

HISTORICALLY-LONG STRESSED VOWELS IN A SOUTH-EAST ULSTER TEXT

THIS paper forms part of a general study of vocalism in both written and spoken Irish in east Ulster from 1800 onwards. The present study will be confined to one written source, *The spiritual rose*¹ [*SpR*], and will focus on the vocalism of initial syllables the vowels of which were, historically, marked for length. (It should be noted that for the purpose of this paper we are not concerned with how such vowels were, or are, pronounced in south-east Ulster.) This study is a comparative one: for a given vowel a comparison will be made between its historical representation and its representation in *SpR* in order to define the relationship between the two. By 'historical' representation I mean here the way vowels are spelled in *DIL*² headwords; in the case of inflected forms I rely on commonly-occurring early spellings in *DIL* to provide an historical norm.³

Assuming that stress and length have a determining effect on the way vowels are spelled there are four possible suprasegmental environments, expressible in terms of stress and length, in which vowels may occur. These are [+ stress, + long], [+ stress, - long], [- stress, + long], [- stress, - long]. From an historical point of view (i.e. in Old Irish) since stress was initial⁴ and since length was marked by the acute accent,⁵ vowels occurring in the above environments may be exemplified as follows: the *á* of *árus*⁶ ([+ stress, + long]), the *a* of *arán* ([+ stress, - long]), the *á* of *arán* ([- stress, +long]), the *u* of *árus* ([- stress, - long]). Note that in these examples, [+ stress] implies that we are dealing with vowels in initial syllables, and, since Ulster Irish preserves the historical initial stress, we will be concerned here only with vowels which occur in initial syllables in *SpR*, except in the case of certain adverbs such as **a mhain** (*nammá*) in which stress is non-initial.

¹First printed in Monaghan in 1800; the author, Mathew Kennedy, was a native of north Co. Louth; for further details, see S. P. Ó Mórdha, 'Mathew Kennedy of "The spiritual rose"', *Clogher Record* 2 (1958) 263-4.

²*Dictionary of the Irish language* (Dublin 1913-76)

³For example, in the case of the 3rd sg. m. form of the prep. *do*, I take *dó* as the historical norm: cf. the *DIL* entry (s.v. *do*), '3 s. m. and n. commonly *dó* Wb. 1 c 12 . . . etc.' On occasion a *DIL* headword will be based not on the OIr. form (even when it is attested) but on a later form, as is the case, for example, with *diúltad* (the *DIL* headword spelling) which in OIr. is spelled *díltud*, *díltod*. Since the great majority of *DIL* headwords which have been consulted for this paper reflect the OIr. spelling, in order to be consistent I take *díltud* as representing the norm, and not *diúltad*.

⁴Words susceptible of full stress take this on the first syllable . . . (R. Thurneysen, *A grammar of Old Irish* (Dublin 1946) 27 § 36).

⁵See note 6.

⁶Historical spellings are given in italics throughout. *SpR* spellings are in bold type and, unless otherwise indicated, are reproduced here exactly as printed in *SpR*. Where an *SpR* spelling for a given word occurs more than once, its frequency is given in parentheses after the spelling in question.

The focus of this paper will be on vowels (monophthongs and diphthongs) which were historically stressed and marked for length, and these will be compared with their monophthongal representations (see next paragraph) in *SpR*. Because of the absence of length-marks in *SpR* a full comparison is not possible: we cannot say to what extent historical quantity is reflected in *SpR*; consequently this paper will be limited to determining how *SpR* reflects historical quality.

Specifically, the extent of the *SpR* reflection of historical quality will be found in the answer to the following question: to what degree is there a one-to-one correspondence between the five historical long vowels and their representations in *SpR*? For example, how often is *á(i)* spelled **a(i)**; *é(i)* spelled **e(i)**; *í(o)* spelled **i(o)**; *ó(i)* spelled **o(i)**; *ú(i)* spelled **u(i)**? Certain monophthongs in *SpR* (and in Modern Irish in general) go back to diphthongs in Early Irish: thus **ao(i)** derives from the group *aí, áe; oí, óe*, while **eo(i)** derives from *éo(i), éu(i)*, and **iu(i)** from *íu(i)*. Where the group *aí, áe; oí, óe* is spelled **ao(i)**, this will be regarded as 'one-to-one'; similarly, *éo(i), éu(i) → eo(i)*, and *íu(i) → iu(i)* are taken as 'one-to-one'. (In practice I regard a stressed monophthong in *SpR* as going back to an Early Irish diphthong if, for a given word in *SpR*, the *DIL* counterpart has a diphthong, e.g. **scaoil** < *scaílid*.)

A cursory reading of *SpR* will show that there is variable orthographical treatment of historically-long stressed vowels in it, e.g. historical *máthair* is spelled both **mathair** and **maithar**, and *rún* is spelled both **run** and **rudhan**. But a description of this type does not tell us a great deal, and indeed such variation, sometimes called 'inconsistency', is familiar from other periods and other texts.⁷ The goal here will be to describe the systematicity with which historically-long stressed vowels are represented in *SpR*, and clearly this cannot be accomplished by an arbitrary choice of words such as *máthair* and *rún*. To obtain a reasonably clear picture of the system we are looking for two procedures must be carried out in advance of any statement. First, we must decide on which grammatical classes of words are to be investigated and, second, we must excerpt from *SpR* all examples of all the words in the classes we have specified. An examination of a vocalic system (or of any other system for that matter) of a text based only on some examples

⁷See the use of the length-mark in Old Irish, about which Thurneysen writes: 'Length in vowels is often, though by no means consistently, marked by placing over the syllable an acute accent . . .' (*Grammar of Old Irish*, 20 § 26). On scribal, and editorial, inconsistency cf. T. F. O'Rahilly's review of *Seanmóirí Muighe Nuadh* (ed. P. Breathnach), in *Gadelica* 1 (1912-13) 66-72. The following comment by E. G. Quin on Stapleton's *Catechismus* (1639) is relevant here: '. . . two points are to be noted. First, the book contains a fairly large number of misprints, and a few surprising forms are probably to be accounted for in this way. Secondly, and more surprisingly, Stapleton is far from being consistent, and has in fact failed to carry through in anything like a satisfactory way the purpose referred to above [to "simplify" the spelling] . . .' ('The f-future in Stapleton's *Catechismus*', *Ériu* 22 (1971) 174-5, p. 174). It may be the case that complete consistency, rather than inconsistency, in language should be a cause of surprise.

will remain inconclusive. The data presented in the Appendix below is exhaustive in that it has been excerpted from an index to *SpR* which I have compiled and which contains all the spellings, and their frequencies, of every word in the text. As regards the grammatical classes of words to be looked at here, I take the following as capable of bearing full stress: nouns, verbs, adjectives, pronouns and prepositional pronouns.⁸ Having excerpted from the *SpR* Index all words occurring in these five classes, we then select such of them as have a length-mark in the initial syllable of their *DIL* counterparts and this provides us with two sets of data which we proceed to compare.

Two types of words require particular mention because of their variable nature. The first consists of compounds,⁹ both elements of which have a long vowel, e.g. *mórchéim*. While in Ulster we may take it that *mór*, since initial, is stressed, it is not predictable that *-chéim* will be stressed. Quiggin,¹⁰ for example, reports that *míshásta* may be stressed as '*mí*'*shásta* or as '*míshásta*'. Thus since stress on the second element of compounds is a variable feature, such elements will be excluded from our description (initial elements of compounds are, of course, included). The second type consists of words which in *DIL* have a length-mark in their initial syllable but which, in the same source, also show a short variant, e.g. *léicid/leicid*; *dlúth/dluth*; *té/te*.¹¹ Since the length-mark is not used at all in *SpR*, this text does not tell us which of the two a given spelling represents and consequently such words are not included in the data to be examined here.

Some few words in *SpR* are not listed in *DIL* and for these I consult Ó Dónaill, *Foclóir Gaeilge-Béarla [FGB]* to determine whether they have a long or a short vowel in their initial syllable; such words are, for example, *spáráil*, *stráice*, *pléisiúr*. Among the *SpR* words which are unattested in *DIL*, some have variable length in *FGB*, e.g. *áibhé*, *aibhé*; these will be omitted from the analysis.

In the Appendix below, historically-long stressed vowels are arranged according to the following sequential environments: (a) / — #; (b) / — C^y ; (c) / — C^w .¹² Where a given word in *SpR* shows variable consonant quality in these environments, e.g. *du(i)nn* (1 pl. of prep. *do*), and when this variation is also attested in *DIL*, then the slender variant will be listed under / — C^y , and the broad variant under / — C^w .

⁸This choice is based largely on descriptions of sentence-stress in spoken Irish; cf., for example, B. Ó Cuív, *The Irish of West Muskerry, Co. Cork* (Dublin 1944) 68–70.

⁹For the present purpose, by compounds I mean words which are printed as compounds in Ó Dónaill, *Foclóir Gaeilge-Béarla* (Baile Átha Cliath 1977).

¹⁰E. C. Quiggin, *A dialect of Donegal* (Cambridge 1906) § 483.

¹¹On *té*, *te*, see G. Murphy, 'Te; tét; téith', *Celtica* 3 (1955) 317–19; I am grateful to B. Ó Cuív for bringing this note to my attention.

¹²# indicates an open syllable in word-final position; C^y and C^w are symbols for consonants which, historically, were slender and broad respectively.

In *SpR* in general the quality of consonants immediately following long stressed vowels is the same as the historical quality. However in a small number of words in *SpR* -*C^y*- may have become depalatalized, e.g. **caonamh** (*caínid*); **cliutah** (*cliúitech*); **diodan** (*dítu*); **strocamh**, **strocaidh** (*stróicid*).¹³ While various interpretations may be offered for these spellings, it has been decided here to take them at face value and list them in the Appendix as examples occurring in / — *C^w* since in each case the consonant in question is flanked by broad vowels. (Also listed under / — *C^w* are **stroc**, **stroac** (*stróicid*) since the absence of an -i- glide in them renders them unambiguous (for our purposes) in the matter of the quality of final -c.) Some of the words just mentioned have alternate spellings in *SpR* in which the 'broad with broad / slender with slender' rule is not adhered to: they are **diodionaigh** and **caoinamh**; in addition to these note also **einacht** (*óen + fecht*) and **spione** (*spín*). For the purpose of this paper, these spellings will be regarded as ambiguous with regard to the quality of the consonant immediately following the long stressed vowel and hence they cannot be assigned with certainty to either / — *C^y* or / — *C^w*. The approach which has been adopted for these here is to list them in parenthesis in the Appendix under their respective historical environments (e.g. **diodionaigh** is referred to under *i* + *C^y*) but, on account of their ambiguity, to omit them from the overall count, details of which are given at the end of this paper.

When we compare *DIL* forms with their reflexes in *SpR*, the latter fall into two general categories: (a) spellings which are in one-to-one correspondence with their historical counterparts, and (b) those which are not; the label 'divergent' is assigned to the (b) category. This two-fold categorization is a gross one in that, under 'divergent' it lumps together spellings, some of which are possibly printers' errors while some others are regular, predictable or well known from the Early Modern Irish period. Clearly, the divergent category must be sub-divided into groups such as printers' errors, analogical spellings, 'phonetic' spellings, and so forth. To do this, however, would require the formulation of a set of criteria to determine the specific status of a divergent spelling and this would lead us into an examination of the systematicity underlying divergent spellings. While this is an important issue in the context of the kind of vocalism being looked at here, it must necessarily follow (rather than be part of) a general definition of the systematicity of historically-long stressed vowels in *SpR* which is the focus of the paper.

There are two aspects of the treatment of glide vowels in *SpR* which require mention in connection with the one-to-one/divergent dichotomy that is being employed here. The first concerns the presence or absence of the *i*-glide immediately preceding *C^y*. In *SpR* the rule is that, in general, *i* is present before medial *C^y*, but occasionally it may be omitted. Of a

¹³This word has a variant in broad -c- which is recognized in *FGB* (s.vv. *stróc*², *strócadh*).

total of 286 examples, 268 (93.7%) have the glide, e.g. **eigin**, **daoine**, **gloire**, **suile**; while in the remaining 18 examples (6.3%) the glide is omitted, e.g. **egin** (1), **fedir** (1), **plesir** (5), **daone** (2), **lostin** (2), **sule** (6), **curiolta** (1). The second aspect of glide vowels to be mentioned here concerns the *a/u*-glide in the sequence $\acute{e} + C^w$, e.g. **lean/leun** (*lén*). In *SpR* **a** is the norm (228 examples = 93.8%) while **u** is marginal (15 examples = 6.2%).¹⁴ Since this paper is concerned only with long stressed vowels, and not with glides as such, the variable treatment of the latter in *SpR* will be ignored here when deciding whether a spelling should be described as one-to-one or divergent. Thus, for example, **egin** will be given the same status as **eigin**, i.e. both are regarded as being in one-to-one correspondence with the historical spelling *éicin* in the sense that \acute{e} is spelled **e**. Similarly, **lean** and **leun** are one-to-one with *lén* since *e* is spelled **e**. (All variation in the matter of glides in the data is indicated in the relevant sections in the Appendix.)

Using the data which is set out in the Appendix, it is now possible to quantify the one-to-one/divergent dichotomy, and this will provide an answer to the question posed earlier concerning the degree to which *SpR* reflects the historical norm. Of a total of 2,755 examples, 2,587 (93.9%) are assignable to the one-to-one category, while the remainder, 168 examples (6.1%) are divergent. It can be deduced from these percentages that in *SpR* the reflexes of historically-long stressed vowels show a considerable degree of stability and vary only marginally from their historical counterparts.

The figures presented above cannot, on their own, lead to a full understanding of the systematicity which underlies the *SpR* reflexes of historically-long stressed vowels. This systematicity will emerge in full only when the one-to-one/divergent dichotomy has been quantified for vowels which occur in the other three environments mentioned above and the results for all four have been compared and ordered, and this is a matter that I hope to return to in a later paper.

¹⁴From the point of view of systematicity in general in *SpR* note how similar the figures are for the separate treatments of the *i*-glide on the one hand and the *a/u*-glide on the other.

APPENDIX

[References are by page and line of the 1800 edition.]

Á

- á#: of 79 exx. of this, all are spelled **a**, e.g. *lá* ~ **la** 6.21.
 -á + *C^y*: of 126 exx. of this, all are spelled **ai**, e.g. *áil* ~ **ail** 68.16
 -á + *C^w*: of 348 exx. of this, 330 are spelled **a**, e.g. *bán* ~ **ban** 126.19. The remaining 18 divergent exx. are as follows: (a) *á* ~ **ai**: **airusaibh** 12.9 (*árus*); **graisdamhai**[l] 19.26 (2), **graisamhail** 18.14, (*grás-*); **maithar** 31.19 (*máthair*); **slainightheor** 6.13 (11) (*slán-*); **tairthal** 5.11 (*tárr-tháil*). (b) *á* ~ zero: **mo phtrun** 45.1 (*pátrún*).

É

- é#: of 209 exx. of this, 207 are spelled **-e**, e.g. *gné* ~ **gne** 110.1. The remaining 2 divergent exx. are as follows: (a) *-é* ~ **ei**: **lei** 116.8 (*lé*, 3rd sg. f. of *la*). (b) *é* ~ **l**: **l** 48.5 (*é*, 3rd sg. m. pronoun).
 -é + *C^y*: of 119 exx. of this, 115 are spelled either **ei** (108 exx.) or **e** (7 exx., all before medial *C^y*), e.g. *éicen* ~ **eigin** 95.23, **egin** 126.13. The remaining 4 divergent exx. are as follows: (a) *éi* ~ **i**: **irigh**¹⁵ 22.8 (*éirgid*). (b) *éi*: **eai** ~ **deain** 77.5 (*déighin*). (c) *éi* ~ **ae**: **dhaenach** 103.10 (*déid-*). (d) *éi* ~ **el**: **feln** 31.6 (*féin*).
 -é + *C^w*: of 250 exx. of this, 243 are spelled either **ea** (228 exx.) or **eu** (15 exx.), e.g. *lén* ~ **lean** 77.23, **leun** 12.3. The remaining 7 divergent exx. are as follows: (a) *é* ~ **ia**: **rialt** 42.3 (4) (*rétlu*); **riason** 31.5 (*résún*). (b) *é* ~ **aogh**: **sraoghdaigh** 74.3 (*srédaide*). (c) *é* ~ **eo**: **gheofadh** 107.17 (*géb-*).

Í

- í#: of 64 exx. of this, 52 are spelled **-i**, e.g. *ní* ('thing') ~ **ni** 31.6. The remaining 12 divergent exx. are as follows: (a) *-í* ~ **ith**: **mith** 25.18 (*mí*). (b) *-í* ~ **-idh**: **nidh** 83.7 (*ní*). (c) *-í* ~ **-igh,-iogh**: **righ** 58.3 (nom. sg. 2 exx., *rí*), **a righ** 127.25 (voc. sg. 2 exx., *rí*), [**a**] **riogh** 84.24 (voc. sg. 5 exx.). (d) *-í* ~ **-e**: **te** 75.20 (*int-í*).
 -í + *C^y*: of 87 exx. of this, 79 are spelled **i**, e.g. *bríg* ~ **brigh** 67.7. The remaining 8 divergent exx. are as follows: (a) *í* ~ **io**: **diolios** 41.18 (*díles*); **fiorionah** 37.24 (5) (*fírinnech*); **iosliugh** 31.6 (*ísluigud*); **riogh theach** 38.14 (*ríghthech*). (Cf. also **diodionaigh** 98.7 (2) (*dítíu*) and **spíone** 32.7 (*spín*).)
 -í + *C^w*: of 210 exx. of this, 192 are spelled **io**, e.g. *fíchmar* ~ **fiochmhar** 113.3. The remaining 18 divergent exx. are as follows: (a) *í* ~ **ao**: **faraor** 112.26 (*fo-rír*). (b) *í* ~ **ia**: **tiaranta** 32.11 (4) (*tíránta*). (c) *í* ~ **iu, ui, u**: **dhiult** 128.19 (5), **duilt** 82.9, **dultamh** 108.28 (4), (*díltud*). (d) *í* ~ **co**: **scoraidh** 27.19 (2) (*síraide*). (e) *í* ~ **iv**: **brivghbhar** 105.3 (*bríghmar*). Note: the pejorative prefix *mí-* is always spelled **mi-**, irrespective of whether it is followed by *C^y* or *C^w*, e.g. **micheart** 44.14 (6) (*mí-* +

¹⁵ *SpR* has **divigh** [*sic*].

- cert*); **mifhortan** 76.20 (4) (*mí* + *fortún*); **miaoid** 100.7 (5) (*mí* + *fod-itiu*); **mithaitfach** 131.9 (*mí* + *taitnemach*).
- ÁÍ, ÁÉ; OÍ, ÓE* (represented below by the symbol D_1)
- $-D_1\#$: of 30 exx. of this, one is spelled **aoi**, viz. **faoi** 21.24 (*fáe, foí, fóe*). The remaining 29 divergent exx. are as follows: (a) $-D_1\# \sim$ **aidh**: **caoidh** 59.14 (2) (*caí*). (b) $-D_1\# \sim$ **-i**: **bhi** 12.24 (27) (*boí, baí*).
- $-D_1 + C^y$: of 21 exx. of this, 18 are spelled either **aoi** (16 exx.) or **ao** (2 exx. both before medial C^y) e.g. *doíni* \sim **daoine** 125.7, **daone** 15.22 (2). The remaining 3 divergent exx. are as follows: (a) $D_1 \sim$ **aoigh**: **naoighnan** 73.23 (*noídenán*). (b) $D_1 \sim$ **ao**: **scaol** 84.11 (impv. 2 sg.; *scailid*). (c) $D_1 \sim$ **oa**: **oais** 79.19 (*áeis* 'age'). (Cf. also **caoinamh** 104.7 (*cainid, coin-*); **einacht** 103.26 (2) (*óen* + *fecht*).
- $-D_1 + C^w$: of 344 exx. of this, 337 are spelled **ao**, e.g. *óen, oín* \sim **aon** 14.19. The remaining 7 divergent examples are as follows: (a) in *óenmac*, $D_1 \sim$ **ae, oo, o**: **daen mhac** 97.20, **doon mhac** 67.11, **don mhac** 112.25 (2) (all with possessive *do*). (b) in *láethamail*, $D_1 \sim$ **ae, ac**: **laethamhuil** 34.13, **lacthamhail** 113.7. (c) $D_1 \sim$ **aao**: **saaoghal** 8.13 (*sáegul, saígul*).

Ó

- $-\acute{o}\#$: all 33 exx. of this are spelled **o**, e.g. *dó* \sim **do** 27.18 (3 sg. m. of *do*).
- $-\acute{o} + C^y$: of 105 exx. of this, 87 are spelled either **oi** (85 exx.) or **o** (2 exx., both before medial C^y), e.g. *glóir* \sim **gloire** 32.17; *lóistín* \sim **lostín** 59.14 (2). The remaining 18 divergent spellings are as follows (a): $\acute{o} \sim$ **ai**: **daibh** 20.14 (3) (*dóib*). (b) $\acute{o}i \sim$ **ui, iu**: **cuig** 5.16 (7), **ciug** 31.16, **ciugamh** 64.23 (5), (*cóic*). (c) $\acute{o}i \sim$ **ao(i)**: **claoite** 128.18, **claoite** 30.7 (*cló-*).
- $-\acute{o} + C^w$: of 319 exx. of this, 304 are spelled **o**, e.g. *brón* \sim **bron** 82.3. The remaining 15 divergent examples are as follows: (a) $\acute{o} \sim$ **oi**: **trocaire** 7.6 (9) (*trócaire*). (b) $\acute{o} \sim$ **oa**: **loagh'd** 96.1 (*lód*); **oasta** 26.14 (*ósta*); **stroac** 107.5¹⁶ (*stróicid*, p. tense). (c) $\acute{o} \sim$ **aoith, oighth**: **naoithamh** 105.21, **noighthamh** 105.16 (*nómad*). (d) $\acute{o} \sim$ **ugh**: **fughad** 44.11 (*fót*).
- ÉO, ÉU* (signified below by the symbol D_2)
- $-D_2\#$: of 14 exx. of this, 12 are spelled **eo**, e.g. *béo, béu* \sim **beo** 22.11. The remaining two divergent spellings are as follows: (a) $D_2 \sim$ **eodh**: **beodh** 14.17 (*béo, béu*). (b) **bo** [*sic*] 126.26 (*léu*, 3 pl. of *la*).
- $-D_2 + C^y$: of 17 exx. of this, 11 are spelled **eo**, e.g. *féoil, féuil* \sim **feoil** 112.21. The remaining 6 divergent examples are as follows: $D_2 \sim$ **eio, ioi**: **deiogh** 20.15 (2), **dioigh** 55.24 (*déoid*). (b) $D_2 \sim$ **eoai**: **beoaihb** 57.2 (3).¹⁷
- $-D_2 + C^w$: of 64 exx. of this, all are spelled **eo**, e.g. *éolach, éulach* \sim **eolach** 84.3.

¹⁶Cf. note 12.¹⁷This spelling I take as representing /b'o:v'/ and so assign it to $D_3 + C^y$. It is unlikely that **beoaihb** represents /b'o:əv'/ since this latter would most likely appear as **beothaibh** in *SpR*, with insertion of **th** in morpheme-boundary hiatus, just as /Ni:/ + /u/ ('ninth') is spelled **naoithamh** 105.21 and /t'r'i:/ + /u/ ('third') becomes **treethamh** 111.23. (The sequence /'V:V/- does not occur otherwise in the data.) Note that later editions of *SpR* (1825, 1835) both have **beobh** as a spelling for the dative plural. On 'unhistorical hiatus-filling' cf. T. F. O'Rahilly, *Irish dialects past and present* . . . (Dublin 1932) 174-5.

Ū

- ú#: of 141 exx. of this, 139 are spelled -u, e.g. *tú* ~ **tu** 12.2. The remaining two divergent spellings are as follows: (a) -ú ~ -a: **ta** 86.19 (*tú*). (b) -ú ~ -udh: **cliudh** 84.2 (*cliú*).
- ú + C^y: the 67 exx. of this are spelled either **ui** (60 exx.) or **u** (7 exx. before medial C^y), e.g. *súile* ~ **suile** 105.4, **sule** 29.5 (*súil*).
- ú + C^w: of 95 exx. of this, 85 are spelled **u**, e.g. *lúbaid* ~ **lubas** 8.6. The remaining 10 divergent exx. are as follows: (a) *ú* ~ **udha**: **rudhan** 89.24 (7) (*rún*). (b) (C^w)*ú*(C^w) ~ **ui**: **cuiraim** 128.16 (*cúram*). (c) (C^y)*ú*(C^w) ~ **ui**: **stuir** 85.1 (*stiúraid*). (d) *ú* ~ **n**: **rndhiamhar** 25.13 (*rún*).
- ÍU (signified below as D₃)
- D₃#: of 7 exx. of this, two are spelled **iu**, e.g. *fíu* ~ **fiu** 80.14 (2). The remaining 5 divergent spellings are as follows: (a) D₃ ~ **iudh**, **iugh**: **fiudh** 73.10 (*fíu*); **a niugh** 54.10 (3) (*in-díu*).¹⁸ (b) D₃ ~ **uidh**: **bh[f]uidh** 74.20 (eclipsis + *fíu*).
- D₃ + C^w: of 6 exx. of this, 4 are spelled **iu**, e.g. *fiuntach* ~ **fiuntach** 43.15. The remaining two divergent spellings are as follows: (a) D₃ ~ **ui**: **fuintah** 29.13 (*fiuntach*). (b) D₃ ~ **uigha**: **fuighantach** 20.8 (*fiuntach*).

MALACHY MCKENNA

Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies

¹⁸Note that *DIL* has *indiu*, but for this read *indíu*; cf. further Thurneysen, *Grammar of Old Irish*, 162 § 251.3 and 217 § 340.3, and also C. Watkins, 'The Indo-European word for "day" in Celtic and related topics', *Trivium* 1 (1966) 102-120. My thanks to F. Kelly for drawing my attention to the latter.