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A CONTRIBUTION  
 TO THE  
**PHONOLOGY OF DESI-IRISH**  
 TO SERVE AS  
 AN INTRODUCTION TO THE METRICAL SYSTEM  
 OF  
**MUNSTER POETRY.**



DISSERTATIO INAUGURALIS  
 QUAM  
 AMPLISSIMI PHILOSOPHORUM ORDINIS  
 CONSENSU ET AUCTORITATE  
 AD  
 SUMMOS IN PHILOSOPHIA HONORES  
 IN  
 UNIVERSITATE GRYPHISWALDENSI  
 DIE III. MENSIS AUGUSTI ANNO MDCCCXCVIII  
 HORA XI  
 RITE CAPESSENDOS  
 SCRIPSIT  
**RICARDUS HENEBRY**  
 LISMORENSIS.



GRYPHISWALDIAE  
 TYPIS IULII ABEL,  
 MDCCCXCVIII.

CONTRIBUTION

BY THE AUTHOR

1912

1913

1914

1915

1916

1917

1918

1919

1920

1921

1922

Dom aiti múinte,

**don Doctúir Heinrich fial Zimmer,**

.|. cenn dinaib prim-ecnaidib fri senchus

isindaimsir seo,

do charait donaib clannaib Goidel

ocus

cara damsa





## Abbreviations.

### 1. The following speakers are quoted:—

My Father, *Piarus de Henebre*, Killown and Mount Bolton.

PH. H., *Pilib de Henebre*, my Uncle, Killown and Mount Bolton.

M. song, some folk-song of my Mother's, *Eblín ní Chassin*, *Cloichín an mhargadh*, in South-west Tipperary and Mount Bolton.

*Seán de Bháil*, Mount Bolton.

S. R., *Seán Ruadh o'Siodhchán*, Colligan and Mount Bolton.

T. L., *Tomás o Leannán*, Stradbally and Portlaw.

P. Walsh, Coolfin, (Portlaw).

P. Crowley, Portlaw.

Bob, Robert Weldon, Comeragh.

Com. song, some folk-song reported by me in Comeragh.

Thomas Kermode, Bradda near Port-Erin, Isle of Man.

### 2. Mss.

O'Daly Ms., a good paper Ms. (1830?) given me by Father Carrigan of Ossory. It was once in the possession of O'Daly who edited the Munster Poets series.

Ren., the Renehan collection of Mss. in Maynooth College.

Mur., the very large Bishop Murphy collection in the same College.

O'Neil Mss. written by Patrick O'Neil, Owing, Piltown, Co. Kilkenny, about 1820.

S. na Sróna, *Séamus na Sróna de Poer*, first cousin to *Caitlín de Poer*, Countess of Tyrone (1750).

M. ní Dhonagán, a celebrated *bean-chaointe* of the Dési in the last century. Quoted by O'Neil.

Dunne collected some folk-songs in Garryricken near Carrick in 1850. O'Neil Mss.

Brett apud Dunne, someone from whom he reported songs.

Sheehy, a Lament for the death of Edmund Sheehy who was hanged and beheaded in *Cloichín an mhargadh* in 1776.

- Anna*, a *caoin* for *Risteird de Poer* of *Garrán an mhuiris*, last century. Denn Ms., a Ms. of P. Denn of Cappoquin in Waterford College, 1820.
3. Printed works.
- Z<sup>2</sup>, Zeuss's *Grammatica Celtica*. Ed. Ebel.
- W., Windisch's *Wörterbuch*.
- P. P., *The Poets and Poetry of Munster*. Ed. C. P. Meehan C. C. Dublin.
- Cass., *Statuta Synodalia pro unitis dioecesibus Cassel. et Imelac.* (with prayers and instructions in half-phonetic script), Dublin 1813.
- Cat., *Teagasg Christuy agus ornihe na mainne agus Trathnona*, Christian Doctrine with morning and evening prayers. Dillon, Cork, circa 1820.
- T. G., *The Pious Miscellany* by *Tadg Gaolach*, Dublin 1868.
- Denn, Appendix to the *Pious Miscellany* by P. Denn, Cappoquin, Cork, 1841.
- C. M. O., *Cúirt an mheadhon-oidche*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. O'Brien, Dublin.
- D. R. *Eachtra Ghiolla an immfhorráin* by *Donnchadh Ruadh Mac Conmara*. Dublin 1897.
4. Contractions. ppp., participium perfecti passivi, Thom., Thomond, Des., Desmond, : rhymes with, O. I., old Irish.



## Introduction.

In the sixteenth century we are suddenly confronted by a system of Irish prosody based on motives entirely different from those which regulated the verse-building of the traditional school. From that time onward there was concurrent use of the old and new systems, the new ever growing, the old ever waning, until the first half of the present century. The new system finally gained complete mastery when *Séamus mac Cuirtin* of Thomond ceased to write some time after 1847. The following specimen of his style *ag cur slán le gaedhilge* (Ren. 70, Irish Battles after *Cath Gabhradh*), is probably the last example of legitimate Irish versification: —

*Mór an beud mar chuadh ar fághan (·|· fán)*  
*Ar ndaimh léighionda gan meilleán*  
*'Sa chaint cheolmhilis ba áille blas*  
*Ba fada bhí fa dheighmheas.*

Vid. ib. a dirge of his in the same metre on the death of O'Connell *d'eacc in Genoa san mbliadhain* 1847.

Dr. Keatynge a priest of the Diocese of Lismore who died at an advanced age before 1644<sup>1</sup> used both of these metrical systems. His address to *Tadg ó Cobhthaigh crutaire* begins: (Mur. Vol. II p. 115.)

*Cia an t-saoi le seinntar an chruit*  
*Le niocthar nimh gach nuadhluit*  
*Tré ghoradh guithbhinn a chláir*  
*Mar shruith bhinn fhoghar orgáin.*

<sup>1</sup>) For an account of all that can now be gleaned of Keatynge's life see Rev. W. P. Burke on the journal of the Waterford Historical and Archeological Society for April 1895, Vol. I, no. 4.

This composition has the Munster *ceangal* appendage written according to the canons of the new system. He also wrote a poem beginning: —

*Om sgeol ar árd mhagh Fáil ní chodlaim oidhche  
Is do bhreoig go bráth me dála a pobuil dilis  
Gíodh rófhada atáid na bhfál re brosgar biodhbhad  
Fá dheoig gur fhás a lán don chogal triotha.*

O'Daly Ms. p. 15. This one of the earliest examples of the new prosody presents to our view a highly elaborated metric system. It cannot therefore be regarded as new but rather the result of a long period of development which now almost for the first time makes its appearance in the literature. As folk-poetry it, or something akin to it, must have existed from the earliest times but was excluded from Mss. by the conservatism of the scholastic caste, the members whereof alone possessed the power of writing and failed to report it. The classic prosody certainly an inheritance from the period of the tone-accent barely escaped being submerged through the influence of the later stress-accent. This, strong enough to effect profound change in the whole structure of the language, made its presence felt also in poetry. Hence the earliest examples of Irish verse we possess are more or less dependent on stress-accent. Cf. Ultan's Hymn W. p. 25.

*Ron soéra Brígit | sech drúngu démna —  
in chróeb co m-bláthuib | in máthair I'su —  
intlácht uaslígaib, | ind rígan ríгда —  
dia ráth ron broena, | ron soéra Brígit.*

From a marginal distich in Sg. Z<sup>2</sup> 953:

*Isácher ingáith innócht | fu fúasna fáirрге fíndfholt  
ib. Z<sup>2</sup> 954:*

*luas mo lébrán indlínech | fomchain trírech inna nén.*

In later examples, only the second half of the long-line was subjected to stress-accent. W. 11.

*Genair Patraicc in Nemthur | is éd atfét hi scélaib.*

Still later even this exception submitted to the technical rules of the poetic sept. Vid. Hymn edited by Stokes in *Zeit. f. Celt. Phil.* Vol. I. p. 62, where accent asserts itself pretty regularly in the end of the line and compare with the late Contention of the Bards where it is completely lost.

To suppose therefore that the late prosody borrowed its accentuation from a Germanic source is a mistake. In all periods of the literature we find embedded certain barbed fragments of folk-wit that had pierced the exclusiveness of the schools and stand a running testimony to the continued existence of a simple style of versification which the common people might compose and sing. Cf. Wb. 27<sup>a</sup> *teora tonna torunni*, the legal aphorisms in the Brehon Code, and such wise sayings as *atcota sochell saidhbhre*, *atcota cuirm carna*, Mur 48 *Roscadha Flain Fina mic ossa Rig Saxon*, p. 351. Also bringing together the two extremes of Irish poetry Ultan's Hymn for instance and the so-called Midnight Court written in 1780 we can discern no essential difference of structure. Wherefore I re-affirm an opinion expressed by me some time ago *Zeit. f. Celt. Phil.* Vol. I, p. 141, that "there was reason to suspect that this simple and effective skeleton of verse-building lived from old times in popular song side by side with the elaborated prosody to reappear afterwards when the folk language became the only literature."

Taking the last example cited from Dr. Keatynge and marking accented vowels in colour we find the following scheme.

. ȫ . ǻ . ǻ . ȫ . ī .  
 . . ȫ . ǻ . ǻ . ȫ . ī .  
 . ȫ . ǻ . ǻ . ȫ . ī .  
 . ȫ . ǻ . ǻ . ȫ . ī .

Here then the verse was woven on a fixed net-work of assonance, there is a regular accent beat and alliteration is abundant. A system so dependent on pronunciation demands for its reading some notions of the phonology of modern

Munster Irish. It was called „Munster Poetry“ perhaps from the collection bearing the title „Poets and Poetry of Munster“ printed by O’Daly. At any rate though prevalent all over Ireland the system attained its highest degree of perfection in the hands of the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century professional rhymers of that province.

A triple subdivision of Munster is made necessary by the fact that short accented vowels in heavy syllables assume at least three distinct grades of intonation. The members of this partition shall be called 1. Thomond (Clare, Limerick), 2. Desmond (Cork, Kerry), and 3. the country of the Dēsi comprising Waterford and the southern portion of Tipperary. As the last-mentioned division is my native language-territory I shall treat of its dialect specially giving such references to the variant usages in the others as will be helpful towards the reading of the whole body of Munster Poetry.

The district here called the country of the Dēsi or shortly Dēsi, is that comprised by the present Dioceses of Waterford and Lismore. To this add the baronies of Iverk and Ida in Kilkenny. Boundaries: From the Meeting of the three Waters below Waterford to Dunmore, along the coast to Youghal, by the Blackwater to Lismore, over *Cnoc Mael domnaig* to the meeting point of Cork, Limerick and Tipperary at Kilbehenny, along the Galtees to *Sliabh na mban*, along the Walsh Mountains to Tory Hill and to The Meeting of the Three Waters. The inhabitants may be distinguished by their surnames into various races: Irish, Cymric, Danish, Norman and English. In East Waterford the Norman element prevails hence the name *Duthaigh Paorach*, the territory of the Le Poers.

### Phonetic Symbols.

§ 1. Small uncials and text will be used to connote broad and slender sounds respectively. This distinction will extend to the vowels also in so far as they suffer variation

of timbre. *u e i* therefore shall be used to denote the broad sound of those vowels. Special reductions of *L R* are represented by *l' r'*; *zh* signifies the weakening of *r*, a Leinater development which extended South as far as the Suir. *c c* stand for the spirants arising from *κ k*; *γ y*, those produced by *γ D* and *g d* respectively. *ŋ* is the nasal guttural. *A O* are not used as those vowels are broad for their whole period of duration. *rh* = unvoiced *r*.

	Stops		Spirants		Liquids		
	Silent	voiced	silent	voiced	voiced		
labials	P p	B b	F f	w,v v	M m		
dentals	T	D	S		N	L	
alveolar	t	d	s	zh	n	l	R r r'
palatals	k	g	c	y	ŋ		
gutturals	K	G	C	Y	N		

Vowels, *a ā â ä, e ē e ə, i ī î i, ū u ū, ı ɱ ɳ ʀ, L' M' N' R'.*

Diphthongs, *iə, uə.*

Slurred Diphthongs, *au ou î ai ei.*

*P B F W M* are bilabial sounds. (*w* in auslaut from *bh mh*, broad is written *v*.) Their corresponding slender sounds are either bilabial or labiodental.

*D T N L* require for their production that the tongue be pressed against the upper teeth and hard gum. For *L* a lighter pressure is required, the tongue is apparently spread wide and the throat organs are held in the position of a *u* vowel. It is best reproduced by sounding such a vowel before it the tongue being drawn forward to touch the upper teeth.



t d are produced by the tip of the tongue on the hard gum near the roots of the upper teeth. Contact is broken gradually and an incipient spirans makes itself heard after the consonant.

s = Eng. *sh*, Germ. *sch*,

zh = French *g* in such words as *rouge*,

k like in Eng. *kin*, Ger. *kind*.

g like Eng. *give*, Ger. *gib*. As in the case of t d so k g break contact slowly and produce a slight following spirans.

ŋ = Eng. *winged*, Germ. *ging* but without the auslaut palatal k, g, which is often heard both in English and German.

c = Ger. *ich*.

y = Eng. anlaut *y*, Germ. *j*.

κ like guttural *c* in Eng. *cow*, Ger. *kuh*.

c = guttural *ch* in Ger. *ach*, *kuchen*.

γ = Ger. *g* in words like *wagen*.

ɴ = *ng* in Eng. *longed*, Ger. *lang* but without a following guttural consonant, as sometimes in Eng. *long—g*, Ger. *lang—k*.

l' is the reduction of l the ordinary slender consonant.

It is a *ly* or *yl* sound like Italian *gl* heard in conjunction with y as in *ghleo*. The reduction of L will be distinguished occasionally by l'.

ʀ represents *rr*, and *r* unaffected in anlaut,

r' its reduction, and slender *r* in auslaut — *aire*, anlaut *gr-*, *pr-*, *br-*.

r the ordinary sound.

#### Vowels.

a=short open *a* as in Eng. *cat* as pronounced in Ireland, Ger. *kann*.

ā the same sound lengthened. Ger. *malen*.

â = Eng. *what*.

â = Eng. *fall*.

ε, always long is like Ger. *ö* sounded deep in the relaxed



guttural chamber. It may be attempted by pronouncing  $g\bar{e}$  with the  $g$  of Eng. *go*.

$e$  = Eng. *bed*, Ger. *bet*.

$\bar{e}$  = Eng. *a* in *fate*, *late*, Ger. *lesen*.

$\text{ə}$  the irrational or colourless vowel = the short vowel after the accent in English words e. g. *evident*, *wicked*, pronounced naturally not affectedly as when one says *evy-dent*, *wickeed*.

$\bar{I}$   $\bar{i}$  like the short and long vowels in Eng. *quill*, *queen* respectively, pronounced without the  $w$  and without lip-rounding thus  $k(w)ill$   $k(w)\bar{i}n$ .  $\bar{I}$   $\bar{I}$  and  $\bar{E}$  are the broad sounds corresponding to  $\bar{i}$   $\bar{i}$  and  $\bar{e}$  slender.  $\bar{I}$  =  $i$  umlaut of  $o$ ; *cuir*  $k\bar{u}r'$ , from *cor*.  $\bar{I}$  when not =  $\bar{i}$  +  $y$  represents the  $i$  umlaut of an old diphthong now written *aoi*.  $\bar{E}$  represents the sound of the digraph *ao*.

$u$  = Eng. *puss*, Ger. *muss*.

$\bar{U}$  = *oo* in Eng. *cool*.

$u$  stands for  $\bar{U}$  after  $y$ .  $i\bar{u}$  = *ew* in English words like *few*, *new*.

$\bar{l}$ ,  $\bar{m}$ ,  $\bar{n}$ ,  $\bar{r}$ , are liquid sonants like  $l$   $n$  in Eng. *buckle* *token*, etc.  $\bar{i}$ ,  $\bar{e}$  *bakl'*, *tōkn*.

$au$ ,  $eu$ ,  $\bar{i}$ ,  $ai$ ,  $ei$ , are long slurred diphthongs or coalescences which can be apparently resolved into the simple sounds which constitute their several signs.  $\hat{i}$  may be imitated by slurring  $\bar{o}i$ . Those arise from short vowels under certain conditions of accent and consonant accompaniment. Vid. § 4, sqq.

$au$  like Ger. *haus*, more open than the *English* pronunciation of *ou* in *house*. It is always strongly nasalized.

$ou$  = the *Irish* pronunciation of *ou* in *house* or of  $\bar{o}$  in *bold* i. e. *bould*.

$ai$  like the *English* pronunciation of the pronoun *I*

$\hat{i}$  =  $\bar{o}i$  like the *Irish* pronunciation of the pronoun *I*

$ei$  like the preceding sound but with an  $e$  instead of an  $i$  colour.

The numerous digraphs arising from the *caol-leathan* rule will be represented by their simple values.

### Of Accent.

§ 2,1. In the prehistoric period a revolution of accent took place in Irish which compared with the original Indo-germanic accent shows two remarkable characteristics. One has reference to the place the other to the quality of the accent. With regard to the place we find that the free Indo-germanic accent which could rest either on the root or on the ending, has become fixed in the great majority of cases in O. I. Its place in nouns, simple and compound, and simple verbs, was on the first syllable, in the case of compound verbs the position changed from the first to the second element according to certain established laws. As regards quality the Irish accent consisted of stress whereas the Indo-germanic represented a chromatic tone change. This stress, being of a very strong expiratory character gave rise to certain phenomena which may be briefly summarized thus: —

The toned syllable retained its inherited vocalic quality and quantity whereas unaccented syllables suffered a qualitative and quantitative weakening. The syllable after the accent became weakest and if not final usually lost its vowel and contracted. *maidin* gen. *maidne*, *tabhair*, but *taibhrem* = *taibherem*. Vid. Zimmer, Ueber altirische Betonung, Berlin 1884, and Thurneysen, L'accentuation de l'ancien verbe irlandais; R. C. VI, 129, sqq.

2. In general the accent inherited from O. I. is retained. On weakening of the accent force new agencies became energetic in Munster, the O. I. laws being crossed by others with ensuing disturbance especially in the Dēsi.

I. A long vowel in an unaccented syllable induced strife between the stress and tone accent. The stress accent balances the tone accent or yields to it. In the latter event a detoned

syllable before the new accent suffers the same reduction as the syllable after the ictus in O. I. *amadán* MUDĀN, *dionbáidh* DM'Ā, *coileán* KILĀN, or KL'ĀN, *taisbéan* SPĀN or SĀN *garrán* GRĀN *taréis* 'after', Tr'ēs.

Note. A long vowel cannot attract the accent over a heavy consonant group; *iompo* AUMPŌ, *caindleoir* kainl'ōr'.

II. A heavy syllable unaccented has a like effect. *salach* SLĀC, *beannacht* BN'ĀCT, *marcach* MURKĀC, *uireasba* RÍSĀ, *currach* KRAC. Where there is no such heavy consonant group the accent retains its legitimate position. *marcaig* MÁRKIG:

Regarding the power of the heavy termination — *ach* to effect disturbance of the accent there is distinction between its uses as nominal and adjective suffix. As noun suffix it usually bears the accent, *bacach*, BUKĀC, a lame one, a beggar but BĀKUC lame. In pausa even the adjective termination may be accented, as *gortach* in the following example:

*Fiodh-dún na gcrann*  
*thá baile beag ann*  
*gortach,*  
*baile beag briste*  
*is a thóin leis an uisce*  
*is mná gan feiscint ann.*

IV. Pro- and enclitic particles distinguish strong and weak forms according to stress and relation to the pausa position, *leo*, *leotha*, *lé*, *léithe*, *sin*, *sin*, SUN, and SN', *ann*, AUN and N'. *cé* (= *cia*) KĒ and KE, *mé* MĒ and MĀ *tú*, TU and TĀ *tar*, HAR DAR and TĀ. *agus*, IS.

V. *ag* in conjunction with pronouns is enclitic *agam* ĀGUM *agat* ĀGUT *aige aici* ĀGÉ, ĀKÍ, *againn* EGĪN, *agaihbh*, ĀGIV, *acu* ĀKÚ. So *umam* (= *imb-* *i* to *u* before a labial) ÚMM' and ĀMUM. *orm* ÓRM' occassionally in pausa ĀRUM. *ní'n aon phoca* *orm* NĪN E FÓKĀ RUM, Tom Lannou. Similarly *oiread* but *an dá oiread* N' DĀ RÚD.

VI. Under the accent certain consonants doubled in aus-

laut of short-voweled syllables, or in position in inlaut, develop sounds which supplant the original root vowel or combine with it in the production of a new slurred diphthong. Failing the conditions e. g. when through an increase the syllabic division separates double consonants the primitive sound remains. Vid. § 3 sqq.

3. Pausa has a liking for long vowels and for the accent. Some verbs reserve a longer form for pausa. *Chondairc me é*, cnik me ē, but in affirmative answer to a question cnikī̄s.

4. The irrational vowel ə is absorbed by a neighbouring coloured vowel in context. *Chuidh sé isteach* hwū sē stác, or cū, Two neighbouring irrational vowels contract to one.

5. Though unaccented syllables void their colour still they can but seldom be represented by the sign for the irrational grade from their liability to borrow a tint from following consonants especially labials and gutturals, including guttural L. Cf. the ə from n' m' becoming u under the accent in *agam*, *sin*, (*san*) *is*, the unaccented form of *agus*.

The influence of a following consonant  
on vowels.

§ 3,1. a) A slender consonant left the foregoing long vowel unchanged. Umlaut however often took the place of a short vowel. This process is complete in many instances, in others it has not yet begun.

b) A broad consonant developed a broad parasitic vowel which usually unlauded a foregoing short root vowel.

2. a) A heavy consonant group lengthened, or far oftener, diphthongized a short root vowel under the accent. Thereby a great number of new slurred diphthongs have been developed. In Connaught and sometimes in Thomond lengthening only is apparent in those situations. Vid. Finck, *Wörterbuch der mundart der Araninseln*. Also in the East, in Man, tōlsə *fallsa*, surī *suirghe*, Thos. Kermode Bradda, Isle of Man. Vid. Strachan, *Zeit. f. Celt. Phil.* I, p. 54. In the Dēsi and



generally in Munster lengthening is found only after *rr* or *r* in position. *fearr* fār, *dóirse* pl. of *dorus*. Diphthongization is a special Munster characteristic and each subdivision is distinguished by a particular table of those new sounds.

b) Of the consonant groups producing this change some are permanently heavy (inlaut position) some capable of being lightened by the addition of a suffix. Sometimes in composition the accession of an element with consonant initial constitutes a heavy group. *Tein-loit* tēinlot, or tēilot T. G. (if from *teine* and not *teann*), *seandrui* saundri *seandamh* saundāv, *bainrioghan* baurīn (the writing *bain-* is only ornamental, the pronunciation comes from *ban-*) *antoil* aunt! Denn, *contabairt* kaunturt P. Walsh song, (Irregular accentuation, usually κν'tourt), *aungur i buairt an taelso*, Cat. 47. (But *seanduine* sándinə *andóchus* andōcis.) Here the first element was accented and formed an integral part of the word, if proclitic as in *andóchus* it lacked the essential of accent for constituting a heavy group in the sense of this rule. Cf. accent and proclitic groups *ionnsaighe* aunsī but *ionntsamhail* intūl. When a group capable of suffering such a process is lightened the syllable retains its original sound (radical or umlaut), after or before the accent it becomes the irrational vowel. *ceanfhionn* compounded of *kaun* and *fyaun* and pronounced *kann'* exemplifies both cases. *nin se ann*, aun, but *dailtín maith athá ann*, n'.

c) A comparison of C. M. O. (Clare, 1780) and T. G. (Cork Kerry? same period) with the Dēsi usage revealed the following sound table. Oblique lines denote rare or exceptional intonation.

Dēsi	au	ou	î	ai	Ei
Thom.	ū	ou	î <sup>3</sup>	ī	ī
Des.	ū    ō	ou	ī    ē	ī	ī    ē

1) *meabhair*: trom, C. M. O. 6. 2) *fallsacht*: *fáidhchirt* ib. 7. 3) *gadhar*, *aighneas*, *faghairt taidhbhse*: ī, īb. 4) Diphthongs arising from *mh*, *ch*, and *ll* as *rachad*, *doimhín*, *moill*: ī.

§ 4,1. au. This diphthong, which is produced in the accented position by the nasal *mh* surrounded by *a* vowels, or by the influence of double liquids (except *r* which caused lengthening) under the conditions set forth in the examples hereunder given, is of a strongly nasal character. It accompanies broad consonants and supplants all short root vowels except *o*<sup>1)</sup>. From the fact that *ball* and *ceann* show this sound as well as *samha* sau, where its origin from a nasal is pretty clear (the *mh* being in fact an anusvâra sign), one may consider that a parasitic vowel developed nasal timbre before broad liquids and unlauted the root vowel to au. Whatever the order of the process the result from *mh* and double liquids is the same to-day. Hence it is found convenient to speak of an anusvâra developed by double liquids. So also where *w* and *y* are spoken of as developed by liquids there is merely question of identity of results, that is to say, liquids have behaved towards root vowels in the same way that has been observed in the case of *w* and *y*. The addition of a vowel even of a svarabhakti resolves an auslaut double group into elements belonging to separate syllables, such an anusvâra is not induced, and the original sound is retained. A liquid in inlaut in position produces an insoluble anusvâra. The groups producing the au diphthong are written thus: *-ng*, *ll*, *nn*, *m=mm* and *amha* in auslaut, *-nd-*, *-nl-*, *-bhr-*, *-mhr-*, *-mhn-* in inlaut. In all those cases au takes the place of the root vowel. *long*, *drong* and *Conn(?)* through influence of the guttural nasal make au though belonging to the ou diphthong.

Note. From the fact that an addition breaks up a heavy liquid group there arises the phenomenon of many words having a long vowel or diphthong as monosyllables but showing a short vowel i. e. preserving the original length as dissyllables. *snaidm* snîm, pl. snâmn'ë, as if from *snam-mana*, *greimm* gr'im,

<sup>1)</sup> *o*+*w* from *ll*, *mm*, *nn* in auslaut or position or from *dh*, *gh*, *mh*, in inlaut became ou. § 5,1.



pl. *gramn'ə*, *barr* BĀR but *barra* BĀRƏ, *gleann* glaun gen. *glanə*. Hence sometimes a dissyllable took a short vowel by analogy. *tabhair dam* TOUR DUM has *TOUM'* as unaccented form (shortened from a form *TŌR DUM*) *comhthrom* from *KŌRHM'* or *KOURHM'* to *KORHM'*. Also in *mise*, *tusa*, *ise*, we must either say that the unaccented short form of the pronoun was chosen as stem for the emphatic increase or else *mé tí* and other such monosyllables have become lengthened by some unknown law. *h* written *-th-* has a power of absorbing *y*. Thus the termination *-the* of the ppp. of *-ighim* verbs absorbs *-gh-*, there is no coalescing of *y* with *i* and hence no lengthening. *malluighim* MÁLĪM, *malluighthe* MÁLƏHƏ. Even so *-th-* in the *t*, *d*, declension or what has become such by late analogy. The word for house is declined *tí*, *tighe*, *tig* which is pronounced *tī tī* *pl. tihə*. *dlighedh* glĪ *pl. glitə*: *fuirean* Ren. 69, p. 34, *troigh*: *dlaoi* therefore *TRĪ*, *pl. TRĪHƏ*, *dim. TRĪHĪN*. *croidhe* KRĪ *pl. KRĪHƏ* Denn, 66. *deachmhadh* 'tithe' dahŪ *pl. dáhəhə*.

Examples:

<i>ball</i>	BAUL	<i>cionta</i>	KAUNTƏ
<i>fionn</i>	FYAUN	<i>cantla</i>	KAUNTLƏ
<i>ann</i>	AUN	<i>drantán</i>	DRAUNTĀN
<i>seanda</i>	SAUNDƏ	<i>liomsa</i>	LAUMSƏ
<i>fallsa</i>	FAULSƏ	<i>sganradh</i>	SGAURƏ
<i>dream</i>	DRAUM	<i>branradh</i>	BRAURƏ
<i>cam</i>	KAUM	<i>splanc</i>	SPLAUNK
<i>prionsa</i>	PR'AUNSƏ	<i>ranclach</i>	RAUNKLUC
<i>lansa</i>	LAUNSƏ	<i>seang</i>	SAUN
<i>damsa</i>	DAUMSƏ	<i>young</i>	YAUN
<i>glamhsán</i>	GLAUSAN	<i>treabhladh</i>	TRAULƏ
	<i>iomchur</i>	AUMPR'	
	<i>stumpa</i>	STAUMPƏ	
	<i>blandar</i>	BLAUNDR'	
	<i>banlamh</i>	BAULUV	
	<i>meabhrach</i>	MAURUC	

<i>gamhna</i>	GAUNƏ
<i>samha</i>	SAWƏ
<i>romhat-sa</i>	RAUTSƏ
<i>seandrui</i>	SAUNDRĪ
<i>coinsios</i>	KAUNŚIS
<i>frainsios</i>	FRAUNŚIS

In the last two examples the foreign slender group *-ns-* was regarded as broad, otherwise only broad groups produce this sound.

2. Unaccented *au* from *amh=ū. damhsa dŪse, amhail aul* but *fearamhail farŪil, modhamhail* by contraction *moūl*. Near the accent *anusvāra* is not developed and the syllable is treated like all other detoned cases. *druimfhionn, DRIMN'*.

3. *ll, mm, nn (rr)* being resolved on receiving a vocalic suffix the primitive vowel is retained. *ball BAUL* but *ar balla chrith er ba'ə cr'ī gleann gen. gleanna glanə. cam* from *cambo=camm, cama chlis kāməclis, crann, but crannaibh KRANIV, mionn pl.*

4. *rr* in auslaut and *r* in position lengthen. *ferr fār* and *fār gearr gār, gār*. In position *dorus* but *dóirse, súgradh*. When the combination is broken the original sound remains. *is fearra dhuit* is *farə yot* or *yet, máire ghearra mār'ə yarə, súgradh sugr'.*

§ 5,1. *ou*. With broad consonants. Accented short *o+w* arising from *ll, mm, nn*, in auslaut, arising from *gh, dh, mh*, before a voiced element, and short *a* or *o+w* from *bh* before a voiced element, combine to *ou*.

<i>coll</i>	KOUL	<i>bodhar</i>	BOUR
<i>bonn</i>	BOUN	<i>fodhb</i>	FOUB
<i>drom</i>	DROUM	<i>foghlach</i>	FOULUC
<i>rogha</i>	ROWƏ	<i>tomhas</i>	TOWIS
	<i>labhairt</i>	LOURT	
	<i>seabhac</i>	SOUK	
	<i>abhac</i>	OUK	
	<i>Ultach</i>	OULTUC	

as if *oll-* Vid. derivation of *Uladh* in poem quoted Manners and Customs Vol. I, p. 8.

2. On receiving a vocalic increase *ll*, *mm*, *nn*, are separated and the original sound is not disturbed. *Croma* KROMƏ, *droma* DROMƏ. In *drong long* the anusvāra induced by a nasal has unlauded *o* to *au*, vid. § 4,1.

3. Unaccented= $\bar{u}$ . *comharba* KŪƏRBƏ, *Concobhar* KUNŪR. Originally unaccented prefixes retain their close sound even when they become accented. Thus the first syllables of *comhursa* and of *commaith* are sounded alike although *comh* in *comhursa* is now accented while the *com* of *commaith* is still proclitic. So *iongantach* ŪƏNTUC, though now accented on the first syllable. The pronunciation AUNTUC T. L. is due to late accent working.

4. In Desmond sometimes= $\bar{o}$ . *comhachtach*: *dóchus* T. G. 4, *rompa*: *dóirse*, T. G. 5, *sómpla* T. G. 13, *Dēsi* SAUMPLƏ. *ómbrach* T. G. 23, *Dēsi* AUMR'UC.

5. In the *Dēsi* pronouns and prepositional pronouns are usually exempt from the action of those change laws but *liom* LUM often LAUM in songs, *ionta* INTƏ and AUNTƏ *romhat* RAUT, or RAWƏT. In Thomond and Desmond they usually conform *sinn* SĪŋ.

§ 6,1. *í*, with broad and slender consonants. *y* from *gh*, *dh*, broad and slender and from *mh*, *bh* slender, and the *y* developed by slender *ll* in auslaut or slender *l* in position changed a short root vowel (except *ei=e*) to *í* under the accent. Groups denoting the presence of this sound are usually written: *-ll*, *-ls-*, *-llf(=llh)*, *-lt-*, *-ghn-*, *dhbh-*, *gh*, *mh*, *bh*, slender and *gh*, *dh*, flanked by *a* vowels or preceded by *a* and followed by a voiced element. The change of *gh dh* to *y* in these broad positions appears exceptional. A parallel change of broad *bh* to *y* is found in words like *diabhal* DĪYL and DYUOL, *riabhach* RĪYUC, where one may consider *bh* as assimilated to the following consonant and *y* as a glide from *i*. In some instances *dh* was originally slender. *radharc* from *derc*, *adharc* a

horn, *adercéne* gl. corniculum, Z<sup>2</sup> 274. After working of the accent law the vowel of the second syllable was reduced to ə and written *a* the consonant remaining slender. *adhmad* 'brennholz' Finck, and so connected with *adannadh*. | *adn'ad* (*ann*=*n'* unaccented, cf. *anmanna*) *ayn* Cat. 3,9, and *adhradh* like Lat. *ad-orare*, *ayrim* Cat. 9 appear to have had broad *dh*. So *Tadhg*. Broad *dh*=*y* in accented auslaut in MANX, MU GRAI-Ī is *mis' mo ghrádh is mise*, Thos Kermode, Bradda Isle of Man. In unaccented position also *dh* broad=*y*, ex. *-adha* as nom. pl. ending=*Ī*, *curada* KURĪ. But also=*w*. *iomdha* MŪ (but the prep. *imb-* was unaccented here), *bunadhas* BN'ŪS.

Examples:

2. <i>cill</i>	cĭl	<i>luighead</i>	LĪƏD
<i>millteach</i>	mĭltuc	<i>laighean</i>	LĪƏN
<i>soillse</i>	sĭlsə	<i>foighinne</i>	FĪŋƏ
<i>coill-te</i>	kĭl-tə	<i>aibhne</i>	ĪƏNƏ
<i>tuill-fead</i>	tĭl-həd	<i>doimhin</i>	DĪƏN
<i>aighneas</i>	ĭnis	<i>maidhm</i>	MĪƏM
<i>saidhbhreas</i>	sĭvris	<i>tadg</i>	TĪG
	<i>badhb</i>	BĪB	
	<i>cladhair</i>	KLĪƏR'Ə	
	<i>adhmad</i>	ĪMƏD	
	<i>faghairt</i>	FĪƏRT	
	<i>bfuighbhinn</i>	VĪŋ	
	<i>coigthigheas</i>	KĪKĪS	

3. *d* is assimilated (?) to *g*, *b*, *m*, *n*, in *tadg*, *badhb*, *snaidm*, *adnadh*, etc. Hence it should not be dotted in such situations. If one may depend on the present pronunciation of *coigthigheas* kĭkĪs, kĭkĪs (?) Finck, *coig-* must be separated from O. I. *cóic* because *ĭ* proceeds from a short vowel. Neither has it to do with Lat. *quinque* because of *κ*.

4. Unaccented=*Ī*, *curadha* KURĪ from *y*;=*Ū* from *w*. Vid. *bunadhas* above. On separating double liquids *y* is not developed and the primitive vowel is preserved, *cill*, gen. *cille* kĭlə. It

falls away in detoned position and the syllable suffers the usual reduction. *eochaiġl* ȳhġ 'Youghal' (!) *ch*=*h*.

§ 7,1. *ai*, with slender consonants, *y* developed from *mm*, *nn*, (=ŋ) or *mm ng* in position contracts with *i* of root under the accent to *ai*. The groups are written: *-imm*, *-inn*, *-imch*, *-int*, etc., *cuimhin* which should belong to the foregoing is unlauded to *ai* by nasal influence.

<i>binn</i>	baiŋ	<i>simplidhe</i>	saimplġ
<i>clainn</i>	klaiŋ	<i>timchioll</i>	haimplġ
<i>cruinn</i>	kraiŋ	<i>ling</i>	laiŋ
<i>impreamhail</i>	aimprġȳəl	<i>linn</i>	laiŋ
<i>intinn</i>	aintiŋ	<i>trinseach</i>	trainsuc
<i>rince</i>	raiŋkə	<i>saint</i>	saint
<i>im</i>	aim	<i>slim</i>	slaim
<i>suim</i>	saim	<i>rinne</i>	raiŋ

<i>grinn</i>	gr'aiŋ
<i>crainn</i>	kraiŋ
<i>aoinnech</i>	aiŋe
<i>coint</i> (Fr. Conte)	kaint, koint,
<i>caincin</i> a retroussé nose,	kaiŋcġn
<i>cingcis</i>	kaiŋkġs
<i>cuimhin</i>	kain

2. A vocalic addition induces separation of double consonant groups and preserves the root sound. *binn* but *binne* biŋə. Nouns of the *o* declension ending in *mm*, *nn*, belong here in gen. voc. sing. and nom. pl. *ceann*, gen. *cinn* kaiŋ. Pronouns and prepositional pronoun compounds are excepted *sinn* siŋ, Desmond, Thomond, sġŋ. *linn* with us, liŋ but *linn* a pool, laiŋ. § 5,5.

3. Nasal influence cancelled by breaking pausa=ġ *cuimhneamh* kġnuv=regular accented intonation Thom. Des. § 3,2 c.

Near the accent=ə or ŋ, *druimfhinn* druiŋŋ.

§ 8,1. *Ei* with slender consonants. A variant of the preceding. Following *ei* (=e) the *y* from *gh mh bh dh* slender



or developed by double final liquids or single in position changes *ei* into *ei*. A following *r* produces the same Diphthong. *eirghe*, *eir'ī teir tēir'*, also Eng. 'pair', 'stairs' become *FEIR'ə*, *STEIR'ə* through *r* influence.

2. The combination are *-eimm*, *-eill*, *-eir*, *einn*, *-eigh-*, *-eidh-*, *-eibh* + a liquid.

Examples:

<i>feill</i>	<i>fEil</i>	<i>deigh-</i>	<i>dEi</i>
<i>sgeimhle</i>	<i>sGEilə</i>	<i>teimhill</i>	<i>tEil</i>
<i>geibhleach</i>	<i>GEilUC</i>	<i>leigh-te</i>	<i>lEi-tə</i>
<i>teighim</i>	<i>tEim</i>	<i>eibhlin</i>	<i>Eilīn</i>
<i>feighil</i>	<i>fEil</i>	<i>beinn</i>	<i>BEiŋ</i>
	<i>meidbh</i>	<i>MEiv</i>	
	<i>eisteacht</i>	<i>EISTUCT</i>	
	<i>meadhar</i>	<i>MEir'</i>	
	<i>greadhan</i>	<i>gr'Eiŋ</i>	

*eisteacht*; *eula*, Dunne from *éitsecht*, *Dēsi Eis* — *meadhar* *greadhan* are also written *meidhir*, *greidhean*. *medar*, W.

3. Vocalic initial suffix divides auslaut group and the old sound remains *greimm*, but *greamma* = *gr'amə*.

4. Some few words belonging either to *ai* or *î* have made a separate class with *oi* vowel. They are:

<i>raint</i>	<i>ROint</i>	<i>suim</i>	<i>SOim</i>
<i>maigistear</i>	<i>MOistɿ</i>	<i>muintear</i>	<i>MOintɿ</i>
<i>maigistreás</i>	<i>MOistɿás</i>	<i>mainseach</i>	<i>MOINSUC</i>
<i>timcioll</i>	<i>HOimPL'</i>	<i>baintreabach</i>	<i>BOintruc</i>
	<i>biombéil</i>	<i>boimbēil</i>	
	<i>caill</i>	<i>KOil</i>	
	<i>scim</i>	<i>SKOim</i>	
	<i>gaillseach</i>	<i>GOilsuc</i>	

Some of those are always pronounced *oi*, *maigistear -ás*, *mainseach*, *baintreabhach*, *biombéil* (*bioma* Eng. 'beam'?) others *oi*, *ai*, *î*, *suim*, *scim*, *gaillseach*.



§ 9. Hereunder the symbols of the historical orthography will be taken in order and an attempt made to set forth the sounds they represent. The vowel-signs whether representing vowels, diphthongs, (real or merely timbre digraphs) or unlauded sounds will be treated in some detail. This has been considered necessary for the reading of an assonantal system of verse, particularly as the sounds intended to be conveyed cannot in many cases be even divined from the common orthography. The consonant signs will receive shorter treatment because their value is mostly sufficiently evident. Special regard then will be had only for those cases when the symbols no longer represent the sound, for example in occurrences of assimilation and combination of vowels with remains of affected consonants to contraction or diphthongization. For a treatment of the liquids I refer to the minute and exhaustive discussion in Dr Pedersen's work *Aspirationen i Irsk*, Leipzig 1897.

### Of the Vowels.

#### 1. Short vowels.

§ 10,1. *a*. Usually =  $\hat{a}$ . *cad* kâd, *cara* kârə (pl. kâr'də, lengthening from *r* in position) *ca bhfios duit?* kâvis dot, or det, \**can fiss duit*, *ca shoin* when? kâ'cŋ and kâ'c'in, also<sup>1</sup>) kâcŋ. *ca'l se?* kâl sē and kâl sē, *talamh* râluv, gen. *talmhan* râlŪN, *mac* mâk, and so for nearly all the occurrences. It is labial or guttural umlaut from *a*.

2. In some words however *a* in accented syllable in a) anlaut or b) preceded by a consonant that is neither a labial nor a guttural (including guttural L) = *a*. a) *anfa* aNƏhə, *admháil* aDƏwâil, (followed by *n*, *m* =  $\hat{a}$ ; *anam*, *an*, 'stay', *amus*, but *an-* 'very' aNƏ-, *anfa* a great blowing,) *arm* aRM',

<sup>1</sup>) Here we have broad *sh* < C by some change process obscure to me. The parallel charge of slender *sh* < c, through *hy* as explained by Pedersen is quite common and may even be heard in English as spoken in Ireland. E. g. *human* cumn'.

*argain* arəŋ. as prep. with its pronominal combinations *asam*, etc. *athair* ahɹ' *asal*, *athchuinge* acɪŋe. b) *tarraingt* tarɪŋt, and so *tarbh*, *dar* 'by' in oaths, *tar* har and compounds, *tarra* 'tar' *dara* tarə (the spelling descends from *ind aile*, the pronunciation from *int aile*). *Crathach* one named M'Grath, *tarbha* tarəfə; *tagan*, but *nar thagaidh tú* hāgə, *tafant* tafənt (TAHN', Com. song) *dafhichid* dāhid, *stad* 'stop' *tannidhe*,<sup>1)</sup> *dadam*, middle Irish *ttada*, *apstallaibh* T. G. 38. *Sasanach*. Loan words often kept a; hence *hata* 'a hat', *patan* a patent, a title deed, *a bpront Patain a meamram táirne* (= *tarraingthe*) Grace song. O'Neill. This word took an infixed *r* and appears later in the puzzling phrase *cur i bpratain* to commit to writing, relate deeds. Also *agam*, etc. when for metrical reasons accented on the first syllable.

3. *a* is usually preserved before a softened consonant. This of course is written *ai* q. v. In *gabtha* = o: *obair* C. M. O. Here participle from *gabail* = gōl shortened before *th*.

4. *a* becomes ə in unaccented position. This is liable to take a u colour from guttural or labial (u shaped) consonants. *gach aon* gu hən, *casog*, 'cassock' kusōg, So *a* = ə the svarabhakti or vowel sign from ! m n on receiving the secondary accent becomes u under the same conditions: *ansan* n'su'n, but *athà san* hā sn', *agam* əgu'm, *agat* əgu't, *dam* dum, : *dubh* P. P. 226, (not a shortened form of *damhsa* dūsə but DM' accented).

5. *a* = nul through contraction of an unaccented syllable. *salach* slâc, *tar éis* trēs. *a* = ə in anlaut or auslaut is absorbed by a neighbouring coloured vowel. *bhí cailíní oga ann* vī kalīnī ōg aun, *chuidh se asteach (isteach)* gū, or fū, or hwū sē stâc, *rachadsa ann* rîds aun.

6. *a* makes a number of slurred diphthongs with the semi-vocalic relics of affected consonants, by contraction, and

<sup>1)</sup> Of the O. I. forms *tana*, *tanide* the latter only is used in the Desi.

by occurring in heavy syllables under the accent. With *y* from *gh*, *dh*, etc., to *î* and *y* glide to following vowel. *aghaidh*, *iyə*, *radharc* RĪRK, RĪYƏRK, *Tadg* TĪG, *cadhata*(?) *maith dhe cheapaire* KĪTE MĀ YƏ (gə) CĀPṚƏ a good piece of bread and butter. *ladb*, *badb*, *snaidm*, *adradh*, etc. vid § 6. But *rachainn* : *talamh* D. R. 37, RĀCIŋ = western intonation, *gadhar* : *séimh* P. P. 140 is a non-Munster pronunciation.

7. *a* unaccented with *w* from *bh*, *dh*, *gh*, *mh*, to Ū. *dearmad* DARŪD. DARŪDIŋ 1st per. imperfect, DARŌTIŋ 1st per. conditional. Here ō is adopted from *-ighim* verb futures, the *t* is a result of *df* = *dh* combination. S. R. So *-amha* or liquid + *mha*, *bha*, etc. in unaccented position. *marbhadh* MÁRŪ, *marrugh* Cass. 141, i. e. as if *marughadh* hence this and a good many other verbs have gone over to the *-ighim* conjugation, fut. MÁRŌƏD. *berbhadh* BERŪ, a *g-cualabhar* ə GŪLŪWṚ S. R. *iomdha* MŪ. *maiteamhnas*, *mohunas* Cat. 23, *contabhairt* KN'TŪRT, but once KAUNTŪRT Walsh (song) through exceptional stressing of the unaccented preposition. *bunadhas* BN'ŪS, *ladamhas* LĀDŪS, *damhsa* DŪSƏ, *greannmhar* GR'ANŪR *deachmhadh* DAHŪ, pl. DAHƏHƏ, *ceatramhadh* KĀRHŪ. By analogy KŪGŪ (*ū* after a slender consonant) TR'ĪGŪ from mixed analogy of the numerals for 'four' and 'five'. *Talmhan*, (gen.) TĀLŪN, *beulmhach* BIĀLŪC a bridle bit, *feolmhach* FYŌLŪC, *murrghach* MURŪC, *searbh* SARUV but *searbhas* SARŪS, *cearbhach* (from *carbhas* 'carouse'?) KARŪC a drinking man, by popular etymology restricted to 'card'-player. Also endings in — *amhail* Ūl i. e, Ūwəl. Cf. parallel of slender consonant signs to *y* after liquids, *suirghe* SURĪ, *inghean* INĪƏN.

8. *a* = *ā*, *ā*, before *rr* and *r* in position. *bárr* BĀR, *barr* W. *cáirde* pl. of *cara*, *táirne* sometimes used for *tarraingthe*. This lengthening influence of *r* extends to all the short vowels but is not always energetic. Thus *airc* ark. The svarabhakti vowel from *r* breaks position and in such examples as *arbhar* ARŪR *bh* is vocalic. When the syllable is lightened

by addition of a vowel *rr* in auslaut is sundered and there is no lengthening:

*an chroch árd dá cur 'na seasamh*  
*is an buinneán aorach dul 'na barra.* .|. BĀRƏ

9. *a* in *-adh* verbal noun ending = ə. After a liquid + *mh*, *bh*, *dh*, = ū. Vid § 10,7. *bualadh* BŪƏLƏ but *berbhadh* BERŪ. Unaccented *-adh* in auslaut therefore gives up its *j* or *w*. *adh-* accented = î vid. § 6. In Desmond often = E *madhmach:laochradh* T. G. 12. Accented auslaut = ī *cladh* KLĪ, so *-aidh* in *ceadfaidh*, *chadfuy*, Cat. O. I. *cétbaid* with accent on first syllable.

10. *adh*, *agh* as accented monosyllables = â, *ád*h, *ágh*, *rád*h. *adhbhar* ĀVR' S. R. usually OUR. Here there is old lengthening.

11. *a* = â by contraction *Adhamh* ĀV, T. G. 9. 19. *Aav*, Cat. 31. From *namha* NĀ. *baile atha cliath*, BLĀklĪ, Here contraction to ā and exceptional loss of *th*. This, the pronunciation of a place name, came from outside. Intervocalic *th* is not lost in the Dēsi.

12. *a* with *w* of *bh* under accent to ou. *cabair* KOUR, *tabhair*. Vid. § 5,1. Often the older stage āv is kept in songs. *labairt* LĀVRt, *cabair : chailleamar* T. G. Therefore KĀVR.

13. *a* which with anusvāra *mh*, or induced from *-m*, *-ll*, etc. = au. *lann*, *mall* LAUN MAUL, (Vid. § 4,1) sometimes preserves non Dēsi forms in songs; *do réir m' amhrais* RĒR MOURIS, M. song. *amhras : cabair* Brett apud Dunne. When anusvāra is not induced the root sound remains. *Cama chlis* KĀMƏ clis.

14. *a* = o in TORM' .|. *tabhair dham* unaccented. Here *tabhair* once = TŌR is shortened by the addition of a syllable. Cf. *-the* plurals *rí*, *rithe* RĪHƏ : *imthíg*, C. M. O. In such cases resolved pausa shortened on the analogy of the treatment of real pausa lengthenings.

15. *a* sometimes arises in plurals and adjectives restored from obscured monosyllables by the breaking of a heavy con-



sonant group or through the resolution of pausa. *dlaoi* (?) *dlathach*, adj. *na dlathaibh* P. P. 178: *snamach*=*snam-mach* from *snaid-m* SNĪM, *claoi* .|. *cladh*, κλῑ, *klai* Finck, pl. κλαηυα. Sometimes an *a* appears by false analogy *rig* pl. *rathacha* D. R. 98. 'arms'.

16. *a*=*ō* (from *aw*) in *gabháilt*=going, moving, causing to move. *gabháilt na gaoithe* : *ō* C. M. O. 17, *gabháil leo* : *pósadh* ib. 10. This verbal noun has three pronunciations, *gúvâl*, as much hay as one may carry in the arms, *gwâlt*, the usual verbal noun, and *gōlt*, [going. So *adhbhar* : Sport in Dunne, Carrick-Shock song. Also *namhad* : *ō* ib. A lengthening from *r* in position, *thórsta* 3 sing. fem. prep. pron. from *tar*, M. song. So 3 pl. *torsta* : *tabairt* : *óg* P. P. 136.

E, e,

§ 11,1. E is the *ē* sound after a broad consonant. It is usually written *ao* sometimes *ae* and represents the 'O. I. diphthongs *oi*, *oe*, *ai*.

2. *e* appears only in auslaut as it forms a digraph with the timbre index of a following consonant. Before a broad consonant written *ea* and sounded *a*, before a slender consonant *ei* and sounded *e*.

3. *e* accented=*e*. *aige*, *əge*. For *ag* O. I. *oc* the pronominal form masculine is used.

4. *e* unaccented=*ə*. *báidhte* BĀTĀ, *tar-se* TARSĀ, *léthhe* LĒHĀ.

5. *e* unaccented with *y* from *gh*, *mh*, *ch* after liquids and *t* contracts to *ī*. This long vowel then drew to itself the accent. § 2,2 I. *eiryhe* EIR'Ī, *gainmhe* GANĪ, *suirghe* SUR'Ī, *inghean*, IN'ĒN, *doilgheas* DOLĪ'S, *coitcheann* KOTĪĒN, *faitcheas* FĀTĪ'S, *dairghe* DARĪ, *comairce* KUMĪ'Ī. Cf. § 10,7.

§ 12,1, I, i.

I is the *i* sound after a broad consonant. It is usually written *ui*, *oi*, and in often the *i* umlaut of a broad vowel, *fuil coille* FWĪL KĪ'Ā.

2. *i*=*i*. *mise*, *ithe*, *binib* T. G. 'Venom' .|. savage spite.

*nithe* nihə pl. of *ní*, *dlighthe* glihə pl. of *dligh* glī, *tighthe* tihə pl. of *tí* tí, gen. *tighe* tī, dat. (nom.) *tig* tig, *imthighthe* iməhe and mihə, *linn* liŋ prep. pron. *dliher* Cat. 25 *dlighear*, Keatynge.

3. *i* by contraction with *y* remains of consonants =  $\bar{i}$ . *nimhe* gen. of *nimh* poison: *tí* T. G. 10, *nī*, *sligh* slī, *brigh* br'ī, *tighe* tī. So the *-ighim* terminations of verbs *malluighim* mālīm. Some tenses of some simple verbs have gone over to the denominative conjugation *ní feicighim ann é*, \**condaircigheas* cŋkīs I saw (in pausa), *sínt* Com. song, a Desmond lengthening, the Dési form is *sinmhuint* sinŭnt form *seinm*, *Brighid* brīd.

4. *i* = ai under the conditions mentioned § 7,1. *tinn* taiŋ, *sinsear* sainsr̄, *simplidhe* saimplī, *inis* inis, but *inse* ainsə, *Sceichin na rince* sgehīn nərainkə ('ring') The dance Bush (a place-name) *mo ghrinn croidhe* mu yr'aiŋ krī.

Thom. and Des. examples: *binn*: *sios* Dunne, *sinsear*: *sioda* Sheehy, *cinte*: *rimhthear* Sheehy, *tinte*: *fiochmhar* C. M. O. pl. of *teine*. Prep. pron. *linn* liŋ, pron. *sinn* sīŋ.

5. *i* under conditions described § 6, 1, =  $\hat{i}$ . *cill* kil. Latin *cella* should give *ceall* but place-names being mostly spoken of with reference to motion to or from the dative finally became nominative. gen. *cille* kilə, *coill* kīl, gen. kīlə, *milis* milis, but *milse* mīlsə, *mill* mīl, but *milleadh* milə.

6. *i* quite rarely under the accent = *u*. *go dtuga tú sin dúinn* gu dʊgə tū sún dūəŋ, Crowley, *ca'l a leath-cheann sin* kál ə lacaun sún. Here there is an upraising of the vocalic portion of *n* sonans. Cf. *agam*. In *rith*, *rioch* ruc, *i* is unlauted by the *u* thrown off by the guttural spirans.

7. *i* in a couple of words under accent = *e*. *file* felə (Cf. *veleda*) *bile*, belə, *air beille breagh geagach*, Fitzgerald Poems, Ren. P. 65. Also *go bhfelleadh* = *go bhfillleadh*, Dunne. This is against the tendeney to exchange *e* for *i* under the accent, cf. Eng. 'pen,' 'men' pronounced pin min in Ireland. There is an etymological reason for felə, the *e* in *bile* is



obscure to me, and *bhfelleadh* is probably due to the influence of *file*.

8. *i* unaccented= $\text{ə}$ . *licighthe* 'likəhə, schlank', *sillice búrca* siləke BŪRKƏ, a snail.

9. *i* unaccented often further reduced to nul. This occurs when unaccented *i* in context is absorbed by a neighbouring coloured vowel *mā's* = *mā is*, *lionta bpiantaib* C. M. O. for *lionta i bp.* or when it immediately precedes the accent, *dubhairt leis 'mtheacht leis féin*, for *imtheacht*, 'dir = *idir*.

10. *i* =  $\bar{e}$  in *gidh* pronounced *kē*, the writing from O. I. *cid* the pronunciation from *ced*.

§ 13,1. *o* = *o*. *tabhair do é* DO, *innso* ƏNSO, *gob* GOB, *gotha*, gen. of *guth*, GOHƏ, *trosgadh* TROSGƏ, *sop* SOP, gen. sip.

2. *o* unaccented= $\text{ə}$ . *dob' oige* DE BŌGƏ, *tosach* TISƏC. Here *e* to *i* through influence of *s*. So *u* in *dorus* DORIS. *ar mo cheañ* ER MU CAUN,  $\text{ə}$  to *u* on account of the labial.

4. *o* accented in a few instances=*a*. *bhí 'nnso 'guinn* VĪN'SÁ GIŃ, *thá sé 'nnso há sēn' sá*.

4. *o* in *os* prep. unaccented=*a*. *os ceann*, *os comhair*, *os a dhiaidh*=*as*.

5. *o* in accented position usually near *n*=*u* (Cf. the parallel change of *ó* to  $\bar{u}$  near *n* § 18,3), *sonus* SUNIS, *donus* DUNIS, *moch* written *much*, Dunne. *gonta* GUNTƏ, *Donnchadh* DUNƏCƏ D. R. 95, (not DOUN- because of svarabhakti vowel) *cnoc* KNUK, *lonradh*, *lunra*, Cat. 9.

6. *o* with *i* umlaut rarely=*e*. Vid. *oi. orrainn* erin Crowley in fr'agr s fōr erin.]. *freagair is fóir orrarin*. Also *orraibh* eriv.

7. *o* before the accent=*nul*. *mo fhear* MAR, *colúir* KLŪR, Com. song, *a Lifer*=*Oliver*, *Oliver Grace* song 1687 apud O'Neil. *scolúire* SGLĀR'Ə, D. R. 86.

8. *o*= $\bar{u}$  in combination with consonant remains in unaccented position (accented=*ou* § 5,1). The prep. *con-* as element of a noun compound was proclitic and though now

stressed it mostly preserves the intonation of its unaccented period. *comharsa* KŪĀRSƏ, *comhnaidhe* KŪNĪ *chommór leis* CŪMŪR, *comhartha* KŪĀRHƏ, *comhrac* KŪRUK, KŪMÁL Eng. 'combing', *comhradh* KŪRĀ also KOU- and KŌRĀ.

9. *o* which should become ou=Ū in *foghmharr* FŪR or FŪWĀR perhaps through the labial. Pronounced also FŌR.

10. *o* which should also become ou=Ū through nasal influence in *foghantach* FŪĀNTUC, Bob, *foghnamh* FŪNUV, M. *domhnall* DŪNL', *congnamh* KŪNUV *cunah*, Cass. 145. *congarach*: *dlúith* Sheehy. So also in *lonradh*: *smúit* Sheehy, LŪRƏ Com. song, *lunra* Cat. 9 without assimilation of *n* to *r*. *lunrach* (*lonrach*): *lúith-glic* Sheehy.

11. *o* which should become Ū occasionally=ō the regular Thom. Des. development. *comhrádh*: *leo* O'Shea from *corrádh* with lengthening before *rr* through remembrance of long Ū, for *rr* does not lengthen before a vocalic opening. *romham* (rather *reomham* Dēsi and Thom.) Des.: *sro'l*, T. G. *aball-ghort* OULŌRT lengthened before *r* in position. Here the word *abhall* an apple-tree has been preserved (*ubhall* ŪĀL an apple) but is pronounced OUL- instead of AUL because the accent has been drawn by ō. *foghmharr*, *four*, Cass. 145, like Eng. 'four' *comharsa*, *coarsa*, Cass. 145, like Eng. 'course' *kōrs*, *comháircamh* KŌRUV, Bob. These occurrences in the Dēsi are probably loans from Thom. Des. where the accent does not distinguish ō and ou forms. The possibility arose from intercourse with labouring men from Des. who frequented the Dēsi in the last and beginning of the present century. *rómpa*: *dóirse* T. G. *omhanda*: *scolta* P. P. 120.

12. *o*=ō before *r* in position. *dóirse* pl. of *dorus*. *compórdach* T. G. 2, from Eng. 'comfort', *compórd* T. G. 10.

13. *o* under the conditions mentioned § 5, 1, = ou. *foghlúim* FOULŪ *modhamhail* MOUL with contraction, *comrádh* KOURĀ, Crowley (*com* accented) *a leithéidí eile do chomhrádh bó is do bhí 'cu*, such an alarm as they made! So *fonn*, *poll*, *trom*,

= *tromm*, *comm* M. song, *com singeán* = *comm* a lake name in the Dēsi, *cóll*, *fogha*, *tomhas*, *bodhradh*, *kouLhuc* condit. of *codlaim*, Bob. *DOU* = Eng. 'doubt' and *BOU*Í 'sometimes' is pl. of Eng. 'bout'.

14. *o* which should be *ou* irregularly = *au* through nasal influence. *long LAUN*, *contabhawt KAUNT*Ūrt, Walsh (once in song) *contae KAUNTE*, Eng. 'county', *anonn ƏNAUN*, *drong DRAUN*, pl. *DRONƏ*. *romham* and *romhut* should be *reamham* etc. and so the pronunciation goes back to the older form. „*buil fhios agat cad athú do bhriste (d) á rádh*“? was a question asked of a knock-kneed man with a new corduroy breeches „*ni fheadar*.“ „*Rachad-sa reamhat-sa, rachad-sa reamhad-sa!*“ *RĪDSƏ RAUTSƏ*.

§ 14, 1. *u* accented = *u*. *muc*, *do chur*, *muthall* a 'mop' of hair on the head, *putal* a cherub, *futa-fata*, hurry, confusion, *sruth SRUC*, gen. *srotha SROHƏ*, *musdar*, P. P. 228, *bun*, *puthaoil* belching. The ending variously written *-aoil*, *-ighil* is attached to all verbal nouns denoting sougling or sibilation. *feadaighil* whistling, *glugaoil* the escaping of air bubbles on steeping clothes in water, (*glugar* an addled egg from its sound when shaken) *plubaoil* the rattling of water in shoes, etc.

2. *u* unaccented = *ə*. *cróchur KRŌCʀ* a bier, *mo ghrádh fé*m *tu TƏ*, *a dtuigeann tú me*, *ƏDİŋ TƏ MƏ*, *solus SOLIS* from *s*. By metathesis *turas TRUS* D. R. 106.

3. *u* before the accent = *nul*. *currach KRÁC*, *fuláir* (= *furáil*) *FLĂR'*.

4. *u* = *ū* by contraction. *rugadh* to *rughag* and *RŪG*, heard once from a man of the Dēsi (S. R.) while reciting a poem of Thom. origin. *cubhra?* *KŪRHƏ*, *subhach SŪC*, T. G. 57, *dubhach DŪC*. Before *r* in position *súgradh*: *dúil* M. song, ordinarily *sucʀ* in the Dēsi; *ʀ* opened position. *lughaide LÍƏDƏ*, Dēsi. Terminations of verbal nouns in *-ughadh Ū-* or *Ūwə*, as the sound stream is continued until the lips regain the natural position. *umhail Ūəl*, *ul* Cat. 22, *uwal* ib. 27. The phonetic

system of Cat. depended a good deal on the word-picture. *Mumha* MŪ, gen. *Mumhan* MŪƏN. *chum* .|. *dochum* is pronounced *cun* and *cŪn* according to the accent. *dar ndoigh thá me chum é dheanadh* DAR NŪ hǎ mƏ cŪn ē yíáNƏ, *chum é mharbhadh* CON ē VǎRŪ.

5. *u* = *au* under conditions mentioned § 4. *puncamhail* PAUNKŪl from *punctum*, *suncum*, *sancum*? SAUNKM', *thá sé baint s. as a(n) gcnámh hǎ sē bánt s. as ə GNǎV*, said of a dog enjoying a bone, M. *int ungar 7 int ocras n' taungr'*, T. L. Eng. 'hunger'. Eng. 'young' pron. IUN is sometimes YAUN, 'Jim' YAUN = *sēmus óg*, *stumpa* STAUMPƏ, Eng. 'stump'.

6. *u* = *e* in *rud* RED and ROD O. I. *rét*. A shortened form was torn from unaccented position in *aonrét* to *aorred* ERƏD and ə under second accent to o with dental. Cf. *agam* where ə to u with a labial. *duit* DOT and DET. Vid. ui.

7. *u* rarely = *i*. *cumadh: ionadh* P. P. 29. Not a sure instance for *ion-* is often UN- but *cumag: oiníg* T. G. 48. where *o* is unlauded to *i*.

*u* = *ā* in *muna bfuil mǎrə*; *muna mbeidh (eadh!)* = O. I. *main bed* shows contraction and loss of *u* on account of the attracted accent MRǎC.

## 2. The Long Vowels.

á

§ 15, 1. *á* = *ā*, rarely *ā*. *grádh*, *áthas áhis*, *atá*, *lán garrán* GRǎN, a grove, *garrán a(n) bhile* the grove of the (remarkable) bush, *garrán in mhuirris* now Garden-a-Morris near *Cill* in the Dési, *Garrán fada* now Graunfodda. *cnáb* from *canáb-* the first *a* lost as in *garrán* before the accent (§ 2, 2, I.) which was attracted by the heavy *b* ending. Hence the lengthening of *a*. *bráca* a way-side bothy for the fever-stricken, *ádh*.

2. *a* = *ā* often with or through contraction; *bog pál* 'hit the road', from *pábhail*, Eng. paving = pavement, M. Song.



Fál fághbháil. Lǎəs lámhas, T. L. láig 3 per pret. rámha D. R. 98, gádha ib. 99. táirne = tabhairne a 'tavern', táirne = táraingthe, O'Neil, sáthas sǎəs, T. G. (Des.) iláthas TLǎs, C. M. O. (Thom.) lúghach Lǎc, porteladhach PURTLǎc, now 'Portlaw', adhamh áv, T. G. 19, amhgar áGR' with syllabic division separating mh from g. Otherwise it should be augR'. Cf. adh-bhar ávR but adhbhar OUR. Maighistear : crádh T. G. 8, Dēsi MOISTR'.

3. *a* contracts irregularly in the word *námha* an enemy owing to the mixing of cases. NŌD Carrick-Shock song. (gen. become nominative) NǎD P. DENN. NŪD pl. NŪDǎ, S. R. NOUD, Com. song, : domhan, P. Denn 86. novid : a gaithib, ib. 63, numhid ib. 66 naoid ib. 66 pl.? le naimhde : clí-gheal Sheehy, dá naimhde : ī Anna, : dithcheall C. M. O. 16, namhad : áird P. P. 142.

4. *a* appears in some words=ā. In the western Dēsi á in place names and surnames=ā when speaking English. Cullinane kolṇān, leanán lṇān, cúl dubhán? KUL DǎvāN. So in Eng. 'water', 'morning' are wāTR' mārṇṇ. From contraction baile-atha-cliath blǎklī, meadhón māN. coimeud O. I. comét? is kimāD. bán=a grass field about to be ploughed up, is bǎN when one speaks Irish but bāN as a loan word in Eng. Even so the place and personal names like Affane, Cullinan, as atāN, etc. are used only in speaking Eng. ā being looked upon as less vulgar and Irish than á. When a further grade of gentility is reached people so unfortunate as to possess a name with -án auslaut make the last refinement and change ā to ē, like Eng. ā in 'fate'. Then Cullinan becomes kolṇēN, etc. In Cass. 143 are found ansa ṇiomlaan, go hiomlaan, le hiomlaan and chiomaad. The last word still sounded with ā gives a key to the phonetic value of aa and therefore á in certain instances had not gone over to á in the beginning of the present century in Tipperary. O. I.



*e* is lengthened to  $\bar{a}$  before *rr* in *fearr* and *gearr*, comp. *farə*, *gir'e*.

There appears also a functional use of  $\bar{a}$  from  $\acute{a}$  to embitter the intonation in scornful passages. In a fish assembly convened once upon a time to elect a king the fluke happened to be absent. Hearing afterwards that the appointment had fallen to the herring „*o in sgadán*“ (SGUDĀN) *arsa sé mar sin le searphas, agus dá chomhartha sin héin thú caime 'na bheul ón lá sin go dtí in lá 'ndiu. Séan de Bhál Mount Bolton.*

*é.*

§ 16,1. *é* is written only in auslaut as like *e* it always makes a digraph with the timbre-index of a following consonant. *mé* accented 'nar *bháil lé mé chur*, D. R. 32 *mē*, *cré*, *kr'ē*, or almost *kir'ē*. So *sé* six, *clé*, *inté* .|. *intí*, when strongly accented *té*; *sin preap, té thicfeadh é sin pr'ap tē hikuc ē*, that is a puzzle ('problem?') if there was anybody there who could understand it. *ba é bu yē*, from *bad e. ceadó* an idle stroller cf. Anglo-Scots 'caddie', *ré* D. R. 94.

2.  $\acute{e}=\bar{i}$  in *tré tr'ī*, *faoi* usually *fé* but occasionally  $\bar{i}$  *fi dhéin*, Com. song. *bodaigh bhoga an phrúcais dá gcárna fi ghleo fi l'ō*. Ph. H. *fo thuaidh* is now  $\bar{o}$  *hwuæg*.

$\bar{i}$ .

§ 17,1.  $\bar{i}$ .  $\bar{i}$ .  $\bar{i}$  does not appear as representative of a single *i* sign because it occurs only after a broad consonant and so forms a digraph with the broad timbre sign. Thus O. I. *cridē* is now written *croidhe* .|.  $\bar{i}+y$  to  $\bar{i}$ . It is the sound of several digraphs *oi+y ui+y*, etc. and the trigraph *aoi q. v*. It appears as *i* in anlaut after a broad consonant in context. Hence the effort of several Munster writers to represent the pronoun *i* by *ui* after a broad consonant.

2. *i* is written before slender consonants and in auslaut. *mín*  $m\bar{i}n$ , *spíce*  $sp\bar{i}kə$  a nail, Eng. 'spike', *chidhinn*  $c\bar{i}n\eta$  I used to see, *giústis*  $g\bar{u}stis$ , *ní*  $n\bar{i}$ , *litis*  $l\bar{i}tis$  a lily.

An  $\bar{i}$  arises from *i* in Thom. Des. under the conditions

in § 7, 1. *cinn* kīŋ, *tinn* tīŋ, *Dēsi* ai, taiŋ. So from *i* to *ī* in pronouns and prepositional pronouns where in the *Dēsi* the radical sound is preserved. *sinn* sīŋ, *Dēsi* siŋ, *linn* līŋ, *Dēsi* liŋ. *i* becomes *ī* in *righte* vid. § 2, 3.

ó

§ 18, 1. *ó* = *ō* is written before broad consonants and in auslaut. Before slender consonants *ói* = *ō*, for long vowels are not easily umlauted. *bó* bō, *ól* ol, *tóg* tōg, *omós* and *fomós*, *omoas*, Cass. 145. *córda* kōrdā, *tósdalach* = *toicheastalach* tōsdl'uc, *ótis* otis, *ar nós na luiche lóg aon oidhche* ar nūs nā lihə lōg en ihə a pregnancy of one night, *spólla* spōlā D. R. 40, *trócaire* trōkə'ə, *lón* lōn T. G. 5 should be lūn. Vid. § 18, 3. *flós* flōs Lat. *flōs* T. G. 87. *trionóid* from Lat. *trinitātem*. *pionnós* T. G. 3.

2. *ó* from *a* by lengthening in position. Chiefly Des. *sómplaig*: *criochnóir* T. G. 4. In the *Dēsi* *saump*-, *ómbrach*:*ó* T. G. 23. (Fr. *ambre*) *seomra* sōmr'ə, *Dēsi* saumr'ə; so *ómhanda*: *seolta* P. P. 120 *cómhradh*: *beo táid*, ib. 308.

3. *ó* near *n* took a dark tint and became *ū*. The following and some other words show this peculiarity. *nó*, *nóra*, *stróinse móin* gen. *móna* (pl. *muinteacha meithe S. na Sróna*.) *fuindeóg spónóg* spūnūg Eng. 'spoon', *tempul fhenóch* a place name, *nós* S. R. *pónaire* pūə'ə S. R. *bunóc* an infant, *crón*, *cróna*. *triúrar* (= *triur fhear*) *ag crú na cróna triúrar ag tochus a d-tóna agus dheunadh aoinne amháin a(n)gnó* where *cróna*, *tóna*, *gnó* are krūnə, tūnə, gn'ū, *crónán*, *seóinín* sūnīn one of Eng. descent from *Seán* or *Seón* 'John', *óinseach*, 'nneósad I will tell, *nóinín*, *rón* a seal pl. *rónta*, Com. song. *dóntí?* *springiona* great jumps, S. R. *óinmhid* ūnīd, Bob, *brón*, *brónach*: *cumha*, *Anna lonradh*: *smíit* Sheehy, *aimdheóin* iŋūn, *inneóin* an anvil also iŋūn, *nóment*: *cúirt* Denn, 86, *Cill mogimóg* a place name, *cnó*, *trathnóna* trācnūnə, *sgéoin* sgūn.

Without *n*; *mór*, O. I. *már* and *mór*, Welsh *mawr*, comp.

*mó* MŪ, *commórtas* comparison, *bórd* BŌRD and BŪRD, lent from Eng. when  $\bar{o} = \bar{u}$  on account of the labial.

In Thom. Des. not so many words are affected. *mórga*: *órga*: *dóirse* T. G. *brónach*: *deorach* Sheehy. Thom. *móna*: *bóthar* C. M. O.

*lón*: *trócaire* Denn 69, and so spoken, is an exception. *nóta* NŌTƏ is sustained by Eng. 'note'. Such instances as *ó'n*, *órna ró-nádúrtha* are not affected by the nasal.

4. *o* with *w* from *gh*, *dh*, etc., in auslaut contracts to  $\bar{o}$ . *slógh* SLŌ, *clódh* KLŌ, *sógh* SŌ, *sóghach* SŌC, with vocalic opening after *w* to *ou*, *rogha*, *togha*, etc. § 5, 1.

*ú*

§ 19, 1. *ú* with broad timbre i. e. after a broad consonant =  $\bar{u}$  after a slender =  $\bar{u}$ . *súl* SŪL, but *fíu* fyū, *siubhal* sŪL. An instance of change in the same word is furnished by *úd* ŪD, but *siúd* sŪD.

2. *ú* appears alone before broad consonants and in auslaut. *úr*, *crú*, *lúth*, *cúl*, *lúdaidhe* a lazy fellow. It represents the Norman-Eng. *ou* in old loan words, *prisún*, *gúna*, *púnt*, *cúrsa*, *i gcúrsaidhe* as for, with regard to, *gallún*.

3. *ú* arises often from *u* by contraction. *mumha* MŪ or MŪWƏ, *umhal* ŪL, *ul* Cat. 22. by position of mute and liquid *búnsaig*: *mórgaig* .|. MŪRGIG C. M. O. 8, *bunsaig* LU. p. 23b, 27. W. from *bun*. Cf. *buinneán* BWINĀN, *súgradh* from *su-sUGR'* Dēsi.

4. *ú* =  $\bar{ə}$  detoned before the accent, *siúd é* hidē.

### 3. Digraphs and Diphthongs.

§ 20. *ae* =  $\bar{e}$  is historically a middle grade between the O. I. diphthongs *ai* *oi* and modern *ao*. It is still sometimes written chiefly in auslaut, for a canon of the new orthography forbids *e* to touch any following consonant broad or slender. *rae*, *lae* gen. of *lá*, so sometimes *aerach* for later *aorach*.

§ 21, 1. *ai* = *a* + a slender consonant. Here three possibilities arise a) *a* preserved, b) gone over to *â*, c) umlauted to *i*. There are numerous examples of a) and b). *a* preserved; *aicíd*, *ainm* anm, *ait* at, *ais*, *thar m'ais* har mas, *aitheanta* commandments, *na hahanta*, Cass. 139. *aisge*, *bean ar meisge bean in aisge*, *ad* = *fad*(?) 'n *ad is bhí sé n' ad is vi sē*, *daingean*, *airgead*, *aingcis* anis, *aighe* aḡə, *taise*, *taithniomhoch* taḡuvuc, but *caill* koil, § 8, 4, *aithne* Keatyngē, *aithis*: *leaca* T. G. 32, *aithreachas* T. G. 27, but *Dēsi rácis* for heavy *c*, §§ 10, 1. and so *aith* fell away before the accent. *aifrionn*, *saithe* a swarm: *treasgairt* T. G. 57, *aici* akə T. G. 4. *Dēsi* əkí accented like all compounds of *ag* § 2, 2, V. *aingéal* aḡl', *aibig*, *sraim* congealed mucus from the eyes D. R. 104, *aisiog*, *aisdear*, *aith-*, *aircluachra* a newt, ārt-LŪcr' *Dēsi*; *dair*. *a* is preserved in accented anlaut except in cases of *y* influence § 6, 1. It stands also after an anlaut dental.

2. *ai* becomes *â* under the darkening influence of a foregoing labial or guttural (including gutt. *L*) under the accent. *bain* bān, *fairsing* fārsin, so *flaitheas*, *maith*, *caith*, *caillín*, *maise*, *laidin*, *Cúilín na faithche* in Carrick, *gaise*.

3. *ai* is found umlauted to *i* in a few instances. *Uaimh na caorach glaise* GLISə, the older limestone cave near *Sceichín na raince* in Tipperary, from *glass*, *maille*: *duille* T. G. 12, *glaine* GLINə, a glass, from *glan*, *clainne* KLINe from *cland*, *cait* KIT, gen. of *cat*.

4. *ai* under conditions mentioned §§ 7, 8, 4, 6, 2. to *ai*, *oi*, *í*. *crainn* KRAIN, *raince* RAINkə, *frainc* FRAINk, *caint* KOINT, *maighistear* MOISTR' *baintreabhach* BOINTRUC, *laigheann* LÍN, *saidhbheas* SIVRIS *maidhm* MÍM, *saighnean* SÍNĀN, (with old *én* to *ān* as usual) *saighdiúr* SÍDŪR or SÍDŪR, *aighneas* ÍNIS, *saidhbhir*: *gadhair*, in *pe 'cu bocht nó saidhbhir sinn ní cuideachta áo gadhair(íbh)sinn*, My Father. *aibhne* ÍNə rivers.

An *ē* sound appears to take the place of this *í* sometimes in Thom. *saighid*: *sgémh* P. P. 90, *an Mangaire Súgach*,



Limerick. *dha saod triom : péin*, O'Neil. Also =  $\bar{i}$ , Des. *saogheada : tríomsa*, *M. ní Dhonagán*, *taidhbhreadh : tríd* D. R. 66, *Dēsi tívrug*, *aighnis : dith*, D. R. 88.

5. *ai* = e which is an umlaut of *o*. *raibh* REV = *robhí* and with *ro* accented after *ní* to *roibh* and with *i* umlaut of *o* to REV, RE before pronouns. *saidhbhir* *sír'* or *seir'* and *sevr'* an index of its etymology \**so-id-ber*. O. I. preps. *for* and *ar* fell together (like *la* and *fri* and, with mistake of *f* for prothetic, through *ri* to *le*) The forms are; *orm*, *ort*, *air*, *airthe*, *orainn*, *oraibh*, *ortha*. The masculine pronominal form *air* is used also for the simple prep. as *aige* for *ag*. The pronunciation of all the forms goes back to *for*, with loss of *f* through confusion with prothetic *f*, the writing of *air*, *airthe* comes apparently from *ar*. The pronunciation is however *er*, *erhə*, *ai* being merely the phonetic for umlauted *o*.

6. *ai* unaccented = ə. *cabhair* KOUʀ', *tabhair* TOUʀ', *Corcaig* KORKIG, *caisleán* KISLĀN, contraction *gabhaíl leo* GŌL, C. M. O. 10. Before the accent *ag aireachas i gr'ácis*.

7. *ai* = o in *ghaibh sé* YO SĒ.

8. *ai* =  $\hat{a}$  in *aithrige*  $\hat{a}rh\bar{i}$ , where *rh* constitutes position. In this combination the *r* is unvoiced a fact to which Dr Pedersen directed my attention.

§ 22,1. *ái* =  $\hat{a}$  with a slender consonant following. *táinic*  $\hat{h}\hat{a}nig$ , *táinic sé*  $\hat{h}\hat{a}n\bar{a}$  SĒ, *páirc* PĀRK Eng. 'park'.

2. *ái* in *paráiste* =  $\bar{o}$ . PRŌSTĀ, (from French *oe*), *paroisde* Cat. 30.

§ 23,1. *ao* = e. It occurs in anlaut and inlaut; *ae* is reserved for a few auslaut occurrences. *ar aon chor* ər ECR', *taobh* TEV, *gaol* GEL, *saogal* SEL, sometimes SEGL' in verse T. G. 16,23, either through remembrance of the unaffected consonant or (more likely) from the traditional word-picture. Those Latin loan words exhibiting a media for tenuis i. e. Welsh vocalic infection, *saoghal*, etc. came to us through a British medium. In genitives vocatives and plurals of *o* stems



ɛ is unlauded to ī by the following slender consonant. Both ɛ and ī are broad guttural vowels, ɛ being broad throughout, ī only at the beginning as it tapers to slender at the end. Hence the former stands between broad consonants the latter between a broad and a slender. Western usage does not make this distinction and perhaps goes back to the unlaud form. After a labial=WE, *faobhar* FWER. The word *laogh* a calf makes pl. LĪg, where g is an instance of Dēsi auslaut g fondness.

2. *ao* in *caora*=Ī KĪRƏ, gen. however KERUC.

§ 24,1. *aoi* is a trigraph the technical phonetic sign for Ī. It arises from O. I. *ai*, *oi*, slender, or is the unlaud of *ao* before a slender consonant. It may also come from ī in sentence sandhi after a broad consonant. Wherever possible in the Dēsi the timbres of auslaut and inlaut vowels and consonants are accommodated to each other. Cf. *aoin neach* aiŋə, from *aon neach*, *an bhean sin* n' van sn', but *na bain-bhidhe sin* nə bānī sin (with loss of v before *-idhe* of new pl.). So *iad súd* but *í síúd*. Hence the writing of *í* the pron. of 3 per. sing. fem. as *uí* after a broad consonant. *baois* BWĪs *go maoilín an tsléibhe* GU mwĪlĪn ŋ tlē. *aoi* stands for *-adh* in accented auslaut in the word *claoi* KLĪ, from *claidhe*, pl. KLABUCƏ, *dlaoi* (?) a lock of hair, *dlathach* adj.

2. *aoi*=ē in *faoi* O. I. *fo*. Sometimes *fī* in songs. Com. Killown.

3. *aoi*=ai before y of *nn* in *aoin neach* aiŋə though the combination is open.

4. *aoi* is used as an orthographic device to express Ī the broad-slender vowel in a difficulty arising from a merciless use of the *caol-leathan* rule, *dreachtaoin* for *drechtin*, *cht* always resists palatalization, *atámaoid* for *atáimid*. O. I. *ataam*.

5. The group *au* does not occur. Older *au* in such words as *auctardhas*, *audhacht* is now written *u*. *ughdarthás*, *uadhacht*. \**avios*, cf. Lat. *avos*, became *auē* and finally the

O of surnames. In gen. and pl. it is unlauted to I written *í* and *uí* from \**avī*, now however *ī* or *Ī* according to the foregoing timbre. *árd* makes derivatives *aoirde* and *áirde*. *a h-aoirde cheart*, C. M. O. *is barr a dhá chluais anáirde*. *Maidrín Ruadh* song.

*ea*

§ 25,1. *ea* = *a*. This *a* is the broad umlaut of O. I. slender-broad *è* itself of various origins. Thus *ben* from \**benā*, *fer* from \**fīros*. The influence of the broad consonant working farther opened *e* to *a* slender-broad. *seanbhean* *sanə van*, *seanduine* *sandinə*, but *seandrui* *saundrī* and *seanriabhach* *saunrīuc*, the old grey cow's days, the cold weather at the beginning of April. *lean* *lan*, *leath* *lac*, *leathcheann* *la-caun*, a head bent to one side, half the head, in perpendicular section, *ceatha* *kahə* (gen. of *cioth* *kuc*,) *bean feassa* *ban fasə*, *greannmhar* *gr'anūr*, 'seadh *sa*.

2. *ea* before labials and gutturals (including guttural L) = *â*. *eagla* *âGL'ə*, *preabadh* *pr'ábə*, *eaglais*: *carthanach*, T. G. 5. (but *freagair* *traGr'* and *dealbh* *daliv*) *Cluain gheal Meala* *kluən yâl mälə* (for *l* in *meala*, *bealach* etc. vid. Pedersen, *Aspirationen i Irsk.*) *mo chreach* *mú cr'ác*, *Sighle na gcearc* *sīlə nə gârk*, *seacht sâct*, *do breabaigh*: *ganguid* *Sheehy*. *dhearcas* *yârkis*, *leaba* *lâbe*, gen. *lâpŋ*, *gealaigne* *gâlī*, (gen. of *gealach* *gl'ác*), *sceach* *sgâc*, *ceapaire* *kâpir'ə*, *neamh* *nyâv*, *leamh* *l(y)âv*, *seach* *sâc*, *isteach* *istâc*, *seachaint*, *sâcŋt*, *sgeamhaighil* *sgâvīl* howling of dogs, *treabh* *tr'âv*. Here the dark timbre consonants radiated an umlaut into the word.

3. *ea* = *au* under accent before *mh* and the heavy combinations inducing it. § 4,1. Unaccented = *ū*, before accent = *ə* or nul. Thom. Des. accented = *ou*, *ū*. *feall* *fyaul*, *peann* *paun*. A heavy liquid combination resolved does not induce *anusvâra* and the original sound is preserved, *peanna-chinn na cruinne* *panə cainŋ*, *deallradh*, *daurə*, *daur*, *sgannradh* *sgaurə*, *sgaur* (*lr*, *nr*, in Arran, Pedersen, 23),

*greanda* : *cubhartha* Thom. *reamhar* RAUR, ROUR, M. Des. song. *mealltach* MAULTUC, *mh* remains in position. *dream* draum, *leamhnacht* LAUNUCT from *leamh-lacht* = luke-warm milk, *teampul* TAUMPL' or TAUMPL', *cleamhnas* KLAUNIS *simróg* in Dunne for *seamróg* where *ó* drew the accent. *Teamhair na Rig* TÁVR, Sheehy, *geancach* GAUNKUC. Also the Eng. *young* is often YAUN.

4. *ea* in *beag* = *e*. This is against Dr Pedersen's statement that „*ea* paa Irsk ellers uden Undtagelse udtales som a; netop Udtalen med e breviser,“ p. 27. In a conversation with me he derived *beag* from the old dat. *biucc* used adverbially. In the western pronunciation we have no doubt the old dat. and uses of old dat. or acc. for nom. are plentiful in all modern Irish, but *iu* cannot have been the forerunner of *e* in the Dēsi pronunciation. Besides the English represent the *-beag* element of place names by *-beg* and so they must have heard it pronounced when they first came amongst us. It is possible that the numerous occurrences of such place names pronounced *-beg* in Eng. may have sustained the old *e* in Irish. The historical Eng. rendering of Irish place-names being the product of an independent tradition is of some worth in dealing with Irish sounds and occasionally preserves an etymology disguised in the native version.

5. *ea* = *ou* in contraction with *w* from *bh* in inlaut § 5,1. *threabhfainn* hrouhin, Bob, *feabhas* fouis, *seabhac* souk, a hawk. This is a Germanic word borrowed by the Welsh from the Saxons and 'translated' into Irish by the artificial substitution of *s* for *h*, an analogy from the knowledge that Irish *s* was the equivalent of Welsh *h* in Keltic words. Cf. the same change between *c* and *p* in Irish *cáisc* Welsh-Latin *pasc*, etc. *creabhar* KR'OUR' a wood-cock and the horse-fly called in Anglo-Irish a blín dáctr' .|. blind doctor.

Unaccented *duilleabhar* DLŪR'.

6. *ea* with *y* of *mh*, *gh*, *ch* after a liquid in auslaut syllable = *ī*. *inghean* INĪN, *coitcheann* KOTĪN § 11,4.

7. *ea* is sometimes written for *eu* = O. I. *ē*. *leadmhar* C. M. O. 23, 'daring' from *lámhaim*.

8. *ea* unaccented = *ə* or nul. *intleacht* *intluçt*, *gealach* *glâc*, *simróg* Dunne, *glé-geal* *glēgġ*, with second *g* unaffected.

9. *ea* representing O. I. *e* = *a* is lengthened to *ā*, *ā* Thom. Des. before *r* in position or in contraction with *w* from *dh*, *gh*. *ceardcha* *kārtə* a forge gen. *kārtŋ*, *meadhchaint* from *med* wage, lanx, W., *mācŋt*, Thom. *mācŋt*, *agus ualach sgadán am mheadhchaint ar thaobh de:sgadán*, D. R. 44. *spleadhchas* *splâcis* from \**spled* gone to *ā* even in the *Dēsi neamhspleadhach* *na-splâc*, *neamhdha:áluinn* T. G. 22, *nāfə*, *cneadh:bláth* T. G. 7, pl. *knāhə:cráidhte*, *Zeit. f. Kelt. Phil.* I. p. 142, : *páis*, Denn, *cneadhair* *knāer'ə*, T. G. 34, *breaghdha br'āhə*, now comparative. (Vid. Manners and Customs Vol. III p. 183, *bregda* .|. *bricin* 'threads of various colours'; the same word also occurs in an old poem quoted by O'Curry), *na dheadh sin* often in poetry *nə yā sn'* 'after that' O. I. *degaid*, *leaghadh lyā* to melt, *sneadh snā*, nits. So the names *o Seagha*, *o Deagha*. So *ei* in *leigheamh lēəv*, to read.

Examples of lengthening from *r* in position like *ceardcha* above. *ceathrmhadh* *kārhu*, *dearna dārŋə* palm of the hand, and form of *deanamh*, *dearbh* (?) *dārŋv*, appearance = *deallradh*, *ferr gerr*, *fār gār*, *téarmadh:eadach*, T. G. 10, *ceafrach:cárnach*, *M. Súgach* P. P. 90. 'capering', *do cheáthfrainn* T. G. 26, *Seaghan sãn* 'John'.

10. *ea* = *î* with *y* from *dh gh* in position (assimilated *d*, *g*? Cf. *snaidm snim*, pl. *snámŋə* as if from *snam-manna*) *meidhg*, *meadg*, *mîg*, *treaghdadh tr'ídə*, *Tadg*, *fadb*, *teaghlach*, etc.

11. *ea* = *ū* by analogy, *cuigeadh* *kūgū*, *cuigu*, Cat. 27, *seiseadh sēgū*, *seishu*, Cat. 27.

§ 26,1. *ei* = *e* + slender consonant. Old *e* usually preserved its sound before a slender consonant. Vid. *ai*.

*leis* les, *sgeiche* sgehə, *beir* ber, *te* te, there being no necessity for writing the digraph in auslaut. Comparative *teo*,



also pl., O. I. *téit* being lost. *leimbh* leniv but also unlauded liniv, *beidhead* bec seems a mixture of subj. 3 *beith* and conj. *biad*. To join the vowel sound of *beith* to the broad consonant of *biad* it was thought necessary to add on *-eadh*, *muna mbeidheadh* is pronounced *m'ác*, but *mārə* vec 'only for' M. song.

2. *ei* unlauded to *i*. *teine* tine, *leimbh* liniv, *deitheanas* from *déineas* and *th=h* developed and caused shortening as usual, *dihənis*, *leigint* ligint, *reilg* rilig: *cinedh*, *M. ni Dhonagán*. *deithbhir* difr, *eidir* idr' and dir, *dar* a *bhfeill·bheart* DAR ə vilə·vart, *gein*, *gin* Cat. 8, *meithil* mihl, *neimh* niv, *sein* in *sein·shean·athair* sinhanahir' great-grandfather, *meic* mik.

3. *ei* in groups with *y=ei*. This in the variant from *i* caused by the *e* element § 8,1. Sometimes the sound approached *ē*. *eirghe: céile* T. G. 11, sometimes again not distinguished from *î*. *meidhir* meir' *bhfeigil* veil. *r* too seems to have an effect, hence Eng. 'pair' 'stairs' are pronounced *peir'ə*, *steir'ə*, and often written *perdhire staghaire*; for as *y* from *dh*, *gh*, gives this sound so those consonants are written as phonetic signs of its presence. *dh* is however sometimes used as a mere syllable divider or glide as in the case of *mí(odh)údh*.

*éi*

§ 27, 1. *éi = ē* with slender following consonant, *eu = ē* with a broad consonant following. *pléidh* plead, go to law, *ag pléidh leis* squabbling, *bréig* dat. of *breug*, *Éire*, *na dhéig sin* Denn 69, *tóirtéiseach* (?) of prococious manners (of a lad, bad sense), *gréithre* grēhr'ə wares, chattels, *a réir* last night, *araoir* P. P. 175. Vid. Stokes in K. Z. XXXV, p. 592.

2. There seems a lengthening before *-st* in *éist* Thom. *Dēsi eist*, *pléist*. Before *r* in position *péirse* Eng. 'perch'. So Eng. 'earns,' 'ferns' is *ērnz*, *fērnz*.

*eo*

§ 28, 1. *eo* is mostly long. It is short = *o* in *ocr'*, a key, a border, *eochair·aoibhne: codlaim* Keatyngé, *Eochaidh*



ocī, *seoch* soc, *seochas* socis, 'compared with,' translated 'towards' by bi-linguists.

2. *eo* long =  $\bar{o}$ . *leo* lō, *eolus* ōlis, *deor* dōr' (from *dēr*). Cf. *scēl sceol*, *bēl beoil*, *teo* tō, *na deoigh* dat. of *diad* nā dōæg, *ceol* kōl, *leoghan* lōen, *leomhaidh* redup. fut. of *lamhaim* and with *f* .|. *v* + *h* to lōfuc, cond., *geocach* gōkuc D. R. 87.

3. *eo* after labials =  $y\bar{o}$ . *beo* byō, *ar imeal do bheoil a stóir mo chroidhe se* vyōl, Sheehy, *meoin* obl. case of *mian* and used as alternate nom. for rhyme, *feorach* fyōruc gen. of *indfeoir* the „Nore!“ *feoil*, *feola* gen. fy-, *feogh* fyō interj. of displeasure at a disagreeable smell. Here it is doubtful whether the value of *y* should be given to the glide. Neither does the rule hold universally; many labials have no following *y*. *meoin* is doubtful as it is no longer heard.

§ 29. *eo* is a trigraph = *eo* before a slender consonant. The sound is  $\bar{o}$ . *sgeoig* sgōæg, *ceoil* kōl', *sgeoin* a fright sgūn  $\bar{o}$  to  $\bar{u}$  by reason of the nasal and  $\bar{u}$  =  $\bar{u}$  after a slender consonant.

#### *eu*

§ 30, 1. *eu* (= O. I.  $\bar{e}$  + a broad consonant) is a new diphthong =  $\bar{e}a$ ,  $\bar{e}á$ ; occasionally the old sound of  $\bar{e}$  is also preserved. *meur* mīar, *feur* fīar, (gen. *féir*, *fēr*), *deunadh* dīánā but *dēnuv* Denn 65. *leus* lías, *ní'n leus céille aici* nīn lías kēl əki, *eun* ían, but *ceol na n-eun* ēn, Com. song. *leusadh* lēsə, Bob, *eug*, íag but *gairid go n-eugfadh* gu nēkuc. *treun* ē and  $\bar{e}a$ , *deug* dīág, *breun* brīan, *bheursa* vērśə, perhaps supported by Eng. 'verse,' *ceudna* kīánā, *peucach piacach*, Denn 65, *ceud* kiád, a being strongly accented,  $\bar{e}$  is only half long. So *ceudna. meud* mēd, old  $\bar{e}$  preserved even before dental *d*, *teagair* tīagr'.

From lengthening through loss of *n*; *eudóchas* iadō'cis,  $\bar{o}$  draws the accent and both *i* and *a* are only half long, *eudtrom* iádr'm, *eugcóir* íagōr'.

2. *eu* before labials and gutturals including guttural L = *iā* (*yā*). *muineal* MUNĪAL, *sgeul* sgĪĀL, *feuch* fĪĀC, (Des. *fech*, Cat. 8), *feuch air* fyĀC r', *eugmais* (= *ēmmais*) IĀMIS, *eudmonn* IĀMN' and YĀMN'.

*ia*

§ 31, 1. *ia* in O. I. is a diphthong = *iā*. *Dia* dĪĀ, *iasg* IĀSG, *grian* grĪĀN, *do chiap* cĪĀP, DĀ HEP(?) S. R. *iarfaidhe* ĪRHĪ, by loss of accent to *-aidhe*, *cad iad* KĀD IĀD, *cad eud* Cass. 139 = *catēt* .|. *cadéd*, *mias* mĪĀS, *biadh* (now *bidheadh* where *dh* is used to divide a diphthong made dissyllabic.) *iarla* IĀRLĀ from Skandinavian *iarlr*. A consonant relic is silent after *ia*. *liagh* lĪĀ, *cliamhan* klĪĀN or TĪĪĀN, *diabhal* dĪĀL, *bliadhain* blĪĪEN, *fiadh* fĪĪ, *fiadhta* fĪĪTĀ. *riaghail*: *stiuir* T. G. 2, = Eng. 'rule', ordinarily rĪĪL, or is at most a glide.

2. *dia* .|. day in names of week days is always pronounced dĪĪ, the old locative become nom.

*io*

§ 32, 1. *io* short and long. Short = *i* with broad following consonant. Its occurrence in final noun syllables usually denotes *u* stems. *fios* (O. I. *fiss*) fis, *lios* lis, *slios* slis, *sprios* sprĪS *bior* bir, *spiorad* sprĪD by metathesis. *siosarnach* sisrĪNĀC, *iothalla* hāgyard, ihULĀ, but ahULĀ Com. song. *cion chin*, Cat. 26, kun DĪSi, vid. infra. *Sionnaine*: whiggiona P. P. 96, *iongantais*: *mithid* C. M. O. 30; ŪNTIS and exceptionally aUNTIS DĪSi.

2. *iodh* short accented before *bh*, *l*, etc. § 6, 1. = *i*; long = *ī* in the same situation. *tiodhlaicthe* tĪlikĀhĀ, *iodhna* ĪNĀ, pangs, but long *biodhbha* bĪvĀ, *iodhbairt* ĪBIRT, *ibirt*, Cat. 22.

3. *io* before gutturals and labials = *u*. *liom* lum, laum exceptionally in the song *Páistín fionn*, *sliocht* slUCT, *crioth* krĪUC: *cnoc* P. P. 248, *cioth* kUC, gen. kalĀ, *tiocfaidh* tĪKĪG, with pron. tĪKĀ sĪ, *cionnus* kunĪS, *cunas*, Cat. 26. *cion* kun affection, *sioc* suk gen. *gob an t-seaca* GOB Ā TAKĀ, *biolar*, *fiolar* byULR', fyULR', *i* after labial to *y*; *humlan* = *h-iomshlán* Cat. 24.

*umercach* Cat. = *iomarcrach*, *iomarcad*: *fulaíng* C. M. O. 13. *giolla*: *tusa* D. R. 56, *tiobaiste* TUBISTƏ, *iomadach*: *cumasach* C. M. O. 30. *siolla*: *cuireadh* D. R. *Eactra an Amaráin*. So *liobarsach* untidy, *giolca* gyULKƏ a place name, but *giolcach* gILKĂC by loss of accent. (§ 2,2, III.), *sprioc*, *miochair*, *briocht*, *riocht*, *rioch* RUC, *sgíob* to snatch, *sgíolpadh*, *tríocha* .|. 30.

4. *io* unaccented=ə. *taithníomath* taŋVVC. So it often changes with *ea* in unaccented position. *iomarcradh* when accented on second syllable=ƏMURKƏ, *thá an iomarcradh cainte agat há n' ƏMURKƏ koint əGUT*, *timchioll* hoimPĴ.

5. *io* before the accent often falls away; *iomdha* mŪ, *iona* nĂ.

6. *io* under the conditions in § 4,1=au. *gan piomp leamh* PAUMP „could“ pride (in Sheehy: ĩ) *lionruith* laurUC: *ísbirt* Sheehy, *tionsgain* taUNSGŋ, *iomchur* aUMPR' from *imbchor* and *b* protracted to *p* by aspirate as usual: *múinte* Denn, 61, *ionruic oonric* .|. ŪNRİK Denn. *Fionn* fyaUN also faun, *míonn*, maUN pl. mĪNĪ, *d'iompaig* yaUMPİG with pron. as usual yaUMPƏ sĒ, *ionta* aUNTƏ and INTƏ *ioncholnughadh*, *aoncholnugh*, Cass. 139, *pionta* PAUNTƏ, Eng. 'piut' *prionsa* pr'AUNsƏ 'prince', sometimes *prúnsa* in songs, *iontaobh*, *auntee* in Dunne's phonetic rendering of the Carrick-Shock song.

The prep. *ind-* as noun prefix shows the same irregularity of intonation as *con*. In some instances even though accented it must not have grown on to its word and the heavy combination necessary to induce the slurred diphthong *au* was not formed. Cf. the different treatment of *seandúine* sANdINƏ and *seandrui* saUNDRĪ. Hence in a good many instances we find the unaccented intonation of *ind*; *iongantas* ŪNTIS, but aUNTIS, Tom Lannon in a recital.

§ 33. *io* lang=ĭ with a broad consonant. The *o* element was chosen as timbre index for *a* would have induced confusion with the diphthong *ia*. *miol* mĪL, *mío*=mĪ-+a broad consonant, *míorbhuil* mĪRŪĴ and mĪRŪĴ from Lat. *mirabile* with contraction

and vocalization of *v* after a liquid in auslaut syllable § 10,7. So *níor*, *piob*, *riogdha* rĭġə, *siol*, *síor*, *sios*, *cionádh* T. G. 90. As after the long diphthong *ia* so here a consonant relic is absorbed. *biodhgadh* bĭġə *biodhbha* : *fior-lag* Sheehy, *fioghair*, *fior*, Cass. 139, *Clíodhna* klĭnā S. R.

*iu.*

§ 34. *iu* short and long. Short=ʊ with foregoing slender consonant. *fiuchadh* fyucə ebullition, *bord an sgiulpa* (*sgiolptha*?) sgulpə 'snatch-mess', *sgiub* sgub pluck, carry off, *piuc* pyuk a morsel, *tiubaist* tubist, *indiu* ənyv, with narrowing of lip-rounding until a spirans was produced, *niuv* Cat. 10.

§ 35. *iu* long, an old diphthong, now=ū, yū after a labial. *ciumhais* kūis, *fiu* fyū, *siúr* sūr, T. G. 71, *paisiúnta* pasūntə from Norman *passioun*, *siúcre* sūkṛə *dingadh* dūġə, *siubhal* sūəl, or sūl.

§ 36. *iui*=iū with a slender following consonant. *liuireach* l'ūr'uc T. G. 6, *Siúir* sūr' the river 'Suir', *miliúin* T. G. 23, *tiúin* ib. 43, *puisiúinidhe* pwisūni a kitten, *giuis* gūs, *ciúin* kūn.

*oi.*

§ 37,1. *oi* short and long. Short=ɔ with slender following consonant. *foithin* fohŋ, *cois* kos, *coiscéim* kisġēm with *c* preserved but to *g* because *sc*=*sg* except in auslaut. *ni iarfainn ach naoi g-coiscéim chum dul de léim tar geata*, *ni yĭrhŋ ác nĕ kisġēm cn' dol də lēm har gatə* *Seaghan O Briste leathair* song, *coisġim*. So *doi*=*do*- before a slender consonant. *doirtim* dortm̄. Also *foi-*, *fo-*, *foirbthe* forəfe, *roith* roh, *sgoith* sġoh. The aspirate quality of the *th* in such auslauts announces itself by the explosive character of the vowel when in pausa or by the appearance of the aspirate before a vowel. *a bheith h-acharnach*, Bob, *go raibh maith agat* ġv rev mähə ġut. *soitheach* sohuc, (but *sathach* Denn, 61, like *innsa* for *innso*), *coitcheann* kotĭən, *loit*, T. G. 7. *doilbheas* : *dorcadh* ib. 6.

2. *oi* unlauted=i. In this condition it often interchanges



with unlauded *ui*. Short vowels succumbed to umlaut influences much easier than long vowels, the palatalization which spread backwards from one element of a compound to another often succeeded in changing the timbre of vowel as well as consonant. Long vowels however were endowed with greater resisting powers.

*croise* KRISE: *cineadh*, T. G. 7, *coinne* KINƏ, *roimh* RIV, as prep. pron. ROIG, *goineadh*, *ginag*, Denn 80, *goid*, *an máilín a goideadh uaim* GIDUG, *thoir* hir, *toinnibh* TINIV, Bob. *stoirm: Muire* T. G. 3, *coire* KIR'ə, ib. 19, *illidh-phiasd*=*oill-phiaist* Ren. 69, p. 34. *soille: truime*, D. R. 90, *coirp* KIRP, gen. of *corp*, *cnoic* KNİK gen. of *cnoc*, *troighthe* TRIHƏ pl. of *troigh: dlaoi, soip* SIP gen. of *sop*. *oiread* IRƏD and URƏD, *d'oirfeadh* YIRHUC, *oide* IDƏ, and so *oineach*, *oileán* (and *ilĀN*) *oireamh, roilg, loise, loinnge, fairseadh, coindeal* KINL', from *candēla* to *cáindĕl* and *a* unlauded to *i* by the slender group *nn*. This should be *coiŋL'* but that the ending is lightened by *l* sonans. (Cf. *coindleoir* KOINLŌR'), *coin* KIN, pl. of *cú*, *coille* KILƏ gen. of *coill* KĪL, a wood. *coimeud* KIMĀD. *croidhthe: buille* T. G. 18, *dh, gh*, absorbed before *-the*. *thoirmeasgann hirmisgan*, Cat. 25.

3. *oi* with *y* from *dh, gh*, contracts to *ī*, *croidhe* where *o* is now only the timbre index of the broad group, *troigh: dlaoi, oidhche* IHƏ, *coidche* CĪHƏ. So with *y* from *mh, coimhdeacht: oidhche*, T. G. 17.

4. *oi* in *roimhe* 'before him' = *oi*, ROIG, also *roimhe sin* before that. *rive sin* in Connaught, *roime seo: díbriog* P. P. 308, *roimpe* ROIMPƏ, RĒMPƏ C. M. O.: *taréis*.

5. *oi* with *y* from *bh', gh', dh, dh', m'*, or developed by *ll* in pausa or *l* in position = *ī*. vid. § 6, 1. *oighre* IR'ə, *droighnidhe* DRĪNĪ but DRĪNĪ Bob. *foighne* FĪŋƏ, patience, *doimhin* DĪN, *doighir* DĪR', *coibhneas?*: *ī* Sheehy, *soillse* SĪLSƏ, *púca poill* PŪKƏ PĪL, a dried toad-stool, *coill* KĪL, *coimpleax* has not unlauded *o* nor made its group *-mpl-* slender so it is pronounced KŌUMPLĪAX appetite; in *trompeud* also no umlaut



and so TROUPĒD, *gan mhoill*, vīl. : i, C. M. O. 1, *thoill* : ī T. G. 6. *coigthigheas* kīkīs. Unaccented *poillín* : *coínín* pīlīn or p̄wīlīn, D. R. 66.

6. *oi* with *i* umlaut to *e* in some words. *oiffig* (officium) efig, *oibre* ebr̄ə, *soirbiughaāh* ser̄əvu a Western word, *toil* tel, dat. for nom. (This words shows progress of the umlaut as three forms are in use. *tol*, *má sé do thol é* hōl, old nom. without umlaut, and *hel* and *hil*), *croiceann* : *loisgithe*, Denn 79, present Dēsi krekn̄, Connaught krekn̄, kr̄ekn̄ Finck, *toice* tok̄ə and tek̄ə, *Cloichín an mhargadh* a place-name klōhīn and klehīn, with anlaut consonant group also umlauted. *soidear* sedr̄ T. L. = *sodair*, *oile* now *eile*, *troidfeam* T. G. 44 tretm̄, but *troid* : *gol* D. R. 68. *h-oileadh* : *leire*, C. M. O. but *oileamuint*, *iliunt*, Cat. 16.

7. *oi* with *y* from in *mh* is sometimes = ē in Des. *coimhtheach* : *breugach* : *taodach*, also *coimhtheach* : *geugach*.

8. *oi* unaccented = ə or nul before the accent. *fuirionn*, *foireann*, f̄wīr̄n̄, *croicionn*, *croiceann* krekn̄, *coilleán* (where *eá* represents the change from old *ēn* to *án* both vowels being written) kl̄ān and kl̄ān, *an dá oiread n' dá rod*, *foiréigion* fr̄ēgn̄ D. R. 38.

§ 38. *ói* = *ō* with slender consonant following. *cóir* kōr̄, *móide* mōd̄ə, but *mó* m̄ū, *mór* m̄ūr, *óinmhid* ūnid, Bob. Vid. § 18,3, *cóisir*, *dóirse*, *lóitne* lōhn̄ə, with unvoiced *n*, a breeze, *piolóir* T. G. 3, *Brian Boróimhe* : *slógh* D. R. 36.

*ua*

39,1. *ua* is a diphthong = Ūe. *uasal* ūisl̄, *suas* s̄ūis, *sūis*, *cuach* k̄ūuc, *buachail* is b̄ūecl̄, *luag* l̄ūāg.

2. *ua* absorbs consonant remains, *uabhar* ūər, *uadhacht* ūuct, : *dual*, Denn, 83. So *tuagh*, *ruadh*, *rómar* is r̄ūmr̄, *buadhartha* b̄ūr'h̄ə, b̄ūerh̄ə.

§ 40,1. *uai* = *ua* before slender consonant = Ūwe or we. *cluain* kl̄ūwen, *an uair* n̄ūwer' ner' and er' from con-

fusion with *iar n-*; *chuidh* cūə and hwūə, *uainn* wūiŋ weŋ by change of accent, *uidh* wūig and weg, *uaim* wūim and wem, *fuaim* fūim without w after a labial, *uaigneach* ūəgnuc or almost wegnuc.

2. *uai* = ī in *smuainte* smīnte, *smynte*, Cat. 9.

*ui*

§ 41,1. *ui* short and long. Short = u, o, with slender consonant. *duit* DOT also DET (as *rud* gives ROD and RED O. I. *rét*), *cuid* KUD and with umlaut KID, *cuisle* KUSlə and KISle, *amuigh* əMU, *puinn* (Fr. point) PŪn from the literature? It should be Pαιŋ, *puinn* : *dlaoi* P. P. 29.

2. *ui* = e in *buidheachis* BECIS, seems imported from Des. Cf. *coimhtheach* : *geugach*.

3. *ui* is mostly umlauted = i. *cuirfead sa* KIR'həD sə, unvoiced r', *suip*, *soip* SIP, *cnuic* KNİK. So *chui*g, *thuit a luigire lag aici* hit ə LIG'ə LĀG əki, she almost fainted, *chui*gchill KLIKl (*gch* to k) a bell (round) tower, *druimfhionn* DRIMN', *druim* should be DRĪm in pausa, however *drom* is the Dēsi word. So *spuir* 'spurs', *luisne*, *cluithche*, *cuilm* : *gliocas* T. G. 48. *duibh* DIV, T. G. 47, *bruingeal* BRIŋL' *muir* MWIR' *Muire* MWIR'ə, *ná fuil*, *uile*, *mór-uile* MŪRĪlk, *cuisne*, *cuithe*, *cuir*, *buile*, *buinneán* BWIŋĀN, *buime* : *milis* T. G. 18, *uireasbach* IRISBUC.

4. *ui* under conditions in § 6,1 to î, with nasal umlaut ai. *tuillte* TĪltə, *saidhbhreas* : î, *Anna*, (*muintear*, *suim*. Vid. § 8,4.) *cruinn* KRAIŋ, *bruinn* BRAIŋ, *cuing* KAIŋ. *cuimhin* KAIN : *crích* C. M. O. § 7,1.

5. *ui* with umlaut and contraction with y=ī. *luibheanna* C. M. O. 2, LĪN'ə, *suideamh* SĪUV, *buidhean* BWĪN', *fuidheach* FĪUC and so *muidheamh* MĪUV, *cuibhreach*, *o Duibhir*, *leabar na h-uidhri* Nə hĪr'ə; so *duidhe*, *duibhe*, *suidhe*, *luighe*, *guidhe* GĪ.

6. *ui* unaccented=ə or nul before the accent. *duilleabhar* DLŪR, *Uilliam* LĪM, *fuireach* FRĀC, *buinneach* BWIŋĀC.

§ 42. *úi=ū* with slender consonant. *túirseach* : *dubhach* Sheehy, *tursâc* in the *Dēsi*, lengthened in *Des.* by *r* in position. *dúil* *DŪl*, so *gnúis*, *cúis*, *drúis*, *cúig* O. I. *cóig*, *búithreach* *BŪrhuc* T. G. 6, *na súirt* pl. of 'sort' T. G. 32, on analogy of *órd úird*.

#### 4. The svarabhakti Vowel.

§ 43,1. From what for the present purpose is called the svar. vowel there must be distinguished the vocal element of sonant liquids, an incident not treated of here beyond the marking of occurrences in phonetic script as they arise.

The svar. vowel seems a metathesis of the liquid sonants *l*, *n*, *r* before labials and gutturals. There are no examples of occurrence before guttural *L* as this assimilates with *l*, *n*, *r*. Neither of *n* and the gutturals surd and sonant as those combine with *n* to *ŋ*. Also *n* becomes *m* before a labial with one exception of *Banba*, a name for Ireland, which is always scanned trisyllabic in the poetry. Hence *n* makes svar. only before guttural and labial spirants. Instances of the following occur:—

$$l, r, \left\{ \begin{array}{l} p \quad b \\ \quad \quad bh \\ ch \\ c \quad g, \end{array} \right. \quad n, \left\{ \begin{array}{l} b \text{ in } Banba. \\ bh \\ ch \end{array} \right.$$

Examples: — *l*, *colpa* *KOLĀPĀ*, *Alba* *ĀLĀBĀ*, *balbh* *BĀLUV*, *dealbh* *DĀLUV*, *folcadh* *FOLĀKĀ*, D. R. 94, *Salchóit* now 'Solla-head' in Tipperary.

*r*, *cuirpe?* *KIRĀPĀ*, *fearb* *FĀRUB*, *tarbh* *TĀRUV*, *searbh* *SĀRUV*, *dorcha* *DORĀCĀ* (-*rc*- wanting<sup>1</sup>) *fearg* *FĀRUG*.

*n*, *Banba* *BĀNUBĀ*, *banbh* *BĀNUV*, *Donnchadh* *DUNUCĀ* *seanchus* *SĀNUCIS*.

2. The svar. developed by *rr*, *n*, and in a few instances

<sup>1</sup>) Except *orriric* .|. *oirdearc*, Cat. 12, be regarded as an example.

by *m* is sometimes used independently of the inducing context. There is no lengthening before *rr*, or slurred diphthongization before *nn*, *mm* in word pausa when the heavy ending is resolved. *fearra dhuit* fARƏ yot from fĀR, fĀR, *ar a barra* BĀRƏ from BĀR, *gearra garə* from gĀR, *cama-chlis* KĀMƏ from KAUM. *an*-=very (*ró*- always=too) is ANƏ- before all elements, *an*-=un— usually combines with its word, *antoil* 'aUNTl.

3. Example of *gd* in *dearg daol* (?) DARUGƏ DEL, of *ngbh* in *diongbhail* (?), *diongabháil* O'R. *dingivalta* Cat. -*the* in the ppp. of verbs is joined to a consonant auslaut root usually by a svar. vowel, *ioctha* ĩKƏhƏ, but *cortha* KƏrhƏ, *curtha* KURhƏ.

### Of the Consonants.

§ 44. The voice-production in Irish is legato not staccato. One might regard a continuous even voice or air-stream subjected to the manipulations of an independent set of modifying or articulating processes. The air-stream may be considered as a long irrational vowel interrupted and modified by certain contacts, half-contacts and approaches. Hence the perfect agreement between vowel and consonant in timbre relation, for the vowel is produced by the consonant. Also the partial agreement in intonation, e. g. *ō* with a nasal to *ū*, § 18,3, *ə* to *i* before *s*, to *u* before a guttural, etc. This intimate bond connecting vowel and consonant and the persistent or continuous character of the voice stream will explain the Keltic peculiarities of voicing intervocalic tennes, or opening to spirants of unsupported inter-vocalic consonants, of the tendency to anticipation in sound formation which so helped the backward run of vowel and consonant palatal umlaut in words, of the prevalence of glides, of the phenomenon of auslaut hardening, the result of a conscious effort to check the vocalic stream in pausa. Here glides are not reported except where (as in connection with labials or gutturals) they have a specially prominent value.



## Labials.

§ 45. The silent labials p, f, voiced b, v, w, and labio-nasal m, both broad and slender represent bilabial sounds. I regard labio-dental sounds as non-existent. Finck who does not appear to distinguish timbre in labials says that v and f are produced „zwischen der unterlippe und den oberzähnen,“ *Wörterbuch der westirischen Mundart*, p. VI. The upper teeth, a rigid element, are not used and so there is freedom for the production of broad and slender timbre. In regard to distance from teeth, rounding, or tension, the lips are by anticipation in position for the following vowel before the contact or approach for consonant production is made, and so broad and slender timbre can be at once distinguished. The former is produced with rounded, soft, protruded lips (as when one with lips held in position for Ū makes the consonant contact for P), the latter with lips drawn tight, close to the teeth and inturned (as in the ü position). Hence the very wide difference between the m sounds in *ainm* and *anam*, the v sounds in *a mhic* and *fuinneamh*.

p

§ 46,1. p = P with a broad vowel. *Piarus de Poer* PER, 'Pierse Power', *parrthas* PARƏHIS, *parr-* from *parad-* and *-th* with svar. vowel developed after *rr*. (For assimilation cf. *carrghios* from *quadrages-*, *orriric* .|. *oirdearc*, Cat. 12). *pobul* POBL'.

2. p slender = p. *pic* pik, *preabadh* pr'ábə, *peacadh* pakə, *piuc* pyuk, a morsel, also the sound made by chickens that have eaten dry meal. *seilp* Eng. 'shelf' an instance of auslaut hardening. D. R. 90.

The s of *sp-* resists palatalization, p is according to the vowel, *speal* spal gen. *spelə*, *spiorad* spr'id.

p does not occur in auslaut except in such loan-words as *poinp* Eng. 'pomp'. In *stumpa* staumpə Eng. 'stump' and



several others a vowel is added to avoid the unusual auslaut. *p* is sometimes assimilated after *m*, *campaidhe* kaumhī, camps, S. R.

4. A secondary *p* seldom written is produced by contact of *b* with the *h* relic of *th*, *ch*, or *f* (in fut. and cond. active) so *b*, *d*, *g*, and *v* are proved to tenues in the fut. and cond. through regressive action of *h* from *f*. (This *f* though invariably written is not pronounced in the active voice except it be the outcome of such groups as *bhf*, *mhf*, *bhth*.) The same rule has been in operation during the whole course of historical Irish (e. g. *intathair* from *ind-sh*) and is still active.

*f*

§ 47,1. *f* broad = F. *faire* FĀR'Ə, *fána* FĀNƏ, *faithche* FĀHƏ, *fuair* FŪR' and hwŪR'.

2. *f* slender = f. *fear* FAR, *fir*, fir', *feall* FYAUL, *fionn* FYAUN.

3. *f* like all tenues is voiced by *n*. *go bhíllfidh* GU vilhig, or with a pronoun GU vilhə.

4. *f* (= FW, F, and f) becomes null on aspiration. *go lá fheil* GU LĀL, *oidhche fheil* IHl, *mo fhír* mir', *mo fuáip* Eng. 'whip' mip, *fuil* FUIL, aspirated il, so F even with w glide disappears. This glide in often the first element of a diphthong consonantized. Accented or sound-bearing elements however remain after a labial. *buail* BŪIL, *fuair* FŪƏR.

5. In O. I. there is observable a change in writing between *b* and *f* which is often further complicated by a pronunciation *h* in modern Irish. This change to *h* is in peculiar contrast with the ordinary behaviour of *f* or *b* under aspiration. Vid. Pedersen, *Aspirationen i Irsk*, p. 19. Thus: *beos*, *fós*, *fa* for *ba* in Keatynge, *féin* = *bé-sin*, Z<sup>2</sup>. 366, Dēsi *féin*, *héin*, with *féineach*, *héineach*. *fuair* FŪƏR but *fé fuair sé. é* fĒ hwŪƏR' sĒ ē, before he got it, S. R. *ar fuaid* er hwŪID, *mearbhal* mARƏHL', *tinneas gan branda cheann is mearfoll* 'head-ache without brandy' *William Dall* (Tipperary)

Ren. 69. p. 40. *mearadhbaill*, Fitzgerald Poems, Ren. *tairbhe*, O. I. *torbe*, TAPƏFƏ. The word GĀRƏBN' is deduced from *garbhfhonn* 'rough land' by Mr Carmody of Comeragh Mills. *anfadh*, W. *anfud*, *fri ainbthe*; *M. ní Dhonugán* in O'Neil Ms. *ainighthe*, with the usual svar. form of *an-*, § 43,2, a storm, a great blowing, *meanfach* miánŪC, *f* = *bh* vocalized after a liquid § 10,7, yawning. *tafann* taln', Com. song, *tafaint* Dēsi, the barking of dogs and so hunting away with dogs. *anbruith* anʃhə broth. The old group *sv* gave in turn *s*, *b* and *f*. *dosenat*, *dosephain*, *tafnetar* all from the same root. Vid. Thurneysen, Index Z<sup>2</sup>. So the forms *siur fūr*, sister, *mórsefer* and *mórfeser* seven men, Dēsi mŪR-hesʃ also from *sv*. *taisbénadh* in Keatynge is pronounced spánt, 2 per. imperative sán in the Dēsi; *as-fenim* testificor, *taiss-fenim*, Ich zeige, weise, führe vor, W. in voc. Also *taisbentar*. It is interesting to note that the Eng. word 'Faith' used as an exclamation in speaking English is pronounced hēʃ in the Dēsi. *acfuinn* is ákiŋ with perhaps a lost *h* after a tenuis.

6. *f* in fut. and cond. as already mentioned becomes *h* in the active voice. This appears as an aspirate after vowels and liquids and proveys mediae to tenues. After a tenuis it appears to become lost, for an aspirate after a tenuis is very weak or silent. An *f* is often restored by conjunction of *h* with some relic of the auslaut consonants of roots. Examples: — *chídhfeadh* cihuc where *dh* is merely ornamental, *leanfadh leanhach*, Cass. 259, *leaghfadh* may melt *liefeach*, ib. l'ýáhuC Dēsi, *gh* + *h* represented by *f* in Cass. *daorfar e*, passive, ib. 135. *thabharfas* (instead of *dobéra*) *hourhis*, ib. 143, *graifigh tu* ib. = *gráidhfídh* for *grádhóchaidh tu*, *mairhigh tu*, ib. *traochfar* TRECʃR', S. R. ner ə hēdʃR' = *nuair a shéidfeair*, Crowley. So *kailbiŋ* I would lose, *mairfeadh* márhuc he would live, unvoiced r. kírħə sē he shall put, *ní fhanfadh* nī yanʃuc from *ní dh'fhanfadh*, *muna dtuillfinn* MĀRƏ díliŋ, (lh makes position for the production of i) *fanfaidh* fánħə,

*bhfuigbhthá* 2 per. cond. *vĭfĀ, mĀrĀ vĭFR'* M. song, *chifer*, Denn 83. *leacfar* ib. from *leagaint* to cause to fall, *do dhiúgfadh cáirt* ə yŭKUC kĀrt who would drink a quart, M. song. *GU rĕkĀ tŪ* from *rĕigh* ib., *nĭ thrĕigfinn nĭ hrĕkiŋ*, ib. *nĭ bhriſfinn nĭ vriſiŋ*, *yanfĀ* 2 per. cond. but *yĕnhinŋ* 1st per. I would do. This *-fĀ* in 2 per. cond. comes from O. I. *-ftha*. *yĭLhinŋ, cĭRhinŋ hĭnhinŋ yĭſinŋ* S. R. *dhiolfainn, chiorfainn, shĭnfinn dh'iosainn*, I would eat. *nĭ cimĀtUC* Com. song. from *coimead, raobfainn* *repiŋ*, Bob, *scriobhfainn skr'ĭfiŋ, teibfeas* *tepis, osgail an dorus nŕ leagfam istig aguib é, lakm'*, my Father, *dá ndĕunfaidhe, ā nĭanfwĭ, go me fa*, Dunne = *go mbeidhthá, shuihegh = shuidhfeadh* ib. *dá siubhailfinn ā sŭlhinŋ, ā sŭlŕinŋ* S. R. *fĀkĀ tŪ* thou wilt leave, from *V fĀg-*, *cá bfuighthi í kĀ vĭfuĭ ĭ*, where would she have been got (otherwise).

7. *f* is often prothetic. *taob na faille, fiarfug fĭrhig* 2. imperative, *fathach fĀhĭUC. = athach*.

8. *f* outside the case of fut. cond. of verbs arises from *v + h*. *liomhtha lĭfĀ, neamhdha nĀfĀ* 'heavenly' probably on the analogy of *naomhtha nefĀ* holy, as elsewhere *-dha* of adjs. becomes *-gĀ*, *sgafaire* from *sgathmhaire = h + v*.

*b*

§ 38,1. *b* broad = *B*, slender = *b*. *ball* *BAUL*, *bóthar* *BŕHR'*, *blosgadh* *BLOGĀ*, a flush, O. Eng. *blyscan* 'blush', *bárr* *BĀR* and *bĀrĀ*, *baoghal* *BWEL*, *buidhe* *BWĭ*.

2. *b* slender, *bith* *bĭ*, *ar bith agat* *er biheGUT*, *breagh* *br'Ā* and *br'Ā*, *beo* *byŕ*, *binn* *baiŋ*.

3. *b* in auslaut broad and slender *badb* *BĭB*, *fadb* *FĭB*, *ladb* *LĭB*, *binib* *binib*, *breib* *br'ĭb* Eng. 'bribe'.

4. *b* assimilated, *dĭombáidh* *dimĀ*, *domblas* *DUMĀLĭS*, gall, D. R. 62.

5. *b* affected in anlaut = *w*, *v*, mostly *w* before a broad consonant, *v* before a slender. *a bhuaichill* ə wŭecl, *a bhaile* ə wĀlĀ, *a bháis* ə wĀs, *a mhac* ə wĀk, his son. It is often

difficult to determine whether w or v is heard. *ar a bharra* er' ə vārə, or wārə. *a bfuil* when *a* unaccented is silent = Bul. *bhur* = O. I. *barn* wŪR or ŪR.

*bh* in inlaut between broad vowels = w, and contracts with its vowels to ou, § 5,1, unaccented to Ū. *abhainn* ouin, *adhbar* OUR and āVR' S. R. an earlier stage of development preserved in a story, (in *fádhbhar* FĀVR' *dh* is a length making device) *cobhair* KOUR', *leabhar* LOUR from *liber* where *e* was regarded as a broad vowel unless the derivation is from *librum* LIBR'. *labhairt* LOUR't, *tabhairt* TOUR't, *seabhadh* SOUK, *abhac* OUK, a dwarf.

6. *bh* in inlaut becomes a w glide after Ū sound vowels or diphthongs, a y glide after ī sound. *siubhal* sŪWL, *dubha* DŪWə pl. fem. of DUV, *subhachas* sŪWəcis. After long vowels and diphthongs it becomes absorbed along with its indices, *aoibhneas* Īnis, *riabhach* RĪUC, *diabal* DĪUL. In *cuibhe*, *cuibhreach*, *cuibhreann*, there was first umlaut to i and later contraction with y of v to I, KĪ, KĪR'UC, KĪR'N'.

7. *bh* under conditions set forth in §§ 6,1. 8,1, contracts its y to form î, Eî.

8. *bh* is sometimes sounded as v between vowels in songs. *tabhairne* TĀVR'nə, Eng. 'tavern', also *táirne* which should be TOUR'nə, *cobhair* KOVR', T. G.

9. *bh* = v unaccented after *l*, *n*, *r*, contracts when broad with a svar. from the liquid and the following vowel to Ū, slender becomes y and contracts to ī. *arbhar* ARŪR, *iorbhas* IRŪS, *searbhas* SARŪS, *marbhadh* MĀRŪ, *carbhas* KARŪS, as if phonetic for 'carouse', *miorbhuil* MĪRŪĪL, *ciorbhadh* KĪRŪ, *dearbhadh* DARŪ, *Cearbhal* KARŪL. *banbh* pl. *bainbhe* BĀNĪ *leanbh* LANUV but *leanbhín* LANĪN.

10. *bh* in auslaut = v, v, or silent. *Sadbh* SĪV, *banbh* BĀNUV *marbh* MĀRUV, *craobh* KREV, *sliabh* SLĪV, *cliabh* KLĪV. v in *taoibh*, *leibh*, *fearaibh*, etc.



11. *bh* in *-ibh* of dat. pl. is mostly silent. However *fearaibh* is the Dēsi pl. in all cases. *air beoibh* — *air mairibh* Cass, *nā glasiv* .|. *nā i gcleasaibh* Crowley, *Uibh Eirc* Iverk a place name, *d'annamnuiv*, cat. 11. *groihiv* ib. 14. |. *gcroidhthibh*, *a dtri parsaniv*, ib. 19, *ar veoiv* ib. 20, *ansna vireniv* .|. *bfiréinibh* ib. 21, *dar ngniorhiv*, ib. 23 .|. *gniomharthaibh*, *o varuyiv* .|. *mharuighthibh*, ib.

12. *bh* is often absorbed after a long vowel in auslaut; *maidhm sléibhe* *mím slē*, *neascóid cléibhe* a boil on the liver *naskō klē*, my Father, *Currach bhealaigh an tsléibhe* a place name in the Dēsi, *krác valn' tlē* or *klē*. So *Sliabh* in place names *Sliab Ruadh slī rŪə*, so *Sliab gcruinn slī* *GRAIN* but *slīv nə mán* *Sliab na mban*.

13. *bh* is assimilated before a pronoun, *á raibh tu ə* *re* *τŪ*, but *ní raibh* *rev*, lost in *tuarasgghaíl* *TURISGÁL*, *faghbháil* *fáil*. Assimilated in *is taolag ataoim* = *taobh lag*, Ren. 69 p. 8.

14. *bh* = *g* in *do sgríobh* *sgrig*, *ppp.* *sgritə* with usual shortening before *-te*.

15. The *w* from *gh* is hardened to *v* in auslaut of *ogh* an egg and *tiugh* thick. Also by the same hardening *andiu* developed *niuv*, the voice-stream was continued until the lips had passed from rounding to spirant approach.

## Dentals.

*t.*

§ 49,1. *t* broad and slender = *τ* and *t*. As in the case of *ɒ*, *τ* is produced by pressing the tongue against the upper teeth; for *t* and *d* the tip of the tongue touches the hard gum about a quarter of an inch above the roots of the upper teeth and contact is so gradually broken that a slight spirans may be heard after the consonant. This spirans took the place of the consonant in western Irish, hence *t*, *d* is there spoken as *ch*, *j* in English.

2. *t* in anlaut; *tabhairt*, *tormus* *TORM'ís*, stubborn pettishness.



3. *t* in inlaut was preserved only in consonant groups otherwise it became *th=h*. (An affection is sometimes found after *l*, *althóir*, *reulthan*; *toilhineach*, Cat. 47.) *slat*, *geit*, a start, *siotadh* a whinnying, its derivative *siotaireacht* crying without tears (of a child craving something), *fìotán* a stiff glass of whiskey are examples of old double *t*. Single *t* is found in inlaut in loan words received after the working of the vocalic infection *peata* a pet, *pótaire*, *poitín*, *pratainn* a 'patent' with infixed *r*; *cúitiughadh* 'requite' Pedersen. Perhaps rather from the form 'quit'.

4. The group *-cht* is unaffected and always broad. The palatalized *boict* of O. I. and found also in Keatynge was merely a symmetrical writing.

5. *t* after *s* in inlaut=*d*, in auslaut again hardened to *t*. *s* causes exactly the same change in the case of *g*, *c*.

6. *t* as also *d* is often preserved in anlaut after a foregoing *s*, *cionnus tá tú?* but *thá sé, is do bhí acu*. This is part of the phonetic rule that *d*, *t*, *s*, *l*, *n*, and *d*, *t*, *s*, meet in compound formation without disturbance.

*t* is written *d* in *dara* TARƏ.

7. The prep. *ind-* unaccented form *inn*, being accented in noun composition took the form *int-* in combination with the *h* relic of *s*. Thus *intshamhail* from *ind+h*. From this went forth a sort of sandhi *t* between *n* and *s* in composition, and later between *l*, *s* and *s*. Examples:— *intseachanta* 'vitandus'. (Here there is some doubt of the preposition though it seems as if the new participium necessitatis was compounded with the *in-* particle of *inairm* 'fit to bear arms', etc. not with *ind-*). *caol t-sruth*, *le crainn tsleadh fhaobhar*, Denn, 80, *cois t-Siúire* by the Suir, *min t-sruth*, *Cion t-sail* P. P. 312, *caomh t-suaire*, O'Neil, *fionna-bhean t-séimh*, ib. *maidin t-samraidh*, *S. na Sróna, milis t-séin*, T. G. 6, *an chlaoin t-saoghail*, ib. 31, *min t-sruithe*, ib. 44, *caol t-sruith*, ib. 95, *glas t-snuim*, ib. 35, *gleagal t-suaire*, Denn, Ms. Waterford College, p. 34, *buan*

*t-seasamhach* ib. *gein t-sleachta*, *Uilliam Inglis* in *Ren.* 76, p. 18, *an tsaoghail t-sogluaiste*, ib.

8. *t* appears after *n* final of verbal nouns, after slender *s* of 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> per. pl. of imperative and conditional, also sporadic after *-ís*. Its presence in verbal nouns may be traced to analogical or phonetic causes. It may have been added on the pattern of *tabhairt*, *labhairt*, or the alveolar *n* by breaking contact gradually during continuance of the voice stream developed the final consonant. Even so alveolar *s* may have produced it by making contact in pausa.

Examples: — *feuchaint* fīácŋt, *gabhaílt* gōlt 'going', *crádh-chaint*, *leigint* ligŋt with *i* umlaut, *foiríthint* helping, Dunne, *foireachtaoin*, S. R. *taosgaint*, Dunne, *cosaint*, *insint*, *seachaint* sácŋt, *feodhchaint* fyōcŋt, *grádhchant* Denn 68, *tarraingt*, *fanamhaint* fánŋt, *fuirist* from *fuiris d-uit* and *d* to *t* after *s* in auslaut § 49,5, *aithint*, *dóthaint* dōcŋt and decŋt, *go dtiocfaidist* GU dukədīst, *suibhcant*, *M. ní Dhonagán*, in O'Neil.

9. *t* from *d* in *t'athair* tahr' or hahr', *led' t fhior-fhuil*. This is a revival of old *t* under the accent. *th'ainm* hanŋ, *ad' uachtarán* tŪCTR'ān, *t'irein=d'fhireun*, Cat. 3. Cf. O. I. *do-ind*, accented *tind-*. *t* protracted from *d+h* in *ceudta* hundreds kēTə, sing. kīád.

10. *tl=cl*. *t-slighe* klī, so *dl=gl*, *dligheadh* glī.

11. *t* in *acht* is lost, *ác*, or *nác* generalized from some *n* auslaut.

12. *t* assimilates *c* in *Portcládach* PURTLĀc, Portlaw.

13. *th = h*. *thoil* hel, hil, hōL, *athair* ahř', *ceatha* kahə. In auslaut *th* makes a short vowel explosive and appears as weak *h* before a following vowel. *bith*, *bih* Cat. 27, *caith uait* ē kâ hwŪTē. *is maith é sín*, is mà hē sin. Apparently silent after a long vowel sound, *treith* tr'ē, *dith* dī.

14. *th* broad in auslaut of the nom. case of nouns of the vocalic declension which make an increase in the gen. is hardened to *c*.

Examples: *rioth* RUC, *i* unlauded to *u* by the dark timbre of a guttural, gen. rahə, *gaoth* GEC, gen. GĪHə, *luach*, Denn 78, = *luath*, *breach* = *breath* ib. *cleath ailpín* a fighting wattle klac, gen. klehə, *dath* DĀC, gen. DĀHə, *cioth* k(y)UC gen. kahə, *sruth* SRUC, *sruthán* SRUCĀN gen. *sruithe*, *crioth* KR'UC gen. *creatha* KR'AHə, *cruth* KRUC, gen. *crotha*, *guth* GUC, gen. GOHə. So *sgáth*, C. M. O. 34, *gruth*, ib. 102, *rath* RĀC O. I. *rad* gratia, *ag brath*, P. P. 24, *liath* gen. léithe, *bráth*, *sgiath* scutum \*scēt, now a hemispherical basket used in picking or straining potatoes, *leath* lac, half, but *tair i leith* TĀR ə le, *blúth*, *bláth na sgeach* BLĀC Nə sgāc, *rathmas?* in good case, wealthy, from *rath?* RĀCM'IS, *tráth* TRĀC, *eadarthráth* ÁDR'UC dinner-time, but *virah*=*mhiorath*, Cat. 9, perhaps *h* was phonetic for *c* here.

15. In other auslauts *is* has the weak sound of *h* mentioned above *tnúth* TNŪ, *tláth* TLĀ. (Here TL is distinguished from KL by the L which in the KL combination is sounded with more resonance room in the guttural chamber), *cath*, *fuath*, *dlúth*, etc.

16. *th* in inlaut between vowels = *h*. *athair* ahɾ', *tláthas* TLĀhis, in Thom. contracted *tuille gan tlás* C. M. O., *áthas* āhis, *bathas* BĀhis, *lahar*, Cat. 9. So ppp. *cumtha* KUMəHə *foluighthe* FOLĪHə.

17. Adverbs of place which show an anlaut change between *th* or *sh* and *s* use the *th* or *sh* forms to denote rest in a place, *s* motion to. Motion from is denoted by the anlaut *an-*. *thoir* hɪr (or hir as *h* does not affect the vowel timbre) *thiar* hĪR, *thuaidh* hŪig, (one of the many examples of auslaut *g* fondness), *theas* has, in the East etc. *chuidh se siar* hwŪ sĒ sĪR he went westwards. *fó dheas* is ō yas. *sall* is not found and *anann*, *anonn* n'auN, is the reverse of *anall*, *anann* to yonder, thither, *anall* from yonder, hither.

18. An *h* appears to be developed occasionally after *rr*, probably the stroke of the vocal chords being again set in vibration after unvoiced *r*.

*d*.

§ 50,1. *d* broad=D, slender, *d*.

τ : t=D : *d*. The production is the same as for τ, t in all respects except for the weaker explosion and the voicing.

*d* occurs in anlaut *dúmas* (?) *athá me* DŪMIS, I am only joking, *dúmas go raibh sé tinn*=*dubh-amus?* *ag dul* DOL, in Connaught assimilated to *g*, COL. In the Dēsi *d* does not assimilate with *g*. One instance *ba bhreug dam*, BO VRĒGUM M. song, perhaps of Western origin. It is remarkable that strange dialectic forms are preserved in songs and stories, each person repeating the words as he learned them and not forcing them into conformity with his every-day speech. *dubhairt* DŪRT a rare instance of ū after a broad consonant, *dada* and *dadamh* DADƏ, *tada*, OR. *gan ttada do shuim mar leanabh* R. I. A. 52 p. 259.

2. In anlaut the result of worn down groups *adeirim* from *at-bh-*, *admháil*, *adubhairt*. Preserved after *r*, *árd*, *bárd* *bórd*. In anlaut after *s*, *brosdugadh*. The group *st-* becomes *sd* in anlaut, in auslaut it is hardened to *-st*. In auslaut there is sometimes indecision after *r*, *cuaird* a visit, an old loan-word. The same word borrowed again later is *cuairt* 'a court'. *magcuairt*=*imman cuairt*, with *gc* writing of the tenuis voiced by a nasal, has *-rd* or *-rt* in auslaut. So *d* represents *t* voiced by a nasal in *eadtrom* ĪADR'M from TROUM, *eadtarbhach*, *idir* and *'dir*, *féidir meud*. *nead* from \**nizd-*, by unvoiced unlaut proved to *t* over *r* by *h* in *eatortha*, *edar-h* to *etor*. In *seanad senāt-*, *sgrudadh scrut-*, *spiorad spirit-*, appears the usual change from tenuis to media in Latin words that were borrowed after the working of the aspiration law.

3. *agad* in sometimes written for *agat*, so *d* for *t* in auslaut after *s*, e. g. *arísd*, but after unvoiced *s* it is impossible to sound *d* except a voiced element follows.

4. *id'* 'in thy' is always *in do* before a consonant in the



Dēsi. So also the other prepositions with *do*, *aige do mháthair* for *agad mh-*.

5. *d* assimilates with *l*, *n*, and occasionally *r*. *ceudna* kĭánə, *órdlach*, *codladh* KOLə. *a chodlfadh* a new conditional COULHUC, Bob, where *h* made position because being a non-vocalic addition the group *ll* was not divided § 2,2 VI. *carr-gios*, *quadrages-* has already been mentioned, with *k* in *neascóid*, *cléibhe*.

6. *d* is made unvoiced or protracted to a tenuis by *f=h* in fut. cond. *go ngoidfidh me* GU NITə Mĕ, S. R.

7. *dh* broad in anlaut=*y=gh* broad in the same situation, *dhá yá*.

8. *dh* slender in anlaut=*y* which is also=*gh* slender. *a dheor ə yōr'*.

9. *dh* slender in auslaut is often hardened to *g*. *dhiaidh* yīg, *suidh* sig, verb. noun *suidhe* sĭ, *luigh* LIG, verb. noun Lĭ, *garsún cruaidh ón buaile aitinn* KRŪig, *fáidh* fāig, *aghaidh aig*, Cat. 3, Dēsi ĭə, *réidh* rĕg, *thuaidh* hwŪig, in fut. and preterite endings without a pron. *caithfidh* kâhig, but *caithfidh tú* kâhə TŪ, *bhfhuighbidh* vīg, Walsh, *beidh* beg, but *beidh sé* be sĕ, but *cruaidh-cheart* KRŪCART, *y* lost after a long vowel sound.

10. *-idh* as ending of 2 pl. imperative = *əgĭ*, Des. *-ig*. *buailidh* BŪləgĭ or BWeləgĭ. *so* as in *so dhuit* *so* yet, takes this ending sometimes in the pl. *sogĭ yĭvsə* = *so dhíbh-se*.

11. The prep. *de*, *dhe*, generally after a vowel *ye*, *yə*, has its *y* occasionally hardened to *g*, either a wrong restoration for *d* or an instance of *g* fondness in supposed auslaut. *rúithe go leith de laethantaibh agus rúithe go leith d'oidhcheantaibh ach trí rúithe glan ó san amach*. Rĕhə GU legə LEHN'Tə ĀGIS Rĕhə GU leg ĭhn'Tə, Ph. H. *cúpla pínt ge sin*, S. R.

12. *dh* in the ending of the preterite passive = *g*. *crosag* T. G. 6. This rule is universal except occasionally in songs imported from other dialect territories. *leagadh in cladh uirthe*



LAGUV ə KLĪ erhə my Father, reporting a Kerry conversation. This is the change from guttural to labial in the treatment of a consonant relic observable in such examples as *sawan*, *sehen*, etc.

13. *dh* in the adj. ending *-dha* = G. *mórda* MŪRGƏ, *órdha* ŌRGƏ, *Chlíodná mhaorga*, S. R. So *riogach*, *cróga*, *diaga*, *yiaga*, Cat. 7, *diaganta*, *anvasarga* Cat. 7, = *ainmheasardha*, after *ll*, *gallda* GAULDƏ, after *m* in *iomdha* MŪ. In pl. of a noun *suadha*, *na suaga*, U. *Inglis*, Ms. in Waterford College.

14. *dh* is often inserted to represent a glide between two vowels. *clúdhmail*, *míodhadh* mīyã. Also for the same purpose when there is a change of timbre *beidheadh* bec, *bidheann* bīYN', *do chidheann* T. G. 8.

15. *dh* which gave *y* and produced a slurred diphthong with certain vowels or influenced by final double liquids is often written to represent the *y* developed by double liquids when they produce the same sound alone. *greidhean* GR'ĒIN, so analogically *greidhm* for *greimm* gr'ĒIM. *coidhill* = *coill* kĪL, Ren. RC. p. 65. *sgridhig* sgrĪg, ib.

16. *dh* from the analogy of so many silent *dh* auslauts is sometimes written ornamentally, *daoineadh*.

17. *dh* (and *d*) unaccented often falls out. *fear a bfearr*. So the prep. *do* before verbal nouns became ə; *do mharbhadh* ə vārŪ. *dia n-* becomes *dá* with eclipsis of following consonant and *d* falls out *dá ngrádhann tu ghlacadh* á NRÂN TU YLÁCƏ, where also *do* is entirely lost before *glacadh*. So *oc a mharbhadh* = á vārŪ, *dá rádh* á r'á, *tabhair dam*, Thom. TŌRM' (Dēsi tour) and shortened to TORM by vocalic break of pausa. Cf. *gabthha* GOFƏ from GŌL(?).

18. *dh* in *-adh* ending of verbal nouns is silent. *bualadh* BŪƏLƏ; this ə contracts with *y*, *w*, of *gh*, *bh*, to *ī*, *ū* after a liquid. § 10,7.

19. *dh* as ending of 3 per. sing. of imperative, imperfect and conditional=c. *biodh sé* bīUC sĒ, *do gheobhadh* yŌC.

20. *dh* is silent after a long vowel sound in syllable auslaut. *buadh*, BŪƏ, so *clódh*, *grádh*, *crádh*, *gruaidh*. In such instances as *bliadh-ain glaodh-uch* it resumes a glide value. So *adh-bhar* ÁVR', OUR, *Adh-amh* ÁV. In *riabhach*, *diabhal* there is a parallel loss of *bh*. RĪUC, DĪUL. Of course with short *i* we should have had rouc douL, § 5,1; hence the Western pronunciation of *diabhal* jouL goes back to di-, in the Dēsi Lat. *ia* became the Irish long diphthong īə, *ádth* ā, luck.

21. In *cladh* KLI, the writing from middle Irish *clad*, the pronunciation from *claide*.

22. *dh* in pl. ending *-adha*=ī. *curadha* KURĪ.

23. *dh* (also *gh*) in accented syllable surrounded by short voiced elements gives *î*, *Ei*, §§ 6,1. 8,1. *adharc*, *tadhg*, *meidhg*, O. I. *tredemus* trĭnis.

24. *dh* and *gh* lengthen O. I. *e* through *a* to *ā*, *â*. *meadhchaint* mĕcĕnt, Thom. *â*: *sgadán*, D.R. 44, O. I. *med-ón* mĕn, but mĕn: *brón*: *sóirt* Ren. 69, p. 6. *cned* knĕ: *bláth* T. G. 7, *sned* nits, snĕ, *spleadhchas* splĕcis, *bregda* brĕə, brĕə, *leaghadh* lyĕ melt. As *dh* lengthened *e* to *ā* here so must it have made *a* to *â* thus O. I. *mad*, *mád*, modern mĕ, *ádth* â, etc.

25. *dh*=*y* contracts with *i* to *ī*. *croidhe* KRI, so *-idh* the termination denoting an agent *ī*. Also *gh*, *slige* slĭ.

26. *dh* with accented *o* and following voiced element=ou. *bodhar* BOUR, *odhar* OUR, *modhamhail* mouL § 5,1.

27. *dh* in auslaut before a slender vowel=*y*, *budh é* BU yĕ, *budh eadh é* BU ya ĕ, BUYIN ĕ=*budh shin é*, *nár bhudh é an sganradh é* NĀRƏ yĕN sGAUR ĕ. Here *budh*, *bad* for old *bu*.

28. The prep. *do* (before a coloured vowel *d'*) prefixed to verbal nouns with a slender vowel anlaut becomes *y*, the root is regarded as beginning with *do* i. e. *dh*, and another *do*=ə is prefixed. *chum é sin do dh'éiliomh* CUN ĕ sin ə yĕluv. So in all verbal uses of *do* in the imperfect preterite and conditional. Also with *dá*, *dá dh'éiliomh* ä yĕluv. *d* is however kept before *iarraidh*, *cuidh sé d'iarraidh braonín beag bainne* CŪƏ

sē dĪR BREŃĪN BEG BĀŃƏ 'he went for a sup of milk', *bhí sé d'iarraidh a choimeud isteach* vĪ sē dĪR ə cimĀŃ istĀc. Here *do=ag*. The case of *dh* before a broad verbal anlaut is exactly parallel, *do dh'órđughadh* ə YŌRDŪ. *do=de* is sometimes treated in a like manner before other parts of speech *d'aon chloich* YEN CLOC T. L. *ráithe d'aois ráhə* YĪs, M. song, slender before a broad anlaut in *mála d'ór yōR=dhe ór* S. R.

29. The *t* of *tar* as oath formula = D. *tar Mártin* DARƏ vĀRTŃ', or null, *ar a bfulaing*, T. L. *ar ndoigh* AR NŪ, § 18,3. So *tada* is *dada*. *dar fiadh* is DĀR fĪ, with a curious lengthening of *a*.

### Gutturals.

*c*

51.1. *c* broad κ, slender k. Affected broad becomes a spirans *c*, slender the spirans *c*.

Occurrences:— *coll* KOUL, *corcor* from 'purpur' of the early British missionaries from the analogy that *c* Irish was = *p* Welsh. Inlaut and auslaut the result of a group or provection. *leac*, *pluc*, *sprioc* SPRUK, a spurt, a start to work, *deacair*, *craorac*. Slender, *cill* kĪl, *lice* likə, *dĪrik* a mountain name near Mount Melleray in the Dēsi.

2. *ch* broad in anlaut and auslaut = *c*. *mo chreach is truimhe mo chroidhe ná cloc* MU CR'AC IS TRIMƏ MU CRĪ NĀ KLOC, so in auslaut *geallach* galĀc, gl'Āc, *marcach* MURKĀc gen. MÁRKĪg. In *cht*, *beannacht* bN'Āct, *ocht* OCT.

3. *ch* slender in anlaut *c*. *mo cheann* caUN, *a chleath* ə clac.

4. *ch* in auslaut parallel with *th* i. e. a foregoing short vowel is made explosive and an *h* is carried to a following vowel. *deich* de, *deich aguinn* dehəGIN, so *amuich* əMU, after long vowel sound *fraoich* FRĪ, gen. of *fraoch* FREc *i gcrith* = *grích*. In inlaut after accent also = *h*. *fiche* fhĕ, *da fhicid* dahĪd, (slender *d* dental in auslaut), *dwithche* DŪhə, *faithche* fĀhə, *choidhche* cĪhə, *oidhche* Īhə, *dicheall*, *ar nihil*, *dihil*,

Cat. 14, *inchinn* inəhiŋ, so also *caillichín* P. P. 162, *siorraichín* *giobalach*, *croiche*, S. R. *sgeiche*, *sgeichín*, *creiche* gen. of *creach* T. G. 11, *teiche*, after long vowel *féiche*, in anlaut *cheana* haŋə. So *ch* broad in some words, *gach aon cheann* GU HEN CAUN, *gach aoinneach* GU haiŋə *gaXeingye* Atkinson, *Trí biorghaoithe*, Gloss. *imtheochad* imōhiD, imōD, *droch-* DRO-, *chucha* cŪhə, *dorchadas* DORəHəDIS, *cidhe* O'Neil = *ciocha* kī, a *cí* Com. song. *nach* only before predicates, *ná* before verbs. *adeirim ná fuil*, *fearaibh nach é* men besides him, *adeirim nach eadh*.

5. *ch*, *c*, broad changes a to á. *geallach*, *creach*, *cearc*, *dearc*.

6. *ch* appears in anlaut of *co*, *cu* with suffixed pronoun. *chugham* cŪM, *chughat* cŪT, *chuiġe* ciġə *chuiġi* ciġkə, *chughainn* cŪŋ, *chughaib* cŪv, *chucha* cŪhə. Here there is a mixing with *chum* cN' from *dochum*. *chomh* appears also with aspirated anlaut from some such confusion. *chomh dona* cŪN DUNə, with assimilated nasal, *chommór* cŪMŪR. The lengthening is due to some position before a consonant anlaut.

7. *ch* (= *gh*) becomes *y* in *rachthá* rġfə *rachad* rġD. *ch* slender to *y* in *comairche*, *cloch na comairche* KLOC Nə KUMġġ a curious stone in Mothil. It comes from the writing *commairge*, vid. W. in voc. Cf. for the pronunciation *suirġhe*.

8. *c* in *cionnus* = K, KUNIS, 'cindas pro ce indas', Z<sup>2</sup> 357. But the pronunciation comes from *co-indus*.

9. *c* = k in *coimead* kimāD.

10. *c* is assimilated in *cúigcead* kŪkġÁD, in *Portcladhach* PURTLġġC from the similarity of sound of the groups *tl* and *cl*.

11. *c* is lost before the accent in *cad é an* dĒN, *cad é an rud* é DĒRəDĒ.

12. *ch* is sometimes added at the end of a word *maorgach* = *maordha*, *féineach* = *féin* M. song, *léireach* = *léir*.

13. *ch* becomes *h* and proveys *b*, *iomchor* aUMPR'.



14. *c* protected from *g* in fut. cond. act. is often kept with *f* in the passive. *leacfar* LAKFR' T. G. 37.

15. *c* hardened from *g* in auslaut; *gaedhlic*, Ms. R. I. A. 52 p. 310, end, so in Port Erin Isle of Man GILK VANN' „Manx“, *comhrac*, *craorac* from *caor-dearg?* *lochta*, Eng. 'loft' was borrowed while *-ft* was still *-cht*. So 'trough' still keeps its old pronunciation in Ireland viz. TRÁC.

*g*

§ 52,1. *g* broad and slender occurs in unaffected anlaut. In anlaut and auslaut it is the result of groups, the voicing of *c* by nasal affection, or auslaut *g* fondness. *gabhairl*, *goile*. In *go* O. I. *co*, *gac* O. I. *cach* it is softened before the accent. The accented form of *cach* |. *cách* is however preserved. The same phenomenon is seen in the case of *d* before the accent, *led' thoil*, etc. *beag* from *becc* BEG, *cogar* KOGR' from *con-cor*. Slender *geal* GÁL, *bige* BIGÉ. *an-* = *un-* gives *ē* with nasal affection of a following consonant. Before *c* the writing is *eug* i. e. regular eclipsis. Thus from *cóir* regularly *eugcóir*, *eigceart* D. R. 64, *eugcruth* is sometimes divided *eug-cruth* as if it were a compound involving the use of *eug* death. In *eugmais* IÁMIS, the writing of the particle is one torn from a *c* anlaut. It should be *eummais*.

2. *g* broad and slender is found in auslaut both accented and unaccented as hardening from various consonant relics. It is so prevalent and arises from so many various sources that it must be ascribed to a *g* fondness in auslaut.

In preterite passive *G* from *dh*. *baluigheadh* BÁLĪUG, *rugadh* RUGUG, and so for all such cases. Another change of *dh* to *G* is that in adjs. with a *-dha* termination. This however is not auslaut hardening. *g* appears much oftener. From *gh*; *tig* dat. *tig*, *luigh* imperative, preterite without a pronoun, *lig*, *marcaigh* MÁRKIG, *imthig* imig, from *dh*. *beidh* beg, *suidh* sig, *claoidh* Klig, from *bh*. *faig*, C. M. O. 21, *sgriobh* sgrig, ppp. *sgrité*. So in dat. of many verbal nouns, *ag léimirig sa preab-*



*arnaig*, for *léimnigh* and *preabadh*, *plabarnaig*, Bob. In *luigh*, *suidh*, the old short vowel is kept because the consonant did not become *y* and contract. The verbal nouns are long *LĪ*, *sĪ*. *claidh* and *sgriobh* are shortened by analogy. *ságh-sa* *sâg-sə* I stuck, T. G. 8, *Lâg* he shot, from *lámhach*, *laaim*, W., *aghaidh*, *ayg*. Cat. 3, *iə*, *Dēsi*.

3. *gh* does not become *g* but is mostly absorbed after a long vowel. *truagh*, *TRŪƏ*, *dógh* burn, *DŌ*, C. M. O. 10, *dóthim*, O'R. *flígh* C. M. A. 7, *brígh* *br'ī*. In some of those cases the lengthening is due to contraction with *y* before the *g* hardening appeared. So *tuagh*, *laogh*, *sluagh*, *sogh*, *rígh* *rī* gen., *liúig* D. R. 91, but *lyū*, *Dēsi*, for the long vowel.

4. *gh* in inlaut is absorbed after a long vowel sound. *saoghal* *SEL*, *baoghal* *BWEL*, *soghach* *SŌC*, *laghach* *LĀC*. If originally short those two last examples should become *souc*, *LĪC*, though they may have been derived from *sógh*, *lāgh*, when those were regarded as *sō*, *LĀ*. As long sign; *púghdar* powder, C. M. O. 12, *hughda* hood, ib. 12, *fághnach* P. P. 182.

5. *gh* broad or slender after *l*, *n*, *r*, § 48,9, contracts *w* or *y* with the svar. thrown out by the liquid and becomes *Ū* or *ī*. *feadghaile* *fadĪlĀ*, *murrghach* *MURŪC*; slender, *bairghín* *BĀRĪN*, *eirghe* *EIR'Ī* *carrghios* *KĀRĪS*, *doilghios*, *dolish*, Cat. 35, *coingioll*, *cuniol*, Cat. 35.

6. *gh* lengthens *e* in *breaghda*, *br'āə*, *deaghtach* *dāhuc*, T. G. 47, but *sleagh* *sla*, So *u* in *chugham*, etc., *cŪM'* elsewhere *cUGM'*.

7. *g* seems preserved in *glégeal* *glēgl'* and *glēyl'*, *rine* is *rin*.

8. Sometimes *g* contracts irregularly in imported songs. *tógadh*, *Dēsi* *TŌGUG*, *tóg* Dunne; *rúgadh*, *RUGUG* *Dēsi*, *RŪG* in quoting a passage from C. M. O. Sometimes revived from the writing of *saoghal*, *baogal*, often *SEGL'*, *BEGL'* in T. G.

9. *gh* broad=*w* and slender=*y* join with various vowels

in the production of slurred diphthongs. *aghaidh* îə, *logha* LOU, *lou* Cat. 76, *feighil* FEIL. In *aghaidh* apparently broad *gh*=y but the O. I. form was *agid* and *a* must have been unlauded before the contraction. §§ 4, sqq. Here *gh* is treated exactly as *dh*. *togha* TOU, but ppp. *toghtha* TOFƏ, and cond. pass. *toghfaidhe* TOFĪ. C. M. O. 11. In one place of C. M. O. *toghtha*: *foghlaim* and therefore TOUƏHƏ as if *th* was joined by a svar. vowel. In *toghtha* w was proected to f by h. For a similar shortening cf. *TORM'* from *TOUR*.

10. *gh* broad in anlaut=y, slender=y. So *dh* broad and slender. *mo ghrádh do ghalair*, MU YRÁ DU YÁLR' 'I wish I had your complaint' *mar gheall air mÁR YAUL ER*.

11. *g* is proected to *c* in fut. and cond. *ní léigfinn* nĪ likiŋ, *sloigfinn* C. M. O. 13 SLIKIŋ. So with *th*, *tógtha*, TŌKƏHƏ, with slender *c*. Auslaut hardening in *comrac*, *craorac*, *aisiog* and *aisioc*.

12. *gh*=y falls away before h in *-ighthe* ppp. endings of *-ighim* verbs. Also *g* is wanting in *tionsnainn*, Ren. 76 P. 16 end, *dá thionsgailt á housgilt* M. song.

13. *g* after *s* is voiced in inlaut, unvoiced by auslaut hardening in auslaut. *sgairt* scÁrt, *sgeul* sgĪál, but *tásg* TÁsk, *rúisg* RŪsk.

14. *g* in *ag*=g or *ge*, suffixed pronoun form for simple prep.

15. *gh* in *tiugh*=v. This was a spirans thrown off from the lip-rounding of *u*. So *ogh* UV. Vid. Pedersen *Aspirationen i Irsk* p. 15.

16. *g* arises from *c* under nasal affection. *i gcorp* ə GŌRP. The occasional change of the prep. *de* to *ge* has been mentioned.

### The Liquids.

§ 53,1. N the dental sound. The tongue is in the same position as for T, D; sometimes it is strongly nasal *naomh* NEV, where the nasality of *v* affected it by anticipation, so L in *lámh*.

2. In unaffected broad anlaut it is a strong dental, in inlaut and auslaut after a sonant element it becomes alveolar. In *bainion* BUNN' 'female', for instance final *n* is produced nearer to the teeth than *n* but yet without touching them. In unaffected slender anlaut *n* is alveolar.

3. *r* broad and slender appears to have the same sound in unaffected anlaut, affected it has the reduced sound of *r* in the ending *-aire* and in such combinations as *pre- bre- gre-* etc.

4. *nn* slender= $\eta$  or *ny*, *andiu* ənyv, so *n* in *neamh*. *l* occasionally becomes very slender through combination with *j*, *leaghadh* lyā malt. A different sound is that in *baile*, *meala*, *bealaigh*, the *l* of *leaca* seems to resemble the ordinary anlaut Eng. *l*.

5. The reduced *r*=*r'*, though a distinct *r* sound, is not far removed from a strong *y*. In producing it the tongue is spread and hollowed spoon-shape the tip brought near the gum behind the upper teeth leaving a slight passage. The stream of air is directed towards the hollow of the tongue and plays against the upturned tip which is probably set in vibration. The teeth are held slightly apart. In the groups *pr*, *br*, the tongue is raised and there seems to be one impact against the gum at the beginning of the *r* sound. In Kilkenny the tongue is not raised and the teeth are almost closed, hence this *r* became *zh*, a soft voiced alveolar affricate.

#### *n*.

§ 54,1. *n* dental=*n*, alveolar *n*, *nn* slender=*ng* slender= $\eta$ , *nn* broad=*n*, *ng* broad=*n*.

2. *n* broad and slender occurs in all positions in a word and is pronounced except where assimilated by *l* or *r*, or where in nasal affection it is a mere index that the following tenuis is voiced. Under vocalic and consonantal infection though there is change of timbre it never loses its *n* character. For a discussion of the delicate changes undergone in those conditions vid. Pedersen, *Aspirationen i Irsk*.

3. *n* in some words darkens long and short *o* to  $\bar{O}$  and  $\bar{u}$ , §§ 18,3. 13,5.

4. *n* in anlaut, *na*  $N\bar{a}$ , *naoi*  $NE$ ; *nó*  $N\bar{U}$ , *nathair nimhe*  $n\bar{O}W$ . sometimes divided *an athair nimhe*, *natrix*.

5. Inlaut *conadh*, *ceudna*  $k\bar{I}AN\bar{a}$ , *im bliadna*  $\bar{a}$   $m\bar{L}\bar{I}AN\bar{a}$  this year; *conach*  $KUN\bar{a}C$ . Auslaut *bán*, *bean*, *cion*,  $KUN$ .

6. *n* slender; *neart*  $nART$ , *ní*; double, *buinneán*  $BW\bar{I}N\bar{a}N$  from *bun* + *y*? So *taithniomh*  $TA\bar{I}N\bar{I}O\bar{M}H$ . The difference between  $nn = \bar{n}$  and  $\bar{n} + y$  was so slight that the sounds are interchangeable. Auslaut *sin*  $SIN$ , but  $S\bar{U}N$  after a broad vowel, an instance of umlaut working forward.

7.  $n = r$  in *muna*  $M\bar{A}R\bar{a}$ .

8. *n* assimilated with liquids except *m*. *aonrudh*  $ERUD$ , *sganradh*  $SGAUR\bar{a}$ , *bainrioghan*  $BAUR\bar{I}N$ , *branradh*  $BRAUR\bar{a}$  Hiberno-Eng. 'brand' a tripod to support a griddle, a gridiron, 'things 'd be like iron gates med' S. R. *anlan*  $AULN'$ ; *aindeár*  $A\bar{I}R'$ ; *pónaire* beans,  $P\bar{U}N\bar{I}R\bar{a}$  and  $P\bar{U}R\bar{a}$  S. R. from *póinre* by contraction. *áilneacht*  $\bar{A}L\bar{N}EACT$ , *an rós*  $\bar{a}$   $R\bar{O}S$ , *míonla*  $M\bar{I}O\bar{N}L\bar{a}$ , *mánla*  $M\bar{I}L\bar{a}$   $M\bar{A}L\bar{a}$ , *eanlaidh*  $\bar{I}A\bar{L}\bar{a}$ .

9. *n* in *aon* assimilates with *ch* broad. *ar aon chor*  $\bar{a}R$   $\bar{E}$   $CR'$ , *nín aon chomhairle*  $n\bar{I}N$   $\bar{E}$   $C\bar{U}R\bar{l}\bar{e}$ , S. R. *ar aon chuma*  $\bar{a}R$   $\bar{E}$   $CUM\bar{a}$ .

10.  $n = na$  owing to the svar. developed in *sean-bhean*  $SAN\bar{O}VAN$ . So in *an-* = very, also *an-* = un in *ainbhíofis*  $AN\bar{O}VIS$ . So *seana-stoc*, but *seanduine*  $SAND\bar{U}IN\bar{e}$ .

11. *n* in the prep. *in* does not usually fall out nor suffer assimilation in the Dēsi. *suim an dia*, *Denn*, *dúil an psailm* *ib.* *in lúb coille*, M. song, not *i llúb*, *in seambirín* in a little room, *ib.* *an t'oiqe* = *id'óige*, *in drom a céile*, S. R. but *d'fhan an cholán im dhiaidh*  $\bar{y}AN$   $\bar{a}$   $COLN'$   $\bar{m}$   $y\bar{I}AG$ , *ib.*

12. *n* is inserted to break the hiatus between preps. and vocalic anlauts of pronouns. This at present purely sandhi *n* or  $\bar{v}$   $\bar{e}\bar{f}\bar{e}\bar{l}\bar{k}\bar{u}\bar{s}\bar{t}\bar{i}\bar{k}\bar{o}\bar{v}$  derives origin from the nasal auslaut of *ré-n*, *le n-ól* to be drunk, to drink = *le n-a ól*,



so *le n-áireamh*, *le n-ithe* with pronouns alone *le n-a*, *Cáitín ó n-a máthair*, *do n-a chéile*, S. R. *dá cheann* to his head, in songs, otherwise *do n-a cheann*.

13. A *-na* plural appears in *lámhna*, *cnámhna*, *LĀNE*, *KNĀNĀ* which is but the nasal *mh* under a change of form. So *comh donā cŪN*.

14. *n* appears as deriving suffix in some denominatives. *breugnadh*, *mo cheusnadh* T. G. 27, *criochnadh* ib. 61, *ceasnach* P. P. 306. Those have a causative signification. Cf. *bertaigim* and *bertnaigim*, *crithnaigim* from *crith* in W. and numerous other instances in middle and even in old Irish. This *-naigim* ending may have been torn from some case of the use of *-igim* with a stem having nasal auslaut.

15. *nach* represents *ach = acht* occasionally. It is doubtless taken from some familiar phrase where it followed a nasal auslaut, such as *ní bhídheann ach. ní bheirim sa chuaird liom nach a chircín bheag súarach* T. L.

16. *n* of the article is sometimes kept, sometimes falls out. There seems to be no rule. *táinic an buachaill*, 'n *ghaduidhe* gen. S. R. *an córda*, ib. *an dara h-uair tu*, *n' TARĀ HŪR TU*, ib. *as in áit*, ib. *dín mhuineal = de + i*, ib. *ar am bróg er ǝ MRŌG*, ib. *'gimtheacht an bhóthair*, ib. *casadh an bhróg ghlan air*, *KĀSUG N'VRŌG YLĀN ER'*, *n' ad is vī sē* while he was, ib. *dhen lochta yen loctā* from the 'loft' ib. (but *dín mhuineal*, also *do'n fear DŪN far*) *fear 'n tanyard*, ib. *tabhairt 'n éitheach* ib. *raibh an t-action dá dhéanamh* Carrick-Shock song. Without *n*, *mise fear a tige-se*, *a bheirt* S. R. *ar taob a bhóthair*, *insa choill*, ib. *fear a tanyard*, ib. *bhuail sé 'sa lorga*, ib. *a cás*, ib. *a córda*, ib. but also *in córda*, ib. *dé chúis?* why? *atá = an t-ádh*.

17. *an* comprising the prep. *in* and the article causes aspiration in such phrases as *chuidh tu an chill*, *Anna*, *táinic an buachaill an bhaile*, S. R. *cuaidh sé isteach in scrubarnach*, he went into the shrubbery, ib. *'steach in tí*

stác in ti, ib. *ann gach tír* shows *n* of the prep. kept before *gach*.

18. *n* slender + *y* is almost *ŋ*. *an iubhar* *ŋ* *yŪR*, or *ŋŪR*, *andiu* *ŋyuv* or *ŋ'uv*; in anlaut more clearly *ny*, *neamh* *nyáv*, breaking of *e* before a broad labial, but *neamh-* from *neb-* *neph-* *na-* or *nav-*, *naF-* according to the following anlaut.

19. *nn* broad and slender constitute heavy groups in auslaut. So single *n* broad or slender in position. *nn* broad developes anusvára in this situation, *nn* slender gives *y*. Those induced consonants are fixed in position but on resolution of a heavy auslaut group, or with loss of accent, the original vowel is retained. *ceann*, *gleann* *kaun*, *glaun*, but gen. *glanə*, *cinn* *kaiŋ*, but *binne* *biŋə*, *clann* but *clanna Gaedhel* *klunə* GEL. Svar. *fionna-bhroig*, P. P. 94, *fionna gheal* ib. 226, *fionna bhean t-séimh*, O'Neil, Keatyngé, *ranna suilt*, P. P. 150, *fonn* *foUN*.

20. *n*, *ŋ*. *thánga* *hânə* and *hân-gə*, S. R. *teanga* *tanə*, *seang* *saun*, but *seanga-chuirp* *sanə-cirp*, P. P. 212, *aingceis* *aŋis*, *aingéal* *aŋl'*, T. G. 4. Often in auslaut *túirling* *tŪrlin*, *aísling* *aslin*, *fairsing* *fársin*. Here *ŋ* is plainly heard [as also in inlaut before a consonant, *dámbeidhinn-se* *ã meŋsə*. An anlaut *n*, *ŋ*, arises from nasal affection of *g*. *ingeall* *ə ŋaul*, *i ngabhal na croiche* *ə nouL nə krihə*, S. R.

21. *gn* = *GN'*, *gŋ*. *gnó* *GN'Ū* § 18,3, *gnaoi* *GN'I*, or rather *GNĪ*, *aigneadh* *agnə*.

l

§ 55,1. *l* dental-guttural = L. The tongue is pressed softly against the upper teeth or gum while the guttural chamber is made wide as in position for a deep *Ū*. The sound can be best attempted by starting it from such a vowel. Its guttural character is attested by the fact that it affects vowels as the other guttural consonants, by its colouring the irrational vowel to *u*, and by the fact that children sometimes sound a helping *u* before it in anlaut. Thus *luag* (?) a young eel is pronounced *wulŪác* or *wuluwác* by children.

2. Anlaut *lathach* LÁHUC, *ar nís na luiche* er NŪS NƏ LÍHƏ as the mouse does, *lá* LĂ.

3. *l* reduced by vocalic affection retains its guttural timbre but becomes alveolar. *Cluain geal meala* MÁLƏ, *a bhealaigh* ə VÁLƏ gen. of *bealach*. In such cases the short *a* acquires a tincture of *o* colouring.

4. A slender reduced *l* appears in conjunction with *y* having the sound of Italian *gl. fi ghleo* fĭ lʷō, *Seáan ó Duibhir a ghleanna* ylanə, *fliuch* flyuc.

5. *ll* broad affected may be distinguished from *l* in the same situation. It seems to have retained more of the dental and less of the guttural character. *galla-phuic* GÁLƏ-fĭk, *ar bhalla-chrith* er valə cri, trembling.

6. *l* has the additional character of nasality in *lámh*. For description it will be enough to say that the nasal passage is open during its production and that it can be best imitated by sounding an *n* before it.

7. *l = n* in *ní fhuil* nĭn. The writing *ní bhfuil* which postulates nasal affection can have descended only from *nichonfil*, the sound as far as I am aware is everywhere regular from *nífhuil*.

8. *l* is assimilated to *r*. *dealradh* daur, *siotrach* sĭrUC. In C. M. O. *parrthas báis* 'paralysis' of death comes through *paralios*, *parlios*, *parr-*, with a *th = h* developed after *rr*, PĀRƏhis. At present its shape corresponds with *parrthas* from *Paradĭsus*.

9. *l* takes *d*, *n*, in assimilation. *muinleach* mŭluc, *codladh* KOLƏ.

10. *ll* broad gave off a svar. vowel in certain contexts. *galla-phoc* P. P. 170, *malla-roisg* ib. 148, *ballu-chrioth*.

11. *ll* in auslaut or *l* in position produced slurred diphthongs *mall*, MAUL, *cill* kĭl. §§ 4. 6, 1.

*m*

§ 56, 1. *m* broad m; slender m. Broad *máthair* máhr',

*mála* MÁLƏ. Auslaut and inlaut from *mm*, *mb*; *cam* КАУМ, *am* АУМ, *iomchur* АУМР'.

2. *m* slender; *míl* mil, *míthid* mihid (d is often a dental in auslaut). Inlaut and auslaut, *cimíl* kiml, *ainm* anm, *timchioll* hoimpl' haimpl'.

3. *mh* broad in auslaut = v. *cuimhneamh* КИУВ, *sámh* sáv, *deanamh* ДЭНУВ, *díánə*, *talamh* ТĂЛУВ, *mh* slender = v, *nimh* niv.

4. *mh* broad after *l*, *r* in the auslaut of an accented syllable becomes Ū in conjunction with a svar. vowel from those consonants. *ionmhas* inŪs, *ionmhain* inŪn, *seinmhint* sinŪnt, *greannmhar* gr'anŪr, *diolmhanach* dilŪnuc, *talmhan* tálŪn gen. of TĂЛУВ, *ullmhughadh* olŪə from oluv. So after *ch* in *deachmhadh*, *deachu*, Cat. 13.

5. *mh* is absorbed after a long vowel sound. *námha* nã, 7 *tri na laa* = lámhaibh, Cat. 40, so from this a sing. was made, *a la* his hand, Cat. 42, *dream na deas lámha* gen. Lã T. G. *Mumha* mŪ Munster, *caomhnach* KENUc, T. G. 10, *ciumhais* kūis, or kūwis; with a slender vowel it becomes *y* and contracts to *ī*; *nimhe* nī, *coimheasgar* kīsgr'. So in *Mumha*, *námha*, *lámh*? the lengthening was caused by contraction with *w*. Except in *greannmhar* this termination *-mhar* appears as *-vr'*. *glórmhar*, *ceolmhar*, *eudmhar*, *seunmhar*. In *kaLŪr* mŪər tī a large rambling old house, there is probably some such word as *Calvaria*, *cealbhair*. *bãnə* lat is probably *bana leat* not *b'anamh*, *snáimhte* is snãtə. *mītə* from *maoidheamh*, *clúdhmhair* klŪəl, *modhmharach* mŌruc, C. M. O.

6. *m* in *chum* = *n. chun*, Cat. 17, also *chuiy* (not in the Dēsi) the prep. pronoun for prep. as *aige* for *ag*.

7. *mh* with broad vowels in accented position gives *au*. *samha* sau or sauwə § 4,2; unaccented=Ū. *-amhair* -Ūl, *greannmhar* gr'anŪr, with svar. from *nn*.

8. *mh* slender in anlaut=v. *ba mhian liom* bu vīen lum, =bh in the same situation. The anlaut and auslaut sounds of *mh* and *bh* have fallen together just as those of *dh* and *gh*.



9. *mh* slender in inlaut accented makes *î* and *ei* § 6,1. 8,1; *doimhin* *dîn*, *treimhse* *treisə*, *deimhin* *dēin*.

10. In Thom. Des. sometimes=*v* where *Dēsi* contracts. *domhain*, *dovin*; Cat. 5, *amhaire:deasga* and therefore *avr'k*, T. G. 9, *Dēsi* *îrk*, *ceanamhail* *kanəv*!, T. G. 41. The same is observed in the case of *bh*, *tabhairt*, *labhairt*, *tourt* *Lourt*, or *TOURT*, *LOURT*, are sometimes *tavʹt*, *lavʹt* in songs.

11. *mh* broad in anlaut=*v* or *w*. *a mhac* *ə vāk* or *ə wāk*.

12. *mh* sometimes casts a nasal unmlaut back to the beginning of a word, *comhair*, *comhachta*, *lámh*, *kōr'*, *kŪuctə*, *Lāv*, where *k* and *l* are strongly nasal.

13. *amháin* is *əwān* and *admhuighan* shows a svar. between *d* and *mh*, *adəwīm*.

14. An *-um* ending is found in slang words, *dubhartum-dártum*, tittle-tattle, *bogadúrurum*, *sancum*, *mangalum dúd*, a muffler around head and ears.

15. *mm* developed a svar. in words like *cam* before certain anlauts, *cama-chlis*.

16. *m* assimilates *b*. *cam* *cambo-*, *imm* from *imb*, *dumbblas* *DUML'is*. Where *h* provection enters in the *b* is preserved as *p*. *iomchor* *aumpR'* from *\*imb-chor*, *iompódh* *aumpō* from *imb-shoud*. Hence *h* provection is earlier than this assimilation.

17. *mh* is proected to *f* by *h*. *liomhtha* *līfə*, *naomhtha* *nefə*, *neamhdha* *nāfə* on the analogy of *naomhtha*.

18. *mh* or *m* of *mic* is sometimes dropped. *tir 'ic Cláin* C. M. O. 19, *Piarus ic (G)earailt*, *Seann 'ic Shémuis* S. R. Cf. Welsh and Breton *ab* from *mab*, *vab*.

*r*.

§ 57,1. *r* has several pronunciations or variations of timbre. Here only three grades will be distinguished.

*r* in unaffected anlaut=*r*. *rath* *rác*, *rí* *rī*. *rr* in inlaut is like this, *barra fearra* *bārə fārə*. In auslaut *rr* appears to be unvoiced, *bárr*. From this circumstance would come the

tendency to sound an h (expressed by *th*) after *rr* as if it were the result of effort in causing the vocal chords to vibrate again. Single broad *r* in inlaut is hardly to be distinguished from a fairly trilled English *r*. Slender *r* in *-aire* of *faaire*, etc. and in such combinations as *pre*, *bre* is the very reduced sound *r'* already described. The *r* of anlaut (where there does not appear to be a distinction of broad and slender) under conditions of affection becomes also *r'*; *a rí* ə *r'í*, *dá rádh* à *r'á*. In *fuaramar*, *tángamar* etc. the auslaut *r* is also *r'*, *hãNƏmr'* (or *hãNĭmr'*, Crowley), so *muna mbeidheadh mr'ác*, Crowley. As the same phenomenon is not observable in the case of the 3<sup>rd</sup> person it is reasonable to conclude that the foregoing labial influenced it. *fuaradar* FŪRƏDR'.

2. In Kilkenny this *r'* became zh. *máireach* mǎzhuc, *Máire* mǎzhə, *bóthairín*, by contraction *bóthrin* BŌSĭN, zh to s on account of unvoiced *r* from *rth*.

3. *rr* in auslaut or *r* in position lengthened the vowel under the accent. *fearr*, O. I. *ferr* fĀR, *gearr* gĀR gĀR, *bárr* O. I. *barr*, BĀR. Those kept the short vowel on breaking the group; in this case by the addition of a svar. vowel, for the assumption of such hindered the conditions for lengthening. *is míle fearra dhúinn* fARə, T. G. 9, but *malairt is míle fearr* fĀR, (Dĕsi fĀR) ib. 90, *dul na barra*. *r* in position; *deárna* T. G. 37, *ar bheárnas* ib. 31, *bearna dhearg* a place name BĀRNƏ YARUG, *deárnacha* T. G. 44, *téarnamh* ib. 77, *athrughadh* ĀRHŪ, and *aithrighe* ĀRHĭ, where rh constituted position. Those two words are the same, and *aithrige* meant originally change. Vid. *aithrigid bésu* change your customs, Wb. 9a 23. The use of the word in such contexts produced the technical meanings, *change* from sin, and the means of effecting the change, or the Sacrament of Penance. There is also a noun *athrach*, *ní dhéninn t'athrach* I would not exchange thee, song, but pronounced áhr'uc where *r* sonans hindered position, *cáirde* pl. of *cara*, *dóirse* pl. of *dorus*, *táirne*

a nail, Dēsi tariṅə. So (once) *táirne* for *tarraingthe*, *péirse* Eng. 'perch' C. M. O. 1.

4. That *rr* has a tendeney to develope *h* is shown by double forms like *orra ortha*, *siorraidhe* and *siorrthaidhe*. *ortha* is no doubt the etymologically correct form from *\*-shōs* but became confounded with *rr* because that group gave off an *h*.

5. *r* is a fruitful source of metathesis. *cearthadh gan lucht*, O. I. *cethir*, Sheehy, *munartla* a sleeve, *brollach* is BORLUC M. song. So from 1, *cuilceach* kĭlkác for *cluiceach* from *cluig-theach* bell-house, another name is used in *cluicill Dheaglain* kĭkĭl yĭaglĭn. *cluig-chill Dēcalāni* in Ardmore in the Dēsi. *trasna* = *tarsna*, *bratĭn* bĕrĭĭn, *craosach*, of ruddy face, is not connected with *craos* but is metathesis from *caorsach*, *Catharlach*, *Caralegh*, Dunne. Hence 'Carlow' with -ow imitated from Danish 'Wicklow'. In the Dēsi *Catharlach* kĕhrĭluc, *anbhrwith* anrĭhə. It is hard to discern whether unvoiced *r* should be written *hr* or *rh*. Hence *liathróid* is often written *liarthóid* and cf. *cearthadh* above.

6. *uathbhásach* is ŪRFĀSUC, *triur* is trĭŪRR' = *triur-fhear*.

7. *r* is sometimes dropped in *creidim* kedim, so *iomarcradh* is *iomarcadh* always. Also *chondaire* is CNĭK.

### s

§ 58,1. *s* is never voiced. Broad = *s*, slender = *s*. It occurs in anlaut and protected in inlaut, otherwise it becomes *h*. *solus* SOLIS, *searb* SARUV, *is* is; probably this is but the relative form *as*. In enclitic particles it changes its timbre according to the foregoing vowel, *annsĭn* N'SUN (here accented), *an fear sĭn* SN', but *an fear sĭn annsĭn* sĭn, *mise tusa* TUSƏ, an old change. Hence the writings *seo so*, *san sĭn*. *sĭn* a mere enclitic, not demonstrative, = SN'; *thád siad go dona*, *thád sĭn* SN', they are in a bad way so they are.

2. *ó shoin* is ō CĭN, *cá shoin* kĕ or kĕ CĭN. § 10,1.

3. *s* of the article kept after preps. *in*, *la*, etc. has spread to other preps. in the pl. *fésna*, *trísna*, *dosna*, *desna* (*gesna*). A wrong division of the prep. *in* from the article

gives *ans gach*, T. G. 17. So *s* preserved after *ar* 'quoth' was used without the article, *ar san fear arsa sé* says the man says he, *arsise* and *arsa sī*.

4. An *-is* = *is* ending, mostly feminine, appears in a few cases. *ótis* a heavy ungainly woman, *brocis* a stout little boy, *broc* a badger, *tulcis* a rude woman, *tulc* a push, O'R. *alpis* a gluttonous woman, *alpin*, I eat ravenously, *balcis* a stout mis-shapen woman, *balc*, thick, strong, *strupis* an untidy woman. *litis* a lily, *lith* D. R. 178, *buatis* is only Eng. 'boots'.

5. *sg* + *l*, *r* suffers palatalization with slender vowels *sgeul*, *sgléip*, *sgrad*, *sgr-*.

6. *s* of *súd* and *sin* = *h* when those words are proclitic in sentence anlaut. *súd é* hīDĒ, *sin é* 'n *choint* hīNĒ n' coint.

7. *sh* before *y* = *c* in a few words. *a Shaáin* ə cāN, or ə hyāN, *luighe-sheol* childbed cōL, *áo shiubhal* ə cūL, or hyūL, otherwise = *h*, *shlighe* hlī.

8. *s* voices *t* in inlaut, *steall* sDaul. *stealladh* sDālə, in auslaut unvoiced, *last* lāst.

9. *s* in anlaut, *sd* in inlaut and *sc?* in auslaut takes the place of an affricate in Eng. loanwords. *Séoirse* George, *lóisdín* lodging, *cisdín* kitchen, *damáisde* damage, *pitrisc* partridge, *carráiste* carriage, *páiste* page, *Séamus* James, *Seaún* John, *cóisde* coach. *Séoirse* shows irregularity of treatment. *Risteird* risterD, in the West RUKR'D.

*h*.

§ 59,1. *h* is pronounced wherever met with except it be but the aspiration sign. *a h-aon* ə hĒN, *ní h-eadh* nī ha.

2. *h* is sounded for *f* in fut. and cond. active after a vowel or a consonant that cannot be protected, *ní sgarfad* leat ní sGārHəD lat.

3. *h* interchanges with *f*, *b*, § 47,5.

4. *h* unvoices *l*, *n*, *r*. *shleas*, hlas, *do shnámh* hNāv, *aithrighe* āhrī, *eatortha* arHə.





## Curriculum Vitae.

In Hibernia Idibus Septembris 1863 in regione quæ vulgo Duthaig Poerach de Desibus Muman nuncupatur Ædibus manorialibus de Mount Bolton patre Perso de Henebre matre Eblina ni Chassin natus sum. Postquam domi elementis institutus sum parvam scholam primum Carrigæ Siuiræ deinde Cluain móræ tum Portcladaci adii. Hisce in disciplinis puerilibus decem annis consumptis Portlârgiam (Waterford) me contuli ut litteris humanioribus per biennium incumberem. Tum alumnus Collegii Sti. Joannis eadem in urbe ascriptus sum eademque ad litteras per unum annum me applicui, et examine facto electus sum ut sumptibus publicis in Collegio S. Patricii apud Mag-Nuadat studia prosequerer. Hic septem persolvi annos quorum unum ad humaniora studia, ad philosophiam tum physicam tum metaphysicam duos, ad theologiam, Sacram Scripturam, grammaticas Hebraicas, studia affinia, quatuor me adhibebam. Nec tamen hisce temporibus neglexi litteras aut Anglicas aut Gadelicas quas utpote bilinguis ab ineuenti aetate usurpavi. Mense Junii 1892 sacris initiatus ut munere sacerdotali Mancuniæ (Manchester) fungerer in Angliam transfretavi. Hic Joanne Strachan in Universitate Victoriana professore, viro doctissimo atque humanissimo familiariter usus sum eundemque per quadriennium de Sanscritis, Celticis litteris audii. Mense Aprili 1895 professor litterarum Celticarum Universitatis Catholicæ apud Washington in America designatus, præside Senatus auctore ad Germaniam transii ubi per quatuor semestria, quorum duo Friburgi, Gryphiæ duo, persoluta, studiis operam dabam.

Friburgi hi viri clarissimi me docuerunt:

Holtzmann, Kalbfleisch, Kluge, Levy, Puchstein, Schröer, Thumb,  
Thurneysen, Weissenfels.

Item Gryphiæ:

Heller, Konrath, Siebs, Zimmer.









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