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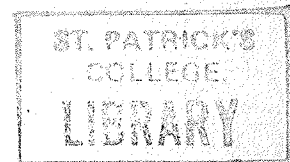
SOUTH ARMAGH IRISH

BY
ALF SOMMERFELT

During my visit to Dublin in 1923 my friend Dr. Séamus Ó'Ceallaigh had the kindness to bring to Dublin an old Irish speaker, Aindrias Ó'Marcaigh, originating from the borders of Armagh and Louth, at the time a butcher in Dundalk, that I might study his dialect. He could only spend a day in Dublin and I had unfortunately to return directly to Oslo, so I have not since been able to complete my materials.

Dr. Séamus Ó'Ceallaigh has kindly sent me the following information about the speaker:

"Peadar O'Dubhda of Sráid-Bhaile (Dundalk) informs me that Aindrias Ó'Marcaigh was born at Áth na g-Casán (Annagassan) in the County Louth, nine miles south of Dundalk, about 1845. He was only one or two years old, when, about the Famine Year (1847), owing probably to the eviction of his father from his holding, he moved to the borders of Louth and Armagh, to live with an aunt. His father and mother died about this time and his aunt reared him at her house in Baile na g-Cléireach (Ballsmile), a townland seven miles from Dundalk, in County Armagh, and bordering on County Louth — though some say he lived in the townland of Rover (?Romhar), on the Louth side of the boundary between the two countries. The district was then entirely Irish-speaking. His aunt spoke Irish only in those years and Aindrias was reared without any knowledge of English in his aunt's house. He seems to have spent no more than 9 or 10 years there, and probably spoke little or no English till he came to Dundalk at the age of fourteen, and there he remained till his death in 1926 at 81 years of age. We have no further knowledge



of his father or mother, except that the name of the latter was *Í Mhurchadha*. He was in the bookish sense illiterate, but had an inquisitive and speculative mind in the direction of etymology. His Irish was very largely unspoiled by his contact with English, and even his English reproduced his Irish phonetics almost exactly".

Having spent a year in Donegal studying the local dialect and thus having a practical knowledge of Donegal Irish, I soon found out that the main features of the dialect represented by the speaker were those of Ulster-Irish. This is why I have ventured upon publication of my materials, in spite of the short time I had at my disposal for collecting them. There are unfortunately lacunes in my materials; but they were inevitable. The old man helped me in the most amiable way, but my cross-examination tired him so that I could not carry out completely my plan of investigation. When, notwithstanding, I was able to take down so much from him, it is thanks to Dr. Séamus Ó'Ceallaigh's valuable assistance.

I have used the phonetic notation introduced by Quiggin which will also be found in my earlier works on Irish dialects. Instead of writing the labiovelar glide as an ordinary consonant *w* — I wrote it in that way in my book on Torr, following the example of Quiggin — I now write it *ʷ*, because the former notation may be misleading. For practical reasons I now write *ɲ* and not *ɳ*. The existence of a velarized bilabial *v* necessitated the notation *v'* for the corresponding "palatal" sound. I have introduced the same modifications into the quotations from the dialects of Glenties and Torr, and in those from Glenties I distinguish between *a* and *ɑ* according to the rules which are common to the dialects of Ulster — Quiggin did not distinguish between these vowels.

Séamus Ó'Searcaigh has made use of Aindrias Ó'Marcaigh for certain points of his book *Foghraidheacht Ghaedhilge an Tuaiscirt*, and has taken down three texts from him. Ó'Searcaigh's notations sometimes differ from mine, cf. my review of his book in volume III of this periodical.

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Instead of publishing a supplementary study to my book on Torr, I have treated the dialect as a separate one, though many of the phonetic developments recorded are also found in Torr. A mere series of notes on differences between the dialect of our speaker and those of Torr or Glenties would hardly bring into just relief the individuality of Armagh-Louth Irish. What is needed in Irish dialectology is the publication of parallel studies of the most important points of the Gaeltacht supplemented with a linguistic atlas.

In the historical part of my study I have tried to trace the different organic and psychological processes which explain the changes, except where more material or long historical investigations would be necessary, e. g. in the chapter on assimilation.

PHONETICS

Analysis.

VOWEL SYSTEM

§ 1. The dialect has the following vowels.

Front vowels.	Mixed vowels.	Back vowels.
<i>i</i>	<i>ĩ</i>	<i>u, ʊ</i>
<i>y</i>	<i>ɛ</i>	<i>o</i>
<i>e</i>	<i>ə</i>	<i>ɑ</i>
<i>ê</i>	<i>ø</i>	<i>ɔ</i>
<i>ɛ</i>		<i>ɑ, ɶ</i>

Front vowels.

i

§ 2. *i* corresponds to Torr *i*, a more or less narrow *i* (approximately German *i* in *Sie*). *i* represents, as in Torr and Glenties, O-Ir. M-Ir. stressed *i* between palatal consonants. Ex. *b'iN'* 'melodious': O-Ir. bind; *ʃL'iN'an* 'shoulder, shoulderblade': Wi. slindén; *tĩq' fĩ*, *tĩt fĩ* 'she comes': O-Ir. tic.

i:

§ 3. The corresponding long vowel. As in Torr it is narrower between palatal consonants than before a non-palatal. *i:* represents

O-Ir. M-Ir. stressed *i* before palatal and non-palatal consonants as in Torr and Glenties. Ex. *d'i*: 'want': O-Ir. dith; *N'i*: 'not, it is not': O-Ir. ní; *tír*: 'country': O-Ir. tír.

y

§ 4. *y* signifies the same modified *i*-sound as in Torr, the tongue being somewhat retracted and lowered from the *i*-position, with wider and looser lip articulation. *y* occurs together with *i* between a palatal and a velarized consonant as the result of an assimilation of an old stressed back vowel to the following palatal consonant (cf. §§ 131, 148). Ex. *dyd'* 'to thee': O-Ir. dait, duit; *dyn'a* 'person': O-Ir. duine; *gyā'fē* 'he stole': O-Ir. gataim; *gyl'* 'to boil': M-Ir. gal (f.); *kyp'* 'sin': Atk. cair.

y:

§ 5. As the speaker still had retained the old vowel *ā*: corresponding to O-Ir. *ói*, *ái* one would, as with the old people in Torr, expect *y:* corresponding to O-Ir. *ói*, *ái* only before palatal consonants. I have noted *kly:tə* 'exhausted': cf. O-Ir. pret. sg. 1 ro-chlóí. In words where the old diphthong occurred as well before non-palatal as before palatal consonants, the speaker had generally *ā*: (cf. § 21).

e-sounds.

§ 6. The speaker had the same three types of *e*-sounds as those found in Torr, *e* being a narrow *e*-sound as that of French *été*, *è* a half open sound as the *e* of English *men*, *let* and *ε* corresponding to the English vowel in *air*, *fare*, or rather to the first of the diphthongal elements in these words.

e

§ 7. I have only three examples of a short *e* corresponding to O-Ir. M-Ir. stressed *e* occurring in the conditions for *e* in Torr (cf. Torr, p. 7—8): *teh* 'hot': O-Ir. té (with later shortening of the vowel); *tehuw* 'to run away': O-Ir. techid; *d'el'ig'* 'thorns': O-Ir. delg, (n.).

e:

§ 8. In Torr *e:* corresponds to O-Ir. M-Ir. stressed *ē* between palatal consonants except where one of these is a labial. The speaker had

e: in such conditions. Ex. *k're:g'uv* 'to deceive': Wi. tréim; *L'en'i* 'shirt': Wi. léne; *fe:d'uv* 'to blow': O-Ir. sétid; *te:d'* 'goes': O-Ir. téit. And in word-end after a palatal consonant: *əN'ē*: 'yesterday': O-Ir. indé.

è

§ 9. In Torr *è* represents O-Ir. M-Ir. stressed *e* between palatal consonants except in monosyllabic words accompanied by a glottal stop, and further in some words in contact with certain particularly strong palatal consonants (*L'*, *k'*, *g'*, *t'*, *d'*). The speaker had *è* in similar conditions: *fa* 'jèr'uv 'at last': Wi. dered; *kèft* 'question': O-Ir. ceist; *m'èr'ig'* (Torr, Glenties *m'ir'ig'*) 'rust': O-Ir. meirc; *fèstr'a^h* 'plough': Wi. sessrech; *d'èr'f'ar* 'sister': Atk. derb-shiúr; *b'èr'a m'è* 'I shall take, bring': O-Ir. berim.

è:

§ 10. In Torr this sound represents O-Ir. M-Ir. stressed *ē* between palatal consonants when one of these is a labial. The following examples have *è:* in these conditions: *L'è:v'u* 'to read', *L'è:f'a m'è* 'I shall read', fut. pass. *L'è:f'ar*: leighim, O-Ir. légaim; *sp'è:r'* 'air': Lat. sphaera. *è:* is also found in *f'è:n'* 'self': O-Ir. féin. In *g'r'è:n'a* gen. of *g'r'ian* 'sun': O-Ir. grian it is somewhat more narrow than in the above examples.

ε

§ 11. *ε* represents O-Ir. M-Ir. stressed *ě* in several cases before non-palatal consonants. Ex. *d'es* 'nice' (also *d'ēs*): O-Ir. dess; *k'ed* 'permission': O-Ir. cet; *k'edi* ipv. sg. 2 'permit': Atk. cetaigim; *k'εN* 'head': O-Ir. cenn; *k'les* 'trick': Wi. cless; *tes* 'heat': O-Ir. tess.

According to Ó'Searcaigh *ε* is regular in Tyrone, in Derry, in the glens of Antrim, in Rathlin Island and in the south of Ulster before *s*, *d*, *g*. He quotes p. 28 (in my transcription), in addition to the examples I have given: *m'es* 'meas', *fesu* 'seasamh', *p'ed'ar* 'Peadar', *f'ed* 'fead', *fk'r'ed* 'sread', *eg'ol*, *eg'b* 'eagal, eagla', *eg'lif* 'eaglais'. The example *k'εN* however, goes against this formula and Ó'Searcaigh quotes himself *d'en* 'do', *ə'j'en'iv* 'to do' from Rathlin Island (pp. 190, 192) which correspond to Torr *d'a:n*, *d'ə:n*, *d'a:nuw*, *d'ə:nuw*. These forms have probably their *a:* (*ə*) from the shortened forms in un-

stressed positions (cf. Torr *d'aN' d'èf'rə* 'hurry up'), which may have developed their *a* at the time of the general change of stressed *e* before non-palatal consonant into *a*. (The negated form of the preterite *N'i(:)ha:rN* may also have influenced the vowel of *d'a:n, d'a:nuw*, cf. Quiggin § 20). It is difficult, with so scanty materials, to find the original formula of the change. But is not very probable that the presence of a following *s, d, g* would have prevented the old open *e* from being mutated to *a* through the velar element in these consonants. Particularly before *s, d, g* it would be strange to find no mutation when mutation is found in *f'ar* 'man': O-Ir. *fer*; *b'ay* 'woman': O-Ir. *ben*, and also before *k*, e. g. *b'r'ak* 'speckled': O-Ir. *brecc*.

A form found in a text which Ó'Scarcaigh has recorded from Aindrias Ó'Marcaigh may perhaps give the key to the mystery. The speaker said in a verse: *ə ry:an' jəs v'il'if* (I should transcribe *v'il'if* or *v'il'if*, cf. my review) 'O, nice sweet queen', but *də Nə Ny: mra: d'asə* 'of the nine nice women'. Such an alternation *d'əs:d'asə* cannot be accidental. It must be due to an old rule and may testify that in a certain part of Ulster the mutation of stressed O-Ir. M-Ir. *e* before velarized consonants did not take place in monosyllabic words. Phonetically this would be easy to understand as the vowel of a monosyllabic word is always somewhat longer than those of polysyllables and consequently more apt to withstand the assimilating influence of the following consonant. It may have been introduced into polysyllabic forms from akin monosyllabic ones, e. g. in *kedi* from *ked*. It is striking that most of the examples known are monosyllabic. That several monosyllabic words have *a*, e. g. *f'ar*, *b'ay*, *b'r'ak*, *L'aN* 'ale' is no objection. Phonetic formulas of this kind have never an absolute character in a continuous area as that which Ulster has been. It is well known from the study of the dialects of such districts that every word may have its own area of extension. Forms with *a* may therefore be due to other dialects. And cases like *eglif* may be due to substitution, this form having been substituted to the *iglif* of other dialects (for *e > i* before *g, g* cf. Torr, p. 14 and § 145 below) in places where stressed *i* before *g* was not known — Ulster stressed *i* before *g* generally represents O-Ir. *e*. Such substitutions are quite frequent in dialect

developments of this type. It is no objection that the speaker from South Armagh had *eglif*, but *b'ig* 'small': O-Ir. *bec*. It is quite impossible to find the original formula of the change intact in any place in cases like this. In continuous dialect areas every word may have its own history and *eglif* may have come to South Armagh from one part of Ulster, *b'ig* from another. Where the original focus of the change: O-Ir. stressed *e* before velarized consonants of monosyllables $> \varepsilon$ and that of O-Ir. stressed *e* before velarized gutturals $> i$ are located, could perhaps have been ascertained if Ulster had not become anglicized.

ε:

§ 12. ε: represents, as in Torr and Glenties, O-Ir. M-Ir. stressed *ē* before velarized consonants. As there it is overlong and tends, especially in monosyllables, to develop into a diphthong *εə*. Ex. *b'ε:l* (*b'ε:əl*) 'mouth': O-Ir. *bél*; *f'ε:r* 'grass': Wi. *fér*; *g'ε:* 'goose': Wi. *géd*; *g'ε:r* 'sharp': Wi. *gér*; *m'ε:r* 'finger': O-Ir. *mér*.

Mixed vowels.

i

§ 13. As in Torr and Glenties *i* signifies a high-mixed-wide vowel which may interchange with a vowel of the mid position. *i* corresponds as in Torr and Glenties to O-Ir. M-Ir. stressed *i* before a non-palatal consonant. Ex. *b'ilər* 'watercress': Wi. *biror*; *b'iran* 'pin': Wi. *bir*; *f'iNuv* 'hair of an animal': Wi. *findfad*; *f'is* 'knowledge': O-Ir. *fiss*; *fkibuv* 'to snatch': M-Ir. *scibaim, scipaim*; *sp'irəd* 'spirit': O-Ir. *spirut*.

E:

§ 14. E: signifies, as in Torr, a mid-mixed wide vowel approximately that of Engl. *better, beggar*, etc., but it was perhaps pronounced slightly more to the front. I have only three examples of this vowel: *b^wE:ruw* 'to trouble': Wi. *buadraim* and *f^wE:l* 'to sew', pf.pt. *f^wE:lə* (but *də fē* 'he sewed'): M-Ir. *uaimm, fúaim*, where it represents a peculiar development of an old *ua*, cf. § 177.

It is also found in *sm^wE:la^h* 'thrush': Di. smólach, smaolach (cf. Pedersen, *Vgl. Gramm.* I, 73), corresponding to the usual pronunciation *sma:lax* in Torr where also *smx:lax* is found, as in Glenties.

ə

§ 15. ə is a vowel of the same type as the preceding one, but situated somewhat further back than *E:* and loosely articulated. As in Torr it varies between considerable limits. After palatal consonants it may be attracted towards the position of *E:*, after velarized ones it may be lowered and retracted. I do not think it necessary to adopt different symbols for these two cases.

ə represents, as in Torr and Glenties, all Old Irish or Middle Irish short vowels in unstressed syllables before non-palatal consonants or after a palatal consonant in the end of a word, with the exception of *a* and *e* before non-palatal O-Ir. M-Ir. *ch*. Ex. *ā:çə* 'kiln': M-Ir. áithe; *dəhər* 'misfortune; harm; loss': Wi. dochor; *dəvəxə* 'dark': O-Ir. dorche; *dəvəs* 'door': O-Ir. dorus; *ə'mqvə* 'lost': Wi. immada; *f'i:r'iNə* 'truth': O-Ir. firinne; *grə:Nə* 'ugly': Wi. gránna, gránnde; *iməL* 'the bank of a river': Wi. imbel.

o

§ 16. This vowel corresponds to *o* in Glenties and Torr — the usual Anglo-Irish sound in *Sir*, etc. Sweet low-in-mixed-narrow. As in Glenties and Torr *o* represents regularly O-Ir. M-Ir. stressed *u* before non-palatal consonants, except in the case mentioned § 18. Ex. *kənruv* 'good bargain': Atk. cundrad; *oLəv'in* 'prepared, ready': cf. Atk. ullmaigim; cf. also cases where the originally palatal consonant following O-Ir. M-Ir. *u* has been depalatalized: *ə gləN tu m'ifə* 'do you hear me': O-Ir. ro-cluiniur; *xər fə* 'he put': Wi. cuirim.

§ 17. *o* represents in stressed syllables as in Torr and Glenties also the particular O-Ir. sound resulting from simultaneous *i* and *u* infection, written *au*, *ai*, *u*, *e*, *i*, cf. Pedersen, *Vgl. Gramm.* I, § 238. Ex. *qrxad* 'harm': O-Ir. erchoat, erchot; *qrxər* 'shot': Wi. aurchor, etc.; *qrsən* 'doorpost': Wi. ursa, irsa; *hqrL'iN* 'descended, dismounted': Wi. tairlingim (to-air-fo-ling-).

o represents also O-Ir. M-Ir. short stressed *o*. In the following examples *o* corresponds to *o* in Torr and Glenties: *bəda^h duv* 'a kind of codfish': cf. Meyer bot; *bəg* 'soft': O-Ir. boc; *drəŋ* 'crowd': Wi. drong; *ə'NəN* 'thither': O-Ir. inonn; *gəb* 'beak, snout': Wi. gob; *kəNLax* 'stubble': Meyer connlach; *Ləmaxə m'è* 'I shall clip': cf. Wi. lommraim; *LəNduv* 'blackbird': O-Ir. lon; *Ləŋ* 'ship': O-Ir. long; *pəL* 'pit, hole': SM. VI poll; *prəNtəvəs* 'present': Meyer bronntanas; *t'ər ə'xləg* 'four o'clock': O-Ir. cloc; *tromLi* 'nightmare': O-Ir. trom. But *bəhuw* 'smell': Wi. bolad corresponds to *bəhuw* in Torr and Glenties and *bəs* 'palm of the hand': Wi. boss, bass, and *kəLuv* 'to sleep': O-Ir. cotlud to Glenties *bəs*, *kəLuw* and Torr *bəs*, *kəLuw*.

Back vowels.

u

§ 18. *u* corresponds to Glenties and Torr *u*, that is a high-back-round comparatively narrow vowel, but with much less lip-rounding than in the usual types of this vowel (French *tout*, etc.). The speaker did not seem to know the wide type (Torr *U*).

I have one example of stressed *u* in monosyllables occurring in the same conditions as in Glenties and Torr, that is corresponding to O-Ir. M-Ir. *u* in monosyllables before non-palatal -th, -bh, -mh, -dh, -gh: *bəda^h duv* 'a kind of codfish': O-Ir. dub; *šruhan* 'stream': O-Ir. sruth has got its *u* from the simple word corresponding to Torr *šruv*? Similarly *Luhag* 'rat': O-Ir. luch, Torr and Glenties *Ləxəg*, cf. also *f'l'u^h* § 227.

§ 19. *u* corresponding to O-Ir. M-Ir. stressed *u* before a palatal consonant is found in some cases where in Torr *U* alternates with the mutated vowel (*y*, *i*) and sometimes with *o*: *ful* 'blood': O-Ir. fuil; *muləN* 'mill' (but *ə'v'w'iləN*): O-Ir. muilenn; *kud* 'portion': Wi. cuit; *ə'xuN'i* 'who desires': Wi. cuindigim, cuingim; *kufLə* 'vein': Meyer cuisle; cf. *èr' bul'uv* 'mad': Di. buile; *mur'in* 'family': Di. muirighin.

u:

§ 20. *u:* is the corresponding long vowel. It is somewhat more narrow between palatal consonants. *u:* corresponds to O-Ir. M-Ir.

stressed *ū* except at the end of monosyllables (cf. § 215). Ex. *bru:v* 'to mash': Wi. *brúim*; *ku:l* 'back': O-Ir. *cúl*; *g'r'ut* 'dew': cf. Wi. *drúcht* (Fis Adamnáin, L.Br.); *ku:n* 'calm': Atk. *ciuín*; *m'i: 'ju:l* 'July': M-Ir. *iuil*; *su:çə* 'soot': M-Ir. *súthe*.

æ:

§ 21. æ: corresponds to Glenties and Torr æ:, a high-back-narrow vowel, the unrounded form of *u*. æ: represent the O-Ir. M-Ir. diphthongs *óe*, *ói*, *áe*, *ái* as in the language of the old people in Glenties and Torr. For the development see Sommerfelt, *Vowels*, § 190 a. Ex. *bræ:n* 'drop': O-Ir. *bróen*; *fræ:χ* 'heather': O-Ir. *fráech*, *fæ:vər* (Glenties Torr, *f'i:wər*) 'edge': O-Ir. *faibur*; *gæ:* 'wind': O-Ir. *gáith*; *kræ:s* 'gullet': O-Ir. *cróis*; *kæ:χ* 'one-eyed': O-Ir. *cáech*; *kæ:l* 'narrow': O-Ir. *cóil*; *kæ:nə^h* 'moss': Meyer *cáennach*; *kæ:rə* 'sheep': O-Ir. *cáera*; *kæ:rəN* 'rowan-tree': Wi. *caerthann*.

o

§ 22. *o* signifies the mid-back-narrow-round vowel also found in Glenties and in Torr, and approximately corresponding to that of French *pot*. The lip-rounding is less marked than in French. *o* occurs only in few examples in Glenties and Torr, representing O-Ir. M-Ir. *o* in contact with a labial. From our speaker I have only the half-stressed or unstressed preposition *fo* 'under': O-Ir. *fo*, and the conjunction *No* (*No(:)*) 'or': O-Ir. *nó*.

o:

§ 23. The corresponding long vowel represents as in Glenties and Torr O-Ir. M-Ir. stressed *ō* in contact with nasals or labials. Ex. *bo:* 'cow': O-Ir. *bó*; *bro:n* 'sorrow': O-Ir. *brón*; *mo:n* 'turf': Wi. *móin*; *mo:r* 'great': O-Ir. *mór*, *már*; *po:ner* 'beans': cf. M-Ir. *ponaire* (O.N. *baunir*); *šro:n* 'nose': O-Ir. *srón*. Also in *to:gaL't* 'to lift': O-Ir. *toebál* where it represents a contraction of *o-o* (cf. Torr, § 60).

ɑ:

§ 24. *ɑ:* corresponds to Torr *ɑ:*, a mid-back-wide vowel, approximately that of English *cut*, but it is somewhat less wide than in Torr. The lips are in a neutral position.

ɑ: results, as in Torr and as the corresponding sound in Glenties, from O-Ir. M-Ir. stressed *adh-*, *agh-* before vowels. The spirant has been relaxed and the preceding *a-* attracted by it towards the mid position. The assimilating power of the old spirant must be due to a — subconscious — desire of maintaining it as a separate sound. Whereas the spirant *g* (non-palatal *gh*, *dh*) before consonants simply disappears with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel, the special development of *aga-* must be due to the fact that in this case the spirant was placed between vowels and formed syllable division. The attempt of maintaining the existence of two syllables did not succeed, however, as the spirant was subject to the general tendency of reduction found in all Irish weak sounds. Not being differentiated as in Connaught and Munster (e. g. Finck *aiərk* 'horn', Sommerfelt, *Munster Eyərək*, *gayər* 'dog'), it disappeared with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel into which the following weak vowel was absorbed. When only a preceding *a* is assimilated and not an *o* or an *u*, the reason is that the latter were articulated nearer to the relaxed *g* and are tenser vowels than *a*.

Ex. *gɑ:r* 'dog': M-Ir. *gadar*, *gagar*; *Lɑ:r* 'toe': Wi. *ladar*; *rɑ:rək* 'sight': Wi. *rodarc*; *ɑ:rstər* 'halter': Meyer *adastar* (cf. § 208).

ɔ

§ 25. *ɔ* is the low-back-wide vowel also found in Glenties and Torr, but slightly rounded and consequently nearer to English *o* in *got*, *not*. In Torr and Glenties *ɔ* represents, together with *ə*, O-Ir. M-Ir. stressed *ō*. *ɔ* is found especially before *l*, *r*, *χ*, *s*, *h*, *k*.

Examples corresponding to those of Glenties and Torr are, before *l*: *fəluw* 'empty': O-Ir. *folam*; *ɔləN* 'wool' (gen. *əLə* as in Glenties, Torr *ɔLə*): O-Ir. *olann*; *fələ* gen. of *ful* 'blood': O-Ir. *fuil*, *folo*, *folā*; before *r*: *dorəχə* 'dark': O-Ir. *dorche*; *dorəs* 'door': O-Ir. *dorus*; *kəri* 'wrath': Di. *corruiġhe*; before old *χ*: *bət* 'poor': O-Ir. *bocht*; *bətin'at* 'poverty': cf. Meyer *bochtaine*; *kəχ*, *kəb^h* 'stone': O-Ir. *cloch*; *ət* 'eight', *ətuw* 'eighth': O-Ir. *ocht*, *ochtmad*; *d'ɔ^h* 'drink': O-Ir. *deoch* (*deug*); *dəhar* 'misfortune, harm, loss': Wi. *dochor*; before *s*: *əsNə* 'sigh': O-Ir. *osnad*; *təst* 'silence': Wi. *tost*. Before *k* I have only the ex-

ample *krɔ̃k* 'hill': O-Ir. *cnocc*, where Glenties and Torr have always respectively *krɔk* and *krɔk*, *krik*.

In Torr and Glenties *ɔ* is found also in some cases representing O-Ir. M-Ir. *ō* before some palatal consonants (especially *l'*, *L'*, *r'*, *f*). Of this case I have only the example *kr'kə* 'oats': Meyer *coirce*.

ɔ:

§ 26. The corresponding long vowel represents as in Torr and Glenties O-Ir. M-Ir. stressed *ō*. Ex. *bɔ:r* 'road': Meyer *bóthar*; *brɔ:g* 'boot': Meyer *bróc*; *fɔ:d* 'sod': O-Ir. *fót*; *krɔ: Na'sNa:tə* 'eye of a needle': Wi. *cró* (4); *ɔ:g'ə* 'youth': O-Ir. *óge*; *ɔ:l* 'to drink': O-Ir. *ól*.

a

§ 27. *a* corresponds to Glenties *a*, that is an *a*-sound varying from French *a* in *dame* to English *a* in *father*. *a* represents O-Ir. M-Ir. stressed *a* before non-palatal consonants. Ex. *am* 'time': Wi. *am*, *amm*; *arɔvər* 'corn': O-Ir. *arbor*, *arbur*; *barul* 'opinion': Meyer *baramail*; *ɔ'maʰ* 'out': O-Ir. *immach*; *fan* 'wait' (ipv.): O-Ir. *anaim*; *kraN* 'tree': O-Ir. *crann*; *maduv* 'dog': cf. Atk. *madrad*; *marəvu* 'to kill': O-Ir. *marbaim*; *skanrif'tə* 'scared': Wi. *scannrad*; *trasNə* 'across': O-Ir. *tarsna*.

§ 28. As in Torr and Glenties *a* may represent O-Ir. M-Ir. stressed *ǎ* before palatal consonants where the old *a* has not been inflected. Ex. *bak* 'a hob': cf. Meyer *bacc*; *baN'ə* 'milk': O-Ir. *bainne*; *kaN't* 'to speak': Meyer *caint*. Before old **R' > *R > r*: *farəg'ə* 'sea': O-Ir. *fairgge*, *foirrcce*; *fərš'iN* 'plentiful': O-Ir. *fairsing*.

a:

§ 29. As in Glenties and Torr the corresponding long vowel represents O-Ir. M-Ir. stressed *ā*. It shows no tendency of developing towards *æ*: as in Torr — *æ* is unknown to the dialect. Ex. *ā:çə* 'kiln': Meyer *áithe*; *ā:n* 'ford': O-Ir. *áth*; *a:l* 'place': Wi. *áit*; *ba:n* 'white': O-Ir. *bán*; *ɔ'ma:raʰ* 'to-morrow': Wi. *imbáarach*; *ga:r'ə* 'laughter': Wi. *gáire*; *gra:Nə* 'ugly': Wi. *gránna*; *Na:r'istə* 'ashamed': Wi. *náire*; *Na:v'id* 'enemy': O-Ir. *námae*.

a

§ 30. *a* is as in Torr a very front *a*-sound bordering on an *æ*. It is, however, a little less wide than the Torr sound. As in Torr (and Glenties) *a* results from O-Ir. M-Ir. stressed *e* before non-palatal consonants, but (in the present dialect) with the exception of the case mentioned §§ 11, 145. Ex. *aLaʰ* 'cattle': O-Ir. *ellach*; *araʰ* 'spring': O-Ir. *errach*; *b'ay* 'woman': O-Ir. *ben*; *b'aNat* 'blessing': O-Ir. *bend-aacht*; *br'ak* 'speckled': O-Ir. *brecc*; *d'alag* 'thorn': Wi. *delg*; *gə'd'arəfə* 'certainly': O-Ir. *derbaim*; *d'arəg* 'red': O-Ir. *derc*; *d'araməd* 'to forget': O-Ir. *dermat*; *f'ar* 'man': O-Ir. *fer*; *f'arəg* 'anger': O-Ir. *ferc*; *g'al* 'bright': Wi. *gel*; *g'alaʰ* 'moon': cf. Wi. *gel*; *g'aləvan* 'sparrow': M-Ir. *gelbund*; *g'l'aN* 'valley, glen': O-Ir. *glenn*; *k'aləguv* 'to nurse': Wi. *celg*; *k'aNif'tə* 'bought': Wi. *cennaigim*, *cendaigim*; *k'aNər'at* 'leading': cf. Meyer *cennaire*; *k'ark* 'hen': SM. VI *cerc*; *k'arər* 'four men': O-Ir. *cethrar*; *L'ahan* 'broad': O-Ir. *lethan*; *L'anəv'iN't* 'to follow': O-Ir. *lenamain* (dat.); *L'aN* 'ale': O-Ir. *lend*; *m'akan* 'tap-rooted plant': O-Ir. *mecon*; *m'aLuv* 'to coax': Atk. *mellaim*; *m'anaʰ* 'belly of a cow': Wi. *menach*; *fanxəL'aʰ* 'old hag': O-Ir. *sen*; *t'aLaʰ* 'hearth': O-Ir. *tenlach*; *t'ayə* 'tongue': O-Ir. *tengae*; *t'atir'ə* 'messenger': O-Ir. *techtaire*.

a:

§ 31. I have only one example of the corresponding long sound: *p'r'a:çan* 'crow': M-Ir. *préchan*, cf. § 141.

Diphthongs.

ia, iə

§ 32. *ia* represents as in Torr O-Ir. M-Ir. stressed *ia*. Ex. *d'iaLəd* 'saddle': Meyer *diallait*; *f'iafri* 'to ask': O-Ir. *iarfaige*; *g'r'ian* 'sun': O-Ir. *grian*; *k'iaL* 'sense': O-Ir. *ciall*; *fk'ian* 'knife': O-Ir. *scian* (disyllabic); *tr'iaL* 'journey': Wi. *triall*.

In Torr there is a tendency of weakening the second element of the diphthong due to the assimilating influence of the more strongly stressed first element so that *ia* alternates with *iə*. The latter seems to be regular in Glenties. Our speaker had some cases of the same treatment, but the first element is then longer than in the diphthong *ia*,

at least when the words are pronounced alone, and represents consequently another step towards monophthongization: *d'i:ə* 'God': O-Ir. *día*; *i:əsk* 'fish': O-Ir. *iasc*; *hi:ər* 'west': O-Ir. *tiar*.

ua, uə

§ 33. This diphthong is the representative of O-Ir. M-Ir. stressed *ua*. Ex. *bualuv* 'to beat': Wi. *búalaim*; *fuar* 'cold': O-Ir. *úar*; *kuax* 'cuckoo': Wi. *cúach*; *Luay'i* 'ashes': O-Ir. *lúaithred*; *uatar* 'upper part': O-Ir. *úachtar*.

The same tendency as that observed in the diphthong *ia* is found in *ua*. Ex. *kru:ax* 'stack' (but gen. *krua'çə*): SM. VI *cruach*; *fuər fi* 'she got': M-Ir. *fuair*.

For other diphthongs see especially §§ 154—7.

CONSONANT SYSTEM

§ 34. The dialect has the following consonants.

	Velarized consonants		Palatals	
	Voiced	Unvoiced	Voiced	Unvoiced
I Occlusives with nose-passage closed.				
Labials	<i>b</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>b'</i>	<i>p'</i>
Dentals	<i>d</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>d'</i>	<i>t'</i>
Gutturals	<i>g</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>g'</i>	<i>k'</i>
II Occlusives with nose-passage open.				
Labials	<i>m</i>		<i>m'</i>	
Dentals	<i>N</i>	<i>(N)</i>	<i>N'</i>	<i>N'</i>
	<i>n</i>	<i>ɲ</i>	<i>n'</i>	<i>(n')</i>
Gutturals	<i>ŋ</i>		<i>ŋ'</i>	
III Spirants.				
Labials	<i>v</i>	<i>ɸ</i>	<i>v'</i>	
		<i>f</i>		<i>f'</i>
Sibilants		<i>s</i>		<i>s'</i>
		<i>š</i>		
Gutturals	<i>g</i>	<i>ɣ</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>ç</i>

IV *l*-sounds.

<i>L</i>	<i>(L)</i>	<i>L'</i>	<i>L'</i>
<i>l</i>	<i>ɫ</i>	<i>l'</i>	<i>ɫ'</i>

V *r*-sounds.

<i>r</i>	<i>ɾ</i>	<i>r'</i>	<i>ɾ'</i>
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Outside the opposition between velarized and palatal consonants:

VI *h*.

I Occlusives with nose-passage closed.

§ 35. The voiceless occlusives are of the usual Irish and Germanic type.

After *s* they are not aspirated and are consequently different from the voiceless lenes which seem to follow *s* in Munster. The voiced occlusives are generally fully voiced, but initially the vibrations probably do not begin quite simultaneously with the occlusion.

b

§ 35 a. *b* is a labial velarized occlusive of the same type as Torr (and Glenties) *b*. As in Torr and Glenties there is an audible glide before front or mixed vowels. *b* corresponds to O-Ir. M-Ir. non-palatal *b* initially, medially and finally. Ex. *èr' ba:L* 'by and by, on the spot': Meyer ball; *barəb* 'sharp, rough': Wi. *borb*; *b^wɛ:ruv* 'to trouble': Wi. *búadraim*; *bət* 'poor': O-Ir. *bocht*; *bəɫ'ə* 'town': Wi. *baile*; *bra:L'in* 'sheet': cf. O-Ir. *brat*; *brɔ:g* 'boot': Meyer *bróc*; *bualuv* 'to beat': Wi. *búalaim*; *fi:buv* 'to sweep away': cf. Scotch Gael. *siab*; *ʃkibuv* 'to snatch': M-Ir. *scipaim*, *scibaim*; *gəb* 'beak, snout': Wi. *gob*.

b'

§ 36. *b'* is the "palatal" labial of Torr and Glenties. The lips are tightly drawn and the tongue is in a neutral position, not raised towards the *j*-position as in Munster. As in Torr and Glenties *b'* represents initially and medially O-Ir. M-Ir. palatal *b* (*bb*, *p*). Ex.

b'ɛ:l 'mouth': O-Ir. *bél*; *b'ɛr'ə m'è* 'I shall take': O-Ir. *berim*; *b'iN* 'melodious': O-Ir. *bind*; *b'ilar* 'watercress': Wi. *biror*; *b'l'igan* 'to milk': Wi. *blegon*; *b'r'ak* 'speckled': O-Ir. *brecc*; *ib'r'ə* gen. 'work': O-Ir. *opair*.

p

§ 37. *p* is the same velarized voiceless labial occlusive as in Torr and Glenties. The glide following it is voiceless, but for convenience sake I write it *w* as after *b*. As in Torr and Glenties *p* corresponds to O-Ir. M-Ir. *p* before back vowels. Accidentally I have only the following examples of an old *p*: *po:ner* 'beans': cf. O'Dav. *ponaire* (O. N. *baunir*); *pəL* 'pit, hole': SM.VI *poll*; *pə:ftə* 'child': M. Engl. page.

p'

§ 38. *p'* is, as in Torr and Glenties, the voiceless labial occlusive corresponding to the voiced *b'*. There it is found representing O-Ir. M-Ir. *p* before front vowels or (*l*), *r* followed by such vowels, in the initial group *sp* before front vowels, and internally corresponding to O-Ir. M-Ir. "palatal" *p*. I have, — accidentally — only the following examples of an old *p'*: *sp'irəd* 'spirit': O-Ir. *spirut*; *sp'è:r* 'air': Lat. *sphaera*.

d

§ 39. *d* corresponds to Torr (and Glenties) *d*, which has the tip and the front part of the tongue pressed against the upper teeth and the back of the tongue somewhat raised. Initially, internally and finally *d* represents O-Ir. M-Ir. non-palatal *d*. Ex. *də:fəl* 'nice': cf. Wi. *dám*; *də:rNə* 'fist': Wi. *dorn*; *drim* 'back': O-Ir. *druimm*; *droŋ* 'crowd': O-Ir. *drong*; *durt* 'said': M-Ir. *adubairt*; *ə:rd* 'high, tall': O-Ir. *ard*; *d'arəməd* 'to forget': O-Ir. *dermat*; *fə:d* 'sod': O-Ir. *fót*; *kədi* ipv.sg. 2 'permit': Atk. *cetaigim*.

d'

§ 40. *d'* is a palatal *d* corresponding to that of Torr — and Glenties — where the tip and the front part of the tongue is in the same position as by *d*, but the middle part of it pressed against the hard palate. As in Glenties and Torr *d'* corresponds to O-Ir. M-Ir. palatal *d*. Ex. *d'aləg* 'thorn': Wi. *delg*; *d'èr'fər* 'sister': Atk. *derb*.

shiúr; *d'əs* (*d'ès*) 'nice': O-Ir. *dess*; *d'i:əl* 'to sell': Wi. *dil*; *d'r'isəg* 'brier': cf. O-Ir. *driss*; *d'iaLəd* 'saddle': Meyer *diallait*; *f'w'id'ə* 'patience': O-Ir. *foditiu*; *f'w'id'id'ə* 'confession': O-Ir. *fóisitiu*; *g'r'id* 'short': O-Ir. *garit*; *kud* 'portion': Wi. *cuit*; *məd'ə* 'stick': Wi. *maite*; *šra:d* 'street': M-Ir. *sráit*.

t

§ 41. *t* is the voiceless dental corresponding to *d* as in Torr and Glenties. *t* represents as in Torr and Glenties O-Ir. M-Ir. non-palatal *t*. Ex. *ta:* 'there is': O-Ir. *attá*; *ta:rN'a^h* 'thunder': Wi. *tornech*; *təLuv* 'to make a hole': Wi. *tollaim*; *tra:vəl* 'timely': cf. Wi. *tráth*; *stua'ifkə* 'rainbow': Wi. Atk. *stúag*; *b'anat* 'blessing': O-Ir. *bendacht*; *b'ɛ:LiN'ə* 'May': Wi. *beltine*; *bətin'at* 'poverty': cf. Meyer *bochtaine*; *g'r'ut* 'dew': O-Ir. *drucht*; *im'at* 'to go away': O-Ir. *imthecht*; *i:tar* 'lower part': O-Ir. *ichtar*; *prəNtəməs* 'present': Meyer *bronnatanas*; *sigərt* 'priest': O-Ir. *sagart*; *taNtaftə* 'turned': O-Ir. *tintuúth*; *təst* 'silence': Wi. *tost*; *ə:rstər* 'halter': Meyer *adastar*.

t

§ 42. *t* is the palatal voiceless dental occlusive corresponding to Torr and Glenties *t*. As there it represents O-Ir. M-Ir. palatal *t*. Ex. *taLa^h* 'hearth': O-Ir. *tenlach*; *taŋə* 'tongue': O-Ir. *tengae*; *tɛ:d* 'goes': O-Ir. *téit*; *tɛs* 'heat': O-Ir. *tess*; *tɪ:r* 'country': O-Ir. *tír*; *tlig'uv* 'to vomit': O-Ir. *teilciud*; *tr'iaL* 'journey': Wi. *triall*; *a:t* 'place': Wi. *áit*; *durt* 'said': M-Ir. *adubairt*; *kaN't* 'to speak': Meyer *caint*; *kɛst* 'question': O-Ir. *ceist*; *m'w'iL'təN* 'wether': cf. Wi. *molt*.

For the fluctuation between *t* and *k* see §§ 46, 231.

g

§ 43. *g* is a voiced guttural occlusive articulated against the soft palate as in Torr. As there it corresponds to O-Ir. M-Ir. non-palatal *g*. Ex. *gə:r'ə* 'laughter': Wi. *gáire*; *g'r'id* 'short': O-Ir. *garit*; *gəb* 'beak, snout': Wi. *gob*; *grə:Nə* 'ugly': Wi. *gránna*, *granda*; *gyl* 'to boil': M-Ir. *gal*, *f*; *gʷ* 'wind': O-Ir. *gáith*; *b'ig* 'small': O-Ir. *bec*; *d'aləg* 'thorn': Wi. *delg*; *f'arəg* 'anger': O-Ir. *ferc*; *sigal* 'rye': M-Ir. *secl*.

g'

§ 44. *g'* is a palatal *g*-sound formed with the mid part of the tongue against the hard palate. The region of contact is however more to the front than in Torr (and Glenties) so that there is a fluctuation between *g'* and *d'*, for which see § 231. As in Torr and Glenties *g'* represents O-Ir. M-Ir. palatal *g*. Ex. *g'ał* 'bright': Wi. *gel*; *g'ε*: 'goose': Wi. *géd*; *g'εr* 'sharp': Wi. *gér*; *g'inuv* 'sand': Wi. *ganem*; *g'iv'uv* 'winter': O-Ir. *gemred*; *g'l'aN* 'valley, glen': O-Ir. *glenn*; *g'rian* 'sun': O-Ir. *grian*; *far'g'a* 'sea': O-Ir. *fairrge*; *kr'e:guv* 'to deceive': Wi. *trécim*; *m'ér'ig'* 'rust': O-Ir. *meirc*; *ɔ:g'a* 'youth': O-Ir. *óge*.

k

§ 45. *k* is the unvoiced guttural occlusive corresponding to *g*. As in Torr and Glenties it represents O-Ir. M-Ir. non-palatal *c*. Ex. *kaihi* 'temptation': Wi. *cathaigim*; *ka:rNan* 'heap': cf. Wi. *carn*; *klɔχ*, *klɔʰ* 'stone': Wi. *clach*; *ko:r'* 'presence': Wi. *comair*; *kraN* 'tree': O-Ir. *crann*; *krɔk* 'hill': O-Ir. *cnoc*; *skanrifɔ* 'scared': Wi. *scannrad*; *b'r'ak* 'speckled': O-Ir. *brecc*; *f'iakəl* 'tooth': O-Ir. *fiacail*; *i:ask* 'fish': O-Ir. *iasc*; *kark* 'hen': SM. VI *cerc*; *m'akan* 'tap-rooted plant': O-Ir. *mecon*.

k̥

§ 46. *k̥* is the voiceless palatal guttural occlusive corresponding to *g'*. There is the same fluctuation between *k̥* and *t'* as that between *g'* and *d'*, see §§ 44, 231. As in Torr and Glenties *k̥* represents O-Ir. M-Ir. palatal *c*. Ex. *kəlguv* 'to nurse': cf. Wi. *celg*; *kəd* 'permission': O-Ir. *cet*; *kə:l'a* 'companion': O-Ir. *céle*; *kə:tə* 'hundreds': O-Ir. *cét*; *kiaL* 'sense': O-Ir. *ciáll*; *kles* 'trick': Wi. *cless*; *ko:ran* 'foggy rain': cf. O-Ir. *céo*; *kr'i:ɔχ*, *kr'i:ɔχ* 'end': O-Ir. *crích*; *ku:n* 'calm': Atk. *ciuin*; *fkian* 'knife'. O-Ir. *scian*; *fkibuv* 'to snatch': M-Ir. *scipaim*; *hən'ik m'è* 'I saw': M-Ir. *adchonnaic*; *ifkə* 'water': O-Ir. *uisce*; *ko:r'kə* 'oats': Meyer *coirce* *krɔk* gen. of *krɔk* 'hill': O-Ir. *cnoc*.

II Occlusives with nose-passage open (Nasals).

m

§ 47. *m* is the velarized nasal occlusive corresponding to *b* and to the *m* of Torr and Glenties. It is followed by the same glide as

b. As in Torr and Glenties *m* represents O-Ir. M-Ir. non-palatal *m*. Ex. *marvu* 'to kill': O-Ir. *marbaim*; *m'wL'təN* 'wether': cf. Wi. *molt*; *mo:n* 'turf': Wi. *móin*; *məd'a* 'stick': Wi. *maite*; *sm'wE:laʰ* 'thrush': Di. *smólach*, *smaolach*; *am* 'time': Wi. *am*, *amm*; *d'arəməd* 'to forget': O-Ir. *dermet*, *dermat*; *ə'maʰ* 'out': O-Ir. *immach*; *l'om* 'with me': O-Ir. *limm*.

m'

§ 48. *m'* is as in Torr and Glenties the "palatal" nasal corresponding to *b'*. As there it represents O-Ir. M-Ir. palatal *m*. Ex. *m'ah* 'decay': Wi. *meth*; *m'è* 'I, me': O-Ir. *mé*; *m'ε:r* 'finger': O-Ir. *mér*; *m'i:* 'month': O-Ir. *mí*; *m'il'* 'honey': O-Ir. *mil*; *drim'* 'back': O-Ir. *druimm*; *em'fir'* 'time': O-Ir. *amser*; *fualəm'* 'to learn': O-Ir. *foglaimm*.

I have no examples of the corresponding voiceless and blown *m* and *m'*. If they occur, they must be rare as the futures and participles in *-mə*, *-m'a* found in Glenties and Torr seem in many cases to have been replaced by futures in *-mavə*, *-m'avə* and participles in *-m'wiftə*, *-m'iftə*.

N

§ 49. As in Torr and Glenties *N* is the strong nasal dental corresponding to *d*. The back of the tongue is somewhat raised. As in the named localities it represents O-Ir. M-Ir. *n* initially (or initially after *s*) before (O-Ir.) back vowels and internally and finally O-Ir. M-Ir. non-palatal non-lenated *-nn-* (*-nn-* and *-nd-*), except before *r* (<*R*). Ex. *Na:rifɔ* 'ashamed': cf. Wi. *náre*; *Ni:nat* 'infant': O-Ir. *nóidenacht*; *sNa:içə* 'thread': O-Ir. *snáthe*; *sNa:t* 'needle': O-Ir. *snáthat*; *sNā:v* 'to swim': O-Ir. *snám*; *do:rNə* 'fist': O-Ir. *dorn*; *ə'NəL* 'hither': O-Ir. *anall*; *g'l'aN* 'valley': O-Ir. *glenn*; *gra:Nə* 'ugly': Wi. *gránna*, *gránda*; *kəN* 'head': O-Ir. *cenn*; *kəNLaχ* 'stubble': Meyer *connlach*; *kə:ɔN* 'rowan-tree': Wi. *caerthann*; *L'aN* 'ale': O-Ir. *lend*, *lind*; *ɔ:rNə* 'barley': Wi. *eórna*; *ɔsNə* 'sigh': O-Ir. *osnad*; *proNtənas* 'present': Meyer *brontanas*; *təNtaftə* 'turned': cf. O-Ir. *tintuúth*; *trasNə* 'across': O-Ir. *tarsna*.

n

§ 50. *n* corresponds in articulation to Torr (closure of the tip of the tongue just above the upper teeth-rim and the back of the tongue somewhat raised). As in Glenties and Torr it does not occur

initially except as the lenated form of *N*, e.g. *mə nɑ:v^wid* 'my enemy'. Internally and finally it represents O-Ir. M-Ir. lenated non-palatal *n* (except where it has become *r* see § 163). Ex. *bɑ:n* 'white': O-Ir. *bán*; *b'l'igən* 'to milk': Wi. *blegon*; *brɔ:n* 'sorrow': O-Ir. *brón*; *brá:n* 'drop': O-Ir. *bróen*; *fō:nuv* 'act of serving, being of use': O-Ir. *fognam*; *L'i:nuv* 'to fill': O-Ir. *línaid*. In the suffix *-an*, *-an*: *b'íran* 'pin': cf. Wi. *bir*; *fL'iN'an* 'shoulder': Wi. *slindén*.

N'

§ 51. *N'* corresponds, as in Torr, to *N* but it has the mid part of the tongue pressed against the hard palate. As there it represents initially, or initially after *f*, O-Ir. M-Ir. *n* before front vowels and internally and finally O-Ir. M-Ir. non-lenated palatal *nn* (O-Ir. M-Ir. *-nn-* and *-nd-*). Ex. *Ní*: 'thing': O-Ir. *ní*; *N'iv* 'poison': O-Ir. *nem*; *fN'ig* 'nits': O-Ir. *sned*; *baN'o* 'milk': O-Ir. *banne*; *b'iN* 'melodious': O-Ir. *bind*; *əN'ē*: 'yesterday': O-Ir. *indé*; *f^wiN'og* 'window': Atk. *fuideoc*; *iN'fə* 'to tell': Wi. *innissim*, *indissim*; *kaN't* 'to speak': Meyer *caint*; *ta:rN'a* 'thunder': Wi. *tornech*.

n'

§ 52. *n'* is formed like *n* with the exception that the mid part of the tongue is raised towards the hard palate. As in Torr and Glenties it does not occur initially except as the lenated form of *N'*, e.g. *ga^h n'i*: 'everything'. Internally and finally it represents O-Ir. M-Ir. lenated palatal *n*. Ex. *bətin'at* 'poverty': cf. Meyer *bochtaine*; *dyn'a* 'person': O-Ir. *duine*; *fəqin* 'rain': Wi. *ferthain*; *g'in'uv* 'sand': Wi. *ganem*; *g'i:v^win* 'idle': Wi. *dímain*; *L'en'i* 'shirt': Wi. *léne*.

N', v

§ 53. Of the corresponding voiceless and blown sounds which in Torr and Glenties originate from an assimilation-fusion between the nasal and a following *-th-* or *-f-*, I have only the following examples: *roN'iv* 'I should divide it': O-Ir. *rannaim*; *L'i:ya m'é* 'I shall fill': O-Ir. *linaim*; *ɣroɣə m'é* 'I missed him (it)': Di. *crothnuighim*.

ɣ, ɣ'

§ 54. Of the nasals corresponding to *g* and *g'* and representing, as in Torr and Glenties, O-Ir. M-Ir. non-palatal and palatal *-ng-* I have the following examples. *ɣ*: *drɔɣ* 'ship': Wi. *drong*; *Loɣ* 'ship': O-Ir. *long*; *taɣə* 'tongue': O-Ir. *tengae*. *ɣ'*: *f^hiL'ig* 'shilling': OE. *scilling* or ON. *skilligr*; *f^ho:rL'ig* 'farthing': SM. VI *feorling*.

The *ɣ* found in Torr and Glenties does not seem to occur. The genitive of *taɣə* is *taɣə*.

III Consonants formed by narrowing of the mouth-passage (Spirants).

v

§ 55. *v* is a bilabial velarized *v* with the back of the tongue raised towards the *u*-position. The lips are loose and somewhat protruded. It corresponds to the *v* of Munster (Sommerfelt, *Vowels* § 74). An offglide *w* is audible before front vowels. *v* does not occur initially except as the lenated form of *m*, *b* and the nasalized form of *f*, e.g. *kəner' v^wir'a* 'rosary': coróin Mhuire: *ə vo*: 'his cow': O-Ir. *bó*; *m'i: Na v^wy:L'a* 'February': cf. Wi. *fuidell*. For *v^wid* see § 118. Medially and finally *v* represents in certain cases, as do Glenties and Torr *w*, O-Ir. [M-Ir. lenated non-palatal *m*, *b*. Ex. *m*: *fō:vər* 'autumn': O-Ir. *fogamur*; *g'in'uv* 'sand': Wi. *ganem*; *g'i:v^win* 'idle': Wi. *dímain*; *L'anəv^wiN't* 'to follow': O-Ir. (dat.) *lenamain*; *m'i: Na sāuvənə* 'November': Wi. *samuin*, *samain*; *Nɑ:v^wid* 'enemy': O-Ir. *námae*; *sNā:v* 'to swim': O-Ir. *snám*; *trə:vəl* 'timely': tráthamhail, Wi. *tráth*. — *b*: *arəvər* 'corn': O-Ir. *arbor*; *f^ho:vər* 'edge': O-Ir. *faibur*; *g'aləvən* 'sparrow': M-Ir. *gelbund*; *marəvu* 'to kill': O-Ir. *marbaim*. *fL'i:uv* 'mountain': O-Ir. *slíab*.

ɸ

§ 56. *ɸ* is the corresponding voiceless and blown consonant. In Torr and Glenties *ɸ* generally arises from O-Ir. M-Ir. lenated non-palatal *m*, *b+h* (representing and older *-th-* or the *-f-* of the future). An example corresponding to those of Glenties and Torr is *sNā:və* fut. of *sNā:v* 'to swim': O-Ir. *snám*. Cf. also *skəv^wir'a* 'bold young man': Di. *scafaire* (the offglide is voiceless), and § 192.

v'

§ 57. *v'* corresponds to the "palatal" bilabial spirant in Torr and Glenties, the lips being drawn tightly to the teeth and the corners of the mouth closed. *v'* occurs initially as the representative of lenated *m'*, *b'*, e. g. *v'i*: 'was': M-Ir. do bhí; *an v'í*? 'the honey': O-Ir. mil. Medially and finally it represents in some cases O-Ir. M-Ir. lenated palatal *m*, *b*. Ex. *m*: *g'iv'ruv* 'winter': O-Ir. gemred; *krā:v* 'bone': O-Ir. cnáim; *N'iv'a* gen. of *N'iv*, *N'if'* 'poison': O-Ir. nem. — *b*: *dè:v'r'as* 'poverty': Meyer daidbres; *sè:v'r'as* 'riches': Atk. saidbres; *ter'iv'a* 'profit': M-Ir. tairbe, O-Ir. torbae.

f

§ 58. *f* signifies a bilabial velarized somewhat aspirated *f* corresponding to that of Torr and Glenties, with the breath escaping between the middle part of the upper and lower lip and with the corners of the mouth closed. It is articulated with much more energy than *v*. Before front vowels it is followed by a voiceless *w*-glide which I for convenience sake write *w*.

As in Torr and Glenties *f* represents initially O-Ir. M-Ir. *f* before (O-Ir.) back vowels, or before (l), *r* followed by such vowels, and medially and finally in certain cases O-Ir. M-Ir. non-lenated non-palatal *f*. Ex. *faršín* 'plentiful': O-Ir. fairsing; *f^waid'a* 'patience': O-Ir. foditíu; *f^wisid'a* 'confession': O-Ir. fóisitiú; *fɔ:d* 'sod': O-Ir. fót; *frɛ:χ* 'heather': Wi. fráech; *ful* 'blood': O-Ir. fuil; *f'iafri* 'to ask': O-Ir. iarfaigid; *kr'e:fɔg* 'clay': Meyer crefóg.

f'

§ 59. *f'* corresponds in formation to *v'* but is voiceless, articulated with much more energy and slightly aspirated. As in Torr and Glenties it represents O-Ir. M-Ir. initial *f* before front vowels or before *l*, *r* followed by such vowels. Ex. *f'ar* 'man': O-Ir. fer; *f'arín* 'rain': Wi. ferthain; *f'er* 'better': O-Ir. ferr; *f'iakəl* 'tooth': O-Ir. fiacail; *f'is* 'knowledge': O-Ir. físs; *f'l'u^h* 'wet': O-Ir. fliuch; *f'r'iar* 'sore': Di. frithir, *m'i: f'q'lon* 'June': O-Ir. féil.

I have no examples of *f'* representing internal O-Ir. M-Ir. non-lenated palatal *f* in cases parallel to those of § 58. The future has

retained its *f'* where this *f'* followed an *h*<-th- in *ba:f'i* fut. and *ba:f'ar* fut. pass. of *bahuv* 'to drown': TSh. Wi. báthaim, Di. báidim and *ryf'i* fut. sg. 3 of *ry^h* 'to run': O-Ir. rethid. The *f'* seems to have resisted in this case, the breath of the *h* having strengthened the *f'*. Similar reasons may explain *L'è:f'a m'è* 'I shall read', pass. *L'è:f'ar*: O-Ir. légaíd, Wi. fut. legfaíd, with analogic palatal *f'*. In Glenties and Torr the weakening has generally gained this *f'*, e. g. fut. sg. 3 *ba:(i)çə* in Torr and Glenties, but Glenties *raf'a*, which besides *riçə*, *rɛ:çə* is also found in Torr, is an exception to the general rule.

s

§ 60. *s* corresponds to Torr *s*: the tip of the tongue rests against the lower front teeth, the front of the tongue in which the nick for the breath is produced, is brought towards the gum just above the teeth-rim. The back of the tongue is raised and the nick for the breath is rather wide. It is somewhat aspirated. As in Glenties and Torr *s* represents O-Ir. M-Ir. *s* initially before (O-Ir.) back vowels, before consonants followed by back vowels and before palatal labials; medially and finally it continues O-Ir. M-Ir. non-palatal non-lenated *s*. Ex. *sāuruu* 'summer': O-Ir. samrad; *sè:v'r'as* 'riches': Atk. saidbres; *sigart* 'priest': O-Ir. sagart; *skauristə* 'scared': Wi. scannrad; *sLā:dan* 'a cold': Wi. sláetan; *sNa:çə* 'thread': O-Ir. snáthe; *stua'ifkə*: Wi. Atk. stúag; *sp'è:r* 'air': lat. sphaera; *sp'irəd* 'spirit': O-Ir. spirut; *bqs* 'palm of the hand': Wi. bass, boss; *i:əsk* 'fish': O-Ir. íasc; *iesat*, *jesat* 'loan': Wi. íasacht; *asNə* 'sigh': O-Ir. osnad; *qrsən* 'doorpost': Wi. ursa, irsa.

f

§ 61. *f* corresponds in formation to Torr *f*: the tip of the tongue rests against the lower teeth, the front of the tongue, in which the nick for the breath is produced, is brought towards the alveoli, while the following part of the tongue is raised towards the hard palate. It is somewhat aspirated. As in Torr and Glenties *f* represents initial O-Ir. M-Ir. *s* before front vowels or before consonants (except labials and *r*) followed by such vowels. Internally and finally it represents O-Ir. M-Ir. non-lenated palatal *s*. Ex. *sançəL'a^h* 'old hag': O-Ir. sen and caillech; *f'èftr'a^h*

'plough': Wi. sessrech; *fis* 'down': O-Ir. síis; *figal* 'rye': M-Ir. secul; *fkian* 'knife': O-Ir. scian; *fLiN'an* 'shoulder': W. slindén; *fLi:uv* 'mountain': O-Ir. slíab; *fN'ig* 'nits': O-Ir. sned; *fə* 'here is': O-Ir. seo; *fLiL'iq* 'shilling': O.E. scilling or O.N. skillingr; *əmfir* 'time': O-Ir. amser; *ər* 'ef' 'back': Wi. ais; *iN'fə* 'to tell': Wi. innissim, indissim; *ifkə* 'water': O-Ir. uisce; *kəst* 'question': O-Ir. ceist; *kifan* 'basket': Meyer ccess, ciss; *mifə* 'I, me': O-Ir. messe, meisse.

š

§ 62. š signifies a retracted s in which the tip of the tongue is behind the alveoli and the nick for the breath somewhat broader than for s. It is consequently different in formation from Torr š in the group šr (for Glenties see Quiggin § 273) — it represents an older stage than the Torr sound. It continues as in Torr and Glenties O-Ir. M-Ir. s in the homosyllabic (initial) group sr. Ex. *šra:d* 'street': M-Ir. sráit; *šruhan* 'stream': O-Ir. sruth; *šrā:an* 'string': cf. M-Ir. sreng. It is also found after r in *faršiN* 'plentiful': O-Ir. fairsing.

j

§ 63. j corresponds to Torr and Glenties j; the tip of the tongue is pressed against the lower front teeth and the mid part of the tongue brought energetically towards the hard palate. Initially j represents the lenated form of initial g', d', e.g. *mə j'r'ε:r* 'my brother': Wi. derbráthir; *fa j'ər'uv* 'at last': Wi. dered. It is further found in *m'i: ju:l* 'July': M-Ir. iuil. For other cases of initial j see § 81. — Internally j represents in Torr and Glenties O-Ir. M-Ir. intervocalic palatal lenated d, g after a long back vowel or a diphthong. An example corresponding to these conditions is *baN'a bla:iə* 'buttermilk': Meyer bláthach, gen. bládaige, bláithche — Torr *bla:çə* and Glenties *bla:içə* represents the M-Ir. gen. bláithche.

For a reduced form of a j see § 153.

ç

§ 64. ç is the voiceless spirant corresponding to j. As in Torr and Glenties it does not occur initially except as the lenated form of k, e.g. *mə çεN* 'my head': O-Ir. cenn; *a çəd* 'the first': O-Ir. cét.

Medially and finally it represents O-Ir. M-Ir. palatal ch. Ex. *b'aiç* 'bees': Meyer bech, pl. beich; *kbiçə* gen. of *kləç* 'stone': Wi. cloch, gen. cloche; *krua'çə* gen. of *kru:əç* 'stack': SM. VI cruach; *č'çə* 'night': Wi. aidche, oidche, O-Ir. adaig.

g

§ 65. g corresponds to Torr and Glenties g (the sound of German *Tage* when the g is pronounced as a spirant). The friction between the tongue and the soft palate is not very strong. As in Torr and Glenties g represents initially the lenated form of g-, d-, e.g. *gvə* 'fē' 'he stole': O-Ir. gataim; *mə grīm* 'my back': O-Ir. druimm.

In Torr and Glenties g is sometimes found to represent O-Ir. M-Ir. non-palatal dh, gh. It is uncertain whether this g continues directly the O-Ir. M-Ir. sound or the development has been $g > *g > g$ (cf. § 186) as I was inclined to think in my book on the dialect of Torr. Examples of $g < \text{O-Ir. M-Ir. gh, dh}$ are *b'l'igən* 'to milk': Wi. blegon; *gə f'ig* 'yet': O-Ir. is ed; *fN'ig* 'nits': O-Ir. sned.

χ

§ 66. As in Torr and Glenties χ signifies the voiceless guttural spirant corresponding to g, and as there the friction between the tongue and the soft palate is rather faint. The dialect goes much further than those of Torr and Glenties in weakening the χ (cf. § 171). Between vowels and finally after vowels it is generally reduced to h. Initially χ occurs as the lenated form of k, e.g. *a'χuN'i* 'who desires': Wi. cuindigim, cuingim; in the second part of a compound: *fanχaL'a* 'old hag': O-Ir. caillech. Medially and finally χ represents O-Ir. M-Ir. non-palatal ch. Between vowels and finally after vowels the use of χ by the speaker may be mainly due to literary influence. Often when asked for a word with an χ he pronounced the χ, but then in ordinary conversation he would use an h in the same word. I have noted χ in the following examples (for variants and other examples with h see § 171): *bo:χiL* 'young, unmarried man': O-Ir. bóchaill, búachaill; *dorəχə* 'dark': O-Ir. dorche; *kləχ* 'stone', pl. *kləχə*: Wi. cloch; *k'r'i:əχ*, *k'r'i:χ* 'end': O-Ir. crích; *k'r'i:χnavə m'è è* 'I shall

finish it': Meyer críchnaigim; *kruaχ* 'stack': SM. VI *cruach*; *kuax* 'cuckoo': Wi. *cúach*; *ké:χ* 'one-eyed': O-Ir. *cáech*; *grχad* 'harm': O-Ir. *erchoat*, *erchót*; *grχar* 'shot': Wi. *aurchor*, etc.; *p'r'a:χan* 'crow': M-Ir. *préchan*.

IV l-sounds.

L

§ 67. *L* corresponds to that of Torr and Glenties, the tip and the front part of the tongue being pressed strongly against the upper front teeth and against the alveoli, the breath escaping on both sides of the tongue and the back of the tongue being raised. It differs both in articulation and in length from *l*. As in Torr and Glenties *L* represents O-Ir. M-Ir. initial *l* or *l* in the initial group *sl* before (O-Ir.) back vowels and medially and finally O-Ir. M-Ir. non-palatal non-lenated *l*. Ex. *La:* 'day': O-Ir. *lae*, *lāa*; *Lo:uv* 'to rot': Wi. *lobaim*; *·LqNduv* 'blackbird': O-Ir. *lon*; *La:r* 'toe': Wi. *ladar*; *sLa:dan* 'a cold': Wi. *sláetan*; *aLa^h* 'cattle': O-Ir. *ellach*; *ér' ba:L* 'by and by; on the spot': Meyer *ball*; *b'ε:LtiN'a* 'May': Wi. *beltine*; *d'iaLəd* 'saddle': Meyer *diallait*; *kiaL* 'sense': O-Ir. *ciall*; *kqNLax*, *kqNLa^h* 'stubble': Meyer *connlach*; *qLəv^{win}* 'prepared, ready'. cf. Atk. *ullmaigim*; *pqL* 'pit, hole': SM. VI *poll*; *tqLuv* 'to make a hole': Wi. *tollaim*; *tr'iaL* 'journey': Wi. *triall*. — *L* is found after *m* in *trqmLi* 'nightmare': O-Ir. *tromm*, *luige* as in Torr, whereas Glenties has *trqmli*.

l

§ 68. *l* corresponds to Torr and Glenties *l*: the tip of the tongue touches the teethrim, the breath escapes on both sides of the tongue and the back of the tongue is raised. As in Torr and Glenties it does not occur initially except as the lenated form of *L* and *sL*. Initially after consonants — *s* excepted — it represents O-Ir. M-Ir. *l* before (O-Ir.) back vowels and medially and finally O-Ir. M-Ir. non-palatal non-lenated (single) *l*. Ex. *b'ε:l*, *b'ε:al* 'mouth': O-Ir. *bél*; *bqluv* 'smell': Wi. *bolad*; *bua^huv* 'to beat': Wi. *búalaim*; *d'aləg* 'thorn': Wi. *delg*; *d'i:al* 'to sell': Meyer *dil*; *g'aləvan* 'sparrow': M-Ir. *gelbund*; *kəχ* 'stone': Wi. *clach*; *kly:tə* 'defeated, exhausted': Wi. *clóim*.

L'

§ 69. *L'* corresponds to Torr (and Glenties) *L'*: the tip and the front part of the tongue is pressed against the upper front teeth and the alveoli and the middle part against the hard palate. The breath escapes on both sides of the tongue. It differs from *l'* both in articulation and in quantity. As in Torr and Glenties *L'* continues O-Ir. M-Ir. initial *l* before (O-Ir.) front vowels and *l* in the initial group *sl* before such vowels. Medially and finally it represents O-Ir. M-Ir. palatal non-lenated *l*. Ex. *L'ahan* 'broad': O-Ir. *lethan*; *L'aN* 'ale': O-Ir. *lend*, *lind*; *L'en'i* 'shirt': Wi. *léne*; *L'inuv* 'to fill': O-Ir. *línaid*; *gL'i:* 'way, direction': O-Ir. *slige*; *gL'i:uv* 'mountain': O-Ir. *sliab*; *bo:χiL* 'young, unmarried man': O-Ir. *búachaill*; *f'jə:rL'iq* 'farthing': SM. VI *feorling*; *hqrL'iN* 'descended': Wi. *tairlingim*; *piL'uv* 'to fold': O-Ir. *fillim*; *sanχaL'a^h* 'old hag': O-Ir. *caillech*; *tiL'uv* 'to return': O-Ir. *fillim*.

l'

§ 70. As in Torr and Glenties *l'* corresponds to *l* with the difference that the middle part of the tongue is raised towards the hard palate. As there it does not occur initially except as the lenated form of *L'*, *gL'* and in the preposition *l'qm* 'with me', *l'at* 'with you', etc.: O-Ir. *limm*, etc. Initially after consonants, *f* excepted, before (O-Ir.) front vowels it continues O-Ir. M-Ir. *l* and medially and finally it represents the same O-Ir. M-Ir. palatal lenated (single) *l*. Ex. *b'l'igan* 'to milk': Wi. *blegon*; *f'l'u^h* 'wet': O-Ir. *fliuch*; *g'l'aN* 'glen': O-Ir. *glenn*; *k'l'əs* 'trick': Wi. *cless*; *a:l'* 'pleasure': Wi. *áil*; *bql'a* 'town': Wi. *baile*; *d'el'ig* pl. of *d'aləg* 'thorn': Wi. *delg*; *del'i* 'difficult': Atk. *doilig*; *el'a* 'other': O-Ir. *aile*; *f'jə:l'* 'meat': O-Ir. *feuil*; *ful* 'blood': O-Ir. *fuil*.

L, l, L', l'

§ 71. The unvoiced and blown *l*-sounds corresponding to the unvoiced ones arise, as in Glenties and Torr, through the assimilation-fusion of these sounds with an *-h*- representing an older *-th*- or the *-f*- of the future. I have — accidentally — no example of *L*.

Ex. *l*: *d'i:lə m'è* 'I shall sell': Meyer *dilaim*; *χ:lə m'è* 'I shall drink': O-Ir. *ól*.

l': *tíl'ə m'è* 'I shall turn': O-Ir. fillim.

l': *līg fē* 'he vomited': O-Ir. teilciud; *bual'i fē* fut. sg. 3 of *bualuv* 'to beat': Wi. búalaim.

V. r-sounds.

§ 72. The dialect has two *r*-sounds, *r* and *r'*, with the corresponding voiceless types. I could find no trace of *R*.

r

§ 73. *r* corresponds to Donegal and Glenties *r*, the tip of the tongue being brought towards the teethrim. The back of the tongue is somewhat raised. The speaker used more trills than it is usual in Glenties and Torr where generally only one trill is heard. As in Glenties and Torr *r* represents as well O-Ir. M-Ir. non-palatal lenated and non-lenated *r* as palatal non-lenated *r*.

A. *r* = O-Ir. M-Ir. non-palatal lenated *r*. This *r* occurred initially after consonants (except *s*) before back vowels, medially and finally — in absolute initial only as the lenated form of *R*. Ex. *brɔ:n* 'sorrow': O-Ir. brón; *drɛ:t* 'bridge': Wi. drochet; *frɛ:ɣ* 'heather': Wi. fráech; *grɔ:Nə* 'ugly': Wi. gránna, gránda; *krɔk* 'hill': O-Ir. cnocc; *prɔNtɔnɔs* 'present': Meyer bronntanas; *trɔ:i* 'strand': Wi. trág, tráig; *arɔvɔr* 'corn': O-Ir. arbor, arbur; *bʷɛ:ruv* 'to trouble': Wi. buadraim; *b'irɔn* 'pin': cf. Wi. bir; *bɔ:r* 'road': Meyer bóthar; *d'arɔg* 'read': O-Ir. derc; *dɔrɔɣə* 'dark': O-Ir. dorche; *f'arɔg* 'anger': O-Ir. ferc, ferg; *f'ɛ:r* 'grass': Wi. fér; *kark* 'hen': SM. VI cerc.

B. *r* = O-Ir. M-Ir. non-palatal non-lenated *r*, *rr* (*R*) This *r* occurred initially before back vowels and in the initial group *sr*- before such vowels, medially between and finally after vowels and further before non-palatal dentals and after non-palatal *n*- and *l*-sounds. Ex. *ra:ɔə* 'quarter of a year; season': Wi. ráthe; *lɔ:rk* 'sight': Wi. rodarc; *šra:dʰ* 'street': M-Ir. sráit; *šro:n* 'nose': O-Ir. srón; *arɔʰ* 'spring': O-Ir. errach; *a:rd* 'high; tall': O-Ir. ard; *Na kari* 'do not move': cf. Meyer corrach; *ka:rNɔn* 'heap': cf. Wi. carn; *ɔ:rNə* 'barley': Wi. eórna; *ɔrsɔn* 'doorpost': Wi. ursa, irsa; *sígart* 'priest': O-Ir. sagart. — After *n* (and probably after *l*, I have no examples) the ordinary *r* is found and not the variety *r* current in Glenties and Torr (cf. Quiggin, § 276

and Torr §§ 239–40): *kɔnruv* 'a good bargain': Atk. cundrad; *skanrɪftə* 'scared': Wi. scannrad.

C. *r* = O-Ir. M-Ir. non-lenated palatal *r*, *rr* (*R'*). This *r* occurred initially before front vowels and in the group *sr* before such vowels, medially between and finally after vowels and further before palatal dentals and after palatal *n*- and *l*-sounds. Ex. *ra:pʷi* 'rent': Wi. rébaim; *riɔLt* 'star': Wi. rétla (O-Ir. rétglu); *ryʰ* 'running': O-Ir. riuth, rith; *šrɔ:an* 'string, cord': cf. M-Ir. sreng; *du:rt* 'said': M-Ir. adubairt; *farʃiN'* 'plentiful': O-Ir. fairsing; *hɔrL'iN'* 'descended': Wi. tairlingim; *ta:rN'ɔʰ* 'thunder': Wi. tornech; *ta:rN'ə* 'nail': Wi. tairnge. Further in *farɔg'ə* 'sea': O-Ir. foirce.

r'

§ 74. *r'* corresponds to *r* but has the mid part of the tongue raised towards the hard palate. The trills are not so reduced as in Torr where they often disappear altogether, especially between vowels. *r'* is found representing O-Ir. M-Ir. *r* after initial consonants (except *s*) and medially and finally O-Ir. M-Ir. palatal lenated (single) *r*. Ex. *b'r'ak* 'speckled': O-Ir. brecc; *d'r'isɔg* 'brier': cf. O-Ir. driss; *g'r'ian* 'sun': O-Ir. grian; *kr'i:ɔɣ*, *kr'i:ɔɣ* 'end': O-Ir. crích; *p'r'ɔ:ɣan* 'crow': M-Ir. préchan; *t'r'iaL* 'journey': Wi. triall; *d'ér'f'ər* 'sister': Atk. derb-shiúr; *d'ér'uv* 'end': Wi. dered; *dè:v'r'əs* 'poverty': Meyer daibres; *em'fir* 'time': O-Ir. amser; *èr'ə* 'care': O-Ir. aire; *f'ir'iN'ə* 'truth': O-Ir. firinne; *g'iv'r'uv* 'winter': O-Ir. gemred; *kər'kə* 'oats': Meyer coirce; *m'ér'ig* 'rust': O-Ir. meirc; *latir'ə* 'messenger': O-Ir. techtaire.

r, *r'*

§ 75. *r* and *r'* correspond to *r* and *r'*, but are voiceless and blown. The palatal element in *r'* is generally less pronounced than in *r'*. As in Glenties and Torr *r* and *r'* arise from the assimilation of *r*, *r'* with an *-h*- representing an older *-th*- or the *-f*- of the future.

Ex. *r*: *f'arɪn'* 'rain': Wi. ferthain; *kəɔr* 'four men': O-Ir. cethrar; *kɛ:ɔN* 'rowan-tree': Wi. caerthann. — Old Irish palatal **Rth*- gives *r* as in Glenties (Quiggin, § 280): *ə:Nɔ:ɔr* 'the day after to-morrow': Wi. airthear. This is also the case of Torr what I ought to have

shown in my *Dialect of Torr*. Examples from Torr are: *ə'Nə:ɹiɹ'* 'the day after to-morrow'; *gɹɹə* past part. to *gyɹ'im'*, *g'Ur'im'* 'to call': O-Ir. gairm; *kɹɹɹ* 'guilty': Di. coirtheach, cf. Atk. cair.

ɹ': b'ɹ'ə m'è 'I shall take, bring', etc.: O-Ir. berim; *Luar'i* 'ashes': O-Ir. lúathred.

VI h.

§ 76. *h* is the ordinary *h* of Torr and Glenties. As there it represents regularly medially and finally O-Ir. non-palatal -th-. It does not occur initially except as the lenated form of *t*, *t'* and *s*, *f*, e. g. *èr' hi:buɹ* 'swarming': Di. siobadh; *èr də hō'in'* 'on your back': Wi. tón. Ex. *bahuɹ* 'to drown': Keating TSh. báthaim; *is'kə ·b'ahə* 'whisky': O-Ir. bethu; *L'ahan* 'broad': O-Ir. lethan; *šruhan* 'stream': O-Ir. sruth; *mah* 'decay': Wi. meth.

Synthesis.

I INITIAL

Analogical change due to the different aspects of the Irish initial.

§ 77. As in Glenties and Torr *f* has in certain cases been prefixed to words beginning in a vowel. In some words the *f* is already Middle-Irish. Ex. *fuar* 'cold': O-Ir. úar; *fan* ipv. 'wait': O-Ir. anaim; *fa:ʰmo:r* 'giant': Meyer athach; *f'iafri* 'to ask': O-Ir. iarfaigid. But *uat* 'cold': O-Ir. (h)úacht (Torr and Glenties *fuaxt*). The O-Ir. fillim has been split up into two words represented by *p'iL'uw* 'to fold' and *tiL'uw* 'to return' (Glenties has both forms for 'to return', Torr only *p'iL'uw*, *p'iL'uw*).

§ 78. The initial of the pronoun 'self' is *f'*: *f'è'n'*, whereas Torr has *h'è'n'*, *h'è'n'*, Glenties *hein'*.

Other changes.

§ 79. As in Torr and Glenties initial *b* has been unvoiced in *prəNtənas* 'present': Meyer bronntanas.

§ 80. Palatalization of the initial groups *dr-*, *cl-* is found (as in Torr and Glenties) in *g'r'u:t* 'dew': O-Ir. drucht (Torr and Glenties *d'r'u:χtə*); *kl'uw* 'fame': O-Ir. clú. *g* has been palatalized in *g'in'uw* 'sand':

Wi. ganem (T. *ganiv'*, Gl. *gen'iv'*). For the confusion of initial *k*:*t* and *g'*:*d'* see § 231.

§ 81. As in Torr (§ 430) the initial diphthong *ia-* tends, by a segmentation and differentiation, to develop into *je* in *jesat*, *iesat* 'loan': Wi. íasacht. A curious segmentation of initial *ε-* is found in *m'i:* (*ə*)*n* *jeb'al* 'April': M-Ir. april, perhaps under the influence of *m'i:* *ju:l* 'July'.

II WORD-END

§ 82. As in Glenties and Torr there is a tendency to unvoice palatal final *g'*, *d'*: *NəLiḱ* 'Christmas': Wi. notlaic; *hən'ik* 'came': O-Ir. tánice may as in Torr and Glenties have been influenced by *hən'ik* (T. and Gl. *han'ik*) 'saw'; *m'it* 'due time' (T. and Gl. *m'ihid'*): O-Ir. mithich, mithig.

A final *-d* has been unvoiced in *drə:t* 'bridge' (cf. *drə:tā:n* 'Drogheda'): Wi. drochet (T. *drəihəd*, Gl. *drəçəd*); *sNə:t*, gen. *sNə:tə* 'needle': O-Ir. snáthat (T. *snəhəd*, Gl. *snahəd*).

§ 83. *-L* for *-l* is found in *iməL* 'edge': M-Ir. imbel as in Torr and Glenties.

§ 84. Shortening of long vowels or diphthongs in monosyllables is found (as in T. and Gl.), in *baʰ* 'cows': O-Ir. bai; *teh* 'hot': O-Ir. té.

§ 85. Segmentation of final *-N'*, *-L'* (as in T. and Gl.) has taken place in *L'anəw'iN't* 'to follow': O-Ir. lenamain; *to:gaL't* 'to lift': O-Ir. tocbál.

§ 86. Addition of *-ə* in monosyllabic words (cf. Torr, § 39 where read: *ə* has been joined to many mostly monosyllabic Irish words) in *ke:tə* 'plough': O-Ir. cécht; *də:rNə* 'fist': Wi. dorn where Torr and Glenties have *də:rN* and *keaxt* (the latter is unknown in Torr). Cp. on the other hand *g'r'u:t* 'dew' (O-Ir. drucht): T. and Gl. *d'r'u:χtə*.

§ 87. An instance of a kind of glottal stop occurs in Torr (cf. the author, *Bull. Soc. Ling.* XXIII, p. 7 sqq. and Torr § 450—52 where the historical explanation will be found) in a large number of monosyllables ending in a short lenated consonant (except O-Ir. M-Ir. *ch* and retained *g*), and in some monosyllables ending in a short vowel. At the end of a sentence before a pause, or internally when the word has particular stress, the vocal cords are opened suddenly at the end of the vowel so that the consonant is unvoiced or the

short final vowel followed by an "asthmatic" *h* which after an *u* has developed into *ʷ*. Only in four cases in the text (p. 170), where the words were particularly strongly stressed, the speaker had a pronunciation that approximately corresponded to that of Torr, and curiously enough in two of the cases the word ends in an old palatal *ch*: *gə v^uiL Na 'b'əiç?* 'where are the bees': Meyer bech, pl. beich; *hə:n' aɡəs də ʰud' 'b'əiç?* 'yourself and your bees'; *mə ʰud' 'b'əiç?* (but internally *v'i:kifan b'əiç eg'a*); *ə hīgərt ə ʰuN'i ən v'iʰ?* 'O priest that desires the honey': O-Ir. mil. But generally the speaker only unvoiced the final consonant or had an ordinary *h* (often very faint, cp. § 171) in the monosyllables ending originally in a short vowel. It is difficult to ascertain whether Torr or South Armagh represents the oldest stage, but the historical explanation given of the development in Torr holds good also for South Armagh. Ex. *b'an* 'woman': O-Ir. ben; *ba^h* 'cows': O-Ir. bai (cf. § 171); *ə'N'ūv* 'to-day': O-Ir. indiu; *f'ar* 'man', pl. *f'ir*: O-Ir. fer; *g'al* 'bright': Wi. gel; *gyl* 'to boil': M-Ir. gal; *kyr* 'sin': Atk. cair; *m'iʰ* 'honey': O-Ir. mil; *N'if* 'poison': O-Ir. nem; *teh* 'hot': O-Ir. té; *ti^h* 'house': O-Ir. dat. taig. But *dūv* 'to me': O-Ir. dom, dam (Torr *dūvʷ?*); *maiç* 'good': O-Ir. maith (Torr *maiç?* but more generally *maiç*).

Internally or when the word has weaker stress the voiced consonant reappears: *f'ar ə v'i: əN* 'there was a man'; *,fan, fan 'ərsə n v'an* 'wait, wait, said the woman'.

III STRESS

§ 88. I have not studied in detail the question of stress rules in the dialect, but they seem to follow those laid down for Torr (and Glenties) and nothing in my materials goes against those rules (cf. Torr § 404—6). The stress has the same strong character as in Torr and unstressed syllables are reduced and weakened. The vowels occurring in unstressed syllables are, when they belong to the same types as those found in stressed ones, more loosely articulated.

Reductions in syllables with secondary stress or in unstressed syllables.

§ 89. As in Torr and Glenties O-Ir. M-Ir. short unstressed vowels are reduced to *ə* before non-palatal consonants and in absolute word-end, with the exception mentioned § 15, where also examples are to be found.

§ 90. As in Donegal O-Ir. M-Ir. short unstressed vowels are generally represented by *i* between or before palatal consonants, e. g. *hərLiN* 'descended': Wi. tairlingim; *tatir'a* 'messenger': O-Ir. techtaire; *b'ε:LiN'a* 'May': Wi. beltine; but in some cases *ə* is found after strongly velarized consonants before palatal ones: *f'iakəl* 'tooth': O-Ir. fiacail (T. *id.*, Gl. *f'iakil*); *fualəm* 'to learn': O-Ir. foglaimm (T. *fə:ləm*, *f'jə:ləm* Gl. *f'jə:ləm*); *k'aNər'al* 'leading': cf. Meyer cennaire (T. *k'aNir'axt*); *d'iaLəd* 'saddle': Meyer diallait (T. *id.*, Gl. *d'iaLid*); *trə:vəl* 'timely': Di. tráthamhail, Wi. tráth.

§ 91. *ə* in *da:fəl* 'nice': cf. Wi. dām, is probably due to the preceding *f* which, as a labial "palatal", is not accompanied by the raising of the mid part of the tongue towards the *j*-position (cf. also Torr, § 409).

§ 92. *i* in *kəniškər* 'evening': Di. coinfeascar, cf. Wi. fescor may be due to a **f'iskər* or to the fluctuation between *ə* and *i* (cf. § 13).

§ 93. As elsewhere in Ulster before original *χ a* and *α* (earlier *e* cf. § 142) are never reduced, the assimilating influence of the (more or less weakly pronounced) *χ* maintaining it. For examples see § 142.

§ 94. Long vowels are regularly shortened in unstressed syllables whether of O-Ir. or of later origin. The reduction is also usual in Torr whereas Quiggin in Glenties still found half long vowels (cf. Ó'Searcaigh p. 32) mostly in cases where a consonant has been vocalized and assimilated to the vowels. The full vowels in unstressed syllables have more stress than *ə* (and *i*), but the stress seldom approaches the degree of secondary stress. Ex. *b'iran* 'pin': cf. Wi. bir and other words in O-Ir. M-Ir. -án; *to:gaL't* 'to lift': O-Ir. tocbál; *əNlan* 'all, full': Atk. imlán. — *trəmLi* 'nightmare' (<*trəmLi*): O-Ir. trom, luige; *Luay'i* 'ashes' (<*Luay'i*): O-Ir. luaithred; *ə La(:) ma:ri* 'to-morrow'

(<ma:ri:): Wi. imbárach; *g'i:v^uin'* 'idle' (<d'i:v^ui:n'): Wi. dímain; *ba:rin'* 'queen': cf. O-Ir. rigain; *barul'* 'opinion' (<baru:l'): Meyer baramail.

§ 95. A diphthong seems to have been shortened in *k'ɔ:ran* 'drizzling rain' if it represents ceo + braon, cf. Di. ceobhrán, ceobhraon and Mac Bain, s. v. ceòban.

§ 96. Some words having originally short vowels preceded by velarized consonants have been influenced by those ending in -a-, influence which has been facilitated by the fluctuation of -a- towards an a-like sound. Ex. *m'akan* 'tap-rooted plant': O-Ir. mecon (Gl. *m'akan* and *m'akan*, T. *m'akan*); *L'ahan* 'broad': O-Ir. lethan (Gl. *L'ahan* and *L'ahan*, T. *L'ahan*); *figal* 'rye': O-Ir. secul (T. and Gl. *figal*). The influence of the suffix -an is clear in *g'alavan* 'sparrow': M-Ir. gelbund. — The fluctuation between a and an a-sound explains *āuras* 'doubt': O-Ir. amiress. *haha.Ntə* in *ēr'a hahaNtə* 'care of avoiding': Di. sea-chaint has it second a through dilation through the h, cf. Torr *Lqhə* 'rotten' < *Lqha*.

§ 97. O-Ir. M-Ir. *ō* is represented by a (as in T. and Gl.) in cases like *orxad* 'harm': O-Ir. erchót. The suffix -óc is ag, ag in *Luhag* 'rat': O-Ir. luch, *er'aguv* 'pullets', as in many cases in Torr and Glenties, but compare on the other hand *f^uiN'ag* 'window': Atk. fuindeoc; *tanag* 'bush, tuft': cf. Atk. tomm.

§ 98. M-Ir. *ō* of certain verbs which in Torr is represented by a half-long a(:), is represented by a short a in *t'aNtaft'a* 'turned': cf. O-Ir. tintuúth (see Torr § 411).

§ 99. The form corresponding to Torr *gasur*, Gl. *gasur* 'boy': Fr. garçon is *gasar* (cf. Scotch Gaelic *gasar* 'a pert fellow').

§ 100. In the future the original ending -aidh, -idh is represented by -i and -a (T. -i and -a, Gl. -a), e. g. *L'ina fē*, 'he will fill', *x:li*, *x:lə fē* 'he will drink', etc. The reason of the shortening to a is the addition of the enclitic pronoun; in such cases the second syllable is the weakest.

§ 101. The -iu- of Old Irish -siur has been reduced to -ar in *d'ēr'f'ar* 'sister': Atk. derb-shiúr (Gl. *d'ēr'af'ar*, T. *d'ēr'av'ar*, *d'ēr'af'ar*).

Loss of vowels.

§ 102. As in Torr and Glenties an *a* (i) in the second syllable of trisyllabic words, a particularly weak position, has disappeared in some cases, e. g. *āuras* 'doubt': O-Ir. amiress; *iN'fə* 'to tell': M-Ir. innisin. The form *kaluv Na L'apə* 'bedstock': Wi. colba (T. *kolawa* and *kolaw*, Gl. *kolawa*) is also due to this tendency. The dialect not admitting the consonant group -lv- (cf. § 188), the last -a has been dropped. — A final *a* has disappeared in *drē'tā:n*, 'Drogheda': Drochet Átha, cf. the gen. *ā:nə* of *ā:n* 'ford'.

Proclitic position.

§ 103. As in Torr and Glenties O-Ir. M-Ir. short and long vowels (and diphthongs) may be reduced to *a*. Ex. *a* 'his, her': O-Ir. a; *a* before the infinitive: O-Ir. do; *a* rel. part: O-Ir. a; *a* 'O': O-Ir. a; *a'ma:ra^h* 'to-morrow': Wi. imbárach; *ən* (əN) prep. 'towards': O-Ir. dochum; *aNəL* 'hither, to this side': O-Ir. anall; *arsə* 'said, inquit': Wi. ar; *as* 'it is': O-Ir. is; *gə* prep. 'with' etc.: O-Ir. co; *gə* conj.: O-Ir. co; *ən* (əN) the article: O-Ir. ind; *mə* 'my': O-Ir. mo, mu; *də* 'thy': O-Ir. do; *məs* 'as is': mar is, O-Ir. amail.

§ 104. *g'r'ər* 'brother': Wi. derbráthir points to a form with stressed second syllable as in western and southern dialects, whereas Glenties has *d'a:yar'* and Torr *d'a:yar'*. The proclitic vowel has disappeared and the new initial group *d'rur-* has been simplified to *d'r'*.

§ 105. The article is *ən*, *əN*, *əN'* (except in the genitive of the feminine and in the plural: *Na*, *Nə*) according to the rules of sandhi (cf. § 234). The vowel disappears after a final vowel of the preceding word. — In Torr and Glenties the nasal disappears before all consonants, but reappears when the vowel of the article is elided after the final vowel of the preceding word. — Ex. *hən'ik' ən f'ar...* 'the man came...'; *həg' ən v'an...* 'towards the woman'; *Na L'ig'əN ən xyr də də xɔ:r'* lit. 'who do not let the sin off from your presence'; *ēr' ə N'ar...* 'on the man'; *fē:d'əN ən g'á:* 'the wind blows'.

Before a prefixed *t*, *t'* of the following word the nasal may disappear, but is generally retained. Ex. *dɔ:rəs ə tigərt'* and *dɔ:rəs əN*

tigart' 'the door of the priest'; *èr' aN tigart* 'on the priest'; *èr' a t'l'i:uv* 'on the mountain'; *èr' a tam* 'presently'.

§ 106. The reduced vowel may be used also under the accent: *g'o'd'e: du:rt' aN sigart l'at 'arsa n v'an* 'what did the priest say to you, said the woman'.

§ 107. Full vowels may represent O-Ir. long and in certain cases short vowels. Ex. *g'o* 'where': Meyer cá; *g'o'd'e:* 'what': Di. cad é, O-Ir. cote, cate?; *Na* (*Nə*) gen. sg. f. of the article: O-Ir. inna; *ag's* 'and': O-Ir. ocus; *Na* negation: O-Ir. ná; *No* 'or': O-Ir. nó; *gan* (*gān*) 'without': O-Ir. cen; *ga^h* 'every': O-Ir. cach, cech.

§ 108. Words which occur occasionally in proclitic position may also be reduced, and they are generally reduced in quantity; *b'è m'ifə kaN't' l'èf* 'I will have a talk with him' for *b'è:i m'è* 'I shall, will be'; *b'è(:)i Na b'ai l'at* 'the bees will be with you'; *t'ir'v'gl'a* 'go home': Di. téigh, O-Ir. téig (cf. T. *t'e:*); *t'ir'èr'a v'id* 'mind yourself': O-Ir. tabair (cf. T. *to:r'*); *m'i: f'g'b:n* 'June': O-Ir. féil (T. *i:ç è:l 'a:n* 'St. John's eve', June is called *m'i: v'ā:n* [*a tāuwrī*]). In *m'i: Na b'l'en' u:r'a* 'January': *mí na bliadna úire* (T. *m'i: Na b'l'iaN u:r'a*) the diphthong has been contracted.

§ 109. The diphthongation does not take place in *tú* 'thou' in proclitic position *hu h'en* 'yourself' (see text p. 170).

§ 110. Consonants may be depalatalized in proclitic position as in Torr and Glenties. Ex. *gan* 'without': O-Ir. cen; *aNsəN sp'è:r'* 'into the air': cf. O-Ir. isind; *t'ir'èr'a v'id* 'mind yourself': O-Ir. tabair (cf. Torr *to:r'*).

§ 111. Consonants may be reduced in proclitic syllables as in *m'i: Na b'l'en' u:r'a*, above § 108, where the nasal has been palatalized by the preceding front vowel.

§ 112. In *ən* prep. 'towards' (before dentals *aN*, *aN'*): O-Ir. dochum, the *n* is probably due to a re-establishment of a nasal spirant which had arisen from the weakening of the final *m*. Or it may be due to the assimilation of *m* to *N* before dentals, this *N* being reduced to *n* before non-dental consonants. — Torr has *aN* which may have been influenced by *aN(a)* 'in'.

§ 113. An initial vowel of a proclitic word has been lost regularly in *məs* 'as is': mar is, M-Ir. amal, mar.

§ 114. Initial consonants of proclitic words may disappear, e. g. *ən* 'towards': O-Ir. dochum (> chum).

§ 115. Often the number of syllables of proclitics is reduced, e. g. *a'NəN sə 'NəL* 'thither and hither': anonn agus anall; *məs* 'as is': mar is; *ən* 'towards' cf. § 112. — Proclitic syllables or words may also disappear altogether, e. g. *hèn'ik'* 'saw': M-Ir. atchonnaic; *b'è(:) m'ifə kaN't' l'èf* 'he shall have a talk with him': béidh mise ag cainnt leis.

§ 116. An original guttural spirant has been re-established as a dental occlusive in *da:* O-Ir. occ-a, M-Ir. cá (cf. Pedersen, *Vgl. Gramm.* I, p. 264), or the form is rather due to a blending of a **ga* and the preposition *do* which in several uses with a verbal noun may have been confounded with the old occ-a, cá. Ex. *ən f'ar bət kly:t'a da L'anəv'iN't'* 'the poor exhausted man following them'; *Na b'i də mə v'v'v:ruv* 'do not be troubling me.'

Enclitic position.

§ 117. Vowels are shortened in enclitic position in the pronouns *m'è* 'I, me': O-Ir. mé; *f'è* 'he': sé (cf. Pedersen, *Vgl. Gramm.* II 141); *f'i* 'she': O-Ir. si.

§ 118. A diphthong has been shortened in *v'id* 'from you': O-Ir. úait in *t'ir'èr'a v'id* 'mind yourself'. Being reduced in quantity the *u* has passed to the consonant *v*. The full forms T. and Gl. *wām*, *wyam* represent probably a compromise between the old full form and the reduced one.

§ 119. *tú* has not undergone diphthongation in enclitic position: *a gləN tu m'ifə a hīgart'* 'do you hear me, priest'.

§ 120. The assimilation of the vowel of O-Ir. dom, dam in *dūv* 'to me' has probably taken place in proclitic position.

IV QUANTITY

§ 121. The dialect has the same system of quantity as those of Donegal, having thus retained the main traits of the old quantity.

§ 122. Long front vowels may be overlong before non-palatal consonants as in Torr and Glenties. They may have a distinct glide

before these consonants, which I write *a*, and tend to develop into diphthongs, but the tendency does not seem to be so strong as in Torr. Ex. *f'i:r* 'true': O-Ir. *fir*; *k'r'i:ʒ*, *k'r'i:ʒ* 'end': O-Ir. *crích*.

Lengthening.

§ 123. As in Torr and Glenties stressed *a*, *o* and *e* (corresponding to T. and Gl. *a*) have been lengthened in some cases before *r* < **R* or *R'* or *r*+*d*, *N*, *N'*. The vowel has absorbed a part of the quantity of the consonant when the latter was reduced. Ex. *a:rd* 'high, tall': O-Ir. *ard*; *ka:rNan* 'heap': cf. Wi. *carn*; *ta:rN'a* 'nail': Wi. *tairnge*; *ta:rN'a* 'thunder': Wi. *tornech*; *do:rNə* 'fist': Wi. *dorn*; cf. also *ko:rN'al* 'corner': Engl. *corner*; *f'ε:r* 'better': O-Ir. *ferr*; *g'ε:rNəd* 'flea': Wi. *dergnat*.

§ 124. *a* has also been lengthened before *rL* in *ha:rLi* 'it happened': Wi. *tarla* (Gl. *ha:rLy*), and also before *rt'* in *skɑ:rt' fī* 'she shouted': Di. *scairtim* (T. *skart'* 'shouted', Gl. *skart'* 'a shout').

§ 125. Lengthening before *L*, *L'* is found in *ēr'ba:L* 'on the spot, by and by': Meyer ball (the same lengthening is found in T. in this expression, but not in *baL* 'spot', and must be due to the influence of southern dialects); *brɑ:L'in* 'sheet': cf. O-Ir. *brat* (Gl. *bræL'in* T. *braL'in*); *b'ε:LiN'a* 'May': Wi. *beltine* (Gl. T. *b'α:Ltin'a*).

§ 126. It is difficult to ascertain whether the long *a* in *ba:rin'* 'queen': banríoghain is due to a lengthening before -*nr*- as in Glenties and Torr or to the loss of the nasal, as the dialect has *skanrif'tə* 'scared': Wi. *scannrad* (T. *skā:ruw* 'to frighten', Gl. *skɑ:nri*: 'frightened', cf. Torr § 437).

For lengthenings due to vocalization of consonants, see § 164 sqq.

Shortening.

§ 127. The shortening of stressed vowels before *h* where this consonant has not been assimilated and has not disappeared, seems to be usual (cf. the author, N. T. S. I, pp. 27—29). Ex. *bahuv* 'to drown': Di. *báthadh*, Wi. *báidim*; *Lghə* 'rotten': Di. *lobhtha*, Wi. *lobaim*; *ʒhər* 'key' but gen. pl. (with the article) *ɔN'ə:ʒaʰ*: Wi. *eochoir*.

The vowels of *g'r'ε:r* 'brother': Wi. *derbráthir* and *t'ε:r ə ʒlog* 'four o'clock': O-Ir. *cethir* may show that the vowel before *h* had been shortened before the *h* disappeared, cf. the usual development *a* > *æ* before *h* in Torr. But *g'r'ε:r* might perhaps have its vowel from *d'ēr'f'ar* 'sister' and *t'ε:r* its *ε*: from the other form of the numeral Torr *k'ēr'a*.

§ 128. Sporadic shortenings, as in Torr and Glenties, are found in *t'eh* 'hot': O-Ir. *té*; *a çəd ar* 'the first man': O-Ir. *cét* (T. Gl. *çid*); *dè fè* 'he sewed' < **dè*: from *f'wε:l* 'to sew': M-Ir. *uaimm*, *fúaim* (T. pret. *dua*, *da:i*, Gl. *dyai*); the shortening in *Na L'ig'aN*... *də* 'which does not let off': O-Ir. *léicim* is probably old and due to analogy from *reilc-*, *teilc-*, etc.; *f'wifid'a* 'confession': O-Ir. *fóisitiu* represents probably an older *f'wifid'a* going back to the O-Ir. form with a diphthong (cf. Torr § 5) and not to a M-Ir. shortened form *fuisitiu* as I have supposed in my book on the dialect of Torr (§ 453, 1). A sporadic shortening of a word of the same type is Torr *f'ir'iN'a* 'truth': O-Ir. *firinne* (Gl. and our dialect *f'ir'iN'a*).

Quantity of consonants.

§ 129. Quantity of consonants is, as far as I could ascertain, of the same character as in Torr (cf. Torr § 445).

V. MUTATION OF VOWELS

§ 130. As in all Irish dialects vowels have to a great extent been influenced by consonants. The influence has, on the whole, the same character as in Torr and Glenties, but there are differences in details. It is impossible, for the time being, to determine the formulas of these mutations and to find out what is due to internal development of a given dialect area and what has penetrated from other areas. This can only be attempted when the whole Irish-speaking territory has been examined phonetically.

I. Regressive mutation.

A. Palatalization.

§ 131. O-Ir. M-Ir. stressed *o*, *u* are often mutated to *i*(*y*), sometimes to *i* before palatal consonants. Ex. *i*(*y* cf. § 148): *dyn'a* 'person': O-Ir. *duine*; *f^wiN'ag* 'window': Atk. *fuindeoc*; *koner' v^wir'a* 'rosary': Atk. *Muire*; *kr^yk'* gen. of *kr^yk* 'hill': O-Ir. *cnocc*; *ifk'a* 'water': O-Ir. *uisce*; *m^wiL'taN* 'wether': cf. Wi. *molt*; *a v^wiL'aN* 'his mill' (but *mul'taN* 'mill'): O-Ir. *muilenn*, — *i*: *ib'r'a* gen. 'of work': O-Ir. *opair*; *drim'* 'back': O-Ir. *druimm*.

§ 132. O-Ir. M-Ir. stressed *ä* has developed into *i*(*y*) or *i*, as in Torr and Glenties where the mutation is particularly frequent before palatal *l*- and *r*-sounds and nasals. Ex. *i*(*y*): *gyll'* 'boiling': M-Ir. *gal*; *kyr'* 'sin': Atk. *cair*; *gan v^wiL'* 'without delay': Keat. *maill*; *Na m^wiN'a* gen. 'of the morning': Wi. *maten* (T. *maN'a*, *mad'in'a*, Gl. *m^wæN'a*, *m^wæd'in'a*); *m^wiN'èL't'a*, *m^wiL'èL't'a* 'sleeve': M-Ir. *mainchille*; *gyd' fê* 'he stole': O-Ir. *gataim*. — *i*: *g^yr'id'* 'short': O-Ir. *garit*.

§ 133. In Torr and especially in Glenties O-Ir. M-Ir. stressed *ä* which has not been mutated to *i* often develops into *æ* (and sometimes into *è*). Our dialect does not possess this vowel and the development has proceeded to *ε* and *è*. Ex. *ε*: *èr' ef* 'back': Wi. *ais* (T. *èr' æft'*) Gl. *er'æf*, *ef*); and with O-Ir. *o > a*: *ter'iv'a* 'profit': Di. *tairbhe*, O-Ir. *torbae* (T. Gl. *a hær'äv'a* 'on account of'); *dæl'i* 'difficult': Atk. *doilig* (T. *dæl'i*, Gl. *dæl'i*); *dre:t* 'bridge': Wi. *drochet* (T. *drèihad*, Gl. *dreçad*). — *è*: *èl'a* 'other': O-Ir. *aile* (T. *èl'a*, Gl. *el'a*); *em'fir'* 'time': O-Ir. *amser* (T. Gl. *am'fir'*); *èr'a* 'care': O-Ir. *aire* (T. Gl. *ær'a*); *dè:v'as* 'poverty', *sè:v'as* 'riches': Meyer *daidbres*, Atk. *saidbres* (cf. § 180); the preterite of the verbs "to come" and "to see" are both *hèn'ik'*, cf. above § 82.

§ 134. As in Torr and Glenties O-Ir. M-Ir. stressed *e* may between palatal consonants develop into *i*. This mutation is consequently both regressive and progressive. Ex. *d'im'as* 'big shears': O-Ir. *demess* (T. *d'em'as*, *d'èv'as*, Gl. *d'èv'as*); *g'iv'ruw* 'winter': O-Ir. *gemred* (T. *g'èv'ruw*, Gl. *g'ev'ruw*); *Na L'ig'aN ... dā* 'which does not let off': O-Ir. *léicim* (cf. § 128); *m'ifā* 'I, me': O-Ir. *messe*; *t'l'ig'uv*

'to vomit': O-Ir. *teilciud*; *N'iv'*, *N'if'* 'poison': O-Ir. *nem*; *g'in'uv* 'sand': Wi. *ganem* comes probably from **g'en'uv*, cf. Gl. *gen'äv'*).

§ 135. A long *e* has been mutated to *i*: in *i d'ir'i fiad* 'they rose': O-Ir. *éirge* (T. *ir'i*, Gl. *eir'i*, cf. § 181).

æ > *y*, *i*:

§ 136. The development *æ* > *y*, *i*: has probably started from the position before palatal consonants. Whereas the speaker still had *æ*: he had before palatals *kly:t'a* (§ 5) and *Ninat* 'infant': O-Ir. *nóidenacht* (T. *Nānan*, *Ny:nan* 'infant'), but *æ:v'* 'appearance': O-Ir. *óiph*.

Palatalization of vowels in proclitics and unstressed syllables.

§ 137. Palatalization of *o*, *u*, *a* to *i* and of *ä* to *ε*, *è* is also found in proclitics, e. g. *dyd'* 'to you': O-Ir. *duit*, *dait*; *eg'a* 'at; with him': M-Ir. *aiç*, O-Ir. *oca* (for the generalization of the form with suffixed pronoun, cf. *èr'* and Quiggin § 285); *èr'* 'on; on him': a blending of O-Ir. *air*, *airi* and *foir*; *heg'a* 'towards': O-Ir. *cuci* has probably been influenced by *eg'a* — in Torr the forms are *eg'* 'at', *heg'* 'towards', with pronoun sg. m. *eg'a*, *heg'a*.

§ 138. An *a* of a syllable with originally secondary stress has been palatalized to *ε* in *koner' v^wir'a* 'rosary': Wi. Atk. *coróin*, cf. T. *kanar' w^wir'a*. *po:ner'* 'beans': M-Ir. *pónair*, *pónaire* (cf. Marstrander, *Bidrag*, p. 59) seems to represent an older long *a* (or *o*) as does also T. *po:nar* f., gen. *po:nar'a*, pl. *po:nar'i*, whereas Glenties has *po:nir'a* 'beans'.

B. Velarization.

e > a

§ 139. A short stressed *e* has been mutated to *a* before a velarized consonant (*g* excepted, cf. § 145) as in Torr and Glenties with some exceptions (cf. § 11). For examples see § 30.

§ 140. Whereas in Torr and Glenties an original stressed *e* which is lengthened before *r* and *L* (see §§ 123, 125), is represented by *æ*, *ε*: seems to be usual in our dialect: *f'ε:r* 'better': O-Ir. *ferr*

(T. Gl. *f'a:r*); *g'ε:rNəd* 'flea': Wi. *dergnat* (T. Gl. *d'a:rNəd*); *b'ε:LtiN'a* 'May': Wi. *beltine* (T. Gl. *b'a:Ltin'a*).

§ 141. The *a*: of *p'r'a:χan* 'a crow': Di. *préachán*, M-Ir. *préchan*, T. *p'r'ε:χan* is surprising, cf. Scotch Gael. *preachan*.

§ 142. As in Torr and Glenties the *e* of syllables which have or originally had secondary stress (before *ch*) has undergone the same velarization. The terminations O-Ir. M-Ir. *-ech*, *-echt* are *-aχ*, *-a^h*, *-at*: *f'εst'r'a^h* 'plough': Wi. *sessrech*; *k'aNər'at* 'leading': cf. Meyer *cenaire*; etc. The *e* < *ē* in the termination *-él*, *-én* is *-al*, *-an*: *fLiN'an* 'shoulder': Wi. *slindén*; *m'i: (ə)n jεb'r'al* 'April': M-Ir. *april*, gen. sg. *aprél*; cf. also *kə:rN'al* 'corner': Engl. *corner*.

i > *ɔ*

§ 143. The mutation of O-Ir. M-Ir. initial stressed *i* before non-palatal consonants to *ɔ* is regular in Torr and Glenties. Examples from our Dialect are: *ɔNLan* 'all, full': Wi. *imlán* (Gl. *ɔmlan*, T. *ɔm-lan*, *ɔmLan*); *ɔmpər* (< **ɔmpər*) 'to carry': O-Ir. *imb- cuir* (Gl. T. *ɔmpər*).

ə > *u*

§ 144. The unstressed vowel *ə* or the same element as second part of a diphthong is assimilated to a final *v*: *fLi:uv* 'mountain': O-Ir. *sliab*; cf. the ending *-ag* > *-uv* § 203.

C. Other mutations.

e > *i*

§ 145. As in Torr and Glenties O-Ir. M-Ir. stressed *e* has been attracted by a following non-palatal guttural and has passed to *i*. Ex. *b'ig* 'small': O-Ir. *bec*; *b'l'igan* 'to milk': Wi. *blegon*; *gər f'ig* 'yet': O-Ir. *is ed*; *f'igal* 'rye': M-Ir. *secul*; *f'igan* 'ant': M-Ir. *sengán*; *fN'ig* 'nits': O-Ir. *sned*.

a > *i*

§ 146. Stressed O-Ir. M-Ir. *ǣ* is *i* before *g* in *sigart* 'priest': O-Ir. *sacart*. In Torr there are examples of a mutation of *ǣ* in this case, cf. Torr § 201. When *ǣ* has been influenced before a *g* and not before a *g*, the reason is probably that the subconscious desire

of maintaining the *g* has directed the main attention to the latter; the preceding *ǣ* has been attracted towards the position of the vowel *i* which is located more in the line of the catastat of the *g*. The *g* in this word was in danger of being altered as it has been in certain parts of Ulster (cf. Ó'Searcaigh § 114). I have personally heard *saiart* = *sagart*, *aiam* = *agam* in Glen Columcille (quoted from memory, Ó'Searcaigh writes *aim*) and *sijart* instead of *sigart* may be heard in Torr. Glenties *sigart* does not contradict this explanation. It is a compromise between **sagart* and *sigart* — such compromises are very common in dialect development. It is not necessary therefore to suppose that *sigart* has been influenced by a word like *iglis* 'church'; the clergy' as Quiggin has done (§ 103; for *sogart* cf. Torr § 536). *f'igan* 'ant' may be explained like *sigart* (cf. T. *fagan*) if the nasal guttural has disappeared after the development of *e* to *a*.

II. Progressive mutation.

A. Palatalization.

§ 147. *ia* > **ja* > *jε*. For examples see § 81.

B. Velarization.

§ 148. After velarized consonants, especially after gutturals and *r*, *y* is often found instead of or besides *i*. Ex. *ry^h* 'to run': O-Ir. *riuth*, *rith*; for more examples see §§ 4, 131.

§ 149. This *y* is also found in unstressed syllables, e. g. *ɔgvN'* 'with us': M-Ir. *acaind*, O-Ir. *ocunn*.

§ 150. After *r* a long *e*-sound and an *i*: have been retracted to *a*: in the following examples — the change dates probably from the time when the strong **R* still existed and is due to the action of the velarized articulation of this sound: *rə:p^wi* 'rent': Wi. *rébaim* (T. *rε:buw*); *fa:ra:r* 'alas!': Wi. *forír* (Gl. *fa:rk:r*, T. *fa:rk:r*).

VI CONTRACTION OF DIPHTHONGS

ua > *o*:

§ 151. O-Ir. M-Ir. *ua* has been contracted into *o*: in *bo:χiL'* 'young man': O-Ir. *búachaill*, a development which is common in Monaghan (cf. Ó'Searcaigh, § 23).

**u*: *u* > *u*:

§ 152. *bru:v* 'to mash': Wi. brúim.

eo > *ɔ*:

§ 153. The O-Ir. M-Ir. *eo* has been contracted to *ɔ*:, as in Torr and Glenties. *eo* was a diphthong of an unstable type, the second element being the dominating one both in quantity and in width. After labials the original *e* has remained as a faint *j*, shorter and weaker than the ordinary *j*. I write it *j*. Ex. *d'ɔ^h* 'drink': O-Ir. deoch; *f'ɔ:j^l* 'meat': O-Ir. feóil; *f'ɔ:ɾL'iŋ* 'farthing': SM. VI feoirling; *k'ɔ:ɾan* 'foggy rain': cf. O-Ir. céo; *ɔhar* 'key' (*ɔ · N'ɔhar* 'the key'): Wi. eochuir; *ɔ:ɾNə* 'barley': Wi. éorna; *l'ɔ:fə* 'with them': O-Ir. leo.

iu > *ū*

§ 153^a. The same reasons have determined the contraction in *ɔ · N'ūɣ* 'to day' < **ɔ · N'ū*: O-Ir. indiu.

For *b^wE:ruv*, *f^wE:l* see § 177.

VII NEW DIPHTHONGS AND TRIPHTHONGS

A. Diphthongs due to overlength of vowels.

§ 154. As in Torr and Glenties overlong vowels tend to become diphthongs, by segmentation and subsequent differentiation, before velarized consonants, the glide developing into a vocalic element. Examples are:

i:ə: *d'i:əl* 'to sell': Meyer díl; *k'ɾ'i:əɣ* (*k'ɾi:əɣ*) 'end': O-Ir. crích.
ɛ:ə: *b'ɛ:əl* (*b'ɛ:l*) 'mouth': O-Ir. bél.

B. Diphthongs arising from the disappearance of intervocalic consonants.

§ 155. As in Torr and Glenties the disappearance of intervocalic consonants often determines the development of diphthongs.

i:ə: *f'ɾ'i:ər* 'sore': D. frithir (Gl. *f'ɾ'ihir*, T. *f'ɾ'ihil*)
è:i: *əNə N'è:i* 'after them': O-Ir. i n-degaid.
ɛ:ə: *drɛ:ət* (*drɛ:ə*) 'bridge': Wi. drochet.

ɛ:a: *b'ɛ:a^h* 'beast': Meyer bethadach (in Gl. and T. the diphthong has been contracted Gl. *b'a:ɣ*, T. *b'æ:ɣ*).

ai in *f^waid'ə* 'patience': O-Ir. foditiu (Gl. id., T. *fuəd'*, *f^wè:d'*, *f^wè:d'ə*, *f^wèid'ə*) is probably due to the shortening of a long diphthong or of a triphthong.

ɹ:a: *šrɹ:an* 'string, cord': cf. M-Ir. sreng (T. *šraŋan*).

C. Diphthongs (triphthongs) before palatal consonants and before *v*.

§ 156. As in Torr and Glenties diphthongs developing out of back vowels before palatal consonants (palatal labials excepted) or before *v* (O-Ir. M-Ir. non-palatal bh, mh) are common. The original glide has become a vocalic element.

uəi: *fuəi* 'went': O-Ir. dochoaid, ducuaid.

o:i: *tō:in* 'lower part; podex': Wi. tón, acc. tóin.

ɔi: *kliɔə* gen. of *kloɣ*, *klo^h* 'stone': Wi. cloch, gen. cloche.

ai: *kaihi* 'temptation': cf. Wi. cathaigim and § 216; *kraiha* gen. 'cross': O-Ir. croch, gen. cruche; *maiɕ* 'good': O-Ir. maith.

ai:i: *trai:i* 'strand': Wi. tráig, tráig; *baN'ə · bla:ijə* 'buttermilk': Meyer bláthach, gen. bládaige (bláithche).

au: *āuras* 'doubt': O-Ir. amiress; *sāuruv* 'summer': O-Ir. samrad; *m'i: Na sāurnə* 'November': Wi. samuín, samain. — The same diphthong has arisen before *v* < **v* in *tauvəN* 'barking': Wi. toffund (T. *tauvəN*, Gl. *tauvəN*, *tauvəNt*).

D. *fualəm*'.

§ 157. The diphthong *ua* is found in *fualəm* 'to learn': O-Ir. foglaimm, whereas Torr and Glenties have *f'jɔ:ləm*, *fɔ:ləm* and *f'jɔ:ləm*. The form may originate from a district bordering on the territory which has the development *ua* > *o*: and may have been created in opposition to the **fɔ:ləm*, (**fo:ləm*) of the neighbouring dialect, a phenomenon not uncommon in linguistic history (cf. especially, Am. B. Larsen, *Nabooopposition knot*, Maal og Minne, 1917, p. 34—46).

VIII NASALIZATION

§ 158. Nasalization does not modify the vowels sensibly. Nasal vowels belong to the same types as the corresponding ordinary ones.

Nasal vowels occur as in Torr and Glenties generally in contact with an O-Ir. M-Ir. lenated *m*. In diphthongs the vocalic elements are both nasalized, but for the sake of convenience nasalization is only marked on the first. Ex. *sāuruv* 'summer': O-Ir. samrad; *sNā:v* 'to swim': O-Ir. snám; *āuras* 'doubt': O-Ir. amiress; *dūv* 'to me': O-Ir. dam, dom; *fō:vər* 'autumn': O-Ir. fogamur; *krā:v* 'bone': O-Ir. cnáim (cf. also § 159); *vāiç* lenated form of *maiç* 'good': O-Ir. maith; *ō:NLi* 'thus': Wi. amlaid (cf. § 212); *g'w'ruv* 'winter': O-Ir. gemred.

In some cases, however, nasalization seems to be lost. Ex. *Na:v'id* 'enemy': O-Ir. námae (T. *Nā:wid*, *Nē:wid*, Gl. *Nā:wid*); *N'iv*, *N'if* 'poison': O-Ir. nem (T. *N'if*?, Gl. *N'iv*, *Nif*); *g'in'uv* 'sand': Wi. ganem (Gl. *gen'iv*, T. *gan'iv*); *g'i:v'in* 'idle': Wi. dimain (Gl. *d'i:win*, T. *d'i:win*).

§ 159. Vowels in contact with *r* < *n* are also nasalized. Ex. *krōk*, gen. *krōk* 'hill': O-Ir. cnocc; *mrā*: gen. and pl. of *b'ay* 'woman': O-Ir. ben, mná.

§ 160. Vowels are nasalized through the disappearance of nasals. Ex. *fō:nuv* 'to serve, to be of use': O-Ir. fognam; *šrā:an* 'string, cord': cf. § 183; in *fīgan* 'ant': M-Ir. sengán the nasalization is less pronounced.

§ 161. Vowels in contact with nasals, especially with *N*, *N'* are generally somewhat nasalized. In some cases this nasalization has given rise to nasal vowels. Ex. *o'N'ē* 'yesterday': O-Ir. indé; *o'N'ūv* 'to-day': O-Ir. indiu; *fN'īg* 'nits': O-Ir. sned; *tō:in* 'lower part, podex': Wi. tón; *Na hō:N'ə* gen. 'river': Wi. abann.

§ 162. Nasalization of a long *a*-sound also occurs — such sounds are often exposed to nasalization, because the uvula shuts the nose-passage less firmly during the articulation of these vowels than during that of the higher ones. Ex. *ā:çə* 'kiln': Meyer áithe (T. *ā:(i)çə*, Gl. *ā:çə*); *ā:n* 'ford': O-Ir. áth (T. *ā:*, Gl. *ā:*).

IX OPENING AND VOCALIZING OF CONSONANTS

LOSS OF CONSONANTS. VOICING OF CONSONANTS

§ 163. Lenated consonants are faintly articulated as in Torr and Glenties. Many O-Ir. M-Ir. lenated consonants have been vocalized or have disappeared altogether in the dialect.

n > *r*

§ 163 a. As general in Northern Irish *n* following *a* — mostly — initial occlusive has been weakened and has developed into *r* with nasalization of a neighbouring vowel (cf. Torr, § 476). Ex. *krōk* 'hill': O-Ir. cnocc; *mrā*: gen. sg. of *b'ay* 'woman': O-Ir. ben, mná; *krā:v* 'bone': O-Ir. cnáim.

Vocalizing of *v*.

§ 164. As in Torr and Glenties O-Ir. M-Ir. lenated non-palatal *m*, *b* (> **v*, *v*) following stressed *e*, *a* *o* (with the exception indicated below), and preceding back vowels or non-palatal consonants, has been vocalized and contracted to *o:*. Ex. *Na hō:N'ə* gen. 'river': Wi. abann; *kə:r* 'presence': Wi. comair (cf. § 226); — in *Lo:uv* 'to rot': Wi. lobaim the result is a long diphthong. -amh- seems generally to develop into -āuv-, cf. Torr § 477 and also Ó'Searcaigh § 105, and *sāuruv* 'summer': O-Ir. samrad; *m'i:* *Na sāuvnə* 'November': Wi. samuin, samain; but it is represented by *ō:* in our dialect in *ō:NLi* 'thus': Wi. amlaid (T. *āuvli*, Gl. *āuvli*).

§ 165. Similarly lenated non-palatal *m*, *b* has been vocalized and contracted with a preceding *u* to *u:* in *du:rt* 'he said': M-Ir. adubairt and in *ku:²N* 'narrow': O-Ir. cumung, where the glide may be a rest of the second vowel or be explained by the tendency of developing diphthongs from long vowels in monosyllables.

§ 166. *v* has disappeared after a long *ə:* in *kə:ran* 'drizzling rain' cf. § 95.

§ 167. Intervocalic O-Ir. M-Ir. lenated non-palatal *m*, *b* between the two vowels of the final unstressed syllables of a word is vocalized in Torr and Glenties and contracted with the vowels to *u:* > Torr *u*. *u*, not *o*, is natural in unstressed position as the former has less natural

length than the second. An example of this development is *barul* 'opinion': Meyer baramail. But generally this *v* seems to have been retained; for examples see § 55. Ó'Searcaigh has several examples of the conservation of this *v* in South-Ulster (§ 179).

§ 168. *v* has been lost in *to:gaL't* 'to lift': O-Ir. *toibál*, between the diphthong *au* and *r* in *sāuruv* 'summer': O-Ir. *samrad*.

Loss of *h* (O-Ir. M-Ir. -th-).

§ 169. As in Torr and Glenties O-Ir. M-Ir. *th* (> *h*, cf. especially, Thomas F. O'Rahilly, *Notes on Middle-Irish pronunciation*, Hermathena, XX, p. 152, sqq., 1926), has disappeared finally after O-Ir. M-Ir. long vowels (or diphthongs) or in intervocalic position after long vowels. For the exceptions from the general rule see the author, NTS. I, p. 27—29. Ex. *bō:r* 'road': Meyer bóthar; *d'i:* 'want': O-Ir. *dith*; *gā:* 'wind': O-Ir. *gáith*; *travōl* 'timely': *tráthamhail*, cf. Wi. *tráth*; *sNa:t* 'needle': O-Ir. *snáthad* (Gl. *sNahad*, T. *sNæhad*).

§ 170. Occasionally *h* has disappeared in intervocalic position also after short vowels in Torr and Glenties (cf. Torr, § 483). In our dialect there are more examples. — The vowels coming into contact are contracted to diphthongs or to long vowels. Ex. *fa:h* 'giant': Meyer athach; *b'ea:h* 'beast': Meyer bethadach; *f'r'i:ar* 'sore': Di. *frithir*, Gl. *f'r'ihir*, T. *f'r'ihil*; *m'i:l* 'proper, due time': cf. O-Ir. *mithig*, *mithich*; for *g'r'ær*, *t'ær* see § 104.

Weakening and loss of *χ*.

§ 171. In Torr and Glenties *χ* is not pronounced very strongly and in some cases it has passed to *h*. In our dialect *χ* in intervocalic position and finally after vowels passes generally to *h* as has been indicated already (§ 66). Finally this *h* is particularly faint; in this case I write it *^h*. The development seems to be general in South-Ulster, cf. Ó'Searcaigh, § 315, and also what Lloyd says about Meath in *Duanaire na Midhe* and about Monaghan in the *Gaelic Journal*, 1896, p. 146 col. 2. Ex. *aLa^h* 'cattle': O-Ir. *ellach*; *ara^h* 'spring': O-Ir. *errach*; *b'ea:h* 'beast': Meyer bethadach; *bōda^h* 'duv' 'a kind of codfish': cf. Meyer bot; *d'ō^h* 'drink': O-Ir. *deoch*; *dōhar* 'misfortune, harm': Wi. *dochor*; *ar^hma^h* 'out': O-Ir. *immach*; *ar^hma:ra^h* 'to-morrow':

Wi. *imbáarach*; *fa:h* 'giant': Meyer athach; *f'l'u^h* 'wet': O-Ir. *fluich*; *ga^h* 'every': O-Ir. *cech*; *g'ala^h* 'moon': cf. Wi. *gel*; *kb^h* (*klɔχ*) 'stone': O-Ir. *cloch*; *kōNLa^h* (*kōNLaχ*) 'stubble': Meyer *connlach*; *kā:na^h* 'moss': Meyer *cáennach*; *kā:ra^h* gen. of *kā:rā* 'sheep': O-Ir. *cáera*; *Luhag* 'rat': cf. O-Ir. *luch*; *m'ana^h* 'belly of a cow': Wi. *menach*; *m'i:* *Na v'y:L'α^h* 'February': Wi. *fuidell*; *ōhar* 'key': Wi. *eochoir*; *rahi*, (*raχi*) *m'è* 'I shall go': O-Ir. *regaid* (for *χ*=O-Ir. *g(h)* see Marstrander, quoted by the author, *Mélanges Loth*, p. 425); *sōhar* 'profit, advantage': Wi. *sochor*; *saksana^h* 'English; Englishman': *sacsanach*, *sasanach*, lat. *Saxō*; *fēftr'α^h* 'plough': Wi. *sessrech*; *t'αLa^h* 'hearth': O-Ir. *tenlach*.

After a long vowel *χ* has disappeared completely in *t'i:* 'female breast': Wi. *cích*; similarly in unstressed position in *Na* neg. in a relative clause: O-Ir. *nách*.

Weakening and loss of *ç*.

§ 172. As in Torr and Glenties intervocalic *ç* tends to develop into *h*. Examples are: *kraiha* gen. 'cross': O-Ir. *croch* (T. *kraiç*); *t'ehuv* 'to run away': O-Ir. *techid* (T. *t'ehūw*, *t'ehuw*).

An intervocalic *ç* has disappeared and the vowels have been contracted in to a diphthong alternating with an overlong vowel in *dre:at*, *dre:t* 'bridge': Wi. *drochet*.

O-Ir. M-Ir. non-palatal *dh*>*g*.

§ 173. The Old Irish velarized dental spirant had a complicated articulation, particularly difficult in the case of a weak spirant. It developed early into *g*, the dental element disappearing, probably in the thirteenth century (O'Rahilly, *Hermathena* XX, p. 182).

For examples see § 65.

Vocalizing and loss of *g*.

§ 174. O-Ir. M-Ir. lenated non-palatal *g*, *d* disappears finally after long vowels and diphthongs, as in Torr and Glenties. Ex. *g'e:* 'goose': Wi. *géd*; *stua·i/klə* 'rainbow': Wi. *stúag*.

§ 175. Internally between vowels or between a vowel and a consonant the same sound is vocalized and contracted with the surrounding vocalic elements, as in Torr and Glenties. A preceding

short vowel is lengthened. Ex. *fō:vər* 'autumn': O-Ir. *fogamur*; *fualəm* 'to learn': O-Ir. *foglaimm*; *m'i*; *·Lu:Nəsə* 'August': Wi. *lūg-nasad*; *L'è:uv* 'to melt': O-Ir. *legad*; *L'è:m* 'I read': O-Ir. *légaid*. For the development of O-Ir. M-Ir. *ag-*, *ad-* before vowels, see § 24. The same development has taken place after a syllable with originally secondary stress in *ba:rín* 'queen': Di. *bainríoghain*.

§ 176. In *L'è:v'u* 'to read' the *v* does not represent the old lenated *g* of O-Ir. *légaid*; the form has been created analogically from the future *L'è:f'ə m'è*, perhaps to differentiate it from *L'è:uv* 'to melt' (in Torr the two verbal nouns are identical: *L'è:uw*). An explanation of *L'è:v'u* according to § 205 is less probable.

§ 177. Intervocalic *g* following the diphthong *ua* has in a couple of examples determined a peculiar development of this diphthong: *b^wEruv* 'to trouble': Meyer *buadraigim*, *buadrain* and *f^wE:l* 'to sew': Wi. *fúagaim* (Ó'Searcaigh quotes the participle *b^wE:ɣə* from South-Ulster, § 181). The development has probably started from forms like **b^hg:garag* — the diphthong *ua* is often contracted to *ɛ*: after non-palatal labials, cf. Quiggin § 66, Torr § 468 and Gl. *b^hg:ɣə* 'troubled' — and passed through *ba:ruv*, cf. the Torr forms *da:i* 'sewed', etc. This *ɛ*: has developed in a similar way as the *a*: < **agə*, § 24. The forms in our dialect elucidate those of Torr. The development must have started from those words which had the group labial + *-uag-*. This group developed into *ɛ*: which originally maintained itself when the preceding labial was present and the influence of the *u*-element in the latter was felt, but developed into *a*:, through the action of the *g*, when the *f* disappeared by lenation. Later on the development *ɛ*: > *a*: has been extended by analogy to other cases of *ua*. The development *-uag-* > *a*: also shows that the change of *ua* to *ɛ*: after labials must be older than the loss of intervocalic *g* (at least in this type of words).

O-Ir. M-Ir. palatal *dh* > *j*.

§ 178. The palatal dental spirant had the same complicated articulation as the velarized one and has had a parallel development. The dental element disappeared and the *ð* passed to *j* probably already in the twelfth century (O'Rahilly, *loc. cit.* p. 192). For ex. see § 63.

Loss of *j*.

§ 179. As in Glenties and Torr an O-Ir. M-Ir. lenated non-palatal *g*, *d* has disappeared after long vowels and diphthongs in monosyllables. Ex. *tra:i* 'strand': Wi. *trág*, *traíg*; *fuai* 'went': O-Ir. *dochoaid*, *ducauid*.

§ 180. O-Ir. M-Ir. lenated palatal *g*, *d* has similarly been vocalized and has disappeared in intervocalic position between front vowels, between such vowels and a (palatal) consonant and after an O-Ir. M-Ir. back vowel (mutated to a front vowel) before a front vowel, with lengthening of a preceding short vowel and contraction of the vocalic elements which have come into contact. Ex. *fLi:* 'way, direction': O-Ir. *slige*; *dè:v'rəs* 'poverty': Meyer *daidbres*; *sè:v'rəs* 'riches': Meyer *saidbres*; *m'i*: *Na v^wy:L'a^h* 'February': Wi. *fuidell*; *Ni:nat* 'baby': O-Ir. *nóidiu*, *nóidenacht*. For *f^waid'a* see § 155.

§ 181. In unstressed syllables the same development takes place in intervocalic position and finally. The long vowel which resulted from it has been shortened, cf. § 94. Ex. *ð:NLi* 'thus': Wi. *amlaid*; *dél'i* 'difficult': Atk. *doilig*; *f'iafri* 'to ask': O-Ir. *iarfaigid*; *mu'r'in* 'family': Di. *muirighin*; *d'i:r'i fiad* 'they rose', cf. § 135.

Loss of *ɣ*.

§ 182. **ɣ* or a nasalized **g* has been lost before *n* in *fō:nuv* 'to serve': O-Ir. *fognam*, as in Torr and Glenties. The strong nasalization of the preceding vowel makes it probable that the spirant was nasalized before it disappeared.

§ 183. Intervocalic *ɣ* has been lost in some cases. Ó'Searcaigh locates this development to Tyrone and South-Ulster (§ 312). The remaining vowels form a long diphthong. Ex. *šrā:an* 'string, cord': cf. M-Ir. *sreng*; *kē:al* 'to bind, to tie': Wi. *cengal*. In *fīgan* 'ant': M-Ir. *sengán* (Gl. *fayan*, T. *fayan*, *fīgan*, *fN'īgan*) only the contact of the tongue and the hard palate has been loosened, a development which, according to Lloyd, *op. cit.*, p. 124, is known from near Farney.

Loss of *u* before *r*

§ 184. In Torr (and generally in The Rosses, in Gweedore and in Clochaneely, according to Ó'Searcaigh, § 203) *n* before *r* has a

tendency of disappearing, generally when it is preceded by an *a*, with nasalization and lengthening of the preceding vowel. An example in our dialect is *ba:rin'* 'queen' (with lost nasalization): Di. bainrioghain.

f > h

§ 185. The *f* of the future has been weakened and has developed into *h* (with the exceptions mentioned § 59) which is regularly assimilated to the preceding consonants, cf. § 192.

Weakening and loss of *g*.

§ 186. An old intervocalic *g* has been opened to *g* in *sīgart* 'priest': O-Ir. sagart. In *g'ε:rNəd* 'flea': Wi. dergnat an original *g* has disappeared; the word is a derivation from *derg* 'red', cf. Meyer, *Zur kelt. Wortkunde* § 17, Marstrander, RC. XXXVI, p. 348.

Voiced for unvoiced consonants.

§ 187. In a few cases originally unvoiced nasals and *v* have been voiced in intervocalic position. Ex. *im'at* 'to go away': O-Ir. imthecht (the voicedness is general in this word in Ulster); *f'iNuv* 'hair of an animal': Wi. findfad (T. Gl. *f'iNyuv*); *m^wiN'èL'tə* 'sleeve' (also *m^wiL'èL'tə*): M-Ir. mainchille, cf. T. *m^wihiL'ə* and *m^win'iL'ə* < **m^wiḡ'iL'ə*, Gl. *m^wiḡ'iL'ə* and for *N'* instead of *n'* § 210; *tauvəN* 'to bark': Wi. toffund.

X SVARABHAKTI

§ 188. Svarabhakti occurs in the same conditions as in Torr and Glenties, some cases of the groups *-rɣ-*, *-rf-* excepted. The svarabhakti vowel is *ə* which between palatal consonants is raised to *i*.

Ex. rg: *d'arəg* 'red': O-Ir. derc; *f'arəg* 'anger': O-Ir. ferc; *farəg'ə* 'sea': O-Ir. foirree; *f'ər'ig'ə* gen. of *f'arəg*; *m'ər'ig'* 'rust': O-Ir. meirc.

rb: *barəb* 'sharp, rough': Wi. borb.

lg: *d'aləg* 'thorn': Wi. delg; *kaləguv* 'to nurse': cf. Wi. celg; *d'el'ig'* pl. of *d'aləg*.

rch: *dorəɣə* 'dark': O-Ir. dorche; but *orɣəd'* 'harm': O-Ir. erchoat, erchót (T. *orəɣəd'*, Gl. *orəɣəd'*); *orɣər* 'shot': Wi. urchor.

rm: *d'arəməd* 'to forget': O-Ir. dermat; *orəm* 'on me': O-Ir. form.

rbh: *arəvər* 'corn': O-Ir. arbor; *marəvu* 'to kill': O-Ir. marbaim; *ter'iv'ə* 'utility': tairbhe, O-Ir. torbae.

lbh: *g'aləvan* 'sparrow': M-Ir. gelbund; cf. also *kaluv Na L'apə* 'bedstock': Wi. colba.

rbh + h: *gə d'arəfə* 'certainly': dearbhtha, O-Ir. derbaim; but *d'ər'fər* 'sister': Atk. derb-shiúr; cf. also *or'fər* 'spancel of a cow'.

nmh: *L'anəv^wiN't* 'to follow': O-Ir. lenamain.

XI CONSONANTAL ASSIMILATION

§ 189. An O-Ir. *l* grouped with the dentals *d* and *n* has assimilated these sounds. Most of these assimilations are of Old- and Middle-Irish origin (cf. Ó Máille, *The Language of the Annals of Ulster*, p. 97 sqq). Of more recent origin is

dl > L

kəLuv 'to sleep': O-Ir. cotlud; *NəLiḡ* 'Christmas': Wi. notlaic.

tl > L

Whereas *tl* generally subsists in Ulster it has, as in Torr and Glenties, been assimilated in *bra:L'in'* 'sheet (of cloth)': cf. O-Ir. brat (T. *braL'in'*, Gl. *bræL'in'*).

dn > N, N'

§ 190. As in Torr and Glenties: *riaLt Na m^wiN'ə* 'morning-star': Wi. maten; **b'l'iaNə* gen. of O-Ir. bliadain, gen. bliadnae (with -dn- differentiated to -dn-) in *m'i: Na b'l'èn' u:r'ə* 'January', see § 111.

ml > NL

§ 191. The group *-ml-* has caused difficulties in Irish, cf. the development *ml > bl*. An assimilation *ml > NL* has taken place in *əNLan* 'all, full': Atk. imlán, whereas Torr and Glenties have *əmlan* (*əmlan*).

Consonants + *h*

§ 192. As in Torr and Glenties *h* (<th, f) is assimilated to consonants, making voiced consonants voiceless. For examples of *N'*, *v'*, *L'*, *l'*, *ɹ'* see §§ 53, 71, 75.

hr > r

The new *h < ɣ* has been assimilated to *r* in *əN'v:ɣa^h* gen. pl. (with the article) of *ɣər* 'key': Wi. eochuir.

$$v + h > v, f$$

(for examples of *v*, see § 56): *gə d'arəfə* 'certainly': dearbhtha, Wi. derbaim; *l'ɔ:fə* 'with them', cf. Quiggin § 311.

$$v' + h > f'$$

d'ər'fər 'sister': Atk. derb-shiúr.

$$h + v > f$$

This assimilation-fusion has taken place in *fuai* 'went': O-Ir. dochuaid. The assimilation originates probably from the unstressed position in the sentence where the *u*, owing to the reduction in quantity, has passed to *v*. *fuai* is then a compromise between the two forms **huai* and **f^wai*.

$$b + h > p$$

L'apə gen. 'bed': Wi. lepaid, gen. leptha; *ra:p^wi* 'rent': réabtha, Wi. rébaim.

$$dhch > ç$$

§ 193. *æ:çə* 'night': O-Ir. adaig, Wi. aidche, oidche.

$$\chi t > t$$

§ 194. Owing to the weak character of the χ the group χt has been assimilated to *t*. According to Ó'Searcaigh, § 316, this development is found generally in South-Ulster. Ex. *am^wid'at* 'foolishness': amaideacht; *b'aNat* 'blessing': O-Ir. bendacht; *bət* 'poor': O-Ir. bocht; *bət'in'at* 'poverty': cf. Meyer bochtaine; *g'r'ut* 'dew': O-Ir. drucht; *iesat*, *jesat* 'loan': Wi. íasacht; *im'at* 'to go away': O-Ir. imthecht; *i:tar* 'lower part': O-Ir. íchtar; *kaNər'at* 'leading': ceannaireacht, cf. Meyer cennaire; *ke:ta* 'plough': O-Ir. cécht; *Nin'at* 'infant': O-Ir. nóidenacht; *ət* 'eight', *ətu* 'eighth': O-Ir. ocht, ochtmad; *tatir'ə* 'messenger': O-Ir. techtaire; *uat* 'cold': O-Ir. uacht; *uatər* 'upper part': O-Ir. úachtar.

Assimilation in quantity.

§ 195. As usual in Torr and Glenties strong (liquids and) nasals have been reduced to the weak types when standing before *r* (<**R* and **R'*). Ex. *kəruv* 'good bargain': Atk. cundrad; *skanriflə* 'scared': Wi. scannrad. In *g'ε:rNəd* 'flea': Wi. dergnat an *n* coming secondarily in position after *r* has passed to *N*.

XII CONSONANTAL DISSIMILATION

§ 196. The few instances of consonantal dissimilation which I have observed, follow the formulas known from Torr (§ 508).

I Consonants with increasing tension belonging to stressed syllables dissimilate consonants belonging to unstressed syllables.

$$l : l > l : r$$

Ladər 'spoonful': Engl. ladle.

III In stressed syllables non-combinated consonants with increasing tension dissimilate consonants with decreasing tension.

$$k : ɲ > k : N$$

ku:⁹N 'narrow': O-Ir. cumung.

V. Of two intervocalic consonants the first is dissimilated.

$$r : r > l : r$$

b'ilar 'watercress': Wi. biror.

§ 196^a. In Torr and Glenties the development *-að > -ag > -uw* does not generally take place when the syllable is preceded by a *-w*. In our dialect, however, the development has taken place, but the final *-v* has been dissimilated by the first, intervocalic, *v*. One would expect the first *v* to be dissimilated except when the word occurred finally before a pause. The latter development, supported by forms where no second *v* was found, has been generalized. Ex. *marvu* 'to kill': O-Ir. marbad; *L'è:v'u* 'to read': O-Ir. légain (cf. § 176).

§ 197. In *m^wiL'èLL'tə*, besides *m^wiN'èL'tə* 'sleeve': M-Ir. mainchille, cf. the forms from Torr and Glenties (§ 187), there has evidently been a double influence, a dissimilating one from the preceding *m* and an assimilating one from the following *L'*. Otherwise one would expect **m^wil'èL'tə*.

XIII DIFFERENTIATION. SEGMENTATION WITH SUBSEQUENT DIFFERENTIATION

Differentiation of consonants in contact.

$$mch > mp$$

§ 197^a. The spirant has been differentiated in *mpər* 'to carry': Wi. imm-chor as in Torr and Glenties. The *p* is due to the assimilating influence of the preceding *m*.

Differentiation of vocalic elements.

 $i > \bar{i}$

§ 198. In Torr and Glenties there is a strong tendency to differentiate a stressed i to \bar{i} between palatal consonants. This tendency seems to have been less pronounced in our dialect. i is usually found in this position, but \bar{i} occurs in: $\bar{i}m'əL$ 'bank, border': Wi. imbel; $m'i\bar{i}$ 'honey': O-Ir. mil; $\bar{i}m'ig'i\bar{i}l'iv'$ 'go away with you', but $\bar{i}m'at$ 'to go away': O-Ir. imthecht. $m^w iN'èL'tə$, $m^w iL'èL'tə$ 'sleeve': M-Ir. mainchille has a curious vowel. Is it due to a differentiation of i with influence from the word for 'neck' (T. $m^w in'al$, gen. and pl. $m^w in'al'$)? The latter may in our dialect have had an e-sound, at least in the genitive and in the plural, cf. $po:ner'$, $kəner'$ $v^w ir'ə$, but on the other hand $fLiN'an'$.

Diphthongs.

§ 199. Differentiation in diphthongs are common in Torr and Glenties, especially in those arising from overlong vowels. Cases from our dialect are: $m'è(:)əLtəg$ 'midge': O-Ir. mīl (< $m'i(:)əLtəg$; Gl. $m'iaLtəgy$, T. $m'ie:əLtəg$); $m'i(:)al$ 'louse': O-Ir. mīl (T. $m'ia\bar{a}l$, Gl. $m'ia\bar{a}l$); $riaLt$ 'star': Wi. rétla (Gl. $reəLt$, T. $re:əLt$, $re:LT$, $re:LT$). — Other cases are $b'aiç$ 'bees': Meyer bech, pl. beich with an a bordering on an a -sound; $raihaN$ 'ram': Wi. rethe.

 $ə$ before palatal consonants.

§ 200. In Torr $ə$ interchanges with U (for the development of this U see Torr, § 51) representing O-Ir. M-Ir. back vowels between a guttural and a palatal consonant. This $ə$ is probably due to a differentiation of a front vowel (i , e , etc.) or of a mixed vowel by the following palatal consonant. In our dialect the differentiation is found also in other conditions (I have no examples after gutturals). Ex. $bə\bar{a}$ 'town': Wi. baile (T. $ba\bar{a}$, Gl. $b^w ə\bar{a}$); $mə\bar{a}$ 'stick': Wi. maite (T. $ma\bar{a}$, Gl. $m^w ə\bar{a}$); $ə\bar{d}uv$ 'to instruct, to teach': cf. Wi. aite, Gl. $ed\bar{a}$ 'instructor', T. $id'axəs$ 'education').

Differentiation of consonants which are in danger of being assimilated to vowels.

§ 201. The weak (lenated) consonants are constantly exposed to reductions and weak spirants have been assimilated to vowels in great numbers. By reaction they are sometimes strengthened through differentiation, especially when the sound in danger of being assimilated is of importance to grammar.

Palatal $th > ç$

§ 202. As in Torr and Glenties an h representing O-Ir. M-Ir. palatal th is differentiated to $ç$.

Ex. $ā:çə$ 'kiln': Meyer áthe; $l'e:çə$ 'with her': léithe, O-Ir. lee etc.; $maiç$ 'good': O-Ir. maith; $ra:çə$ 'quarter of a year; season': Wi. ráthe; $sNa:çə$ 'thread': O-Ir. snáthe; $su:çə$ 'soot': M-Ir. súthe.

Final $-g > -v$

§ 203. As in Torr and Glenties a final $-g$ representing O-Ir. M-Ir. non-palatal dh has developed into v (T. and Gl. w) by differentiative reaction. The preceding unstressed vowel is assimilated to the new v and becomes u . The g had generally grammatical importance marking the nominative of certain, especially verbal, nouns and the genitive of dental stems. Ex. $bə\bar{lu}v$ 'smell': Wi. bolad; $bua\bar{lu}v$ 'to beat': Wi. búalad; $ma\bar{du}v$ 'dog': madadh, Atk. madrad; $L'i:nuv$ 'to fill': Wi. linad; $fa\bar{ru}v$ 'hen-roost': Wi. forud; $də:uv$ 'to burn': M-Ir. dóud; $d'èr'uv$ 'end': Wi. dered; $mo:nuv$ gen. of $mo:n'$ 'turf': O-Ir. móin, SM. VI gen. mónad.

In two cases this differentiation has not taken place, the g disappearing, as in western and southern dialects. The forms must have penetrated from these dialects: $mo:nə$ gen. besides $mo:nuv$, cf. above; $ə\bar{s}Nə$ 'sigh': O-Ir. osnad — the latter is found also in Torr and Glenties.

§ 204. Another $g <$ non. palatal δ has developed into v in $\bar{ə}mquvə$ 'lost': Wi. immada (Gl. T. $\bar{ə}m\bar{ə}wə$).

 $-j- > v'$

§ 205. An intervocalic $j <$ palatal $-gh-$ has in a similar way been differentiated into v' in $tra:v'ə$ in $g'in'uv Na tra:v'ə$ 'sand (of the strand)':

Wi. tráig, tráig (T. *træ:jə*, *træ:i*). It is interesting to note that the development $g > v$, $j > v$ seems to have been rather common in Leinster according to the forms of certain place-names to which O'Rahilly has directed our attention (*loc. cit.* p. 185). The development must be an old one since an instance is found in a marginal note dated 1350 in H 2. 15 a p. 36 :guibed = guidhedh (O'Rahilly, *ib.*). Some words having this development are found in many places and especially one word seems to have penetrated into most parts of Ireland: T. (Gl.) *i'f'*?, gen. *iv'a*, Aran (Finck) *ov*, Cork and West Kerry (Sommerfelt, *Vowels*) *qv* (but pl. *i*; similar forms are also found on Blasket, according to Marstrander): O-Ir. og, cf. also Ó'Searcaigh, § 173.

$\chi > h > v$

§ 206. A differentiation of an χ , developing into h , to v is found in futures going back to M-Ir. -éocha and corresponding to Torr and Glenties -*axə*, -*axi*, e. g. *k'aNavə* (-*v^wi*) *fə* 'he will buy', etc. cf. the author, *Mélanges Loth*, p. 425—28.

$-j > g'$

§ 207. As in Torr and Glenties intervocalic palatal -gh- of the g-verbs in the ipv. pl. 2 has been differentiated to g' and has spread as ending of the ipv. pl. 2 (cf. the author, *Ériu* IX, p. 68—70): *x:lig'i* 'drink': cf. O-Ir. *ól*; *b'ig'i* 'be': cf. O-Ir. *biid*.

$g > r$

§ 208. The g in Meyer adastar $> a:rstər$ 'halter' seems to have been differentiated into r before it disappeared completely, if the a in this case does not originate from anticipation of the last one. It is interesting to note that another guttural spirant, χ , tends to pass to r in the group χt , by differentiative reaction against an assimilation, in Tory Island, Clochaneely and Tyrone (cf. Ó'Searcaigh, § 270).

$\eta' < N'$

§ 209. η' tends to pass to N' as in Glenties and Torr. The development may be due to a (subconscious) desire of bringing the palatal character of the η' into special prominence in order to oppose it

to η . That would lead to a displacement of the articulation towards the front. Ex. *ə'χuN'i* 'who desires': Wi. cuingim; *ta:rN'a* 'nail': Wi. tairnge; *far'jiN'* 'plentiful': O-Ir. fairsing; *hgrL'iN'* 'descended': Wi. tairlingim.

The N' in these examples as well as in most of those from Glenties (Quiggin, § 257) and from Torr (§ 137) might, however, also be due to dissimilation, or to the assimilative influence from consonants in contact with or in the neighbourhood of the old η' .

$n' > N'$

§ 210. A differentiative strengthening of n' to N' is common among the young people in Glenties and in Torr. An example from our dialect is *b'e:LtiN'a* 'May': Wi. beltine.

Development of nasals out of nasalized consonants and vowels.

§ 211. As in Torr and Glenties the old nasal spirant mh has sometimes been reclosed. Ex. *d'arəməd* 'to forget': O-Ir. dermat; *d'im'əs* 'big shears': O-Ir. demess.

§ 212. Two words with strongly nasalized vowels show a very curious development, the nasalization having determined a secretion of a nasal consonant: *ā:n* 'ford', gen. *ā:nə*: O-Ir. áth; *ō:NLi* 'thus': Wi. amlaid. In the first case the n may originate from the genitive where it was produced to distinguish the latter from the nominative (in Torr both are *ā*-, *ē*-), and from there have been extended to the nominative.

Segmentation of -sr-

§ 213. The group -sr- has by segmentation and differentiation developed into *st'r* in *fəst'r'a^h* 'plough': Wi. sessrech (cf. Millardet, *Études de dialectologie landaise*, p. 87—88). A similar instance is known from Torr (§ 514).

XIV SEGMENTATION OF VOWELS

§ 214. Overlong vowels have developed into diphthongs by segmentation, cf. § 154. Similarly vowels have been segmented into diphthongs through the anticipation of the palatal or velar element of the following consonant, cf. § 156.

$\bar{u} > uv$

§ 215. As in Glenties and Torr an \bar{u} at the end of monosyllables has split up into $-uv$. Ex. *k'l'uv* 'fame': O-Ir. *clú*; *tuv* 'thou, you': O-Ir. *tú*. As in Torr and Glenties this v is not unvoiced before a pause. In *ɔ'Nūv* 'to-day' < **ɔ'Nū*: (cf. § 153 a), the segmentation must be older since the word has followed the development of O-Ir. *dub*, etc.

XV PALATALIZATION OF h

§ 216. As often in Glenties and Torr an h representing O-Ir. M-Ir. non-palatal *th* has been palatalized before an i . The palatal element has determined the development of a diphthong before the h in *kaihi* 'temptation': cf. Wi. *cathaigim*.

XVI METATHESIS

§ 217. There are instances of the forms of metathesis known from Torr and Glenties.

$tš > ft'$

pa:ft'ə 'child': Engl. *page*.

$tl > Lt$

riaLt 'star': Wi. *réla*.

$rf > fr$

f'iafri 'to ask': O-Ir. *iartaigid*.

§ 218. In *koner' v'wir'ə* 'rosary': *coróin Mhuire* the same reciprocal metathesis of consonants separated by vowels has taken place as in Torr (cf. Torr § 526 and the explanation there).

§ 219. A single consonant has been displaced in *trasNə* 'across': O-Ir. *tarsna*.

XVII GLIDES

§ 220. Palatal glides are common before a palatal consonant which follows a back vowel. I write it i , e. g. *sNa'čə* 'thread': O-Ir. *snáthe*; *a:l'* 'pleasure': Wi. *áil*; *krua'čə* gen. of *kru:əχ* 'stack': SM. VI *cruach*; *mu'l'əN* 'mill': O-Ir. *muilenn*. — Labial glides are usual after velarized labials before front vowels, cf. §§ 35 a, 37, 47, 55, 56, 58.

XVIII PHONETIC FLUCTUATIONS

§ 221. As in Torr there are phonetic fluctuations of a historical character, fluctuations in developments of sounds, and also fluctuations in the present, in the language of the speaker who was examined. Many of the historical fluctuations are probably due to influence from other dialects. Some of these fluctuations have already been mentioned above.

Historical fluctuations.

§ 222. Irish vowels depend to a great extent upon the surrounding consonants. They are unstable.

$ɔ : a$

§ 223. Old-Irish o was a very open vowel. o and a are therefore constantly confused in Irish and thus also in our dialect.

$ɔ$ for a . Ex. *ɔ'NəL* 'hither, to this side': O-Ir. *anall* (T. *ɔ'NaL*, Gl. *ɔ'NaL* and also *ɔ'NəL* with the younger people); *gə* 'where': cá (T. *kə*, Gl. *ka*, *k'a*).

a for $ɔ$. Ex. *faruv* 'hen-roost': Wi. *forud* (Gl. *faruv*, T. *aruv*); *kahuv Na L'əpə* 'bedstock': Wi. *colba* (T. *kəlw(ə)*, Gl. *kəlwə*); *Na kari* 'do not move': cf. Meyer *corrach* (T. *kəruw*); *kraihə* gen. 'cross': O-Ir. *croch* (T. *kraič*); *ta:rN'a'* 'thunder': Wi. *tornech* (T. Gl. *ta:rN'əχ*); *taməg* 'bush, tuft': cf. Atk. *tomm* (T. *təm* 'bush'). — *tə:uv* 'to choose' (< **tə:uv*): O-Ir. *togu* represents a **tagu* (cf. T. *ta:uw*, *te:uw*, *tə:uw* and a similar form in Gl.); *χaL' fē* 'he lost': Wi. *coillim*.

$a : i$

§ 224. a is found where one expects i in *t'aNtaft'ə* 'turned': cf. O-Ir. *tintuúth* (T. *t'iNta(:)*).

$ə > ɔ$

§ 225. *əmpər* 'to carry': Wi. *imm-chor* (T. Gl. *əmpər*).

$o : ɔ$

§ 226. As in Torr and Glenties $ɔ$ is sometimes found where one would expect o ; e. g. *kə:r'* 'present': Wi. *comair*.

$i, ɔ : u$

§ 227. For *f'l'u'* 'wet': O-Ir. *fluich* (T. *f'l'əχ*) see Quiggin § 43.

κ: : *y*:, *i*:

§ 228. The fluctuation between *κ*: and *y*:, *i*: has given rise to *κ*: instead of *i*: in *κ*:çə 'night': Wi aidche oidche.

Consonants.

§ 229. *n* is found where one would expect *N* in *kκ:nā^h* 'moss': Meyer cáennach as in Torr and Glenties.

§ 230. *-uv* is found for *-iv'*, *av'* in the forms *trasNə Na ba:r'kəNuv* 'across the fields': Engl. park and *èr' bul'uv* 'mad': buile (T. *èr' b'uil'ə*, *bU'lə*), if these forms respresent old dative plurals in *-(a)ibh*. In Torr where the old dative occurs only in a few fixed expressions like *arəv* 'men!', there is one form with *-uw*: *Na f'iaNuw* 'the Fenians'.

Fluctuations in the language of the speaker.

§ 231. The palatal gutturals *k'*, *g'* are pronounced more to the front than in Torr and Glenties, probably that they may be well distinguished from the velarized gutturals. This has lead to a confusion of palatal gutturals and dentals. Most of the forms have a guttural instead of a dental, but the opposite development is also represented.

g' for *d'*: *g'érNəd* 'flea': Wi. dergnat; *g'i:v'in* 'idle': Wi. dímain; *g'r'ér* Wi. déibráthir; *g'r'ut* 'dew': O-Ir. drucht; *t'id' fí* 'she comes': O-Ir. tic.

k for *t'*: *k're:g'uv* 'to deceive': Wi. trécin.

t' for *k'*: *t'i:* '(female) breast': Wi. cích; *f'iLin'* 'shilling': O-E. scilling or O-N. skillingr; *t'aNavə m'è* (*k'aNavə*) 'I shall buy': Wi. cennaigim.

The frequency of *k'* before *r'* may be due to a differentiative tendency and that of *q'*, *t'* in contact with *f* to an assimilative one.

XIX THE SYLLABLE

§ 232. I had no opportunity of determining syllable divisions, but in all the cases I have observed the syllabic rules were the same as in Torr. The strong liquids and nasals (*L*, *L'*, *N*, *N'*) are geminated in intervocalic position.

An interesting testimony of the former geminated character of the *f* is found in *da:fəl'* 'nice': cf. dáimh, Wi. dām. As all the strong consonants were geminated between vowels and the weak ones were

not, the *-v'v'* has passed automatically to *f'*, the corresponding geminated consonant.

§ 233. The final consonant of a proclitic word has been displaced to the initial of the following word in *dr̥:tā:n* Drochet Átha (Drogheda).

XX THE SENTENCE

§ 234. The rules of sentence-stress and sandhi are of the same character as in Torr (and Glenties). Some instances of sentence-stress will be seen in the text. Examples of sandhi are the following (cf. Torr § 556 sqq). Palatalization: *də:L' f'è* 'he drank'; *vuaL' f'è* 'he beat' — Depalatalization (with occasional vowel changes): *gə v'v'iL Na bəiç?* 'where are the bees?'; *t'eg'i èr t'r'iaL* 'go off on your journey'; *fuər fí* 'she got'; *zər fè* 'he put'. But with a moments pause between the words: *bra:L'in' No(:) k'ifan*, p. 170. — Change in quantity: *N'i:L' f'è* 'he is not'; *gə v'v'iL Na b'əiç?* 'where are the bees?'; *hən'ik əN sigərt* 'the priest came'; *ə gləN tu m'ifə* 'do you hear me?'; *v'i: f'è g'iN'fə f'k'ε:L dūv* 'he told me a story'; *gaN ter'ivə* 'without utility'. Voiced stops changed into unvoiced (both unvoiced lenes and ordinary fortes were heard): *tiq' fí* 'she comes'; *gyt' f'è*, *gyq' f'è* 'he stole'; *f'ig' f'è*, *f'ik' f'è* 'he vomited'. *f'e:d'əN ən g'κ: əs gə ha:rd məs a:l' l'e:çə* 'the wind blows as strong as she likes'.

CONCLUSION

§ 235. As it will be seen from the preceding study the language exhibits the general features of Ulster Irish. The old quantitative system exists to the same extent as in Donegal and the vowel system is of a very similar character.

The language still maintains the old velarized bilabial *v* found in South-Ireland. Characteristic details in the developments of consonants are the weakening of the old *χ* and the confusion of palatal dental and guttural stops found in many words.

The vowel system does not comprise the vowels *æ* and *U* found in Donegal.

The dialect investigated is important in showing that the language of the eastern border of Ulster and Leinster, a district now anglicized, was in the main that of Ulster.

TEXT

f'ar a v'i: aN agas v'i: k'isan b'aiç eg'a, agas m'i: Na f'q'la:N' d'i:r'i
Na b'aiç èr' hi:buv ma^h suas aNsàN sp'è:r' agas ma^h a·NqN l'v'fà
trasNà Na ba:r'kàNuv f'i:s an g'l'aN agas a'ma^h suas an kr'k èl'a
agas trasNà Na hō:N'a agas a'ma^h a·NqN èr' hā:v' aN' t'l'è:v'a l'v'fà,
agas an f'ar b'at kly:t'a da Lanav'iN't'. ha:rLi gə tra:vəl' hōrLiN'
fiad èr' haməg' a v'i: eg'a dōras aN tigərt' agas hən'ik' an f'ar a Na
N'è:i agas vuaL' f'è stīL't' varəb èr' gōras aN tigərt' agas hən'ik' aN
sīgərt a'ma^h agas xər f'è k'èst èr' a N'ar gə d'e: vi(:) ji: èr'. durt' an
f'ar, fə mə xud' b'aiç aN'fə èr' a tam agas ta bra:L'in' No(:) k'isan
a ji: oram gə darə m'è iad avol'a l'om. im'i l'at avol'a a·han'ji:astrə gan
fō:nuv gāN ter'iv'a, t'i v'ol'a. hən'ik' f'è v'ol'a heg' an v'an agas xər f'i
k'èst èr', gə v'v'iL Na b'aiç? durt' f'è gə d'ahi fiad a·NqN sà ·NqL
trasNà Na hō:N'a agas fa j'èr'uv hōrLiN' fiad eg'a dōras a tigərt'.
gə d'e: durt' aN sīgərt l'at, v'rsə n v'an. durt' f'è l'om, im'i l'at avol'a
·han'ji:astrə 'gra:Nà, Na b'i kər kəri oram. fan, fan, v'rsə n v'an, gə
rahə m'ifə a·NqN heg'a agas b'è(:) m'ifə kaN't l'èf. fuər f'i sanxada^h
agas xər f'i(:) èr' a fLiN'an' è agas fuəi f'i a·NqN heg'a t'ax aN tīgərt'
agas skə:r't f'i èr' aN tīgərt. durt' f'i, hən'ik' m'è fo mə xud' b'aiç?
t'i v'ol'a l'at a hanxal'a^h gra:Nà, hu hən' agas də xud' b'aiç Na
b'i də mə v'v'v'ruv. im'i l'at. a glōN tu m'ifə a hīgərt' a xūN'i an
v'v'v' agas Na L'igəN an xyr də də xər'. La: Na kraihə èr' a t'l'v'uv
b'è(:)i Na b'ai l'at hixər èr də hō:in.

TRANSCRIPTION

Fear a bhí ann agus bhí ciseán beich aige agus mí na féile Eoin d'éirigh na beich air shíobadh amach suas ins an spéir agus amach suas an cnoc eile agus trasna na h-abhainne agus amach anonn air thaoibh an t-sléibhe leobhtha agus an fear bocht claidhte 'ghá leana-mhaint. Tharla go tráthamhail, thuirling siad air thomóg a bhí aige dorus an t-sagairt agus tháinig an fear i n-a n-deaghaidh agus bhuail sé stoillt bhorb air dhoras an t-sagairt agus tháinig an sagart amach agus chuir sé ceist air an fhear goidé bhí a dhíth air. Adubhairt an fear: seo mo chuid beich annseo air an t-am agus tá braitlin no

ciseán a dhíth orm go d-tabhraidh mé iad a bhaile liom. Imthigh leat a bhaile, a shean-ghíostra gan foghnamh gan tairbhe, téidh a bhaile. Tháinig sé a bhaile chuig an bhean agus chuir sí ceist air: cá bh-fuil na beich? Adubhairt sé go deachaidh siad anonn agus anall trasna na h-abhainne agus fa dheireadh thuirling siad aige dorus an t-sagairt. Goidé adubhairt an sagart leat, arsa an bhean. Adubhairt sé liom: imthigh leat a bhaile, a sheanghíostra gránna na bí aig cur corraighe orm. Fan, fan, arsa an bhean, go rachaidh mise anonn chuige agus béidh mise aig cainnt leis. Fuair sí seanchadach agus thug sí air a slinneáin é agus chuaigh sí anonn chuige teach an t-sagairt agus scairt sí air an t-sagart. Adubhairt sí: tháinig me fo mo chuid beich. Téidh a bhaile leat, a sheanchailleach gránna, thú fhéin agus do chuid beich. Na bí 'gham bhuadhradh. Imthigh leat! A g-cluin tú mise, a shagairt a chuingi an mhil agus nach leigeann an choir do do chomhair. Lá na croiche air an t-sliabh béidh na beich leat thiar air do thóin.

VOCABULARY

The vocabulary is arranged alphabetically according to the orthography used by Dinneen in his *Foclóir Gaedhilge agus Béarla* (second edition, Dublin 1927). It serves also as an index of the examples quoted in the phonology — the numbers found at the end of the different articles refer to the pages where the words are treated.

a. a 'Oh': O-Ir. a. — 141.

a. a relative particle: cf. Pedersen, *Vgl. Gramm.* II 227. — 141.

a. a with aspiration 'his'; with provection of *h* before vowels 'her':

O-Ir. a. — 141.

abha. *Na hō:N'a* gen. 'of the river': Wi. abann. — 152, 153.

adhastar. *a:rstar* 'halter': Meyer adastar. — 117, 123, 164.

adubhairt. *durt'* 'said': M-Ir. adubairt. — 122, 123, 135, 153.

ag. *eg'a* 'at, with him', *ogyN'* 'with us': O-Ir. oc, oca, ocunn, M-Ir. aice, acaind. — 147, 149.

agus. *agas* 'and': O-Ir. ocus. — 142, 143.

aibreán see mí.

áil. *a:l'* 'pleasure, desire': Wi. áil. — 133, 166.

aimsear. *em'fir'* 'time': O-Ir. amser. — 125, 130, 135, 146.

- aire. seachaint. *èr'a* 'care'; *tir' èr'a v'id* 'mind yourself'; *as èr'a hahaNtò è* 'he is a person to avoid': O-Ir. aire; Wi. sechnaim. — 135, 140, 146.
- ais. *èr' ef* 'back': Wi. ais. — 130, 146.
- ait. *a:t* 'place': Wi. ait. — 118, 123.
- áith. *ā:çə* 'kiln': Meyer áith. — 114, 118, 152, 163.
- am. *am* 'time': Wi. am, amm. — 118, 125.
- amach. (*ə*)*ma^h* 'out': O-Ir. immach. — 118, 125, 154.
- amaideacht. *am'id'at* 'foolishness'. — 160.
- amárach. *əma:ra^h* 'to-morrow': Wi. imbárach. — 118, 139, 141, 154.
- amhlaidh. *ə:NLi* 'thus': Wi. amlaid, cf. O-Ir. samlaid. — 152, 153, 157, 165.
- amhras. *āuras* 'doubt', *gan āuras* 'without doubt': O-Ir. amiress. — 140, 141, 151, 152.
- amudha. *əmqvə* 'lost': Wi. immada. — 114, 163.
- an. *ən* (*əN*, *əN'*) the article, gsf. and pl. *Na*, *Nə*: O-Ir. ind. — 141, 142.
- anall. *əNəL* 'hither, to this side': O-Ir. anall. — 125, 141, 143, 167.
- ann. *əN* 'in it; there': O-Ir. and.
- anonn. *əNəN* 'thither; to that side': O-Ir. innonn. — 115.
- annso. *əN'fə* 'here': Wi. andso.
- aobh. *ə:v* 'appearance': *N'i:L' fē f'wi ə:v ə ga:r'a* 'he is not inclined to laugh': O-I. óiph. 147.
- aosta. *ə:stə* 'aged, old': Meyer áesta.
- ar, air, orm. *èr'* prep. 'on; on him'; *əram* 'on me': O-Ir. air, airi, fair, form. — 147, 158.
- arbhar. *arəvər* 'corn': O-Ir. arbor, arbur. — 118, 127, 134, 159.
- árd. *a:rd* 'high; tall': O-Ir. ard. — 122, 134, 143.
- arsa. *ərsə* 'said; inquit': Wi. ar. — 141.
- áth. *ā:n* 'ford', gen. *ā:nə*: O-Ir. áth. — 118, 152, 165.
- athruighthe. *ə:ri:tə* 'changed': Meyer athraigim.
- baic. *baik* 'a hob'; *pəL Na baikə* 'the hollow of the hob': cf. Meyer bacc. — 118.
- baile. *bə'l'a* 'town'; *əvə'l'a* 'homewards': Wi. baile. — 121, 133, 162.
- bainne. bláthach. *baN'a* 'milk'; *baN'a bla:ijə* 'buttermilk': O-Ir. bainne; Wi. bláthach. — 118, 126, 130, 151.

- bainríoghain. *ba:rin'* 'queen'. — 140, 156, 158.
- ball. *èr'ba:L* 'by and by; on the spot': Meyer ball. — 121, 132, 144.
- bán. *ba:n* 'white': O-Ir. baan, bán. — 118, 126.
- baramhail. *barul'* 'opinion'; *fin' mə varul' f'è:n'* 'that is my own opinion': Meyer baramail. — 118, 140, 154.
- báthadh. *bahuv* 'to drown'; fut. *ba:f'i m'è è* 'I shall drown him (it)'; pass. fut. *ba:f'ər è* 'he will be drowned': Wi. báidim. — 129, 136, 144.
- beach. *b'əiç* 'bees': Meyer bech, pl. beich. — 131, 138, 162.
- beag. *b'ig* 'small': O-Ir. bec. — 123, 148.
- béal. obair. *b'è:l*, *b'è:əl* 'mouth'; *klə^h ə m'è:l ib'r'a* 'obstacle (litt. a stone in the mouth of work)': O-Ir. bél; opair. — 113, 122, 132, 146, 150.
- bealtaine. *b'è:LtiV'a* 'May': Wi. beltine. — 123, 132, 139, 144, 148, 165.
- bean. *b'an* 'woman', gen. and pl. *mra:*: O-Ir. ben. — 112, 119, 138, 152, 153.
- beannacht. *b'aNat* 'blessing'; *b'aNat l'at* 'a blessing with you': O-Ir. bendacht. — 119, 123, 160.
- beathaidheach. *b'è:a^h* 'beast': Meyer bethadach. — 151, 154.
- beirim. *b'èr'a m'è* 'I shall take, bring, etc.': O-Ir. berim. — 111, 122, 136.
- binn. *b'iN'* 'melodious': O-Ir. bind. — 109, 122, 126.
- biolar. *b'ilər* 'watercress': Wi. biror. — 113, 122, 161.
- biorán. *b'iran* 'pin': cf. Wi. bir. — 113, 126, 134, 139.
- bláthach see bainne.
- bleaghan, bleoghan. *b'l'igən* 'to milk': Wi. bligim, blegon. — 122, 126, 133, 148.
- bliadhain see mí.
- bó. *bo:* 'cow', pl. *ba^h*: O-Ir. bó. — 116, 127, 137, 138.
- bocht. *bət* 'poor': O-Ir. bocht. — 117, 121, 160.
- bochtaineacht. *bətin'at* 'poverty': cf. Meyer bochtaine. — 117, 123, 126, 160.
- bodach dubh. *bəda^h duv* 'a kind of codfish': cf. Meyer bot; O-Ir. dub. — 115, 154.
- bog. *bəg* 'soft': O-Ir. boc; *bəga^h* 'soft egg': cf. bog. — 115.
- boladh. *bəluw* 'smell', *bəluw də:fə* 'a burnt smell': Wi. bolad. — 115, 132, 163.
- borb. *barəb* 'sharp; rough': Wi. borb. — 121, 158.

- bos, bas. *bos* 'palm of the hand': Wi. bass, boss. — 115, 129.
 bóthar. *bɔ:r* 'road': Meyer bóthar. — 118, 134, 154.
 braitlín. *bra:L'in* 'sheet': cf. O-Ir. brat. — 121, 144, 159.
 braon. *brɔ:n* 'drop'. O-Ir. bróen. — 116, 126.
 brat see braitlín.
 breac. *b'rak* 'speckled': O-Ir. brecc. — 112, 119, 122, 124, 135.
 brionglóid. *bralad'i* 'dreaming' in *v'i(:) fē bralad'i*: cf. Meyer brinnglóid.
 Contaminated with English dialectal *brangle?*; *bralogi* 'dreams'.
 bród. *brɔ:d* 'pride': Meyer bród.
 bróg. *brɔ:g* 'boot': Meyer bróc. — 118, 120.
 brón. *bro:n* 'sorrow': O-Ir. brón. — 116, 126, 134.
 brúghadh. *bru:v* 'to mash': Wi. brúim. — 116, 150.
 buachaill. *bo:xiL'* 'young, unmarried man': O-Ir. bóchaill, búachaill. — 131, 133, 149.
 buaidhreadh. *bʷɛ:rɯv* 'to trouble': Wi. buadraim. — 113, 121, 134, 156.
 bualaim. *bualuv* 'to beat'; fut. *bua'l'i fē*; pret. *vuaL' fē*: Wi. búalaim. — 120, 121, 132, 134, 163.
 buile. *ir' bul'uv* 'mad'. — 115, 168.
 cá. *gɔ* (*ga*) 'where': Meyer cá. — 142, 167.
 cad é. *gɔd'e*: 'what': O-Ir. cote, cate (? cf. Pedersen, *Vgl. Gramm.* II, 202). — 142.
 cailleach see seanchailleach.
 caillim. *ɣaL' m'è* 'I lost': Wi. coillim. — 167.
 cainnt. *kaN't* 'to speak': Meyer caint. — 118, 123, 126.
kaNa^h 'dust': cf. O'R. cannach, Meyer canach(?).
 caoch. *kɔ:χ* 'one-eyed': O-Ir. cáech. — 116.
 caol. *kɔ:l* 'narrow': O-Ir. cóil. — 116.
 caonach. *ka:na^h* 'moss': Meyer cáennach. — 116, 155, 168.
 caora. *kɔ:rɔ* 'sheep', pl. *kɔ:r'i*, gen. pl. *kɔ:ra^h*: O-Ir. cáera. — 116, 155.
 caorthann. *kɔ:ɣa^hN* 'rowan-tree': Wi. caerthann. — 116, 125, 135.
 carn see carnán.
 carnán. *ka:rNan* 'heap': cf. Wi. carn. — 124, 134, 143.
 cathughadh. *kaihi* 'temptation': Wi. cathaigim. — 124, 151, 166.
 céacht. *kɛ:tə* 'plough': O-Ir. cécht. — 137, 160.

- céad. *céadta. kɛ:tə* 'hundreds': O-Ir. cét. — 124, 130, 145.
 cead. *kɛd* 'permission': O-Ir. cet. — 111, 124.
 céad. (*ə*)*çɛd* 'the first'; *ə çɛd ar* 'the first man': O-Ir. cét. — 124.
 ceaduighim. *kɛdi* ipv. sg. 2 'permit': Atk. cetaigim. — 111, 122.
 cealgaim. *kaləguv* 'to nurse': cf. Wi. celg. — 119, 124, 158.
 ceangal. *kɛ(:)al* 'to bind, to tie': Wi. cengal. — 157.
 ceann. *kɛN* 'head': O-Ir. cenn. — 111, 125, 130.
 ceannaireacht. *kaNər'at* 'leading': cf. Meyer cennaire. — 119, 139, 148, 160.
 ceannuighim. *kaNava m'è, taNava m'è* 'I shall buy', *kaNiftə* 'bought':
 Wi. cennaigim, cendaigim. — 119.
 cearc. *kark* 'hen': SM. VI cerc. — 119, 134.
 ceathair. *clog. tɛ:r ə ɣlɔg* 'four o'clock': O-Ir. cethir. Wi. cloc. — 115, 145.
 ceathrar. *kaɣər* 'four men': O-Ir. cethrar. — 119, 135.
 céile. *kɛ:l'a* 'companion': O-Ir. céle. — 124.
 ceist. *kɛst* 'question': O-Ir. ceist. — 111, 123, 130.
 céo see ceobhrán.
 ceobhrán. *kɔ:ran* 'foggy rain': cf. O-Ir. céo. — 124, 140, 150, 153.
 ciall. *kiaL* 'sense': O-Ir. ciall. — 119, 124, 132.
 cíoch. *tɪ:* '(female) breast': Wi. cích. — 155, 168.
 cíós. *kɪ:s, tɪ:s* 'rent': O-Ir. cis.
 ciseán. *kɪʃan* 'basket': cf. SM. VI ces, Meyer cess, ciss. — 130.
 ciuin. *k'u:n'* 'calm': Atk. ciuin. — 116, 124.
 claidhim. *kly:tə* 'defeated; exhausted': Wi. clóim. — 110, 132.
 cleas. *k'l'es* 'trick': Wi. cless. — 111, 124, 133.
 cloch. *klɔχ, klɔ^h* 'stone', gen. *klɔiçə*, pl. *klɔχə*: Wi. cloch. — 117, 124, 131, 132, 151, 155.
 clú. *k'l'uv* 'fame': O-Ir. clú. — 136, 166.
 cluinim. *ə glɔN tu m'iʃə* 'do you hear me?': Wi. cluinim; O-Ir. ro-cluiniur. — 114.
 cnámh, cnáimh. *krã:v* 'bone': O-Ir. cnáim. — 128, 152, 153.
 cnoc. *krɔk* 'hill', gen. *krɔk'*: O-Ir. cnocc. — 118, 124, 134, 146, 152, 153.
 codladh. *kɔLuv* 'to sleep': O-Ir. cotlud. — 159.
 coinfeascar. *kɔniskər*, f. 'evening', *kɔniskər vãiç* 'good evening': cf. Wi. fescor. — 139.

- coir. *kyr'* 'sin': Atk. cair. — 110, 138, 140.
 coirce. *kor'kə* 'oats'; Meyer coirce. — 118, 124, 135.
 coirnéal. *kərN'al* 'corner': Engl. corner. — 144, 148.
 colbha, colbhh. leaba. *kaluv Na L'apə* 'bedstock': Wi. colba, lepad, lebaid. — 141, 159, 160, 167.
 comhair. *kər'* 'presence': Wi. comair. — 124, 153, 167.
 (do-)chonnaic. *hən'ik' m'è* 'I saw': O-Ir. sg. 3 adchon-daire (> M-Ir. adchonnaic). — 124, 143.
 connlach. *kəNLax, kəNlax* 'stubble': Meyer connlach. — 115, 125, 132, 155.
 connradh. *kənrux* 'good bargain': Atk. cundrad. — 114, 135, 160.
 coróin Mhuire. *kəner' v'ir'ə* 'rosary': Wi. Atk. coróin. — 127, 146, 147, 166.
 corruighe. *kəri* 'wrath'. — 117.
 corruighim. *Na kari* 'do not move': cf. Meyer corrach. — 134.
 crann. *kraN* 'tree': O-Ir. crann. — 118, 124.
 craos. *kra:s* 'gullet': O-Ir. cróis. — 116.
 créafóg. *k'r'efog* 'clay': Meyer crefóg. — 128.
 críoch. *k'r'i:əx, k'r'i:əx* 'end': O-Ir. crích. — 124, 131, 135, 143, 150.
 críochnuigim. *k'r'i:əxavə m'è* 'I shall finish it': Meyer críchnaigim. — 131.
 cró. *krə: Na sNa:ta* 'eye of a needle': Wi. cró (4), cf. Meyer cró (3). — 118.
 croch. *kraiha* gen. 'cross': O-Ir. croch. — 151, 155, 167.
 crothnuighim, crunthuighim. *xronə m'è* 'I missed him (it)'. — 126.
 cruach. *kru:əx* 'stack', gen. *krua'çə*; *kru:əx vð:muv* 'peatstack': SM.VI cruach. — 120, 131, 132, 166.
 cuach. *kuax* 'cuckoo': Wi. cúach (3). — 120, 172.
 cuan. *kuan* 'harbour': O-Ir. cúan.
 cuid. *kud'* 'portion, quantity': *fə mə xud' b'əiç əN'fə* 'here are my bees': Wi. cuit. — 115, 123.
 chuige. *həg'ə* 'to, towards'; *həg'ə* 'to, towards him, it': O-Ir. co, cuci. — 147.
 cuingim. *ə xun'i* 'who desires': Wi. cuindigim, cuingim; O-Ir. pres. sg. 3 condieig. — 115, 131, 165.
 cuirim. *kər'ə m'è* 'I shall put'; *xər fə* 'he put': Wi. cuirim; (O-Ir. pres. sg. 3 rel. cuirethar). — 114.

- cuisle. *kul'Lə* 'vein': Meyer cuisle. — 115.
 cúl. *ku:l* 'back': O-Ir. cúl. — 116.
 chum, chun. *ən (əN', əN)* 'towards': O-Ir. dochum. — 141, 142, 143.
 cumhang. *ku:əN* 'narrow': O-Ir. cumung. — 153, 161.
 daidhbhreas. *də:v'r'əs* 'poverty': Meyer daidbres. — 128, 135, 146, 157.
 dáimheamhail. *da:f'al* 'nice': cf. Wi. dáim. — 122, 139, 168.
 dait, duit, dam see do.
 dá ríribh. *ta: fə'ər' i:r'iv'* 'he is in earnest'.
 deaghaidh. *əNə N'è:i* 'after them': O-Ir. i ndegaid. — 150.
 dealg. *d'aləg* 'thorn', pl. *d'el'ig'*: Wi. delg. — 110, 119, 122, 123, 132, 133, 158.
 dearbhráthair. *g'r'ər* 'brother': Wi. derbráthir. — 130, 141, 145, 168.
 dearbhtha. *gə d'arəfə* 'certainly': Wi. derbaim. — 119, 159, 160.
 dearg. *d'arəg* 'red': O-Ir. derc. — 134, 158.
 deargnaid. *g'ərNəd* 'flea': Wi. dergnat. — 144, 148, 158, 160, 168.
 dearmad. *d'arəməd* 'to forget': O-Ir. dermet, dermat. — 119, 122, 125, 158, 165.
 deas. *d'es (d'ès)* 'nice': O-Ir. dess. — 111, 123, 146.
 deimheas. *d'im'əs* 'big shears': O-Ir. demess. — 165.
 deirbhshiúr. *d'ər'fər* 'sister': Atk. derb-shiúr. — 111, 122, 135, 140, 159, 160.
 dereadh. *d'ər'uv* in *fa jər'uv* 'at last': Wi. dered. — 111, 135, 163.
 deoch. *d'əh* 'drink': O-Ir. deug, deoch. — 117, 150, 154.
 dia. *d'i:ə* 'God': O-Ir. día. — 120.
 diallait, diallaid. *d'iaLəd* 'saddle': Meyer diallait. — 119, 123, 132, 139.
 diol. *d'i:al* 'to sell', fut. *d'i:ə m'è*: Wi. díl; Meyer díl, dílaim. — 123, 132, 133, 150.
 diomhaoin. *g'i:v'in* 'idle': Wi. dimain. — 126, 127, 140, 152, 168.
 díth. *d'i:* 'want'; *ta bra:L'in' No(:) k'isan ə ji: rəm* 'I want a sheet or a basket': O-Ir. díth. — 110, 154.
 do. *də* prep. 'to', *dūv* 'to me', *dýd'* 'to you': O-Ir. do, dom, dam, dait. — 110, 138, 143, 147, 152.
 do. *də* 'thy': O-Ir. do. — 141.
 do. *ə* before the infinitive: O-Ir. do. — 141.

do-bheirim. *gə darə m'è iad əvəl'ə l'əm* 'that I may take them home with me', subj.; ipv. *tír* § 110: O-Ir. do-beir.

dochar. *dəhər* 'misfortune; harm, loss': Wi. dochor. — 114, 117, 154.
dóghadh. *də:uv* 'to burn'; *bəluw də:tə* 'a burnt smell'; *də:m sə* 'I burn':

M-Ir. dóud (LU. 23 b 28). — 163.

doiligh. *dəl'i* 'difficult': Atk. doilig. — 133, 146, 157.

doras. *dorəs* 'door': O-Ir. dorus. — 114, 117.

dorcha. *dorəχə* 'dark': O-Ir. dorche. — 114, 117, 131, 134, 158.

dorn. *dərNə* 'first': Wi. dorn. — 122, 125, 137, 144.

driseóg, dreasóg. *d'r'isəg* 'brier': cf. O-Ir. driss. — 123, 135.

Drochet Átha (Hogan). *dre:tā:n* 'Drogheda'. — 141, 169.

droichead. *dre:ət, dre:t* 'bridge': Wi. drochet. — 134, 137, 146, 150, 155.

drong. *drəŋ* 'crowd': Wi. drong. — 115, 122, 127.

drúcht. *g'r'uit* 'dew': O-Ir. drucht. — 116, 123, 186, 187, 160, 168.

druim. *drim'* 'back': O-Ir. druimm. — 122, 125, 131, 140.

dubh see bodach.

duine. *dyn'ə* 'person': O-Ir. duine. — 110, 126, 146.

dul. *(ə)χəl'* 'to go': contamination of dul and gabháil; O-Ir. dul and gabáil.

eallach. *aLa^h* 'cattle': O-Ir. ellach. — 119, 132, 154.

earrach. *ara^h* 'spring': O-Ir. errach. — 119, 134, 154.

eile. *əl'ə* 'other': O-Ir. aile. — 133, 146.

éireog. *er'aguv* 'pullets': cf. O'Donn. Suppl. eirin.

éirghim. *d'ir'i fiad* 'they rose, alighted': Wi. érigim, érgim (O-Ir. as-reg-). — 147.

eochair. *əhər* 'key', gen. pl. *əN'əχa^h*; *χaL' m'ə ə N'əhər* 'I lost the key': Wi. eochair. — 144, 150, 155, 159.

Eóin see mí.

eorna. *ərNə* 'barley': Wi. eórna. 125, 134, 150.

fá, faoi. *fwi(:)* prep 'under': O-Ir. fo, foi. Cf. *fo*.

fairrge. *farəg'ə* 'sea': O-Ir. foirree, fairge. — 118, 124, 135, 158.

fairsing. *farš'iN'* 'plentiful': O-Ir. fairsing. — 118, 128, 130, 135, 165.

fanaim. *fan* ipv. 'wait': O-Ir. anaim. — 118, 136.

faobhar. *fə:vər* 'edge': O-Ir. faibur. — 116, 127.

faoistin. *f^wišid'ə* 'confession': O-Ir. fóisitiu, Atk. fúisitiu (fuisitiu). — 123, 128, 145.

fáraoir, fáraor, fáiríor. *fa:rar* 'alas': Wi. forir. — 149.

fathach, athach. *fa:^h mo:r* 'giant': Meyer athach. — 136, 154, 155.

feadálach. *v'i: sē f'adəli* 'he was whistling': cf. M-Ir. fetgaire (e. g. I. T. IV²); fetugud (I. T. S. VI).

féar. *f'ε:r* 'grass': Wi. fér. — 113, 134.

fear. *f'ar* 'man', pl. *f'ir'*: O-Ir. fer. — 112, 119, 128, 138.

fearg. *farəg* 'anger', gen. *f'ər'ig'ə*: O-Ir. ferc. ferg. — 119, 123, 134, 158.

feárr. *f'ε:r* 'better'; *əs f'ε:r l'əm* 'I prefer': O-Ir. ferr. — 144, 147.

fearthain. *f'ar'in'* 'rain': Wi. ferthain. — 126, 128, 135.

féil see mí.

féin. *f'è:n'* 'self': O-Ir. féin. — 111, 136.

feoil. *f'jə:l'* 'meat': O-Ir. feuil. — 133, 150.

feoirling. *f'jə:rL'in'* 'farthing': SM. VI feorling. — 127, 133, 150.

fiacail. *f'iakəl'* 'tooth': O-Ir. fiacail. — 124, 128, 139.

fiafruighe. *f'iafri* 'to ask': O-Ir. iarfaigid. — 119, 128, 136, 157, 166.

fillim see pillim.

fillim see tillim.

fionn. bán. *f'iN'van* 'fair': O-Ir. find; O-Ir. baan, bán.

fionnadh, fionnfadh. *f'iNuv* 'hair of an animal': Wi. findfad. — 113, 158.

fíor. *f'i:ər* 'true': O-Ir. fior. — 144.

fios. *f'is* 'knowledge'; *N'i: is əgyN'* 'we do not know': O-Ir. fiss, fiuss. — 113, 128.

firinne. *f'i:r'iN'ə* 'truth': O-Ir. firinne. — 114, 135.

fliuch. *f'l'u^h* 'wet': O-Ir. fliuch. — 128, 155, 167.

fó. *fo* prep. 'under; for': O-Ir. fo. — 116.

fód. *fə:d* 'sod': O-Ir. fót. 118, 122, 128.

foghluim. *fualəm'* 'to learn': O-Ir. foglaimm. — 125, 139, 151, 156.

foghluimighim. *fualəm'iftə* 'learned': cf. M-Ir. pret.sg. 3 ro-s-foglaim PH.281.

fóghmhar. *fō:vər* 'autumn': O-Ir. fogamur. — 127, 152, 156.

foghnamh. *fō:nuv* 'act of serving, being of use': O-Ir. fognam. — 126, 152, 157.

foighid, foighide. *f^waid'ə* 'patience': O-Ir. foditiu. — 123, 128, 151.

folamh. *fəluw* 'empty': O-Ir. folam. — 117.

- foradh. *faruv* 'hen-roost': Wi. forud. — 163, 167.
 fraoch. *fr̥χ* 'heather': Wi. fráech. — 116, 128, 134.
 frithir. *f'r̥i:ar* 'sore'. — 128, 150, 154.
 fuacht. *uat* 'cold': O-Ir. ócht, (h)úacht. — 136, 160.
 fuagháil, fuaghaim. *f^wE:l* 'to sew'; pret. *dè fē* 'he sewed'; pf. pt. *f^wE:t'a*:
 Wi. fúagaim, úagim. — 113, 145, 156.
 fuair. *fuor fī* 'she got': M-Ir. fuair (O-Ir. -fuair, pret. sg. 1). — 120.
 fuar. *fuar* 'cold': O-Ir. úar. — 120, 136.
 fuigheall, fuigheach, faoillidh see mí.
 fuil. *ful* 'blood', gen. *fōb*: O-Ir. fuil. — 115, 117, 128, 133.
 fuinneog. *f^wiN'og* 'window': Atk. fuindeoc. — 126, 140, 146.

 'ghá, 'gá. *da, dā* see § 116.
 gabháil see dul.
 gach. *ga^h* 'every': O-Ir. cach, cech. — 142, 155.
 gadhar. *ga:r* 'dog, hound': M-Ir. gadar, gagar (e. g. LL. 147 b, 256 b 1).
 — 117.
 gaineamh, gainimh. *g'in'uv Na tra:v'a* 'sand': Wi. ganem, Dat.-Acc.
 ganim; Wi. tráig, tráig. — 124, 126, 127, 136, 147, 152.
 gáire. *ga:r'a* 'laughter; to laugh': Wi. gáire. — 118, 123.
 gan. *gan, gən* 'without': O-Ir. cen. — 142.
 gaoth. *gā* 'wind': O-Ir. gáith. — 116, 123, 154.
 gasúr, garsún. *gasar* 'boy': Fr. garçon. — 140.
 gal'l'a^h 'corner'.
 gé. *g'é* 'goose', pl. *g'é:i*: Wi. géd. — 113, 124, 155.
 geal. *g'al* 'bright': Wi. gel. — 119, 124, 138.
 gealach. *g'ala^h* 'moon': cf. Wi. gel. — 119, 155.
 gealbhan. *g'albvan* 'sparrow': M-Ir. gelbund (e. g. Aisl. M. Congl.). —
 119, 127, 132, 140, 159.
 géar. *g'é:r* 'sharp': Wi. gé. — 113, 124.
 geimhreadh. *g'iv'r'uv* 'winter': O-Ir. gemred. — 124, 128, 135, 146, 152.
 gleann. *g'l'aN* 'valley, glen': O-Ir. glenn. — 119, 124, 125, 133.
 go. *gə* prep. 'to, towards', etc.: O-Ir. co. — 141.
 go. *gə* conj.: O-Ir. co.
 gob. *gob* 'beak, snout': Wi. gob. — 115, 121, 123.

- goidim. *gyl' fē, gyq' fē* 'he stole': O-Ir. gataim. — 110, 131, 146.
 goirid, gairid. *gīr'id* 'short': Wi. garit, gairit. — 123, 146.
 gránna. *gra:Nə* 'ugly': Wi. gránna, gránnde. — 114, 118, 123, 125, 134.
 gréasuidhe. *g'r'ε:si* 'shoemaker'.
 grian. *g'r'ian* 'sun', gen. *g'r'ε':n'a*: O-Ir. grían. — 111, 119, 124, 135.
 guil. *gyl'* 'to boil': M-Ir. gal, f. (e. g. Meyer, Aisl. M. Congl. 35,1). —
 110 123, 138, 146.

 iasacht. *iesat, jesat* 'loan': Wi. iasacht. — 129, 137, 160.
 iasc. *i:ask* 'fish', gen. *i:ask'*: O-Ir. iasc. — 120, 124, 129.
 imeall. *m'aL Na hō:N'a* 'the bank of the river': Wi. imbel. — 114,
 157, 162.
 imtheacht, imthighim. *im'at* 'to go away'; ipv. pl. 2 *im'ig'i l'iv'* 'go
 away with you'; fut. sg. 1 *im'avə m'è*: O-Ir. imthecht, imthéit. — 120,
 158, 160, 162.
 indé. *əN'ē* 'yesterday': O-Ir. indé. — 111, 126, 152.
 i ndeaghaidh see deaghaidh.
 indiu. *əN'ūw* 'to-day': O-Ir. indiu. 138, 150, 152, 166.
 innisim, innsin. scéal. *iN'fə* 'to tell'; *v'i: fē g'iN'fə jk'ε:L dūv* 'he told
 me a story'; fut. *iN'fəv'wi m'è*: Wi. innisim, indisim; O-Ir. scél. —
 126, 130, 141.
 ins an. *əNsəN* prep. i with the article. — 142.
 íochtar. *i:tar* 'lower part': O-Ir. íchtar. — 123, 160.
 iomchar, iompar. *impar* 'to carry': O-Ir. imb-cuir-. — 148, 161, 167.
 iomlán. *əNLan* 'all, full': Atk. imlán. — 139, 148, 159.
 is ed see 'seadh.
 iuil see mí.

 lá. *La:* 'day', *ə La(:) 'ma:ri* 'to-morrow': O-Ir. lae, láe. — 132.
 ladar. *Ladər* 'spoonful': Engl. ladle. — 161.
 ladhar. *La:r* 'toe': Wi. ladar. — 117, 132.
 le. *l'əm* 'with me', *l'at* 'with you', *l'ēf* 'with him', *l'ε:ə* 'with her', *l'iv'* 'with
 you', *l'ə:fə* 'with them': O-Ir. la, limm, etc. — 125, 150, 160, 163.
 leaba see colbh.
 leaghaim. *L'ēuv* 'to melt': O-Ir. legad. — 156.

- leanmhain. *L'anv^uiN't* 'to follow': O-Ir. (dat.) lenamain. — 119, 127, 137, 159.
- leann *L'aN* 'ale'; *ti ·L'aNə* 'public house': O-Ir. lend, lind. — 112, 119, 125, 133.
- leathan. *L'ahan* 'broad': O-Ir. lethan. — 119, 133, 140.
- léighim. *L'è:v'u* 'to read', *L'è:m* 'I read', *L'è:f'a m'è* 'I shall read', pass. *L'è:f'or*: O-Ir. légaim. — 111, 129, 156, 161.
- leigim. *Na L'ig'aN* . . . *də* 'who does not let off': O-Ir. léicim. — 145, 146.
- léine, léinidh. *L'e:n'i* 'shirt': Wi. léne. — 111, 126, 133.
- líonaim. *L'ímuv* 'to fill', fut. *L'íyā m'è*: O-Ir. línaim. — 126, 133, 163.
- lobhaim. *Lo:uv* 'to rot', *Lqhə* 'rotten': Wi. lobaim. — 132, 144, 153.
- lomaim. *Lqmavə m'è* 'I shall clip': cf. Wi. lommraim. — 115.
- lomaire. *Lqm^uir'a* 'clipper of sheep'.
- lon, londubh. *LqNduv* 'blackbird': O-Ir. lon. — 115, 132.
- long. *Lqy* 'ship': O-Ir. long. — 115, 127.
- luaithreach, luaithreadh. *Lua^ri* 'ashes': O-Ir. lúathred. — 120, 136, 139.
- luchóg. *Luhag* 'rat': O-Ir. luch. — 115, 140, 155.
- lughnas see mí.
- madadh, cf. madra. *maduv* 'dog': Atk. madrad. — 118, 163.
- maide. *məd'a* 'stick': Wi. maite. 123, 125, 162.
- maidin see réalt.
- mainchille, muinchille. *m^uiN'èL'tə*, *m^uiL'èL'tə* 'sleeve': cf. Vendryes, *Hib. voc.*, mainchille. — 146, 158, 161, 162.
- maill see moill.
- mairt, márt see mí.
- maith. *maiç* 'good': O-Ir. maith. — 138, 151, 152, 163.
- mar is. *məs* 'as is': O-Ir. amal, amail. — 141, 142, 143.
- marbhaim. *marəvu* 'to kill', fut. *marəvavə m'è*: O-Ir. marbaim. — 118, 125, 127, 159, 161.
- mé. *m'è* 'I, me': O-Ir. mé. — 125, 143.
- meacan, meacán. *m'akan* 'tap-rooted plant': O-Ir. mecon. — 119, 126, 140.
- meallaim. *m'aLuv* 'to coax': Atk. mellaim. — 119.
- meanach. *m'ana^h* 'belly of a cow': Wi. menach. — 155.
- méar. *m'é:r* 'finger': O-Ir. mér. — 112, 125.

- meath. *m'ah* 'decay': Wi. meth. — 125, 136.
- meirg. *m'ér'ig'* 'rust': O-Ir. meirc. — 111, 124, 135, 188.
- mí. *m'i:* 'month': O-Ir. mí. *m'i: Na b'l'en' u:r'a* 'January': "mí na bliadna úire"; O-Ir. bliadain. *m'i: Na v^uy:L'a^h* 'February': "mí na bhfaoil-leach", cf. Di. fuigheall, fuighleach, faoillidh: Wi. fuidell. *m'i: Na ma:rtə* 'March': "mí na mártá"; márt, mártá; Corm. mairt (892). *m'i: (ə)n j'eb'r'al*: "mí an aibreáil"; aibreán; M-Ir. april (e. g. Féil. Oeng). *m'i: f'q'bz:n* 'June': "mí féile Eoin"; O-Ir. féil, O-Ir. Eóin (gen. Thes. II, 327). *m'i: ju:l* 'July': "mí iúil"; iúl; M-Ir. iuil (Féil. Gorm.). *m'i: Lu:Nəsə* 'August': "mí lughnasa"; lughnas; Wi. lúgnasad. *m'i: Na gqNLa^h* 'October': "mí na gconnlach"; Meyer connlach. *m'i: Na sãuvna* 'November': "mí na samhna"; samhain; Wi. sam-fuin, samuin, samain. *m'i: Na NqLik'a* 'December': "mí na nodlaice"; nodlag; Wi. notlaic. — 116, 125, 127, 128, 130, 137, 142, 148, 151, 153, 155–7, 159.
- mil. *m'il'* 'honey': O-Ir. mil. — 125, 128, 138, 162.
- miol. *m'i(:)al* 'louse': O-Ir. mil. — 162.
- mioltóg. *m'è(:)aLtg* 'midge': O-Ir. mil. — 162.
- mise. *m'isə* 'I, me': O-Ir. messe, meisse. — 130, 146.
- mithid. *m'i:t* 'time; proper, due time'; *əs m'i:t dyd' xol' ə vol'a* 'it is time for you to go home': O-Ir. mithich, mithig. — 137, 154.
- mo. *mə* 'my': O-Ir. mo, mu. — 141.
- moill, maill. *gan v^uiL* 'without delay': Keat. maill (cf. mall). — 146.
- moiltín. *m^uiL'təN* 'wether': cf. Wi. molt. — 123, 125, 146.
- móin. *mo:n* 'turf', gen. *mo:nə* and *mo:nuv*: Wi. móin. — 116, 125, 163.
- molt see moiltín.
- mór. *mo:r* 'great': O-Ir. mór, már. — 116.
- muileann. *mu'il'aN* 'mill', *ə v^uil'aN* 'his mill': O-Ir. muilenn. — 115, 146, 166.
- muirighean, muirighin. *mu'r'in* 'family'. — 115, 157.
- ná. *Na* negative particle before the imperative: O-Ir. ná. — 142.
- nách. *Na* rel. neg. 'who, which not': O-Ir. nách. — 155.
- náirighim. *Na:r'ist'a* 'ashamed': cf. Wi. náre, náire. — 118, 125.
- námhaid. *Na:v'id* 'enemy': O-Ir. námae. — 118, 126, 127, 152.

naoidheanacht. *Ní:nat* 'infant'; saying: *Ní:nat a'N'ē*; *pa:st'(:) a'N'ūv, f'ir* *agās mṛā*: *a La: ma:ri* 'infant yesterday, children to-day, men and women to-morrow': O-Ir. nóidenacht, nóidenán, nóidiu. — 125, 157, 160.

neimh. *N'iv'*, *N'if'* 'poison', gen. *N'iv'a*: O-Ir. nem. — 126, 128, 138, 147, 152.

ní. *N'i*: 'not': O-Ir. ní. — 110.

ní, níd. *N'i*: 'thing'; *ga'h n'i*: 'everything': O-Ir. ní. — 126.

nó. *No(:)* 'or': O-Ir. nó. — 116, 142.

nodlaig. *NóLík* f. 'Christmas', gen. *NóLík'a*: Wi. notlaic. — 137, 159.

obair see béal.

ocht. *at* 'eight': O-Ir. ocht. ochtmhadh. *atuv* 'eighth'; *a tōtuv f'ar* 'the eighth man': O-Ir. ochtmad. — 117, 160.

oidhche. *ā:çə* 'night': O-Ir. adaig, Wi. aidche, oidche. — 131, 160, 168.

oidigim. *qđ'uv* 'to instruct, to teach': cf. Wi. aite. — 162.

óige. *a:g'a* 'youth; young people'; saying: *a Nō:g'a as a Nam'id'at as qel'i a g'aNər'at* 'it is difficult to guide young and foolish people': O-Ir. óge. — 118, 124.

oighre, oidhre. *ē:r'i* 'heir': cf. Atk. oigir.

oirthear, lá i n-oirthear. *a'Nō:çər* 'the day after to-morrow': Wi. airthir, oirthir. — 135.

ól, ólaim. *al* 'to drink'; ipv. pl. 2 *alig'i*; fut. sg. 1 *alə, al m'è*; pret. sg. 3 *dx:L' fē*: O-Ir. ól. — 118, 133, 164.

olann. *aləN* 'wool', gen. *qLə*: O-Ir. olann. — 117.

osnadh. *asNə* 'sigh': O-Ir. osnad. — 117, 125, 129, 163.

páirc. *pa:rk* 'field, meadow'; gen. pl. *Na ba:r'kəNuv*: Engl. park. — 168.

páiste. *pa:st'a* 'child', pl. *pa:st'i*: M. Engl. page. — 122, 166.

pillim *p'iL'uv* 'to fold': O-Ir. fillim. — 133, 136.

poll. *pəL* 'pit, hole': SM. VI. poll. — 115, 122, 132.

pónar, pónair. *po:mer'* 'beans': O'Dav. ponaire (pl., Archiv, II, 460). — 116, 122, 147.

préachán. *p'r'a:çan* 'crow': Atk. préchan. — 119, 132, 135, 148.

pronntanas. *proNtanəs* 'present': Meyer bronntanas. 115, 123, 125, 134, 136.

radharc. *ra:rk* 'sight': Wi. rodarc. — 117, 134.

ráithe. *ra:çə* 'quarter of a year; season': Wi. ráthe. — 134, 163.

réabaim, réabtha. *ra:p'i* 'rent': Wi. rébaim. — 135, 149, 160.

réalt. maidin. *riaLt Na m'iN'a* 'morning star': O-Ir. rétglu; Wi. rétla; Wi. maten. — 135, 146, 159, 162, 166.

reithe. *raihəN* 'ram': Wi. rethe; cf. Scotch Gael. (Dwelly) reithean. — 162.

rithim, rith. *ry'h* 'running'; *ryf'i fē* 'he will run': O-Ir. rethid, riuth, rith. — 135, 149.

roinn. *rəN'* 'to divide'; *rəN'iN'* *è* 'I should divide it': O-Ir. rann. — 126.

-sa. -sə emph. suff.: O-Ir. sa.

sagart. *sigərt* 'priest'; gen. *aN tigərt'* 'of the priest': O-Ir. sagart. — 123, 129, 134, 148, 158.

saidhbhreas. *sə:v'r'əs* 'riches': Atk. saidbres. — 128, 129, 146, 157.

samhain see mí.

samhradh. *sāuruv* 'summer': O-Ir samrad. 129, 151 152, 153.

sasanach, sacsach. *saksəna'h* 'English; Englishman': Lat. Saxo (-ks- is probably due to the influence of Engl. *Saxon*). 155.

scafaire. *skav'ir'a* 'bold young man': cf. Scotch Gael. sgafair. — 127.

scairtim. *skə:rt' fī* 'she shouted'. — 144.

scannruighim. *skanrif'tə* 'scared': Wi. scannrad. — 118, 124, 129, 135, 144, 160.

scéal see innisim.

scian. *sk'ian* 'knife': O-Ir. scian. — 119, 124, 130.

scilling. *stiL'iq'* 'shilling': O.E. scilling or O.N. skillingr. — 127, 130, 168.

sciobaim. *sk'ibuv* 'to snatch': M-Ir. scipaim, scibaim (e. g. I. T. IV. 2, 2375). — 113, 121.

sé. *fē*, *fē* after verbs 'he': sé; cf. Pedersen, *Vgl. Gramm.* II, 141. — 143.

seachaint see aire.

'seadh. *gə fig* 'yet': O-Ir. is ed. — 131, 148.

seagal. *figal* 'rye': M-Ir. secul (e. g. Aisl. M. Congl. 99, 4). 123, 130, 140, 148.

- sean. gíostaire. *sanji(:)strá* used as a term of contempt: O-Ir. sen.
seanchadach. *sanxada^h* 'old cloak': Wi. cadach.
seanchailleach. *sanxaL'a^h* 'old hag': O-Ir. sen and caillech. — 119, 129,
131, 133.
seangán. *fígan* 'ant': M-Ir. sengán (e. g. Aisl. M. Congl. 125, 22), cf.
Wi. seng. — 148, 152, 157.
séidim. *se:d'u^v* 'to blow'; saying: *se:d'aN an gá: as gə ha:rd mas a:l' l'e:çə*
N'i: is ɔgyN' ga l'i: a d'id' fí: No ga ha:t' a d'e:d' fí 'the wind blows
where it likes. We do not know where it comes nor where it
goes': O-Ir. sétid. — 111.
seisreach. *fětr'a^h* 'plough': Wi. sessrech. — 111, 129, 148, 155, 165.
fěli fajan 'palate'. Cf. Di. sine sidheain. O'Donn. Suppl. sine seaghain,
seain (H. 2. 13) 'uvula'.
seo. *fə* 'here is': O-Ir. seo, so. — 130.
sí. *fí*, *fí* after verbs 'she': O-Ir. sí. — 143.
siad. *fiad* after verbs 'they': cf. Pedersen, *Vgl. Gramm.* II, 141.
sin. *fin* 'that, there': cf. Pedersen, *Vgl. Gramm.* II § 514, 7.
síobadh, siabadh. *fí:buv* 'to sweep away; to swarm (of bees)'. — 121,
124, 136.
síos. *fí:s* 'down': O-Ir. sís. — 130.
sladán, slaghdán. *sLa:dan* 'a cold': Wi. sláetan. — 129, 132.
sliabh. *fL'iu^v* 'mountain', gen. *fL'è:v'a*: O-Ir. slíab. — 127, 130, 133, 148.
slighe. *fL'i:* 'way, direction': O-Ir. slige. — 133, 157.
slinneán. *fLiN'an* 'shoulder, shoulderblade': Wi. slindén. — 109, 126,
130, 148.
smólach, smaolach. *sm^we:la^h* 'thrush'. 114, 125.
snáithe. *sNa:çe* 'thread': O-Ir. snáthe. — 125, 129, 163, 166.
snámh, snámhaim. *sNā:v* 'to swim', fut. *sNā:və* and *sNā:vav^wi fě*: O-Ir.
snám. — 125, 127, 152.
snáthad. *sNa:t* 'needle', gen. *sNa:tə*: O-Ir. snáthat. — 125, 137, 154.
sneadh. *fN'ig* 'nits': O-Ir. sned. — 126, 130, 148, 152.
so see seo.
sochar. *schar* 'profit, advantage': Wi. sochor. — 155.
spéir. *sp'è:r* 'air': Lat. sphaera. — 111, 122, 129.
spiorad. *sp'irəd* 'spirit': O-Ir. spirut. — 113, 122, 129.

- sráid. *šra:d* 'street': M-Ir. sráit (e. g. Tog. Tr. p. 179). — 123, 130, 134.
sreangán. *šrā:an* 'string, cord': cf. M-Ir. sreng (e. g. I.T. IV, 2, 4640).
130, 135, 151, 152, 157.
srón. *šro:n* 'nose', *mə ro:n* 'my nose': O-Ir. srón. — 116, 134.
sruthán, srothán. *šruhan* 'stream': O-Ir. sruth. — 115, 130.
stiL't f. 'blow; thump': cf. Scotch Gaelic stalladh 'dashing against,
thumping' (?).
stuidh. *stui'j/kə* 'rainbow': Wi. Atk. stúag. — 123, 129, 155.
súitheche. *súgha. su:çə* 'soot': M-Ir. súthe. — 116, 163.

tá. is. *ta:* 'there is'; *N'i:L' fě* 'he is not'; *gə v^wiL Na b'aiç?* 'where
are the bees?'; fut. sg. 1 *b'è m'ifə* 'I shall be', *b'èi Na b'ai l'at* 'the
bees will be with you'; pret. sg. 3 *v'i:*; ipv. sg. 2 *Na b'i kər kəri*
orəm 'do not be making me angry', ipv. pl. 2 *b'ig'i;* *as* 'it is'; *N'i:*,
'it is not': atá, tá, ní fhuil, cá bhfuil, beidh, (do) bhí, bí, bidhidh,
is, ní; O-Ir. attá, fil, beid (subj., bieid, bied fut.), bóí, bí, biid, is, ní.
— 123, 128, 141, 142.
tafann. *tauvəN* 'to back': Wi. tofund. — 151, 158.
tháinig see tig.
tairbhe. *ter'iv'a* 'profit, utility': O-Ir. torbae. — 128, 146, 159.
tairnge. *ta:rN'a* 'nail': Wi. tairnge. — 135, 144, 165.
taobh. *tə:v* 'side': O-Ir. tóib.
thárla. *ha:rLi* 'it happened': Wi. tarla (O-Ir. pret. sg. 3 du-s-rale
Ml. 23 c 6). — 144.
te. *teh* 'hot': O-Ir. té. — 111, 137, 138, 145.
teach. *tí^h* (and also *t'ax*) 'house': O-Ir. tech, dat. taig. — 138.
teachtaire. *tatir'a* 'messenger': O-Ir. techtaire. — 119, 135, 139, 160.
teallach. *taLa^h* 'hearth': O-Ir. tenlach. — 119, 123, 155.
teanga. *taŋə* 'tongue', gen. and pl. id.: O-Ir. tengae. — 119, 123, 127.
teas. *tes* 'heat': O-Ir. tess. — 111, 123.
teichim. *tehuv* 'to run away': O-Ir. techid. — 110, 155.
téidhim. *tē:d* 'goes'. *rahi, raxi m'è* 'I shall go'; *fuai* 'went', *gə d'ahi*
fiad 'that they went'; *tí vəl'a* 'go home', *tég'i èr tr'iaL* 'go off
on your journey': O-Ir. téit, (fut. sg. 3) regaid, do-choaid, ní dechuid,
na téig (LU. 73 b 17). — 111, 123, 142, 151, 157, 160.

teilgim, tligim. *t'lig'uv* 'to vomit', pret. *t'ig' fè*, *t'ik' fè*: O-Ir. do-léic-, verbal noun teilciud. — 123, 133, 146.

thiar (shiar). *hi:ar* 'west; westwards; behind': O-Ir. tiar. — 120.

tig, tháinig. *t'ig' fí* 'she comes'; *hèn'ik'* 'came': O-Ir. tic, tánicc, tanaic. — 109, 137, 168.

tillim. *t'iL'uv* 'to return', fut. *t'iL'ò m'è*: O-Ir. fillim. — 133, 134, 136.
tionntuighim, tionntódh. *taNtaftò*: O-Ir. (pres. pl. 1) dointám; tintuúth. — 123, 125, 140, 167.

tir. *t'i:r'* 'country': O-Ir. tír. — 110, 123.

togáil. *to:gaL'l'* 'to lift': O-Ir. tucbál, tocbál. — 116, 137, 139, 154.

toghaim. *tè:uv* 'to choose'; *tè:m* 'I choose': O-Ir. to-gu, cf. verbal noun toga. — 167.

tóirneach. *ta:rN'a'* 'thunder': Wi. tornech. — 123, 126, 135, 144, 167.

tollaim. *tòLuv* 'to make a hole'; fut. *tòLàvò m'è*: Wi. tollaim. — 123, 132.

tón. *tò:in'* 'lower part; podex': Wi. tón. — 136, 152.

tomóg. *tamog* 'bush, tuft': cf. Atk. tomm. — 140, 167.

tost. *tost* 'silence'; *as b'iN' b'e:l oNa host* lit. 'a mouth in its silence is melodious': Wi. tost. — 117, 123.

traígh. *tra:i* 'strand': Wi. tráig, tráig. — 134, 151, 157, 163.

trasna. *trasNa* 'across': O-Ir. tarsna (tar the article). — 118, 125, 166.

tráthamhail. *tra:vəl'* 'timely': Wi. tráth. — 123, 127, 139.

tréigim. *k're:g'uv* 'to deceive': Wi. tréim. — 111, 124, 168.

triall. *t'riaL* 'journey': Wi. triall. — 119, 123, 132, 135.

trócaire. *tró:ki'r'a* 'mercy': O-Ir. trócaire.

trom-luighe. *tromLi* 'nightmare': O-Ir. tromm, luige. — 111, 132, 139.

tú. *tuw* 'thou, you', unstressed *tu*: O-Ir. tú. — 143, 166.

thuirling. *hqrLiN'* 'descended': Wi. tair-lingim, O-Ir. pret. sg. 3 doeir-
bling, doarblaing. — 114, 133, 135, 139, 165.

uachtar. *uatar* 'upper part': O-Ir. óchtar, úachtar. — 120, 160.

uait. *v'id'* 'from you': O-Ir. (h)úait. — 127, 143.

uisce, uisce beatha. *ifk'a* 'water'; *ifk'a b'ah'a* 'whisky': O-Ir. uisce, bethu. — 124, 130, 136.

ullamh. *oLav'in'* 'prepared; ready': cf. Atk. ullmaigim. — 114, 132.

urchóid. *grxad'* 'harm': O-Ir. erchoat, erchót. — 114, 132, 140, 158.

urchor. *grxor* 'shot': Wi. aurchor, urchor, erchor etc. — 114, 132, 158.
grfar 'spancel of a cow': cf. urchall, urchomhall, and Scotch Gael.

(Mac Lennan) urchair. — 159.

ursa. *grsan* 'doorpost; jamb of a door': Wi. ursa, irsa. — 114, 129, 134.

INDEX OF OLD IRISH WORDS

Most of the Old Irish examples quoted will be easily found in the vocabulary. Only in cases where the Old Irish form differs considerably from the corresponding Modern Irish one, it is admitted into the index with a reference to the Modern Irish word of the vocabulary.

adaig see oidhche. — adchondai(r)c see (do)chonnaic. — aice, acaind see ag. — aidche see oidhche. — aile see eile. — airi see air. — airthir see oirthear. — amal, amail see mar. — amiress see amhras. — amser see aimsear. — anaim see fanaím. — april see mí. — athach see fathach. — aurchor, urchor see urchor.

báidim see báthadh. — bass see bos. — bir see biorán. — biror see biolar. — bóchaill see búachaill. — bot see bodach. — bróen see braon. — bronntanas see pronntanas. — brúim see brúghadh.

cach, cech see gach. — cáech see caoch. — cáennach see caonnach. — cáera see caora. — cair see coir. — cate see cad é. — cen see gan. — cess, ciss see ciséan. — cét see céad. — clóim see claidhim. — co see go. — co, cuci see chuige. — cóil see caol. — coillim see caillim. — colba see colbh. — corrach see corruighim. — cote see cad é. — crois see craos. — cuindigim see cuingim. — cundrad see connradh.

deug see deoch. — do-choaid see téidhim. — dochum see chum, chun. — dóud see dóghadh. — driss see driseóg.

erchoat, erchót see urchóid.

faibur see faobhar. — fair see air. — fetgaire see feadálach. — fetugud see feadálach. — feúil see feoil. — findfad see fionnadh. — foditiu see foighid. — fogamur see foghmhar. — foirce see fairrge. — fóisitiu, fúisitiu see faoistin. — forir see fáraoir. — form see fair. — fráech see fraoch. — fuidell see mí.

- gáith see gaoth. — gagar see gadhar. — gal see guil. — garit see goirid. — gataim see goidim. — géd see gé. — gelbund see gealbhan.
- iarfaigid see fiafruighe. — imbárach see amárach. — imb-cuir- see iomchar. — immach see amach. — immada see amudha. — i ndegaid see deaghaidh. — innonn see anonn.
- légaim see léighim. — lepad, lebaid see colbh. — lommraim see lomaim.
- madrad see madadh. — maten see réalt. — messe, meisse see mise. — mithich, mithig see mithid.
- nóidenacht, nóidenán see naoidheanacht.
- oc, ocunn see ag. — ócht, (h)úacht see fuacht. —ocus see agus. — oigir see oighre. — óiph see aobh.
- rann see roinn. — regaid see téidhim. — rétla see réalt. — rodarc see radharc.
- samlaid see amlaidh. — samuin, samain, sam-fuin see mí. — sechnaim see aire. — secul see seagal. — sessrech see seisreach. — sláetan see slaodán. — stúag see stuadh.
- tairlingim see thuirling. — tarsna see trasna. — tenlach see teallach. — tocbál, tucbál see togáil. — toffund see tafann. — tóib see taobh. — torbae see tairbhe.
- úagim see fuagáil. — úar see fuar.

ABBREVIATIONS

Most of the abbreviations are those usual in works on the history of Celtic languages. The following ones will perhaps need explanation.

- Atk. = R. Atkinson, *The Passions and the Homilies from Leabhar Breac. Glossary* (Dublin, Todd Lecture Series II, 1887).
- Di. = Dineen, *Foclóir Gaedhilge agus Béarla*, second ed., Dublin, 1927.
- Gl. = Glenties.

- Meyer = Kuno Meyer, *Contributions to Irish Lexicography*. Halle, 1906.
- Ó'Searcaigh = Séamus Ó'Searcaigh, *Foghraidheacht Ghaedhilge an Tuaiscirt*. Baile Átha Cliath, 1925.
- Quiggin = E. C. Quiggin, *A Dialect of Donegal*. Cambridge, 1906.
- SM. VI = *Ancient Laws of Ireland* (Seanchas Mór) VI, *Glossary*, by R. Atkinson. Dublin, 1901.
- Sommerfelt, *Vowels or Munster* = Alf Sommerfelt, *Munster Vowels and Consonants* (Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, XXXVII, c, 11, Dublin 1927).
- T. = Torr.
- Torr = Alf Sommerfelt, *The Dialect of Torr Co. Donegal I* (Videnskapsselskapets Skr. II, 1921, 2, Christiania, 1922).
- TSh. = Keating, *Three Shafts of Death*.
- Wi. = Windisch, *Irische Texte mit Wörterbuch*. Leipzig, 1880.

SYMBOLS USED FOR DIALECT OF SOUTH ARMAGH

Vowels: *i, y, e, é, ε, i, E, a, o, u, A, o, a, ɔ, a, a.*

Consonants: *b, p, d, t, g, k, m, N, n, ŋ, v, f, s, ʃ, (in šr), j, ɟ, ɣ, L, l, r, h.*

' after a consonant denotes that it is palatal or palatalized.

v under a consonant denotes that it is voiceless.

? denotes glottal stop.

: denotes length of vowel.

~ denotes nasalization of vowel.

* before a syllable denotes main stress.

ERRATA

P. 116, l. 21 read *fo* 'under; for'.

- 126, - 13 - *N'i*: instead of *Ni*:

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

Note on the Irish Dialect of South-Armagh

(Cp. NTS II p. 107 sqq.)

My friend professor Éamonn O Tuathail has kindly sent me some notes on my treatise on the Irish of South-Armagh. According to Prof. O Tuathail Peadar O'Dubhda usually said *Lī*: and not *Lōg*. The latter form must therefore be due to literary influence. *Lī*: is then to be joined to the examples of § 183 (p. 157).

I have been wrong in supposing that *bra:L'in'* contains O.-Ir. *brat*. Prof. O Tuathail quotes a poem edited by Dr. Bergin (*Unpublished Irish Poems* XXVII, in *Studies*, Dublin, a publication which I have not got at my disposal here in Oslo):

*M'anam do sgar riomsa a-raoir, calann ghlan dob ionnsa i n-uaign;
rugadh bruinne maordha min is aonbhla lin uime uainn.*

Dr. Bergin adds the following note: *bla lin*, later *bra lin*, lit. "sheet of linen"; now often mis-spelt *braillinn*.

bra:L'in' is consequently no example of an assimilation of *-th-* into *-L-*. It is an instance of dissimilation belonging to Prof. Grammont's ninth "law" (*combinée appuyée dissimile combinée non appuyée*, Grammont, *Dissimilation*, p. 48; *-L'-* in *braL'in'* is geminated).

P. 107, l. 20 read Ballsmill instead of Ballsmile.

A. S.

