *mh*, next to a stressed vowel normally = **v'**, e.g. *Aibhistín av'is't'i:n'*, *bheirim*, *luibh*, *mhéaduigh*, *cuimhne*, *geimhreadh*, *aoibhinn*.

Exceptionally = **h**, in *coimhigheach kihex*; = **f'**, next *t(h)*,

e.g. *deithbhír d'eff'ir*, *caithmheach kaf'ux*, *sléibhte s'L'e:f't'i:*, *aith-mhéala*. Cf. the disappearance of *bh* in *raibh roh/reu*, and that of *mh* in *áirmhim a:r'i:m'*.

452. Before **v'**, representing palatal *bh*, short stressed vowels develop as follows (See §§ 423 ff.) :—

ai, *oi = e*, e.g. *saidhbhir*, *taidhbhse*, *goibhneachd*.
ui = i, e.g. *luibh*.

453. Preceding **v'**, representing palatal *mh*, short stressed vowels develop as follows :—

ei = i, e.g. *deimhin*, *geimhreadh*, *neimhneach*; = **a**, e.g. *reimhre rav'r'ə¹*.
oi = i, e.g. *roimhe*; = **e**, e.g. *doimhne dev'n'ə*, *comhling*; = **a**, e.g. *goimh*.
ui = i, e.g. *cuimhne*.

454. Non-palatal *bh*, *mh*, before a stressed vowel, or after a stressed long vowel, = **v**, e.g. *bhuail*, *amháin*, *lámh*, *fréamh*, *snámh*, likewise after a short vowel in *dubh duv*.

Exceptionally, = **f**, next to *th*, e.g. *sgriobhtha s'k'r'i:fl*; *gabhtha gofí*; *naomhtha*; disappear in *taobh ti:(v)*, cf. § 355, *gabh go(h)*.

455. After a consonant, they generally = zero or are absorbed by lengthened vowels, e.g. *fágħaim fa:gi:m'*, *tógbħaim to:g'im'*, *seachtmhain s'axtin'*,

uaireasbhaidh, *cosmhail kosu:l'*, *slachtmhar slaxtu:r*, *marbhadh maru:*

Exceptionally, = **f**, after *th*, e.g. *bláthmhar bla:fur*, *uathbhás ufa:s*; = a devoiced labial plosive in *teasbhach t'aspux*; retained after *r* in *féarmhar*, after *gh* in *briogħmhar*.

¹ This springs rather from the depalatalizing effects of the initial *r*, originally *R'*. See Borgström: *Norsk Tidsskrift for Språkvidenskap Suppl. Bind, I. 207*.

456. Medial non-palatal *th* is normally lost after a short stressed vowel, with consequent developments as follows:—

a, ea, o, = əu, e.g. *abha(inn)*, *slabhra, cabhair/cobhair, labhairt leuurt'*, *treabhadh, leabhar, gobha gəuə*. *a = o:, e.g. tabhair, tabhairt, gabháltas, gabháil ('leaven') go:l'*; the vowel in *tabhair* is further shortened in *tabhair d(h)om torum*.

io, iu, u, = u:, e.g. siobhal/siubhal, adubhairt, ubhall u:L, cubhar.

457. With non-palatal *mh*, short stressed vowels develop as follows:—

a, normally = a (§ 422), exceptionally = *o:*, e.g. *amhrán*.

ea, normally equivalent to a, but = u: in deamhan, deamhain d'u:n, d'u:n'.

o = u:, e.g. romham, romhat; = u:/o:, e.g. comhairle, Domhnach, comharsa, etc., cf. § 61; = əu, e.g. domhan, domhain dəun'; = o:, e.g. comhrádh. Exceptionally = o, e.g. comhartha kohore, comhthrom korhum.

u = u:, e.g. umhlaidheacht u:li:xt; = u, e.g. cumhang. (See also §§ 199, 483).

458. With lost palatal *bh, mh*, short unstressed vowels = *i:*, e.g. *caiplibh kap'l'i:, guaillibh guəl'i:, Gaillimh gar'i:, creidimh, d(h)á-ríribh ya:-r'i:r'i:, do fhágaibh da:gi:, lámhaibh la:v'i:, brógaibh.*

459. With lost non-palatal *bh, mh*, such vowels = *u:*, e.g. *creideamh, déanamh, conntabhairt kuntu:xt', breitheamhnas b'r'ehu:nus, fearamhail f'aru:l', colbha, béalbhach*; likewise the epenthetic vowel in *marbh maru:*, etc.

Exceptionally, *bh* is retained after medial epenthetic vowels in *cearrbhach, marbhán maruva:n*; *bh = v'* in *tarbhach tar'iv'ux*.

dh, gh

460. Word-initial *dh, gh*, = *v, j*, e.g. *dhá, ghé, ghabh, Dhia*. Exceptionally = *h*, in a by-form of *dhá bhliadhain ha: v'l'iən'* (3).

461. Word-medial *dh, gh*, generally = zero, with coalescence of their flanking syllables, e.g. *bliadhain, baoghal, faghái Brighid, dligheadh, buailfidhear, cuideóghaiddh kid'o:j*.

Exceptions are (i) palatal *dh, gh*, = *j*, e.g. *léighim l'e:jim láighe la:je, truaighe, luaigneacht lu:ji:xt, nuaidhe nu:je* (ii) palatal *dh* = *v'* in *guidhe, eidhean(n)*: this tendency goes back to the very beginning of modern Irish, cf. O'Rahilly *Hermathena*, p. 185; (iii) the group *-ghth-* = *x'* in *beannuighth* etc., *-thgh- = k'* in *aithghiorra*, the non-palatal group *-ghbh-* = in *dioghbháil d'i:va:l', -ghth- = f* in *toghtha tofi:*; (iv) non-palatal *dh, gh*, = *g* in *diadhanta d'iəgunti:, iorghail oruga:l'*; replace by *x* in *eiteadha et'u:xi:*; (v) where *dh, gh* are flanked by a long vowel and diphthong, coalescence does not occur, e.g. *fiadhánta f'i:a:ntes, fuagháil*, also *sídheóg*, etc.

462. Short stressed vowels are thus modified by the loss of *dh, gh* (See further O'Rahilly: *Irish Dialects*, pp. 178ff.):—

a, ai, ea = əi, e.g. adharc, gadhar, aghaidh, meadhraic maighdean.

Otherwise, = *a:* in *adhlacadh a:luku:, adhmad, adhbha: breaghda, faghthar, leaghadh l'a:v, deagh-dhuine, maighistí: aidhbheirseoir, a:vurs'o:r', fagháil fa:l'*.

ai = i, in snaidhm, = e, in saidhbhreas, saidhbhir, etc.

ei, oi = əi, e.g. leigheas, cloidhe, loighead, oighre eir'ə.

Exceptionally, = *i:* in *oidhche, croidhe, = e in doigh fhiaca deh iekul.*

i, io, ui = i:, e.g. iodhbairt i:burt', figheadóir, buidhe, tuigh eadóir ti:do:r'. Exceptionally, righin is alternatively ri:n'/rain' *o = əu, e.g. bodhar, rogha, togha.*

Exceptions are *o:*, in *brodhach bro:x, foghlaim*; *o:/u:, with nasals, e.g. foghnamh fo:nu:/fu:nu:, foghmar.*

u = u:, e.g. ughdar, amudha.

463. Palatal *dh, gh*, normally disappear in word-final position e.g. *aghaidh, réidh, préidh pre:*, and, with lengthening of the adjacent vowel, in *doiligh, dheachaидh, etc.*

Exceptionally, = *j*, in *cruaidh, suidh, uaigh*; *dh = v'* in *guidh giv'*; = *g'* in *bidh b'i:g'i:, déanaidh d'i:nig'i:, gh = x* in *troigh, istigh, amuigh.*

464. Final non-palatal *dh*, *gh*, are normally lost, e.g. *laogh*, *anródh*, *gaisgeadh*, *biadh*, *gábhadh*.

Exceptionally, = **v**, after a short stressed vowel, e.g. *aniogh*, *ogh*; = **h**, e.g. *sleagh*, *is eadh s'ah*; = **f**, in *tiugh*; cf. § 467.

465. With lost palatal *dh*, *gh*, short unstressed vowels generally = **i**:; e.g. *amhlaidh*, *doiligh*, *ní fhacaidh*, **n'i: aki:**, *iomarcaidh*, *inghean*, *leabaidh*, *éirigh eir'i:*, *éasgaidh*, cf. *gaisgidheach gas'k'i:x*, *cuirfidhear kir'hi:r*.

Exceptionally, > **a**, e.g. *aghaidh*, *i n-aisgidh a nas'k'a*, *gaisgeadh gas'k'a*.

466. With lost non-palatal *dh*, *gh*, short unstressed vowels generally = **u**:; e.g. *freagradh fr'agru:*, *deireadh*, *peacadh p'aku:*, *madadh*, *cogadh*, *bunadhas*, *cuidiughadh*.

Exceptionally = **a**, e.g. *lobhadh Léa*, *treabhadh*. Cf. *carghas kari:s*, *garraha*, *iomdha*.

467. For non-palatal *dh*, in the inflexion -(e)adh of active verbs, the form -(u)x occurs as the more general alternative to **u**: and **v**, e.g. *do mholadh volux/volu:*, *do bhiodh v'i:x/v'i:v*, *do bhuailfeadh vuol'hux/vuel'hu:*

Exceptionally, (i) before a palatal s the ending -dh = **d**, e.g. (a)*deireadh sé a'd'er'ed s'e:*; (ii) in the passive -(e)adh appears as **u**: after a consonant, e.g. *do rinneadh rin'u:*, *do leagadh L'agu:*, but as **v** where an intervocalic consonant has disappeared, e.g. *do ceannuigheadh k'ani:v*.

ch

468. Palatal *ch* = **x'**, e.g. *oidhche*, *cloich klex'*, *fiche f'ix'a*, *ní chreidim n'i: x'r'ed'im'*.

Exceptions: **h**, e.g. *droichead*, *cheana*, *dicheall d'ix'uL/d'ihuL*, with full or partial devoicing of a flanking consonant in *deich-neabhar d'in'hu:r*, *an Fhairche e na:r'hi:*, *inchinn*; **f'**, in *doicheall def'uL*, *cluiche*; **x**, resisting palatalization in the group *cht*, e.g. *boxt' boicht*; **p'**, in the group -mch-, e.g. *timcheall t'im'p'uL*; quiescence, after *t* in *faítcheas*.

469. Non-palatal *ch* normally = **x**, e.g. *cloch*, *dochár*, *mo choinsias me xin's'ies*, *dánacht da:nuxt*, *chualaidh xuəli:*, *rachaidh raxi:*, *caoch ki:x*.

Exceptions: (i) initially before a rounded vowel, *ch* is labialized, and has passed over to **f** in *chuaidh*, *chuadar fuedor*; (ii) = **h**, in *chugam*, *chugad*, etc., where it generally = zero in unstressed position; (iii) it is assimilated to an adjacent consonant, e.g. *ceardcha*; (iv) = **p**, in the group -mch- e.g. *iomcharumpur*.

f, ph

470. These normally = **f'**, **f**, e.g. *fréamh*, *fada*, *fealltach*, *mu phaidrín me fad'ir'i:n'*, *aifreann*, *ifreann*.

Exceptions: (i) = **h**, initially in *féach he:xə*, *féin he:n'*, and medially next to certain nasals, laterals, and vibrants, e.g. *mholfaínn volhin'*, *buailfidhear buel'hi:r*, *beanfaidhear ban'hi:r fiafruighe f'ierhi:*; (ii) = zero, after a voiceless consonant, e.g. *lasfaidh Lasi:*, *chaithfeá xax'a:*, or with devoicing of a voiced consonant, e.g. *leagfaidhear L'aki:r*; (iii) non-palatal *f* = **f'** in *foghlaím*, *faicim*.

th

471. As in other dialects throughout the modern Irish period word-initial *th* normally = **h**, e.g. *théighinn he:n'*, *thiar híer thoir her'*, *thuit hit'*, *throid hred'*.

Exceptions: = **x'**, before **u(:)**, e.g. *thiobhrainn x'u:rhin'*, *thiocfadh*; cf. *sh*, § 475.

472. Medial and final *th* generally = **h**, e.g. *caitheamh*, *aithi ahis'*, *breith b'r'eh*, *aithris ar'his'*, *aithne*, *bóithre*, *cruithneacháith*, *sithléigeach*, *athair*, *bóthar*, *dath*, *leath*, *rath*, *sgartha skarhi:*, *breathnughadh*, *cumtha kumhi:*; also, = **t'**, **t**, e.g. *tarraigth tarin't'i:*, *tríotha hri:tu:*, *foghlamtha f'o:lumti:*; = **x'**, in *ithi ithir*, *maith*, *sáith*, *ní as luaithe n'i:s luex'a*, *bi(o)th*, *cri(o)th* = zero, with devoicing of an adjacent voiced plosive or fricative e.g. *cráibhtheach kra:f'ux*, *ceithre k'er'e/x'er'e*, *imtheacht*, *leith*

sgéal l'es'k'e:l, dúithche, faictheor f'ek'or, athchuinhidh axin'i:, tugtha tuki:, gaothmhar gi:fur, lúbha lu:pi:, sgriobhtha, naomhtha, cf. baintreabhach ban't'r'ux.

Furthermore, non-palatal *th* = *f*, after stressed *u*, e.g. *guth*, *cruth*, *gruth*; = *x*, e.g. *fóthannán fo:xuna:n*, *go bráth ge bra:x*; = zero, after a long vowel or diphthong, e.g. *bláth*, *fáth*, *tráth*, *luath*, *cúthail* *ku:l*.

s

473. Palatal *s* normally = *s'*, e.g. *seisear*, *leisge*, *cingcighis*, *sibh s'iv'*.

Exceptionally = *s*, word-initially before a labial, e.g. *spéir*, *speal*, *smeig sm'ig'*, likewise in by-forms of words beginning in *sg-*, e.g. *sgian*, *sgéal*; = *h's'* initially in the demonstratives *s(o)in*, *so*.

474. Non-palatal *s* normally = *s*, e.g. *smál sma:l*, *solas*, *réusún*, *uusal*, *gas gas*, *sosd sest*.

Exceptions: *s'* as a rule in the combinations *-rs-*, *sr-*, e.g. *sráid*, *srian*, *comharsa*; and in the words *dúsacht du:s'uxt*, *saoilim*, *baitheas bahis'*, *inneósad in's'o:d*.

sh

475. In general *sh* = *h*, e.g. *shamhail*, *shnáithe*, *shláinte*, *sheacht*.

Exceptions: (i) palatal *sh* = *x'*, before a long back vowel e.g. *Sheáin*, *shiobhail*, *sheóil x'o:l'*; (ii) non-palatal *sh* = *x*, e.g. *ó shoin o: xin'*.

h

476. This is retained as *h*, e.g. *a h-ainm e han'im'*, *hata hate*, *dia hAoine d'e: hi:n'ə*.

fh

477. The digraph *fh* denotes a zero value.

NASALS¹

m

478. This normally = *m'*, *m*, e.g. *moch*, *amach*, *im*, *am*, *dearmad*, *imtheacht*, *meas*.

n

479. Unlenited palatal *n* normally = *n'*, e.g. *nead n'ad*, *neamh*, *áirne a:rN'ə*, *sniomh*, *cainnt*, *fuinneog*.

Exceptionally, = *n'*, before *s*, e.g. *fuinnseog*; = *d'* in alternative forms of *ni* as *n'i:s/d'i:s*, *ni ba n'i:be/d'i:be*.

480. Lenited palatal *n* = *n'*, e.g. *imneadh im'n'i:*, *géimneach g'e:m'n'ux*, *gaineamh*, *teine*.

Exceptions: (i) *r'*, after palatal *g/c*, in word-initial position, e.g. *gníomh g'r'i:v*, *cnead*, *cneasta*; (ii) *n*, in *siothcháin s'i:xa:n*, *faoisidin*, and alternatively in *féin he:n'/he:n*; (iii) *l'*, in *thiomáin huma:l'/huma:n'*.

481. Unlenited non-palatal *n* normally = *n*, e.g. *asna asNə*, *caonnach ki:nux*, *clann*, *náire*, *eórna o:tNə*.

Exceptions: (i) *n*, before *r*, *s*, e.g. *anródh*, *funnsa funse*; (ii) *n'*, e.g. *tóránn to:rhin'*, *drumann drumin'*; (iii) *ŋ*, before a velar, e.g. *splangc/splannc*.

482. Lenited non-palatal *n* = *n*, e.g. *múnadh*, *banais*, *anam*, *buan*, *macnas maknus*.

Exceptions: (i) *r*, after *g*, *c*, *t*, *m*, in the same syllable, e.g. *mná mra:*, *gnúis gru:s'*, *cnámha*, *tnúth tru:*, also in *munai*; (ii) *nh*, e.g. *meanadh*, *tanaidhe*; (iii) *n'*, e.g. *glún* (*glúin*) *glu:n'*, *maidean* (*maidin*), *Laidean*, *blonag blin'ik'*.

¹ As regards *mh*, see §§ 451 ff.

ng

483. This normally = ŋ', ŋ, e.g. *ingne, ceangal, daingeán*.

Exceptions: (i) N', e.g. *fulang fel'in't', fairsing, congħáil kin'a:l, tairnge ta:rN'ə, tarringim tarn'i:m'*; (ii) ng, e.g. *iongħáil unguva:l'*; (iii) zero, e.g. *peinginn p'i:N', congnamh ku:nu:, iongnadħ, iongantas i:n̄tes* (iv) non-palatal ng is replaced by the palatal in long (*luing*) liŋ', etc. (v) g, with nasalization of the adjacent vowel, by some speakers e.g. (15) in the word *cumhang*.

LATERALS

484. Unlenited palatal l = l', e.g. *line, tálliúr ta:l'u:r, leac, sliabh, aill, comhairle*.

Exceptionally, = l', e.g. *uillinn il'iN'*, likewise before palatal s, e.g. *soillse sel's'i:; = r', e.g. inntleacht.*

485. Lenited palatal l = l', e.g. *bail, do leabaidh de l'abi:, mil, oiléan*.

Exceptions: (i) l, e.g. *bailiugħadh balu:, faiceail f'ek:a:l, cùthail, congħáil*; (ii) l', e.g. *roilig, fuighleach fl:l'u:x*.

486. Non-palatal unlenited l = l, e.g. *balla, geall, sláinte, Béarla, láidir*.

Exceptionally, = l', e.g. *asgall askil'*.

487. Lenited non-palatal l = l, e.g. *bealach b'alux, do las las, geal, glan, ualach, eólas*.

Exceptions: (i) lh, e.g. *baladh balhu:, folamh*; (ii) l', e.g. *clu k'l'u:, anal una:l', fulang*.

SHORT VOWELS BEFORE NASALS AND LATERALS

488. Here the details given in §§ 422-432 are supplemented with particular reference to the treatment of short stressed vowels before ll, m, ng, nn, when these consonants are either in word-final position or followed by other consonants. Our dialect

is at one with those of Northern Irish and Southern Scottish Gaelic retaining such vowels almost invariably without lengthening or diphthongization,¹ although subject in certain cases to changes of quality as short vowels.

a, ea, ai, = a, e.g. *am, lann LAN, ball, aill, aimsir, beann, cainnt, Fraingc, teampall t'ampul, greann, geall, gleann, mannt, clann*.

Exceptions: a:, in the words *thall ha:L, anall, ar ball*. ei, i, oi, ui, = i, e.g. *seinm s'in'im', binn b'in', luing, cill, roinnt riN't', muinntir, suim*.

Exceptions: oi commonly = e, before laterals, e.g. *moill, io, commonly = i, with nn, e.g. ionnsuidhe insi:, cionn k'in; also = u, e.g. iomchar, ionnraic unrik'*,

i:, with loss of consonant in *iongnadħ*.

o, = o, before laterals, e.g. *coll, Goll*.

u, before nasals, e.g. *trom, conntabhairt*.

u:, with lost consonant in *congnamh*.

u, = u, e.g. *cunntas, cunntae kunde:*.

VIBRANTS

489. Word-initial vibrants generally = r, e.g. *rún, ruibe, réidheteach, reamhar, do rinne*.

Exceptionally, palatal lenited r remains, e.g. *dá ríribh, do réir e r'e:t'*.

490. Medial and final lenited and unlenited vibrants normally = r', r, e.g. *aire, bodhar, deireadh, athair, gáire, maor, mórán, fearr, searrach, páirt pa:rt'*, srian.

Exceptions: (i) palatal r = r, in the ending -uir, e.g. *náduir na:du:r, doctúir*, and certain clusters (§272), e.g., *imirt, páirt, goirt gort', toir(r)neach, toirsearch, áirne a:rN'ə*; = d', in *dréimire d'r'e:m'id'ə*; this is one of the restrictive effects of palatalization

¹ Cf. *Irish Dialects*, pp. 49 ff. For Donegal, there are instances of hesitation between long and short vowels, e.g. *teampall*, Quiggin, § 21.

in *r*, cf. § 219; = *l'*, e.g. *creabhar k'l'euur, feirm f'el'im'*, likewise in a by-form of *do réir l'e:r'*; cf. English *purple* < *purpre*, etc.; (ii) non-palatal lenited *r* = *r'* in the forms *aimsear (aimsir), muinntear (muinntir) min't'ir, paidear (paidir) pad'ir, t(h)ar, aistear, tuaraisg, dar an leabhar der' e L'euur*; = *rh*, e.g. *tóramn to:rhin', buarach, bhéaradh*; = zero, e.g. *ar, bhar*, by haplogy in *ceathrar, ar bi(o)th.*

SHORT VOWELS BEFORE VIBRANTS

491. Since vibrants, unlike nasals or laterals (§§ 478-488), have undergone a reduction of the original pattern of lenited and unlenited consonants, traces of the resultant tendency to modify some of the sounds adjacent to such consonants have manifested themselves in this, as in the other Irish dialects. With regard to short stressed vowels (§§ 422-432) in position before *rr* (unless a vowel immediately follows), *rd*, and word-medial *rl, rn*, the position is as follows:—

a, ai, ea = a:, e.g. *ard, barr, t(h)arla ha:rlí:, fearr, bearnaidh, tairnge, aird, ceardcha, gearr, ndearnaidh, bearrtha.*

The word *airde* as a comparative adjective or abstract noun is *ord'e*, otherwise it is *a:rd'e*.

ei = e, e.g. *ceird.*

o, oi, u, ui, = o, e.g. *ord, ordlach, ordóig ordo:g, ordughadh ordú:, bord, toirrneach, urnaighthe, mhuiirnín, urlár orla:r.*

INTRUSIVE CONSONANTS

492. Like extra vowels (§§ 441-444; cf. §§ 314, 315), extra consonants may develop in a word and modify its syllabic structure. The chief instances are initial *s*, and *f*, which had begun to establish themselves in early modern Irish; and the appearance of *t* in word-final position.

493. Prothetic consonants include:—

(i) *f*, e.g. *(f)éidir, (f)uaighél, (f)athach, (f)uar, (f)uacht, (f)uinn-*

seóg, (f)osgailte foskil't'i:; cf. oisgeálaidh = fosclo:j. The word *(f)uireasbhaidh* has alternative forms *f'er'esí:.*

- (ii) *s*, e.g. *(s)pairt spart', (s)naidhm, (s)gréach s'k'r'e:x;*
- (iii) *t*, e.g. *(t)obann teb'en;* Cf. the transference of *n* in *(an)iomarcaidh n'umurki:*, a development like that in English *(n)ewt, (n)ickname*, etc.

494. In word-medial positions, the following appear:—

- (i) *r*, after a plosive, e.g. *tuisleadh tris'L'e, beangán b'r'inla:x;*
- (ii) *t*, e.g. *s(t)raoill*, and utterance-medially in *mar gheall mi:lt er'*; (iii) an intrusive *h* occurs next to lenited nasal laterals, and vibrants, intervocally in *talamh, buarac tanaidhe*, etc.

495. Finally, the following developments take place:—

(i) *t* appears after certain nouns and verbal nouns formerly ending in *ch, n, ng, l*, or *r*, e.g. *ceannach k'anuxt, fulan miorbail m'i:ru:lt't', canamhain kanu:n't', gabháil ('beating go:l't', tarraing tarin't', coimhling, bagar bagurt'; similarly pronominal elements e.g. *chluinfeadh muid xlín'hux mid'/mis'* The word *éigin* is variously *ek'i:n', ek'i:N't', ek'i:n'u ek'i:n'uxt*; the *t* in *aris e'r'i:s't'* is evidently influenced by earlier forms of the word, cf. *Hermathena*, No. XLIV, 1926, p. 18*

(ii) *h* occurs after a short vowel, if stressed, e.g. *te t'eh, s(e)*

CHAPTER XIII

METATHESIS

496. In certain sequences—mostly perhaps, because they are felt to be unsystematic—the order of phoneme articulation is changed, and gives place to a new and usually more regular order. Most of the instances of this change occur in word-medial position.¹ The principal types are as follows¹ :—

- (i) **VC** > **CV**, and (ii) transposition of consonants in **CVC** and **CC** sequences.

497. By the process that Grammont calls Anticipation, a consonant is shifted from its original position after a vowel to a new position before the vowel. The consonants mainly affected are *r* and *l*.

Vr > **rV**, e.g. *tarsna trasni:*, *tiormughadh t'r'umu:*, *iolar ulrə*, *galar galrə*, *purgadóir porgudo:r'* (in its by-form *prugudo:r'*), *eadarghabháil adruga:l'*, *deirbh-shiir*, *dearbh-bhráthair*.

Vl > **lV**, e.g. *bolgam blogum*, *theilg hl'ig'*.

Epenthesis and metathesis combine in the following :—

Albanach alubnux, *dorn dorNə*.

498. Interchange of consonants separated by a vowel occurs in the following instances :—

- (i) plosives, e.g. *easgob aspuk*, *caibidil kad'ib'il'* ; (ii) *n*, *l*, *r*, e.g. *muinéal min'a:l* (which has a by-form *mil'a:n*), *muinchille mil'hiN'ə*, and (with a still wider span) *searmóin s'anumo:r'* ; (iii) *maidir lé mad'ir l'e:*, has a by-form *mar'id l'e:*

499. (i) medial **CC** clusters, consisting of a plosive followed by a fricative, are inverted in the following cases :—

¹Other dialects sometimes solve the problem by epenthesis, e.g. *admháil* (§499) ≡ S. Irish *adə'va:l'*, *bolgam* (§497) ≡ **bolegm** in N. Irish.

absolóid aspulo:d', *tuigsin t'is'k'in't'*, *tairgsin tar'is'k'in't'*, *i bhfoigse(acht) e ves'k'uxt*, *abstal(easbol)* **aspul**, *admháil avda:l'*. The forms *páitse p'a:ts'ə* and *pa:s't'ə* (*páiste*) are distinguished also as regards meaning ;

- (ii) *th*, followed in word-medial position by *n/l/r* > *nh, lh, rh*, e.g. *aithne*, *bóithre*, *sithléigeach*, *athrughadh* ;
- (iii) *-chn-* > *nh* in the word *deichneabhar* ;
- (iv) the word *galar* (§ 497) has a by-form **garLə** (a type of metathesis that goes back to early Irish, cf. *bélre* > *bérle*, later *Béarla*)¹;
- (v) the cluster *-rh-* is broken by metathesis in *carthannach kahorNux*, *comhartha*.

500. The operation of metathesis may extend beyond simple word-limits, e.g. *ar siubhal ar s'u:l*, also *e s'ru:1*.

¹Thurneysen, § 181.

INFORMANTS

Of the following speakers, all except (9), (10) and (11) were born before 1900 :—

- (1) Aindriú de Búrca, on whose speech the phonemic analysis is based, and who supplied the texts in §§ 403, 404, 405, and 408, was born in Gleann Sál in 1875.
- (2) M. Ó Diarmada, also of Gleann Sál, now living in Doire an Mhianaigh. The text in § 406 was recorded from him.
- (3) M. Bean Uí Mheadhraigh, born in Ceapach na Creiche.
- (4) P. Ó Droighneáin, Baile Uí Bhánaín.
- (5) N. Bean Uí Chathasaigh, Doire Mhór.
- (6) S. Ó Conbáidh, An Chlúid Raithníghe, Páirc an Doire, the author of the text in § 407.
- (7) M. Ó Meadhraigh, Gleann Sál, brother of P. Ó Meadhraigh, referred to by Prof. Ó Máille in *Urlabhairidheacht*, p. 191.
- (8) S. Mhac Coisdealbha, Gleann Sál.
- (9) S. Ó Cathasaigh, Grianán.
- (10) P. de Búrca, born in Gleann Sál.
- (11) S. Ó Meadhraigh, Gleann Sál.
- (12) M. Bean Uí Chadhain, Sean-bhaile Chathail.
- (13) M. Ó Dóláin, Doire an Mhianaigh.
- (14) M. Ó Loideáin, Gleann Sál.
- (15) S. Ó Conaire, Gleann Sál.

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A full lexical analysis is not attempted. Loan-words that cannot adequately be transliterated in the received orthography are left unchained. Numbers refer to paragraphs.

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cíos, rent, 417.
ciotach, left-handed, 122.
ctí(ō)th, shower, 428, 441; *ceatha*, 404 (1).
cipín, chip, 107.
círeib, tenacity, 291.
círin, crest, 366.
cis, causeway, 27.
ciúin, quiet, 68, 419.

clábar, mire, 105.
clamhsán, grumbling, 139.
clampar, trouble, 302.
clann, children, 377, 481; *cloinne* 406 (1); *c[h]loinn*, 406 (3) 408 (6).
clár: *éadach clair*, table-cloth 407 (10).
clé/clí, left, 407 (8), 414.
cleamhna, affinity, 142, 424.
cleas, trick, 255.
cléireach, clerk, 35, 130, 408 (3) 414.
cleite, feather, 37.
cleiteachán, pygmy, 120.
cliabh, pannier; *cléibh*, 35.
cliabhán, cradle, 291.
cliabhrach, chest, 142.
cliaghain, son-in-law, 203.
cliath, c. *fhuirste*, harrow, 287.
clisde, clever, 436.
cloch, stone, 255, 403 (11), 469; *cloich*, 468; *cloichín*, 103.
Cloch Fhada na Beinne, 379.
clochán, stepping stones, 167, 310.
clock-mhóin, hard turf, 374.
clog, clock, 128.
cloidhe, fence, 88, 246, 403 (53) 462.
cloidheamh, sword, 441.
cloigeann, head, 195.
chú, fame, 279, 487.
cluas, ear, 421; *chluasa*, 405 (4) 408 (5).
cluiche, game, 254, 357, 468.
clúid, corner, 404 (1).
cluinim, hear; *chualaidh*, 405 (4) 469; *chluinfeadh*, 495.
clumhach, down, 407 (14).
cnáimh, bone; *cnáimha*, 436, 482; *teine chnáimh*, 406 (19).
cnáipe, button, 223.
cnap, lump, 109.
cnapaim, collect, confine; *cnaptha* 422.
cnead, groan, 45, 480.

cneadach, groaning, 218.
cneamhaire, rogue, 218.
cneasta, honest, 130, 328, 480.
cnó, nut, 410.
cnoc, hill, 133, 325; *cnvic*, 130.
Cnoc an Daimh, 423.
cnocán, hillock, 65.
cnúdán, burdock, 115.
cobhair, see *cabhair*.
cocíl, cocking, 367.
codladh, sleep, 403 (19), 446.
cogadh, war, 52, 127, 328, 429, 466.
cóicthigheas, -is, fortnight, 89.
coigilt, saving, 41.
coileach, cock, 38.
coil, a wood, 17, 310, 430.
coimhigheach, strange, reserved, 451.
coimhling(t), rivalry, 138, 203, 453, 495.
coimín, commonage, 367.
coinín, rabbit, 185, 403 (37).
coinnccín, snout, 197.
coinneal, candle, 403 (82), 406 (15).
coinnleach, stubble, 133.
coinsias, conscience, 469.
coir, fault, 430; *coireacha*, 405 (3).
coirce, oats, 386, 430, 436.
cóirighim, arrange; *cóirigh*, 291; *chóirigh*, 380.
coirt, bark, 45.
cois, beside, 406 (11).
coisidheacht, walking, 80, 403 (40).
cóiste, carriage, 406 (25); *cóistí*, 408 (6).
col, relationship, etc., 17, 213, 338.
coláste, college, 387, 408 (3), 435.
colann, body, 403 (80).
colbha, edge, 71, 459.
coll, hazel, 17, 213, 429, 488.
coltar, coulter, 214.
comhdáireamh, counting, 429.
comhairle, advice, 272, 296, 436, 457, 484.
comharsa, neighbour, 403 (53), 457, 474.
comhartha, sign, 457, 499.

comhnaidhe, dwelling, 406 (22); *i gcomhnaidhe*, always, 402.
compás, compass, 407 (15).
comhra, coffin, 315.
comhrádh, conversation, speech, 407 (15), 457; *comhrádha*, 406 (9).
comhrag, strife, 447.
comhthiom, even, 457.
comórtas, comparison, 50.
conceit, 'disgust', 232.
congbhaim, keep, hold; *chong-bhóchadh*, 404 (3); *congbhail*, 483, 485.
congnamh, assistance, 483, 488.
conntabhairt, danger, 459, 488.
connráil, peevishness, 203.
copán, cup, 429.
copóg, dock (plant), 429.
cor, turn, 17, 403 (47).
cordín, crown, 61, 418, 435.
corp, body, corpse, 264; *cuirp*, 264, 432.
corrach, unstable, 223, 429.
corrán, reaping hook, 133.
cos, foot, 396, 403 (13).
cosán, path, 422.
cosgairt, overthrowing, thawing, 429.
cosmhail, like, 455.
cosmhálacht, appearance, 375.
cóta, coat, 403 (12).
cráibhtheach, devout, 472.
cráidh, sorrowful, 408 (4).
cráin, sow; *chráin*, 134.
crann, tree, 176; *crainn*, 176; *chrainn*, 408 (3).
cré, clay; *criaidh*, 407 (12).
creabhar, gadfly, 490.
creach, disaster, 403 (77).
créafóg, earth, 255.
creagán, hummock, 424.
créatúir: *a chréatúir*, poor fellow!, 164.
credo, 'rebuke', 228, 375.
creidim, believe, 468; *creid*, 324; *chreid*, 260, 325, 332; *creideamh*, 453.

faith, 112, 328, 459; *creidimh*, 25, 458.
crionna, wise, 195.
Criost, 408 (8); *Chriosta*, 404 (2).
crioth, shivering, 130, 472.
criothaim, shake; *chrioth*, 406 (16).
cró, hut, 279; *chró*, 279.
crochadh, pot-rack, 166.
crochaim, hang; *chroch*, 260.
croiceann, skin, 430; *croicinn*, 403 (89).
croidhe, heart, 'intimate', 407 (3), 462.
croithim, shake; *croithe*, emaciated, 403 (62); *crothadh*, 407 (9), 429.
crontha, stooped, 181.
cronaidhe, notice, 189.
cros-bhóthre, cross-roads, 406 (12).
cruach, rick, 244; *cruaiche*, 164, 307; C. *Phádraig*, 408 (4); na *Cruaiche*, 405 (4), 408 (1).
cruadhóig, hurry, 246, 421.
cruadhchan, hardening, 167.
cruaidh, hard, 158, 403 (58), 463.
crúib, hoof, 133.
cuimh, maggots, 138.
cuinniughadh, gathering, 406 (19).
cuirthneacht, wheat, 185, 472.
cruth, shape, 431, 472.
cuach, cuckoo, 364.
cuachóg, bow-knot, 85.
cuairt, visit, 85, 403 (20); *fa* *cuairt*, about, 405 (4).
cubhar, foam, 17, 71, 456.
cuid, portion, 133, 324, 441.
cuideachan, helping, 189.
cuidighim, help; *cuideághaith*, 461; *cuidiughadh*, 31, 466.
cúig, five, 324.
cúigeadh, fifth, 307, 447; *Cúigeadh Uladh*, 374, 403 (75); *Cúigeadh Uladhach*, Ultonian, 374.
cúileán, pup, 31, 415.
Cúilfhionn, 407 (16).
cuimhne, memory, 138, 432, 451, 453.

cuimhnighim, remember; *chuimhnigh*, 328.
cuingir, yoke, 197.
cuinneág, churn; *cuinneáige*, 378.
cuirim, put, etc., *cuir*, 326, 403 (21), 432; *gcuiridh*, 403 (66); *gcuireadh*, 406 (3); *cuirfead*, 218; *cuireadh*, 406 (8); *gcuireann*, 403 (9); *chuir*, 326; *chuireadar*, 406 (26); *chuirfinn*, 337; *cuirfidhear*, 465; *curtha*, 223, *cur*, 17, 378.
cúirt, court; 17.
cusle, pulse, 28.
cúl, back, poll, 17, 71, 244, 323, 347, 419; *chúilín*, 408 (6).
culaíd, suit, 56, 289.
cuma, shape, 182, 245, 431.
cumain, compose; *cumha*, 472; *cumadh*, 367.
cumhacht, power, 407 (7).
cumhachtach, powerful, 67.
cumhang, narrow, 199, 296, 457, 483.
cumhdach, guarding, 406 (14).
cumhra, fragrant, 436.
cunntae, county, 450, 488.
cunntas, account, 41, 65, 488; *chunntas*, 408 (2).
cúpla, a few, 407 (2).
cúram, concern, 133.
cúthail, bashful, 472, 485.

dar, by, 490.
dáta, date, time, 405 (1).
dath, colour, 45, 472.
de, prep., 334, 446; *dhe*, 406 (13); *dhi*, 406 (2); *dhioth*, 403 (89); *dá ghoire*, 403 (22); *dá fheabhas*, 403 (40); *fearr de*, 403 (77).
de: *de Búrc(a)*, 446.
deacair, difficult, 424.
déag, teen, 403 (17), 405 (1).
deagh-dhuine, upright man, 403 (15), 462.
dealg, thorn, 112, 403 (31), 443.
deamhan, demon, 457; *deamhain*, 71, 457.
déanamh, see *nim*.
dearbh-bhráthair, brother, 345, 497; *dearbh-bhráthar*, 406 (27); *dearbh-bhráithreaca*, 406 (1); *dearbh-bhráithreachaibh*, 406 (28).
dearbhtha, certain, 291, 444.
dearcadh, looking, 424.
dearg- intens., *dearg-bhréag*, 375.
dearmad, mistake, 64, 444, 478.
deas, pleasant, right, etc., 100, 112, 316, 325, 329, 446.
deatach, smoke, 122, 424.
deich, ten, 355.
deichneabhar, ten persons, decade, 468, 499.
deimhin: *go deimhin*, indeed, 406 (29), 453.
deirbh-shiúir, sister, 345, 497.
deirc, concave hill, 112.
deireadh, end, 328, 403 (60), 466, 490.
deirim, say, 29; *adeir*, 287, 406 (9), 433; *déarfaidh*, 406 (19); *dheár-fainn*, 407 (13); (a)dubhaint, 328, 332, 406 (6), 433; *dubhradar*, 406 (11); *adeireadh sé*, 467; *adubhraulh*, 175, 446; *abair*, 382; *ráidhite*, 328; *rádh*, 83, 405 (5).
deithbhír, hurry, 425, 451.
deithbhriughadh, hurrying, 145.
demur, 'mischance', 228.

deó: *go deó*, for ever, 79, 310.
deoch, drink, 426.
deór, drop, 416.
dhá, if, 406 (12).
dhá, two, 161, 254, 460; *an dá*, 403 (19); *dhá fhearr dhéag*, 403 (17).
d(h)á ráribh, in earnest, 458, 489.
Dia, God, 79, 359, 420; *Dé*, 79, 347; *Dhia*, 460.
dia: *dia dardaoin*, Thursday, 375; *dia h-aoine*, Friday, 476;
diabhal, devil, 92, 93, 281.
diadhanta, pious, 461.
diaidh: *i diaidh*, behind, after, 155, 403 (28), 420.
diallaid, saddle, 406 (22).
dian, severe, 79, 420.
dicheall, best effort, 163, 406 (21), 417, 468.
differ, 'difference', 228.
diogha, mischoice, 403 (84).
diogháil, harm, 461.
diol, enough, fit object, 93, 100, 403 (24), 406 (17).
diolaim, sell; *dhol*, 158, 248; *diol*, imper., 378; *diol*, 244.
diomhaoineas, idleness, 403 (50).
dion, thatch, 112, 281.
diloth, loss; *do dhioth*, 406 (3).
dip-áil, dipping, 228.
direach, straight, 112, 346, 403 (61), 417.
diúl, sucking, 93.
dligheadh, law, 255, 380, 427, 461; *dligidh*, 407 (7).
dlíteanach, lawful, 112.
dlúth, warp, 255.
do, poss., 161, 168, 203, 365.
do, pref., 206, 248, 336.
do, prep., 403 (9); *dhom*, 353, 456; *dhom-sa*, 182; *dhuit*, 309; *dhó*, 329, 355, 406 (20); *dhi*, 355, 408 (6); *dhúinn*, 406 (6); *dhaobh*, 406 (32); *dhóibh*, 406 (4).

docháir, harm, 167, 334, 446, 469.
doctúir, doctor, 448, 490; *dochtúra*, 403 (19).
dóghadh, burning, 60.
dób, daub, 307.
doicheadh, rescrve, 468.
doigh fhiacal, toothache, 462.
dóigh: *is dóigh*, probably, 406 (29).
doligh, difficult, 41, 430, 463.
doinín, hand grip, 116.
domhain, deep, 93, 457; *doimhne*, 453.
donhan, world, 176, 303, 457; *domhain*, 176.
domblas, bile, 262, 429.
Domhnach, 70, 457.
Domhnall, 61, 403 (26).
dona, bad, 406 (25), 429.
donacht, badness, 45.
donas, ill-luck, 403 (72).
donn, brown, 17, 63.
dorus, see *dorus*.
dorcha, dark, 116, 357, 444.
dorn, fist, 497.
dortadh, pouring, 429.
dorus, door, 80, 116, 439; *doirse*, 150.
doubt, 73, 228.
dream, party, 45.
dreas, briar; *dris*, 151.
dréimire, ladder, 490.
droch-mheas, contempt, 374; *droch-dhuine*, evil person, 396; *drochingean*, 403 (49); *droch-mhúinte*, ill-tempered, 355; *droch-sgríobhadh*, bad handwriting, 271; *droch-shláinte*, bad health, 396; *droch-shúil*, evil eye, 396.
droichead, bridge, 41, 255, 329, 468.
drúcht, dew, 364; *drúchta*, 404 (2).
drumim, back, 116, 303, 432; *dhruim*, 161; *droma*, 55.
drumann, a height, 481.
dubh, black, 65, 139, 431, 454.
duibheagán, abyss, 447.

E

é, he, it, 119, 309, 340, 382.
Éabha, Eve, 17, 440.
each, horse, steed, 403 (80).
éadach, cloth, clothes, 403 (88); *éadaigh*, 289; *éadaighe*, 115.
éaddail, benefit, 407 (13), 412.
éadan, face, 35, 439.
eadh: *is eadh*, yes, 403 (81), 464.
éadrom, light, 18, 65, 439.
éagoir, see *éugcoir*.
éagruas, difficulty, 292, 406 (29).
eadurghabháil, disputation, 497.
eagla, fear, 407 (8).
éagnach, lamenting, 262.
eala, swan, 407 (14), 436.
éalang, ailment, 17.
éan, bird, 243, 333, 415; 407 (14), 408 (3).
eanbhruith, broth, 315, 404 (1).
earball, tail, 443n; *earbaill*, 354.
earach, spring, 215, 403 (66), 424.
eas, waterfall, 424.
easbog, bishop, 439, 445, 447, 498.
éasgaidh, lively, easy, 262, 465.
easgob, see *easbog*.
easonóir, distress, 372.
eidhean(n), ivy, 138, 290, 461.
éidighim, attire; *éideadh*, 405 (3).
éidir, possible, 291, 359, 405 (3), 493.

éigin, some, certain, 332, 351, 373, 495.
eile, see *oile*.
Eire, 89, 407 (16), 414.
Éireannach, Irishman, 439.
eireóg, pullet, 128.
éirghim, arise, 89; *éirigh*, 465; *éirghe*, rising, going, 377, 406 (8), 414.
éistim, listen, hear; *éistfeadh*, 405 (2); *éisteacht*, 264, 414.
eite, fin, 17; *eiteadha*, 410, 461.
éitir, vigour, 218.
eochair, key, 56, 426.
Eóghan, 70, 283.
eolas, knowledge, acquaintance, 407 (3), 407 (5), 416, 487.
eórna, barley, 481.
éugcóir, injustice, 415.

F

fa, *fá*, prep., 377, 407 (13); *faoi*, 308, 366; *fim*, 407 (1).
fábhar, favour, 74, 403 (86), 412.
fad, length, 45, 134; *shad*, 269, 406 (3); *i bhfad*, much, far, 344, 403 (5).
fada, long, 402, 436, 470; *foide*/*fuide*, 347, 430.
fado, long ago, 290, 406 (1).
fágbhaim, leave, 455; *d'fhág(aibh)*, 406 (16), 408 (1), 458; *fág*, 324, 403 (65).
faill, opportunity, 17, 423.
fáilte, welcome, 365, 412.
fáinní, rings, 148.
Fairche: *An Fh.*, 423, 468.
faire, watching, 402, 423.
fairrge, sea, 423.
fairsing, plentiful, wide, 151, 423, 439, 483.
fairsingeacht, plenty, 269, 293.
faisean, habit, 148.

faítcheas, fear, 79, 384, 439, 468.
faithne, wart, 404 (3); *faith-n(iúcha)í*, 404 (3).
fál, fence, 403 (28), 407 (6).
fánach, of little consequence, 407 (8).
fánaim, stay; *fan*, 357; *d'fhan*, 346; *fanaidh*, 406 (10); *fanacht*, 403 (43).
faobhar, edge, 74, 148.
faoile: *an fh.*, the maiden, 408 (7).
faoilleán, sea-gull, 209.
faoisidin, confession, 440, 480.
farae, fodder, 35.
faraor, see *farior*.
farc, fork, 407 (10).
fardoras, lintel, 422.
farior, alas, 406 (23), 417.
fásaim, grow; *bhfásann*, 407 (6); *fás*, 403 (29).
fásanna, plants, 405 (5).
fatai, potatoes, 379.
fáth, cause, 278, 472.
fathach, see *athach*.
feabhas, excellence, 93, 403 (40), 424.
feabhasughadh, improving, 95.
feachaim, look; *féach(a)*, 470.
fead, whistle, 134.
féadaim, can; *bhféadfá*, 406 (19), 446; *féadann*, 406 (20); *d'fhéadas* 407 (5).
feall, a pity, wrong, 134, 424.
fealltach, treacherous, 214, 470.
fear, man, husband, 17, 244, 289, 309; *fir*, 17, 339.
féar, grass, hay, 17, 244, 281, 403 (2); *féir*, 17, 33, 404 (2).
féarach, grazing, 35, 403 (2).
fearamhail, manly, 145, 459.
fearg, anger, 443.
féarmhar, grassy, 403 (46), 455.
fearr, see *maith*.
fearsad, spindle, 150.
fecsta, henceforth, 381.
féasta, banquet, 406 (21).

feidhmeámhail, excellent, 405 (1), 407 (16).
féidir, see *éidir*.
feileamhnach, suitable, 144.
féil, festival, 281.
feilm, see *feirm*.
féin, self, 294, 313, 470, 480.
feirc, haft, 264.
féirín, fairing, 225.
feirm, farm, 403 (39), 490.
feistighim, arrange; *d'fheistigh*, 407 (10); *feistiughadh*, 145.
féoil, meat, 59, 309, 416.
feósaidhe, withered, 145.
fiabhras, fever, 80.
fiacail, tooth, 403 (62), 420.
fiadh, deer, 80, 403 (70).
fiadháin, wild, 25, 311, 420.
fiadhántas, wildness, 461.
fiadhnaise, evidence, 420.
fiabruighim, ask; *d'fiabruigh*, 395; *fiabruighe*, 470.
fiche, twenty, 357, 468; *fichead*, 355.
fidheóga, rushes, 246.
figheadoir, weaver, 145, 462.
fiocadh, see *fiuchadh*.
fiton, wine, 407 (11).
fionn, fair, 303, 428.
Fionn-bhearra, 407 (16).
Fionn Mhac Cumhail, 407 (16).
fionnfad, hair, 194.
fior, true, 17.
fior-chorr-dhúine, a very rare person, 375.
fior-uisce, spring water, 404 (1).
fios, knowledge, 93, 154, 359, 380, 428.
fireann, male, 427.
firinne, truth, 357.
fiú, worth, 258, 307, 403 (43), 419.
fiuchadh, boiling, 53, 428.
fiúntach, generous, 307.
flaitheamhail, magnanimous, 146, 257.

flaitheas: *flaithis*, heaven, 406 (26).
flíú, influenza, 279.
flíuch, wet, 257, 428.
fobhairt, tempering, 246.
fobhlaic, unsound, 95.
focal, word, 406 (8), 439.
fód, sod, 116, 418.
foghail, robbery; *fogha*, 403 (28).
foghlaim, learning, 407 (1), 462, 470.
foghlamtha, learned, 472.
foghmhar, harvest, 61, 74, 462; *f(h)oghmhair*, 407 (4), 408 (6).
foghnámh: *ar foghnámh*, in health, 462.
foighid(e), patience, 90, 440.
foigse: *i bhfoigse*, within, 499.
fóill: *go fóill*, yet, 17, 338, 406 (15).
fóirim, deliver; *fóiridh*, 408 (8).
foirse(adh), harrowing, 262, 430; *fhoirste*, 287.
folamh, empty, 206, 429, 487.
földin, healthy, 65, 422.
fonn, tune, desire, 65, 429; *fhuinn*, 376.
forfhás, prosperity, 406 (9), 435.
fórsa, force, 151.
fosgadh, shelter, 429.
fosglainm, open; *fosgluidheadh*, 269, 293; *oisgeolaidh* (*fosglóchaidh*), 493; *fosgailte*, 493.
fóthannán, thistle, 472.
foundation, 405 (2).
Frainge, 407 (13), 488.
Frangach, Frenchman, 199, 403 (17).
fraoch, heather, 257; *fraoch*, 279.
frasach, extravagant, 146.
freagraim, answer, reply; *d'fhragair*, 407 (5); *freagairt*, 145.
freagra(dh), reply, 466.
fréamh, root, 218, 257, 454, 470.
freastal, attending, 145.
fuacit, cold, 493.
fuadach, carrying off, 146, 421.

fuagháil (*fuaighél*), sewing, 246, 461, 493.
fuagra(dh), warning, 408 (5).
fuamán, dull sound, 182.
fuar, cold, 215, 403 (63), 493.
fuarlach, flood, 223.
fuasaoid, complaining, 85, 421.
fud : *ar fud*, throughout, 325, 387.
fuighleach, remainder, 167, 432, 485.
fuil, blood, 17, 134, 432.
fuilinghadh, bleeding, 403 (44).
fuineadh, kneading, 185.
fuinneág, window, 192, 479.
fuinnseóg, ash, 148, 479, 493.
fulang, enduring, 483, 487, 495.
funnsa, hoop, 63, 481.
furusta, easy, 403 (44).

G

gábhadh, adventure, 142, 464.
gabhairim, go, capture, etc.; *gabh*, 381, 394, 454; *ghabhfainn*, 134; *ngabhfainn*, 176; *ngabhfá*, 250; *gabhfuidh*, 406 (30); *ghabh*, 406 (16), 460; *gabhadh* (*gabhas*), 411; *gabhta*, 422, 454; *gabhláil*, 347, 353, 395, 422, 495.
gabhláil, leaven, 456.
gabhal, fork, 73, 83.
gabhlás, holding, 58, 406 (26), 456.
gabhar, goat, 246, 403 (21).
gach, every, 408 (2); *gach aon*, 406 (12); *gach uile*, 403 (70).
gad, withe, 116, 378, 446.
gadhar, dog, 246, 462.
gápacach, chappy, 50.
Gaillimh, 209, 458.
gaimbín, interest, 103.
gaineamh, sand, 185, 404 (2), 480.
gáir, cry; *gártha*, 404 (2).
gáire, laughter, 403 (2), 490.

gairid : *go gairid*, shortly, 406 (8).
gaisge(adh), boasting, 464, 465; *gaisgidh*, 328.
gaisgidheach, champion, braggart, 465.
galánta, peculiar, 435.
galar, disease, 314, 497, 499.
gallda, exotic, 128.
gallery, 405 (5).
galún, gallon, 206.
gamhain, calf, 30, 331; *gamhna*, 141.
gan, without, 403 (1), etc.
gann, scarce, 45, 302, 422.
ganfhios : *i nganfhios*, unknown, 199, 386.
Gaoitheal : *Gaedhilge*, 310, 348, 413.
gaobhar, reach, 161.
gaol, relation(ship), 24, 83, 403 (36), 447.
gaoth, wind, 100, 128, 308; *gaoithe*, 164.
gaothmhar, windy, 472.
gar, near, 355; *goire*, 403 (22).
garbh, coarse, rough, 69, 403 (3).
garrdha, garden, 355, 466.
gas, stalk, 474.
gasúr, boy; *gasúir*, 377.
gé, goose, 278; *ghé*, 460.
géagán, branch, 35.
geal, bright, 212, 487.
gealacán, glair, 125.
geall, bet, 212, 359, 486; *geall leis*, 338; *mar gheall ar*, 408 (4), 494.
geallaim, promise; *gheallfainn*, 211.
geamhar, young corn, 125, 424, 447.
géar, sharp, 125, 349.
géaraidheacht, incitation, 35, 222.
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todhbhart, sacrifice, 462.
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 méaduighim, increase, grow; mhéad-
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 méáracán, thimble, 179.
 meas, esteem, 79, 396, 478.
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miosúr, measure, 31.
mo, my, 161, 189, 203; *m'*, 294.
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náirighim, shame; (*do*) *náirigh*, 248.
náimha(id), enemy, 403 (33).
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-ne, suff., 406 (29).
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ochtar, eight persons, 101.
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óig, young, marriageable, 407 (1), 418, 447.
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nighre, heir, 89, 462; *o. dúithche*, landlord, 407 (10).
nighreach, chafing, 243.
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olann, wool, 17, 403 (80); *olna*, 262, 365.

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ólta, intoxicated, 262.
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ór, gold, 17, 60, 276.
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ordughadh, ordering, 491.
ortha, incantation, 429.
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páirt, part, 490.
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páiste, child, 499.
páitse, (*peáitse*), escorted child, 239, 449, 499.
pápa, pope, 225.
pardún, pardon, 422.
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peiriaclach, solicitous, 435.
pian, pain, 80, 107, 449.
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pic, pitch, 100, 427.
pinse, pinch, 225.
ptoblaich, hoarseness, 206.
piocóid, pickaxe, 17, 107.
pionnta, pint, 225.
piopá, pipe, 107.
pistn, kitten, 403 (55).
pláinéid, star, 406 (26).
pláistéaracht, plastering, 225.
plait, bald patch, 109.
pláta, plate, 407 (10).
pléail, playing, 203.
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pleidhce, fool, 86.
pleóta, swaggerer, 291.
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poinnte, point, 109.
póirin, small potato, 100.
poirteamhail, pert, 71.
police, 234.
poll, hole, 347, 429.
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rabairneach, extravagant, 192.
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ráithe, quarter of year, 223.
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riasm, streak, 264, 282.
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roill(l)ig, cemetery, 404 (2), 485.
roimh, before; *romham*, 94, 343, 457; *romhat*, 340, 457; *roimhe*, 138, 342, 430, 453.
roinnim, divide; *roinnfidh*, 191, 430; *roinnt*, 488.
rómhar, digging, 50, 74.
ronga, rung, 199.
rópa, rope, 109.
ruadh, red, 83, 93, 341.
ruadhóig, waxed cord, 312.
rua(i)g, chase, 125, 408 (1).
ruainne, shred, morsel, 421.
rud, thing, 65, 335; *sean-r.*, 403 (16).
rufai, ruffs, 148.
ruibe, blade, hair, 103, 489.
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sé, six, 405 (1).
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seabhrán, whirr, 222.
seachnaim, avoid; *seachain*, 325.
seachrán, straying, 56, 424.
seacht, seven, 282, 344, 405 (1), 475.
seachtmhain, week, 455.
seafá, shaft, 225.
seaghal, shawl, 206.
Séamus, James, 377; *Shéamuis*, 248.
sean, old, 346, 380; *sine*, 353.
séanas, space between incisors, 35. 151.
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sean-duine, oldster, 374.
sean-fhoclá, proverbs, 374.
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seannmóir, sermon, 444, 498.
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seirbhís, service, 444.
seiscan, himself, 324, 328.
seisear, six people, 290, 338, 425. 473.
seitreach, whinnying, 151.
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sgailp, cliff, 264.
sgáirt, peal of laughter, 284.
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sgalltán, fledgeling, 101.
sgannradh, fright, 315.
sgaoi, multitude, 154, 413.
sgard, squirt, 284.
sgartha, spread, 472.
sgata, crowd, 45.
sgáth, fear, 284.
sgathamh, interval, 341, 406 (28).
sgéal, story, 155, 206, 259, 347. 473.
sgéala, tidings, 405 (2).
sgéalb; shred, 264.
sgéimhil, set-off, 151.
sgian, knife, 407 (10), 447, 473; *sgeana*, 436.
sgiathán, wing, 420.
sgileamhail, skilful, 225.
sgilling, shilling, 155.
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sgí(o)th, rest, 155, 279.
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sgláram, lacerate; *sgláir sé*, 285.
sgláta, slate; *sglátat*, 271.
sgliteach, lean beast, 268.
sgoil, school, 41, 377.
sgoilt, cleft, 209.
sgoillim, split; *sgoillea(nn)s*, 403 (30).
sgoláire, scholar, 412, 429.
sgolb, wattle, 105, 443.
sgór, score, 258, 283.
sgoróg, straddle peg, 128.
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sioc, frost, 281, 428.
siocair, cause, 406 (23).
sioda, silk, 403 (21), 417.
siol, seed, 134.
sionnach, fox, 195, 428.
siopa, shop, 428.
stor-, incessantly, 403 (3).
sios, down, 406 (29).
siothcháin, peace, 480.
sithléigeach, procrastinative, 203, 472, 499.
siúrváilte, surely, 225.
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slabhra, chain, 91.
slacht, neatness, 284.
slachtmhar, handsome, neat, 455.
slad, plunder, 100.
sláinte, health, 365, 403 (13), 486; *shláinte*, 173, 475.
slám, handful, 365.
slán, safe, etc., 353.
slaodún, a chill, 90, 413.
slap-áil, slapping, 259.
slat, yard, rod, 100, 122, 422.
stealbhacha, languid, 95.

sleagh, spear, 283, 405 (3), 464; *shleagh*, 168.
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sleamhain, smooth, slippery, 209.
sleamhnán, stye, 142.
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slosaide, sluggard, 154.
sluasad, shovel, 258.
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smailc, chunk, 284.
smál, blemish, 474.
sméar, blackberry, 258, 272.
sméaróid, a coal, 179.
smeig, chin, 473; *smeigin*, 124.
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smiste, big man, 154.
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snaoisín, snuff, 195.
snatch-áil, snatching, 259.
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snáthad, needle, 195.
sneachta, snow, 151, 192.
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snuadh, appearance, 279, 421.
so, *sco*, this, 94, 473, 495.
socair, quiet, 56, 439.
sócumhlach, comfortable, 71.
sochraíd(e), funeral, 440.
soill, fat, profit, 209, 403 (69).
s(o)in, that, 155, 254, 324; *ó shoin* 475.
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spairt, heavy mass, 493.
spairteach, sodden turf, 223, 272.
spárán, purse, 422.
spás, space, 154.
spéal, scythe, 258, 473.
speig neannta, nettleworm, 325.
spér, sky, 107, 473.
spér-bhean, damsels, 407 (13).
spéireamhail, beautiful, 407 (14).
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splangc (*splannic*), ember, 264, 267, 286, 445, 481.
spliunc, protrusion, 267.
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spraoi, fun, 267.
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square-dílt, square, 280.
sracadh, wrench, 259.
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stocaireacht, sponging, 133, 403 (87).
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straimp, unevenness, 264, 286.
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s(t)raoill, bungler, 494.
straois, grin, 285.
streill, lugubrious expression, 285.
striapach, harlot, 268, 420.
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tacsat, taxes, 262.
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tarbh, bull; *tairbh*, 423.
tarbhach, profitable, 459.
t(h)arla, happened, 491.
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tiomáinim, drive, send; *tiomáin*, 450; *thiomáin*, 480.
tiomsughadh, collection, 153.
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tirim, dry, 37, 427.
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toghtha, chosen, excellent, 366, 461.
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toil, will, 347, 406 (5).
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toir(r)seach, tired, 56, 490.
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tomhaiseanna, riddles, 404 (1).
tomhas, measure, 17, 41, 429.
toper, 232.
tonn: *ar an tuinn*, on the wave, 407 (14).

tóraidheacht, seeking, 407 (8).
torann, sound, 369, 429.
tórrann, boundary, 481, 490.
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tréad, flock, 405 (4).
treall, a spell, 218.
trí, three, 405 (1), 406 (10).
trian, third, 120, 244; *thrian*, 168, 215.
trillséan, torch, 120.
trioblóid, trouble, 65.
triomhadh, third, 406 (16).
tríof, club at cards, 147.
triúr, three persons, 71, 403 (79).
trócaire, mercy, 440.
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tuagh cheatha, rainbow, 404 (1).
tuairaisg, *tuairisg*, information, 490; *at th.*, seeking, 406 (13), 408 (1).
tuaastal, earnings, 421.
Tuar Mhic Chéadaigh, 405 (5).
tubaiste, calamity, 372.
tuighe, thatch, 122, 450.

tuigheadóir, thatcher, 462.
tuigim, understand, 290, 439, 450; *thuig*, 200; *tuigsin*, 499.
tuile, flood, 450.
tuilleadh, more, 450.
tuirne, spinning wheel, 71, 262.
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tuiseadh, stumble, 494.
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tuldán, knoll, 206, 408 (8).
tur, dry, 223, 431.
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uabhar, pride, liveliness, 421.
uachtar, top, 243, 446.
uachtaráin, superior, 405 (4).
uaigh, grave, 85, 158, 463.
uaigneas, loneliness, 185, 403 (35).
uair, hour, time, 85, 276, 386; *uaire*, 324.
ualach, load, 85, 487.

uan, lamb, 84, 421.
uasal, eminent, 474; *duine u.*, gentleman, 406 (13).
uathbhás, terror, 65, 421, 455.

ubh, see *ogh*.
ubhall, apple, 456.
ucht, bosom, 431.
ughdar, authority, etc., 243, 431, 462.

uile, all, 406 (26).
uilig, all, entire, 373.
uilinn, elbow, 484.
uiread, amount, 39, 432.
uireasbhaidh, lack, 349, 432, 455, 493.

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ADDENDA

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73. This narrow diphthongization facilitates the alternation with long monophthongs instanced in 79, 84, 89.

176. The opposition unlenited v. lenited is operative for N(') v. n('), e.g. Na:r'ə náire v. mə na:r'ə mo náire; N'art neart v. mə n'art mo neart.

200. The opposition unlenited v. lenited is operative likewise for L(') v. l('), e.g. La: lá v. γa: la: dhá lá; L'abi: leabaidh v. də l'abi: do leabaidh.

252. The consonant γ occurs medially in compounds, e.g. drox'γin'ə droch-dhuine, d'a:γin'ə deagh-dhuine.

326. Similarly i > u before L < l' in a vuL tu: re: an bhfuil tú réidh?

359. Omission of the vocative and preverbal articles *a*, *do* is exemplified in 248; of the vowel of *is* on page 86.

381. In line 4 *feasta* occurs adjunctively with *anoir*, which bears the main stress.

403. Further texts have appeared in *Éigse*, vols. viii, ix, x, xi, xii.

420. Line 5: ia = əu in *diabhal*.

430. Line 9: exceptionally i: in *croidhe*, *oidhche*.

440. Compare 357.

444. In dearbhtha, deilbhthe d'el'əf'i:, meirbhthean m'er'əf'ən, seargfaidh s'arəki: bh, g have been devoiced subsequently by th, f.

461. Palatal gh = g' in *glé-gheal*.

465, 466. Compare 328.

471. Line 5: th = x' before iə in a *Thighearna*.

477. On the development of v in ni bhfuair, etc. see *Irish Dialects*, page 44.

488. The treatment of original short vowels before certain clusters containing sonants indicates a major isogloss separating this dialect from the Irish of South Connacht; compare *Celtica*, vol. VII, pp. 126, 131.

491. In garrdha rr is treated as an intervocalic C.

493. Add: (iv) v, which develops in *uaim*, *uait*, etc.