The Irish of Iorras Aithneach County Galway

Volume II

by

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SCHOOL OF CELTIC STUDIES
DUBLIN INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDIES
To my parents
Brian and Rose
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4 Plural of nouns

Introduction to noun plurals

4.1 Formation

Plural suffixes and extensions are phonologically, declensionally and lexically
determined. Plural suffixes may be added to the noun stem or root. Plural
extensions, on the other hand, occur only in conjunction with suffixes. Suffixes
may combine together, with or without extensions. Various surface plural endings
can result from the intricate combination of these two elements: extensions and
suffixes. Typical complex plural endings include:

- **culaith > cultrachaí** ← root cul- + extension t + extension r + suffix achari
- **bróig > brógaí** ← root bróig + extension ‘depalatalisation’ + suffix aí
- **ionga > ingneóchaí** ← root iong- + suffix ‘palatalisation’ + extension n +
extension V: + suffix achari
- **lao > laontaí** ← root lao + suffix annai + extension t (infixed in
suffix)

Palatalisation is taken here to be an abstract suffix which adds ‘+palatal’ to a
consonant, usually the final consonant or consonant cluster. Palatalisation can
also be infixed as can the extension in a long or nonschwa vowel (i.e. V:). The
status and analysis of some endings are doubtful; for instance, avo and avii: are
treated as alternants in this description, although a detailed analysis renders this
equivalence doubtful. It is also unclear whether palatalisation (C > C’) in
combination has a similar status to depalatalisation (C’ > C), i.e. can be taken as
an extension, or whether palatalisation is always to be taken as a suffix. Is anta
to be derived from ani; i.e. ani: + t extension (infixed), or from some combination
of the n extension, i.e. a + n + t + i? Similarly, the suffix ant resembles the n
extension and both are common with 5D nouns. The suffix u resembles the u:
variant of the long vowel (V:1) extension. In such cases elegance and economy of
description are given priority in classification. Endings with a combination of
suffixes are classified in most instances under the initial suffix of the string, for
example, C’a is classified under C’; nevertheless, rare C’uvi: is classified under
avo: The rare ending fo and related plurals are also listed under avo.
4.2 Suffixes and extensions listed

There are eleven suffixes:

1. $C' > C$
2. $a$
3. $i$
4. $ani$: $axi: / axa$
5. $ava: / avi:$
6. $an' (an')$
7. $it'$
8. $u:$
9. $avi'$
10. $aEv'$
11. $(a)s / (a)z$

There are eight extensions:

1. $C' > C$
2. $h (x!)$
3. $t$
4. $r$
5. $n$
6. $k$
7. $V$
8. $aEv'$

For possible extensions -d(’)- and -aI-, see 4.5. For analysis and examples of specific plural endings, see 4.52 ff.

Conventions in notation

(V) represents the variable plural marker in $a$ and $i$, excluding (Vxi:) plurals. Vxi: represents all plural endings containing a vowel + xi: (or implicitly + xa), i.e. $axa$ $axi$: $uxi$: $t' exi: tr' oxii: $, etc. More explicitly (Vxi:) = vowel + xi: in contrast with (VxV) = vowel + xa as well as vowel + xii:. Furthermore, (Vxi:) represents all plural endings containing any vowel other than $a + xi:$ (or $xa$), i.e. $uxi: t' exi: tr' oxii: $, etc. Note that final /æ/ is sometimes transcribed as [i] (≠ [i]), when it was heard as a short vowel.

1 Such morphological features are also termed ‘empty morphs’ (Hockett 1947: 333–7), ‘inorganic elements’, ‘meaningless elements’, ‘epenthetic phonemes’, etc., (Lounsbury 1953: 13), cp. French ‘élargissement’ and German ‘Erweiterung’. The term ‘extension’ is also used in French by Ternes (1970: 188–206) in his description of the analogous plural allomorphy of Breton (dialectal and historical exposition in Trépos 1957: 153–91). It has not been much used in previous descriptions of Irish. Skerrett (1968) comes close to an analysis which includes extensions, but does not give a label to those parts of plural terminations which are not found independently. Ó Baoill (1996: 71) uses the term ‘consain sháite’ (‘infixed consonants’) but I prefer ‘sínteach’ (i.e. ‘extension’); cp. infixed extensions (which one can term ‘síntigh insáite’), e.g. vowel (V) in Corcóchad < Corcóchadh. Extensions can often be related to declensional inflection; cf. Wigger’s (1973: 67) term ‘stem extension’. 
### 4.3 Endings

The simple suffixes and their related complex endings are listed here.

#### 1. C' suffix

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<th>2 elements</th>
<th>Complex</th>
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<td>&lt; C' + a</td>
<td>C' a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C'i</td>
<td>&lt; C' + i</td>
<td>C'i</td>
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<tr>
<td>C'ani:</td>
<td>&lt; C' + ani:</td>
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<td>&lt; C' + axi:</td>
<td>C' axi:</td>
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<td>&lt; C' + n</td>
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<td>C's</td>
<td>&lt; C' + s</td>
<td>C's</td>
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#### 2. a suffix

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1 element</th>
<th>2 elements</th>
<th>Complex</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>&lt; C' + a</td>
<td>C'h a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ha</td>
<td>&lt; h + a</td>
<td>C't a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t a</td>
<td>&lt; t + a</td>
<td>t a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r a</td>
<td>&lt; r + a</td>
<td>r a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 3. i suffix

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1 element</th>
<th>2 elements</th>
<th>3 elements</th>
<th>4 elements</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>&lt; C' + i</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hi</td>
<td>&lt; h + i</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ti</td>
<td>&lt; t + i</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ri</td>
<td>&lt; r + i</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ni</td>
<td>&lt; n + i</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iaxi</td>
<td>&lt; i + axi:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

i: is also potentially present in the formation of the more independent endings:

- ani: < an a + i:
- axi: < ax a + i:
### Plural of nouns

4. **ani suffix**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1 element</th>
<th>2 elements</th>
<th>Complex</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ani: (ana)</td>
<td>&lt; ani: + t or &lt; ani: + k (?)</td>
<td>ani: &lt; h + ani:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hani:</td>
<td>&lt; h + ani:</td>
<td>hanti: &lt; h + ani: + t or 4 elements</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anta:</td>
<td>&lt; anä + t or &lt; anä + t + a (?)</td>
<td>anta: &lt; h + anä + t or 4 elements</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C' ani:</td>
<td>&lt; C' + ani:</td>
<td>C' kani: &lt; C' + k + ani:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

or 4 elements

hanta: < h + anä + t + a
hanti: < h + ani: + t + i

5. **aksi / axö suffix**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1 element</th>
<th>2 elements</th>
<th>3 elements</th>
<th>4 elements</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aksi / axö</td>
<td>C' aksi: &lt; C' + r + axi:</td>
<td>C' kaxi: &lt; C' + r + axi:</td>
<td>V:axi: &lt; V + axi:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>haksi: &lt; h + axi:</td>
<td>C' kaxi: &lt; C' + r + axi:</td>
<td>C' kaxi: &lt; C' + r + axi:</td>
<td>tV:xi: &lt; t + V + axi:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naksi: &lt; n + axi:</td>
<td>C' kaxi: &lt; C' + r + axi:</td>
<td>C' kaxi: &lt; C' + r + axi:</td>
<td>trV:xi: &lt; t + r + V + axi:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taxi: &lt; t + axi:</td>
<td>C' kaxi: &lt; C' + r + axi:</td>
<td>C' kaxi: &lt; C' + r + axi:</td>
<td>C' kaxi: &lt; C' + r + axi:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>raksi: &lt; r + axi:</td>
<td>C' kaxi: &lt; C' + r + axi:</td>
<td>C' kaxi: &lt; C' + r + axi:</td>
<td>C' kaxi: &lt; C' + r + axi:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

V:axi: plurals (all forms are given here for completeness):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>V:axi:</th>
<th>trV:xi:</th>
<th>C' kaxi:</th>
<th>C' kaxi:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C' V:xi:</td>
<td>C' V:xi:</td>
<td>C' V:xi:</td>
<td>C' V:xi:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n V:xi:</td>
<td>n V:xi:</td>
<td>n V:xi:</td>
<td>n V:xi:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h V:xi:</td>
<td>h V:xi:</td>
<td>h V:xi:</td>
<td>h V:xi:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6. **awö / awö suffix**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1 element</th>
<th>2 elements</th>
<th>Complex</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>awö / awö:</td>
<td>awöxi: &lt; awö + axi:</td>
<td>C' awöxi: &lt; C' + awö + axi:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>urö:</td>
<td>urö: &lt; urö + axi:</td>
<td>urö: &lt; urö + axi:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cp. fä:</td>
<td>cp. fä: &lt; awö + h</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.4 Extensions

From the above list of endings it is apparent that extensions combine with suffixes and other extensions in the following forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Extension</th>
<th>2 elements</th>
<th>3 elements</th>
<th>4 elements</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. C'</td>
<td>C'a, C'i, C'ani; C'axi;</td>
<td>C'hxa, C'ta, C'raxi; C'kaxi; C'naxi; C'haxi;</td>
<td>C'hVxi;</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. h</td>
<td>ha, hi, han; haxi; hi'</td>
<td>C'hxa, hanti; haxi; hra; hri, iha, Vxi;</td>
<td>hiha, C'hVxi;</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extension</td>
<td>2 elements</td>
<td>3 elements</td>
<td>4 elements</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. t</td>
<td>t, tE, tÉ, taxí:</td>
<td>Cr·a, Cr·i:, C·t, C·tÉ, hantí:, antí:, traxí:, tvaxí:</td>
<td>hantó, tuaxí:, trVaxí:</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. r</td>
<td>ra, rí:, raxí:</td>
<td>Cr·i:, Cr·axí:, Cr·xí:, hria:, hri:, hraxí:</td>
<td>ruaxí:, tvaxí:, Cr·xí:, Cr·haxí:</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. n</td>
<td>naxí:, ní:</td>
<td>Cn·a, Cn·i:, Cn·axí:, C·naxí:, nVaxí:</td>
<td>Cn·Vaxí:</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. k</td>
<td></td>
<td>C·kaní:, C·kaxí:</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. V:</td>
<td>Vaxí:</td>
<td>C·Vaxí:, tvaxí:, hVaxí:, nVaxí:, soxí:</td>
<td>Cr·Vaxí:, Cr·haxí:, Cn·Vaxí:, tvVaxí:, C·hVaxí:</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. ad'</td>
<td>adaxí:</td>
<td>tuxí:, ruaxí:</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total 83

Because many endings combine several extensions, there is considerable repetition in this list totalling 83 full 'cells'. It is clear that neither extension 6. k (x2) nor 8. ad' (x3) combine freely with other elements to form plural suffixes and that use of extension 5. n (x8) is also quite limited. The other extensions, however, combine readily and to similar degrees.

The maximum number of elements in the classification adopted here is four. A greater number than four can be posited if one increases the level of abstraction in the analysis. In fact, further abstraction is suggested by the data, as will be seen below (e.g. 4.131). For example, Cn·Vaxí: (taken here to contain four elements), can be analysed as containing five elements (i.e. C' + n + V: + ax + i: or C' + n + V: + x + i:), six (i.e. C' + n + V: + ax + x + i: or seven elements (i.e. C' + n + V: + ax + x + x + i:)). Furthermore, one’s analysis must always consider individual speakers’ usage. More abstract analysis would of course be possible and desirable in order to define the implicational dependencies and feature combinations in plural formation. Such an analysis, however, will not be attempted here. 1

The ending (h)íha is difficult to classify. The categorisation adopted here is that íha contains the plural suffix i: followed by infixed extension h followed by suffix a. This places h in an exceptional infixed position and hiíha will have extension h twice. Another approach would be to treat íha as an independent suffix resembling aní:, etc., but this analysis would ignore the fact that íha regularly alternates with í:. Related to the íha ending is the rare and obsolescent realisation of x’ (for common h) in plural ix’á and also in cleith kl’e > kl’ex uwi (heard once). The simplest analysis is to take x’ as an extension. It is,

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1 Based on my description of the plurals in the dialect, Professor Eric Hamp has presented me with a sketch of a possible phonological analysis. My own interpretation of complex endings was inspired by his analysis of Albanian noun plurals (Hamp 1953: 509–11). As in my analysis of the dialect in general, the presentation here is descriptive only and makes no claim to any psychological linguistic reality. When, for instance, I speak of a speaker (or a speaker’s system or usage) obeying a certain constraint it does not necessarily follow that the speaker has internalised such a constraint. Many other possibilities exist, including direct marking for a given ending in ‘mental’ lexical entries, especially in the case of small lexical sets.
however, so rare that it is not granted independent status here and is taken to be a variant of h.

There are some endings found with only one or two nouns, e.g. òa mostly with teach > f’òa òiòfa. Such nouns often have (many) other more regular plural endings, e.g. teach > f’òh òiòhe. These nouns could be classified as irregular, thereby reducing the total number of endings in the analysis, but the general structure of plural formation would remain unchanged.

4.5 Possible extensions -d(‘) - and -al-

The numerals déag, fiche, triocha, ceathracha, caoga, etc., when used as nouns, have plurals containing the medial consonant -d(‘)- (related to 7 Declension nouns). All, except déag and fiche, are borrowed from modern standard or school Irish:

- diː; - diː; - diː; - diː; - diː; - diː; - diː; - diː; - diː;

also plural in final -axiː;

also 32J (4.27): - Códiː; - Cóodiː; - Códiː; - Cóaxiː; - Cóegiː; - Cóiː.

Examples:

- òa: f’ix’òaxiː S ficheː;
- òiː: f’ix’òaudiː S fchididiː cp. seachtaidí (in Iorras Aithneach — 2004: 41);
- diː: kigádiː 26Pc caogadái, sna ñæskadái: 26Pc sna seascadáil;
  sna k’æraxdái: 32J sna ceathrachtaí;
- Códiː: déag > déaga ‘teens’; but also d’egádiː 70Se déagadáil;
- daxiː: kigadaaxiː 60M caogadachai ‘(19)50s’, ñæskadaaxiː 60M seasgadachai ‘(19)60s’;
- (axiː): sna k’æraxaxi 26Pc. 27Cl sna ceatharachtaí;
  cp. ñæskuxi: [sic] seasc > sna ñæskaxiː sna seaschachai;
- Cóxiː: sna kigáxiː 32J caogeadáil (perhaps influenced by ciúg(iíi));
- Códiː: ox d’èq kiga s a do: nu | sna kigodiː: ... ñæskodiː: 32J
  ocht déag caoga is a dó nó sna caogódaí ... seasgódaí (for -ò- cp. 
  seahtó, ochtó), cp. ñæsk 32J sèasa;
- Córödiː: sna hoxt’ödiː 32J sna hoichteodaí;
- d’egiː: na nìd d’egiː 32J na naoidéagai ‘(18)90s’.

This -d(‘) is heard in final position in the numeral fiche only, i.e. fichead, fichid.

The element -d(‘)- is here classified as a stem consonant of the 7 Declension (7D) because of its semantically limited and innovative status. It could arguably be defined as a plural extension, especially in the endings - CóVdii: and - Códiː.

The ending -id’ is classified here as an independent suffix. It is commonly combined with -axiː in múr > murið’axiː. Speaker 60Mq’s form of this plural, which is murið’axiː, can be classified, in the historical context and in the synchronic context of the speech community, as an infixation of a into the vowel

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1 Also heard from speakers from Cois Pharraige and from Micil Chanraí, Ráth Cairn, originally of An Mámín, Oileán Garbhanna, West Cois Pharraige.

2 Heard from Tom Anthony Coyne, of An tOileán Iarthach, Ros Muc; resident in Glinsce.
Plural of nouns

slot more commonly filled by -i- in -i(l’)-; alternatively, in the individual synchronic system of this speaker, one can classify -al- as an extension (similar to -al’-). Compare similar second-syllable short vowel in plurals sochraíd > sochraideachaí 60Mq (1.261), koif’íg’áxi 60M coismeigeachtaí; also deis > d’eálaxtí: deisealachtai (p. 675 n. 1; cf. 4.26).

4.6 Juncture; Voice

Assimilation and coalescence according to the general phonotactics of the dialect are the norm with plural endings. Beside r (stem or extension), s varies with f resembling the variation in séris clusters within roots. To the examples of léas and eiris immediately below, one can add glaise: gláf’ráxi: >> glásrV’xi: (cp. glásnáxi:; also -fráxi: -rúxi: -súxi: indicated for Ros Muc and Leitir Móir in LFRM s.v. glaise), and lasair > lásr’ráxi: láfrí: lásfrúxi 17M, and seas > s’f’rúxi: 36P(q). It is most economical, albeit an oversimplification, to describe such alternations as phonological (i.e. part of the (sr) variable (1.131 ff.)) rather than morphological (i.e. plural suffix palatalisation or extension depalatalisation).

There are instances of metathesis, regularly with h, e.g. cno kru > krunhí:; tréith tr’è: > trerhí:; bóthar bohár > boh’hrí:; optionally with radical s and extension r in déas and léas, e.g. l’esr’ráxi: l’e’f’ráxi: l’ér’ráxi: l’ers’ráxi:. (Cp. 26Pq’s sequence of plurals of eiris: ef’ráxi: ors’- orf’ráxi:, the last form being preferred.)

Juncture, however, is not uncommon. It is prevalent in the noncoalescence for quality or place of articulation in some consonant clusters and in the non-elision of a in some vocalic sequences.

Voice

Voice and aspiration assimilation and dissimilation of -t’á varies in a few instances:

- C’r’-
  - in syncope in iomair umár’ > um-r’áxi: 01J.
  - in syncope in iomair umár’ > um-r’áxi: 01J.

- C’r’-
  - dít > d’il’ráxi: 50N; léim l’ém’ > l’em’ráxi: M; carraig > karag’ráxi: M; stéig > f’ég’ráxi: [x3] 36Sq;
  - in syncope in col cúigear > kol kuég’ráxi:; kol kuég’ráxi: SM.

- l’t-
  - gail > ga’l’ráxi: P, but Mq (in order of production): ga’léráxi:;
  - ga’l’ráxi: Mq (alveolar l in the final token). Note the sequence in conversation in scóil > skólt’ráxi: ... skólt’ráxi: ... skólt’ráxi:
  - 30P. In query gabháil > go’d’texi: 04Brq.

- v-d’-
  - in syncope in númahaid > nuv’d’i:, but with assimilation nuv’d’a
  - 35Eq. Unsyncopated by-forms, e.g. nuv’d’i:, are more common.

- C’tr-
  - scalp > skaelp tróxi: [x5] 36Sq.
Introduction to noun plurals

-Cɔ n’- ruacan > rok-n’ə 71Dq;
   cp. anam > anam-n’əx: the form produced by Mq when asked for a plural of anam with an n extension, her own form is anamachaí M.

-lN’- in syncope in gualainn > gual-N’i: [x3] Mq and her son 52Jq, also 29C, 73Pq.

~-bL’- in syncope in drioball > dr’ubL’ə 71Dq.

~-sl- in syncope in asal > tr’iÉ k’iol g’sl Mq(1, 2) seacht gcinn dh’asail, faax g’iq g’isel Mq(3) seacht gcinn dh’sail. The palatal cluster sl is regularly -sL-.
   In -sl- there is thus both quality (s for S) and place (l for û) juncture, reflecting s and l of more common g’sel asail.

4.8 Place; r-loss
Non-assimilation of place of articulation in syncopated pl’ / bl’ is common, as is assimilation, i.e. phonotactically expected pf’ / bl’ (cf. 4.11):

-pL’- capall kapaL > kapaL’ (regressive), kapLə, but often kapaLə 04Bq, 15Wq, M. 52Jq, kapaLə 64Mq; note vocalic variance following p in kapaL’ ~ kapL’ə 894C, kapLə ~ kapaLə 01P;

-bL’- drioball dr’iбал > dr’iбал’ (regressive), dr’iбал’ə, but often dr’iбал’ə 04Bq, 15Wq, Mq, 25Mq, 52Jq;
   giobal giobal > giobal S, giobal’axi, but also giobal’ə 26Pq, 52Jq.

Cf. -sl’ -(4.7). Note also:

-kn’- leiceann > l’ekn’ə generally, also l’ekn’əx:; but a younger speaker has l’ekn’ə 78Cq.

There is, in query, rare and anomalous loss of radical palatal r in clusters before -achai in:
leitir > l’et xaxi 04Fq, paúdər > paúdəx: 04Fq;
Bairbre bar’əbrə > bar’əbrəxi: 64Mq.
This loss may be attributed morphologically, perhaps particularly in the plural query session, to the common alternation of r as extension: <xaxi> ~ <r xaxi>, e.g.
aín > ainmreachai ~ ainmreach.

4.9 Vowels
Roots in stressed final long vowels (i.e. Vι) can take the ani: (also anti) suffix without vowel coalescence, including syllabic n, e.g.

i: gooiθ(e) > giáni: 21Ptq; lao > liánti: 21Pi, Mq, liánti: 46.18; mì > miáni: 892M1507, miánnai 869P4;

ɔ: bláth > blcáni: 15W, so also (her father’s) blá-annáí 869PRBÉ; fáth > fúani:; féða ə: > fúani:; 46.364 (cp. in slow speech fúani: 899D6010);
   lái > luáni: 892M2069; trá > trúani: (regular);
   lái > luánti: Mq, luánti: 20At, but most often luánti: M;

o: bró > broáni: 03C;

u: criú > krúani: 18J8174; cú > kuáni:; scrí > fkrúani: Mq.

As can be seen from the examples, noncoalescence following ə is widespread. Contrast short radical vowels, where h is common before suffixes, but not
obligatory, e.g. cleith > kl’eni: Mq, Craith > krani:.

Noncoalescence with the axi suffix is more rare. The example céilí > k’éilíaxa in the speech of 51Pq, who applies the tetrasyllabic rule in the use of the <axa> variant (4.14), implies a tetrasyllabic interpretation, i.e. without coalescence to a trisyllable, in this form.

Rare uncoalesced variants of Vaxi:, i.e. aVaxi:, can be taken as juncture with retention of unstressed á:
gloine glín’á > glín’aaxi: M85; cine > k’in’eaxi: 21Pt;
for aaxi:, axi: and eaxi:, see 4.61 ff.; cf. radical it() + axi: (4.19).

Final -uaxi:, for instance in colbha koluÉxii, generally yields plural -uaxi -uexi -Vaxi:
fód > fódaraxi: 64Mq; carraig > karag araxi 00C.

4.10 Schwa insertion
In some clusters there is relatively rare insertion of a:
-r*axi: > -ar*axi: /Cstop

A rare example following a continuant is glaise > glaòser axi: 64Mq.

Also iomaire > umaxi:. There appears to be a rare example of nonsyncope in the plural of focal from 892M, a speaker who has pervasive (phrasal) epenthesis,
in na fokal a durt s’e 892M4746 na foka a dáirt sé. This speaker also has the more common fokla 892M5920.

Consonantal insertion (of t between n and s) may be a result of juncture in banais > ban’ f[axi]: Sq. ban’ f[oxi] 25Mq. Note also examples produced in query by less traditional speakers: easna > ašknæj 75Nq; galra > galæxi: 78Cq.

4.11 Syncope

Most syllables that syncopate can also be optionally retained. Categorical syncope is found particularly with common words which have short plurals. A corresponding unsyncopated plural by-form of the same word often has a longer, more progressive ending. Such a distribution, syncope with the short ending but nonsyncope with the long ending, appears phonologically unmotivated from the point of view of word length. The short unsyncopated plurals of the type drioball > driobaille are most anomalous (and no doubt least acceptable). There are occasional instances of syllabic l, e.g. ascall > æsklæi: æskalæxi: Pq.

Words are listed here according to the syncopating syllable. (Not all possible variants, e.g. regarding vowels, extensions, -a/I:, etc., are given here.) In the unsyncopated plural both consonants generally retain the consonant quality of the singular base. In some instances unsyncopated alternants either depalatalise (cliamhain, eochair, iomaire) or palatalise (drioball, giobal) as though they were syncopated. The depalatalised unsyncopated by-forms can also be interpreted as containing extension -C’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Syllable</th>
<th>Lexeme</th>
<th>Syncope</th>
<th>Nonsyncope</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-sad</td>
<td>slusad(í)d</td>
<td>sluaft’a, sluaft’i:</td>
<td>sluaßad axi: 23B, 60M, sluaßadaxi: 01J</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-vad</td>
<td>námhaid</td>
<td>nevd’a 35Eq</td>
<td>nevd’i:, nevd’axi: æn’amr’axi: 36Pq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-am</td>
<td>ainn</td>
<td>exceptionally ænmn’axa</td>
<td>ænmn’axi: 29Cq, ænmn’axi: 36Pq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-kon</td>
<td>leiceann</td>
<td>t’ekn’a generally, t’ekn’axi:</td>
<td>leicini’894C9, t’ekn’axi: 10Bq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-qan</td>
<td>cloigeann</td>
<td>klogn’a</td>
<td>klogn’axi: 10Bq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-van</td>
<td>gambioin</td>
<td>gawn</td>
<td>gawnaxi: klahvi: SM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-lan</td>
<td>gualainn</td>
<td>gua:i:, gual-n’i: Mq, 29C, 52Jq, 73Pq</td>
<td>gualn’axi: 64Mq, gualn’axi: Pq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ran</td>
<td>foireann</td>
<td>forv’i: 18J</td>
<td>forv’æxi:</td>
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<td>-san</td>
<td>ursaínn</td>
<td>urf’n’axi:</td>
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<tr>
<td>-han</td>
<td>aithinn(e)</td>
<td>a’hanxí:</td>
<td>a’hanxí:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 The relevant syllables are listed here without quality mark.
2 The plural of námhaid is spelt námhaid in a local song cited in SÓC 1.83 and dated to circa 1815–21 but námhaid scans better.
3 Cp. -ob- exceptional in Bairbre bar’abr’a > bar’br’axi: (sometimes in query). Interestingly, the stressed syllable in both ainn and Bairbre contains the low vowel /æ/. Cf. 1.356.
Plural of nouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Syllable</th>
<th>Lexeme</th>
<th>Syncope</th>
<th>Nonsyncope</th>
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<tr>
<td>-pól</td>
<td>capall</td>
<td>kapl.ə</td>
<td>karp′ l.ə 894C.</td>
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<td>dr′ibl.ə</td>
<td>dr′ubl.ə</td>
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<td>æsklai: 26Pq,</td>
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<td>paidir</td>
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<td>paíd.əxi:</td>
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<td>pósuir</td>
<td>paósuir.əxi</td>
<td>paósuir.əxi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-gor</td>
<td>col cüigeart</td>
<td>kol kuÉg †ax̂i: SM &lt;&lt; kol kuÉg †ax̂i: SM</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>lagar</td>
<td>lagr̠axi: lagřr̠ax̂a 866E</td>
<td>lagr̠axi: lagřr̠ax̂a 864C2</td>
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<td>eochair</td>
<td>oxr̠axi: &gt;&gt; oxr̠axi:</td>
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<td>iomair</td>
<td>um-r′ax̂i: 01J</td>
<td>um-r′ax̂i:</td>
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<td>umr̠axi:</td>
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<tr>
<td>-sár</td>
<td>lasair</td>
<td>lasr̠axi: lařr̠uxi:</td>
<td>lařr̠axi:</td>
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<td>-hór</td>
<td>bóthar</td>
<td>bor′hi:</td>
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<td>athair</td>
<td>ar′haxi:</td>
<td>ar′haxi:</td>
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<td>srathair</td>
<td>srarhaxi: srarhaxi:</td>
<td>slr̠arhaxi:</td>
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<td></td>
<td>sratha</td>
<td>srarhaxa: 20C</td>
<td>srarhaxa:</td>
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<td>-nas</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>banais</td>
<td>banf̠axi:</td>
<td>banf̠axi:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>doras</td>
<td>dorf̠a: dorf̠ie:</td>
<td>dorf̠a: dorf̠ie:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>eiris</td>
<td>orf̠axi:</td>
<td>orf̠axi:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 4.12 Vocalic changes

Some of the more noteworthy vocalic changes include:

| ə:  | e, e/o | lā l̠ō: lēhánti: lehant: lōhant: |
| a:  | ə: i: | muinedl′ miŋ əl > miŋ′i: |
| ai  | o: | claí klai > klohexi: |
| ai, e: | o: | glai glai, also gle: 29C > glohexi: 29C |
Conditioning

None of the phonological, grammatical, syntactic or semantic conditions which we will describe below is sufficient to predict plural formation satisfactorily for any given noun. When discussing constraints on plural formation one must always bear in mind the importance of lexically marked information. Hardly any of the nonlexical conditions are absolute. The various conditions have different weights for each noun, or class of nouns and these vary according to a given speaker’s repertoire or inventory of plural variables. Some nouns demonstrate a wide range of plural endings, e.g. *ionga, teach*, and, as mentioned in 4.4, such nouns account for many of the less frequent formations.

**Phonological**

As the older more coherent declensional classes of both singular and plural are being progressively lost, phonological conditioning has now become the most important (nonlexical) factor in plural formation. The main factors of phonological conditioning are outlined in this section and discussed further in 4.86 ff. and, for individual speakers, in 4.138 ff.

**4.13 Syllable count and weight; Monosyllabic constraint**

Monosyllabic stems tend to form plurals in *a*: whereas polysyllabic stems tend to form plurals in *e*: (with optional extensions), i.e. (with examples)

- monosyllabic bases > *a*: *bun > bunannaí*, *múr > múrannaí*  
- borrowed *meaits [< match] > meaitseannaí*  
- polysyllabic bases > *e*: *punann > punannachaí*, *múr (> múraíl) > múraíleachaí*  
- borrowed *peaicits [< package] > peaicitseachaí*

This tendency is almost obligatory with recent borrowings (11.153 ff.).

**4.14 Tetrasyllabic constraint**

Surface plural forms of more than three syllables may take <axa> according to the following constraint (with examples):

- ideal syllable count for *axi* = 3: *dris > drí* <axi: 36Sq  
- ideal syllable count for *axa > 3: *baithis > bahaíxa 36Sq  
- *bildeáil > b iol ñaíxa 20Myq*  
- including alternants in syncope *aithinn(e) > *a 29Nq, *æθæn *axa 29Nq  
- including other plural suffixes *múr > múrílæxa*
Plural of nouns

including borrowings ‘orange’ > arənd̪əkə 04Br,
‘s’rattle’ > raʧə 36S

The majority of speakers do not use <axa> (except in scilleacha, etc., 4.39), or use it only with a handful of words. The plural ending <axa> can be taken to be regressive or obsolete with the monosyllabic stems in sleagh > sleacha 869P, sneá > ʃənu 20Paq and bua > na buaxa (MP)04B na buacha, cp. teach > t’iuɾə t’iuxa 15Pt. There is an interesting illustration of the application of the tetrasyllabic constraint, although not required by the surface form, in:

I’ na gr’iulaxa fin’ 04Br le na Gria[la]iachacha sin,

where there is a slip of the tongue (perhaps through haplology before sin) for correct gr’iulaf > gr’iulafəxə (which was used later in the same recording by speaker 04Br). Although the -af- syllable was erroneously elided, it was counted to give <axa>. Speakers who apply this constraint regularly will therefore have a general contrast of 1σ+əni: vs. 2σ+axa in borrowings and in much of the native lexicon (combining both syllabic constraints discussed thus far). Contrasts can exist between simple stems and compounds, where the compound can apply the polysyllabic and tetrasyllabic rules, e.g. péist > péiste, ollphéist > olphéisteacha 866ESc107.11.

4.15 Masculine nouns in -ax; Extension (V):

Masculine nouns in unstressed final -ax are subject to the following constraint:

disyllabic nouns (i.e. monosyllabic roots) in -ax > -ə or -i; or -axi;
polysyllabic roots and stems in -ax > (-ə) or -i; or -axi; or -axə

(The main exceptions to this constraint consist of some trisyllabic surnames which also have -ə.) Typical examples:

ronnach > runə runi: runxi;
gearrhodach > ʃərərdəxi: 20Myq; Lochrannach > lochrannachai 894C;
Loideánach > na Loideánaí !894C;
Clochartach > kloxrətəxa 20Cq, but also kloxrətə.

For at least some of our oldest speakers one can summarise the overall pattern regarding syllabic make-up of the root as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>monosyllable + -ach</th>
<th>-ə</th>
<th>-i</th>
<th>-axi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>polysyllable + -ach</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-axi</td>
<td>-ə</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(cf. 852S 4.138, 869P 4.145). Unlike the (VxV) plural where polysyllabic bases favour final ə in <Vxə>, the ending -ə is least favoured by polysyllabic masculine bases in -ach. This tendency in the class of masculine nouns in -ach (for certain oldest speakers) runs contrary to isochrony in that short bases favour the short ending -ə. It is my impression that -i and especially -axi: have gained ground on -ə in speakers born since the early twentieth century.

Second syllable position of (V:) extension

The canonical position for the long vocalic extension (V:) in V:xi: (4.19 ff.) plurals is second syllable position, although the constraint is perhaps not as strong with the oldest generation.
4.16 Consonant cluster constraint

With monosyllabic stems, the plural variant <Vxa> is more likely to occur following a consonant cluster than following a single consonant, i.e. (with examples)

- ideal number of consonants preceding Vxi: = 1 (dris > dr’faxi: 36S)
- ideal number of consonants preceding Vxa: > 1 (easna > aesnaxa 36S)

borrowed ‘drain’ > d’ren’t raxa 20C

fréamh > fr’ewraxa 29C

easna > ÉsnaxE 36S

dris > dr’faxi: 36S

It follows from this and the tetrasyllabic constraint that phonological weight is an important conditioning factor on plural formation in -axa/-axi:. Furthermore, the morphophonological character of the preceding cluster is of significance. For at least two speakers, 29C and 73P (both from Maínis), words with stem plus extension, e.g. tédad > tédadhacha, have more examples of <axa> than stems in a single consonant without extension, e.g. tédad > tédadhachai, but fewer examples of <axa> than words with syncope, e.g. paidir > paidireacha. Not only the phonological weight but the position of the morpheme boundary (i.e. presence or absence of syncope in this instance) is a conditioning factor. In contrast, other speakers, 869P (An Coillín) and 19B (Doire an Locháin), have less <axa> in syncopating words than in words with stem plus extension. Too few words with radical consonant cluster, e.g. splanc > splancacha, have been investigated for speakers who regularly use <axa>, to enable us to compare the factors of morpheme position and syncopation, and also the factor of consonant types, in clusters. Given the position of the morpheme boundary in splancacha one might predict it to pattern more like syncopating words of the paidr#eacha type than the extensional tédadhacha type.

These two constraints on <Vxa> regarding syllable count and weight can be formulated as a variable rule:

\[(VxV) \rightarrow n<Vxa> / \left\{ \sigma > 1 \right\} \bigcup \left( 1\sigma \bigcup C > 1 \right) : n = f(\text{network, age, following context})\]

These syllabic weight constraints on <Vxa> are applied (optionally but in many cases frequently) by a minority of speakers. The application of the rule has been observed especially in four extended families, two in Central Maínis, one in West Maínis and another in An Coillín. For further details, see 4.111 ff.

The consonant cluster constraint is also evident in the variable (V) \(\rightarrow <\alpha> <\iota>\) (e.g. the plural type exemplified by bróig > bróga, brógaí). Here also a cluster generally selects -i: in preference to -a: in shorthand:

-\(C^\alpha_C^\beta\) vs. -\(C^\iota_i^\iota\),

where \(C^\alpha = -nt+a, -ln+a\); \(C^\iota = -t+i, -l+i\). For example, rón > rõinte is very common whereas rõ > rõite is not found in my notes from conversation (but rõite 20Cq, also gró > gróite); guilainn > guailí: guailí is regular (but guilí 46.385), whereas a variant with an intervocalic cluster was noted with -a: and -i:.

\footnote{These constraints are discussed below; especially 4.111 and 4.130.}
4.17 Final phone and extension

The quality of consonantal extensions most often agrees with that of the stem final, unless extensional depalatalisation or suffixed palatalisation is involved. Exceptions are taken as examples of juncture (4.7). The extensional consonants most frequently follow sonorants, but they can also follow stops, more rarely fricatives. A list of all phonological combinations of stem and extension is presented here. Less frequent types are listed more exhaustively.

\[
\begin{align*}
V + t & \rightarrow \text{gró gro} > \text{gro`} \\
V + (h)r & \text{rarely} \rightarrow \text{glait} > \text{glair`} \text{: glairh`} \text{axi:} \\
\text{Cp. h} + r & \rightarrow \text{tréith} > \text{tr` erhi:} \\
C^{\text{Son}} + h & \rightarrow \text{r} + \text{huxi:} \\
\text{r} + h & \rightarrow \text{seire fer`} > \text{fer` huxi:} \\
C^{\text{Son}} + (r) & \rightarrow \text{l} + \text{t`a} \rightarrow \text{coll` kait`} > \text{kait`a} \\
\text{l} + \text{t(r)axi:} & \rightarrow \text{gleann` gl`نتa} \\
\text{n} + \text{t} & \rightarrow \text{gleann` gl`نت(r)axi:} \\
C^{\text{Son}} + r & \rightarrow \text{l} + \text{r} \\
\text{l} + \text{r} & \rightarrow \text{ascail} \text{ aska`} > \text{askzlaxi:} \\
\text{m} + n & \rightarrow \text{aim} > \text{an am`} > \text{an amn`axi:} \\
\text{m} + \text{r} & \rightarrow \text{freimh fr` em`} > \text{fr` emr`axi:} \\
\text{m} + \text{h very rare} & \rightarrow \text{slám sléim} > \text{sléimha 52Jq} \\
\text{n} + (r) & \rightarrow \text{g`} + \text{r`Vxi:} \\
\text{l} + \text{r} & \rightarrow \text{ongua u`gga} > \text{ing(g)r` exi:} \\
\text{Less often stops} & \rightarrow \text{p` b, t, d, g` : g(g) + r} \\
\text{p` b, t, d, g` : g(g)} & \rightarrow \text{skailp skal`} > \text{skalpr`axi:} \\
\text{leabha t`} & \rightarrow \text{leabha t`apraxi:} \\
\text{k, g` + raxi:} & \rightarrow \text{carraig karag` > karag`axi:} \\
\text{leac t`ak > t`akraxi:} & \rightarrow \text{carraig karag` > karag`axi:} \\
\text{g` + n`axi:} & \rightarrow \text{mada mada} > \text{medri:} \\
\text{g` + n`axi:} & \rightarrow \text{dealg d` alag > d`el`agn`i:}
\end{align*}
\]
### Conditioning

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>cStop + t(r)</th>
<th>d + t</th>
<th>p + tr. t</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>d + ta, ti:</td>
<td>p + traxi:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>céad k’ed &gt; k’eta, k’eti:</td>
<td>scalp skalp’ &gt; skalp traxi: 36Sq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>p + to</td>
<td>plump plump &gt; plumptò</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sibilant + t, r, n</th>
<th>s, f + ti:</th>
<th>s, j + raxi: / rulaxi:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>s, j + t, r</td>
<td>rásu rusa &gt; rústi:</td>
<td>déas d’es &gt; d eʃfraxi:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f + n</td>
<td>gaise qaʃa &gt; gasti: (in run)</td>
<td>cis k’if &gt; k’irɔxi:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sibilant + k</td>
<td>glaise &gt; glaf’uxi:</td>
<td>glaise &gt; glaf’axi:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sibilant + (t’rud[‘])¹</td>
<td>seas &gt; jasulaxi:</td>
<td>s + rulaxi:</td>
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<td></td>
<td>deis &gt; d eʃulaxò</td>
<td>s + tulaxi:</td>
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<td>leitgheas &gt; l’aistulaxi:</td>
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Other fricatives (rarely)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>v + t(r)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sliabh f’t’ iav &gt; f’t’ ev’ a</td>
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<tr>
<td>claimh klav’a &gt; klav’ò</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>v + r</th>
<th>x + r</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>x + r</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fredhab fr’ew &gt; fr’ewraxi:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>craobh kriw &gt; kriwraxi:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>each ax &gt; axrì:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 4.18 Position

Extensions as a rule follow the final consonant of the root. Radical h is elided according to the general phonotactic rules, e.g. h + t > t in scaiðamh skaða > skat’i. Second syllable position is typical for the h extension. A rare example of third syllable position occurs in soláthraí (agentive < soláthar sular):


A few polysyllables with sonorants (n and l) or s preceding final -ach in the singular replace this ax with the t-extension endings ti: and t(r)axi:.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>t+ (r)</th>
<th>a+nach &gt; inti:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>intra</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tolax tulach &gt; tolaxi: toltraxi:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Cases of apparent infixation of extensions are not included in the description immediately above. The extension t appears to be infixed in the endings antò anti: (4.58). These endings occur following a small set of bases with long high and mid vocoids, mostly i but also e, u and iə, uə, uai. For example, lao, láí, garraí, oíche (i), lá > laeth- (e), dorí (u), iarraidh (iə), uair (uə), buáí, luáí (uai). There are two important exceptions: am am > amanti: generally, which

¹ There are also forms deix > d’eʃulaxi: deixulachai (cp. adjective deixial). d’eʃulaxi: (similar to the abstract noun deixulach < adjective deixial). Since neither -al- nor -axi: are distinct plural formatives in any other noun (except innovative mair > muraʃulaxi 60Mq, 4.5, 4.26), both d’eʃulaxi: and d’eʃulaxi: are classified as irregular (4.74). Cp. deixulachai LFRM s.v. deix 3; deixíil GCF §466; also tairneálachai.
4.19 (V in final -CV which take other endings, optionally or exclusively; e.g.
Many of the youngest speakers use could be derived from infixed h in awa awí: Alternatively, for example, teach > t’íffi: could be derived from t’íhwi: a syncopated alternate of t’íhawi.
One possible analysis of the endings (C’)fá and (C’)fíi: with some nouns would derive them from infixed h in awa awí: Generally, the plural variable (Vxi) is taken as having two subvariables (axí) and (V:xi). The default or unmarked variable is (axí). This (axí) variable occurs with many nouns which have a final consonant in the singular (i.e. -C) but also with numerous nouns which have a final unstressed vowel in the singular (i.e. -CV). There are important syllabic constraints on the choice of use of the variable (V:xi) per se as against (axí). There are, furthermore, consonant quality constraints on the use of specific quality of the extension vowel in variants of (V:xi).

Disyllabic (V:xi) constraint
The general syllabic structure that triggers (V:xi) use can be termed the ‘disyllabic (V:xi) constraint’:

1σC(C)V(:, i.e. (with examples)

1σC: latá > latexí:
1σCV: crúiníú > krix’exí:
1σCV:C Ciarráioch > k’iarexí:

(It follows that (axí) is the norm for (Vxi) plurals with monosyllabic and trisyllabic bases.) This phonological condition governing the two alternants (axí) vs. (V:xi) is optional, i.e. axí: may occur in almost all, if not all cases. The majority of speakers born before the 1960s have a significant proportion of V:xi: in disyllabic bases in final -CV(:,. In recent borrowings with this syllabic structure V:xi: is generally productive for them, e.g. ‘bitch’-e > bitsúcháí, ‘Conroy’ > Canraechaiti, ‘wheelbarrow’ > fail-bearaechaiti, célé > céileáchtaiti. Many of the youngest speakers use axí: for older (V:xi). There are many nouns in final -CV which take other endings, optionally or exclusively, e.g. i: exclusively in:

ála > álalaí, mála > málaí, rópa > rópaí: I have heard only i: in acra, baoite, bata, boscu, bráca, brainse, bríce, briosca, cáca, cápla, cárla, cártta, céachta, clabha, cláife, clóca, cluife, cnupe, enuga, enñas, coca, cóiste, cósta, cóta, cuachma, cúpla, cúrsa, dátá, fágra, fágra, gála, garda, geata, giarsa, glamba, guína, gunna, halla, hatá, ise, liope, maide, mapa, píce, piomna ‘pin’, pionta, planda, pláta, póca, pointe, pota, rabharta, raca, rálle, rata, rúda, runga, rusta, rúta, seafta, seomra, sióda > fídi: 866Ei, siopa, sonda, staighre, stoca, stráca, stúca, taca, tiarna, tonna, tuidle, unas, also rafaí: ‘ruffs, sea-belt (weed),’ na Státaí; only i: heard in these
trisyllables: comhartha, farraige, seilméide, smagairle, spéireata, tunónta, including common nouns in -ire: ancaire, dréimire, polláire, agentives iscaire, súmaire. Cp. slabhra > slabhraí, rare slabhrait.

In my analysis, the (V Exi) class of nouns includes only those nouns that fulfil both the phonological and lexical conditions for (V Exi). The realisations and constraints for this class vary according to speaker, etc.

There is, however, a small class of monosyllables in final consonant which may take V Exi:

- bonn (most frequently) > buniExi: bunoÉxi;
- deoir > d or’ exi: d oreÉxi;
- mion (adjective): (noun in plural only) m’ unexi: m’ unoxi: mionachai;¹
- also, rare, ciúmhais > k ufoxi: 37Jq; gad > gadrixi: gadáni: 27Mq: spreab > sp’ aehbaxi: 01P.

Two nouns in singular final -ai and one in historical final -Í also have optional (V Exi):


In these nouns a plural form such as glai(∅)xi: is liable to be (re-)interpreted as root + iaxi: (i.e. Vx)xi: yielding glai + h + oxxi: , etc.

Note that two nouns generally used in the plural only, cited above, have optional Vxi: as well as axi:

- t’ihoœxi: M liochái (< li); m’ unexi: m’ unoxi: mionachai (related to mion).

4.20 Position of (V)

One should stress here that this syllabic constraint (i.e. disyllabic (V Exi)) places the extension vowel, V: of Vxi:, almost always in the second syllable. This applies to:

(i) disyllables in final open syllables, the majority of Vxi: plurals, e.g. buinne biExi: > biExi:; syllable count begins with the first stressed syllable, yielding regular tráthnóna tranhunaa > tranhunexi:;
(ii) syncopating polysyllables, e.g. banais banaf > banafaxi:;
(iii) nouns with Voc(i) in the second closed syllable, generally iaxi, which may have replacement by V: in the stem, e.g. Ciarráioch > k’aroxi:, barriall bareÉl > baroxi:, and, less commonly, dlthriúch > d’ar’oxi:;
(iv) rare plurals in Vd(∅)i:, e.g. fiche > f’iExi: edí: f’iExi: ed’axi: 32J.

The condition, yielding (V:) in second syllable position, is applied in many comparable plurals where Vxi: contrasts with axi:, e.g.

1. ± Syncope:
   - aithim(e) > æx’ huxi: 20Cq (x2) vs. æhaœ’ axi: 20Cq (x2);
   - iomaire > umrexœxi: vs. umarœxi: for some speakers, even more have umareœxi:;
   - lasair > lasar’aœxi:; lasraxi: 17M, lafrí: 17M, lafruxi 17M;
   - srathair > frahxœxi: 37Jq vs. frahar’aœxi: 37Jq.

2. Nouns in agentive -Í:

¹ The extension vowel can be realised short, as e and o here; cf. 4.61.
3. Other obviously productive plurals:

\[ \text{saothrai} > \text{sirí: sirí:ha siroxi:}, \text{also gréasáí}, \text{etc.}; \]
\[ \text{comrádaí} > \text{kumreddi: kumreddiha kumreddaxi:}, \text{also soláthraí}. \]

The personal name \textit{Moinice min’ak’a} yielded interesting results in queries for a plural form. Two speakers independently infixed their main vocalic extension and then selfcorrected. Speaker 20C’s reply to a request for a plural of \textit{Moinice} was:

\[ \text{ta go leor Moinéiceach-, Moiniceachaí ar an mbaile seo,} \]

where he initially infixed \( V \) in second syllable position but selfcorrected to the more usual \( axi: \) suffixation. The response to \textit{Moinice} from speaker 30Pq was similar:

\[ \text{min’o, min’a, ... min’ak'i: ... min’ak’axi: 30Pq.} \]

Compare speaker 52Jq’s slip of the tongue during the plural questionnaire when he produced \textit{Corcaíoch > korkAxix}. This slip supports a suffix replacement theory (in words which contain final \textit{iax} in the singular) rather than infixation. A posited replacement with the plural ending involves elision of the whole singular suffix \textit{iax} and replacement by \textit{Vxí:} whereas infixation would involve only the vowel \( ia \) of the singular suffix being changed. Replacement interprets \textit{kork+ox+iax}. If underlying infixation were present, one might expect a similar slip of the tongue to yield *\textit{kork+a-iax}. Cf. 4.25.

4.21 Exceptions; Combinations

Counterexamples to the second syllable position of \( V: \) in \textit{Vxí:} are quite scarce. Exceptions with \( V: \) in the third syllable occur in a small set of nouns which generally also have alternate \( i: \) (and syncopated) plurals. Of frequent occurrence is the optionally syncopating \textit{iomaire > um(a)roxí: um(a)roxí: umar’i:}, etc. Also, in query, \textit{iomramh um(a)ór > umaroxí: Mq.} Similarly optional second and third syllable position for \( V: \) occurs in \textit{iongá}. Examples of third syllable position are \textit{inng’ an’exí inng’ an’exí: Pq; inng’ ar’axí: Mq.} Examples such as \textit{tuairisciócháí} and \textit{carasaíocháí Chríost} from 869P imply that other positions were more frequent a few generations ago. The singular form of the latter phrasal lexeme in Co. Clare occurs as \textit{carasaí Chríost} (Mac Chlín 1940 s.v. \textit{carasaidhe}). This would imply that singular \textit{carasáí} may once have been current in our dialect or at least suggests that the -\( aí- \) in plural \textit{carasaíocháí} may contain or have been influenced by the agentive suffix -\( aí. \) Note also the alternate plural \textit{tuairisc} > \textit{tuairiscí} FGB. There is a rare instance in \textit{ainm > aín’ám oza’ 43Mpq}. An example which combines more common \textit{ceirlián > ceirliáin} and \textit{ceirlineacháí} is \( k’orlí’in ia: xí: 32J ceirliáinocáí. \) Third syllable position of the extension vowel is exceptionally also found with examples of \textit{iaxí:} in juncture causing the retention of final \( i: \) in \textit{béili b ef’ì: > b’ef’ioxí:}, more frequently \textit{b’ef’oxí:}, etc.

The combination of the two constraints described above (i.e. tetrasyllabic <\textit{axa}>, as well as <\textit{Vxa}>, and disyllabic (\textit{Vxi})) limits the occurrence of surface <\textit{Vxa}>.
This <V:xa> does occur, however, in speakers who have trisyllabic <a:xa>. The only speaker in my sample with (presumably) regular optional <a:xa> is 894Cs, seen in his snách:ex:ì: ... snách:ex:ì: ... 894Cs snáithéachái tairníthe ... . Speaker 894Cs's use here follows his weak or non-application of the tetrasyllabic <a:xa> constraint. (See 4.158 for more detail on 894Cs's plurals.) Even 20Cq, who uses <a:xa> relatively frequently with monosyllabic roots, was noted with only one token of <e:ExE>: in the sequence snáithe > snách:ex:i: snách:ex:i: (the third token reiterated as if to emphasise his preferred ex:i:). In speaker 73Pq's usage <e:ExE> also occurs: cruinne > krís:i:xa. He is the youngest speaker in my sample who has trisyllabic <a:xa>.

4.22 Quality constraint

The quality of the extension vowel in (V:xi) plurals very frequently contrasts with the quality of the final radical consonant:

\[ C^\text{pal} > V^\text{bíom}:xi ; \text{i.e. (with examples)} \]
\[ C^\text{pal} > i:xi/\text{exi}: \quad \text{bóin} \text{bun} > \text{bún:í:xi} ; \text{garla} > \text{garlexi}: ; \]
\[ C^\text{pal} > u:xi/\text{oxi}: \quad \text{buille} \text{bi:}:\text{a} > \text{bi:oxi} ; \text{banais} > \text{banfúxi}. \]

This applies proportionately more regularly with back than with front vowel variants, the back vowels being recessive for the majority of speakers. As far as this rule is concerned, it is the consonantism of the plural stem which is decisive for the quality classification of final consonants, i.e. words with:

(i) -C' > -C' in plural formation, e.g. íomaíre umár> umríaxi:, are classified as nonpalatal;
(ii) -C' > -C', e.g. iongo uig> iñi: exi:, are classified as palatal;
(iii) -Vha, e.g. ráithé rá:ha > rach:exi:, are classified separately.

Finally, we note that the low variant <u(xi)> may be more common following stressed nonhigh vowels, particularly a and á, in a type of vowel harmony, e.g. snáithe > snách:axi: snách:axi: 05Mq, artha > a:rá:xi: 60Mq.

The latter example is 60Mq’s single most likely token, at least in perception, of <u(xi)>; in (V:xi) class words he otherwise has some tokens of <i:xi>:, <exi>: and <u(xi)> but far more commonly <axi>.

4.23 Words in -Vha

Given that h seems unmarked for quality, one might expect speakers, who apply the quality constraint in words with final consonants other than h, to fail to apply this constraint with words in -Vha, but rather to use their predominant (or unmarked) (V:xi) variant. This appears to be the case for some speakers at least. For example, in 21Ptq the predominant variant is <oxi>:. Non-Vha nouns have proportionately less <oxi>: at a ratio of 51:17 than -Vha nouns with <oxi>: (x10) and <exi>: (x1) (although it must be remembered that there are more nouns with palatal -C’ than nonpalatal in the sample, <oxi:> being weakly conditioned by the quality constraint). Similarly, 20Tq has 3 out of 3 -Vha nouns with <i:xi>:, his main variant. So also 30Pq who has 5 -Vha nouns with <oxi>:, his main variant, and 1 (leithe) with both <exi>: and <oxi>:. Some speakers, however,
show no skewing towards their main variant in this -Vha subclass. Speaker 36Pq, for example, has examples of all his variants here. More tokens of -Vha nouns from more speakers are therefore required before one can draw any definite conclusions about this class.

Against this interpretation of ‘neutral’ h is the important subclass of -Vhe nouns that very often have the back variant, particularly reithe and leithe. This subclass could be interpreted in two ways: (i) phonologically as containing palatal h (consistent with the actual diachrony), or (ii) lexically as marked for a back variant.

### 4.24 Radical V:

Many nouns in final long vocoid (here ‘V’ stands for both long vowels and diphthongs) frequently have an optional plural in (Vxi), especially (Vxi), e.g.

- gréasai gr' esii: > gr' esoxi: 21Ptq;
- giorria g' urio > g' uroxi: M, g' uraxi: 43M;
- colbha kolu > koloxi: 37Jq, kolu: 36Sq.

In these nouns, as in the examples, the speaker may use his ‘default’ or most productive (Vxi) variant(s). There is a tendency, however, to retain or approximate the quality of the radical V; in these (Vxi) plurals. For example, speakers who have very little or no occurrence of <iExi: > as an independent variant of (Vxi) (e.g. Maire and 21Pt) may have iExi: with nouns in radical -k, e.g. céili k' el'i: > k el' oxi: Mq, 21Ptq. Similarly, condae will have a plural in exi: more probably than nouns in -Ca; the plural colbha kolu: is more likely to be kolu: , and so on. The only examples of uxi: in 20Myq, for example, are colbha > kolu: and arhri > arhuxi: . The only V: realisation recorded for condae is exi: . Approximation rather than an identical match of the radical quality in the (Vxi) plural is evident, for example, in 21Ptq’s use. His prominent variant is <oxi: > but one of his few <exi: > tokens is tanai > tanexi: . For the similar phenomenon in verbal nouns in -ú (e.g. gortú > gortaechát), see 4.31. A ‘mixed’ form (underlined) occurs not infrequently among the various forms of béli:

- béli > b' el' ixi: b' el' oxi: b' el' exi: b' el' axi: ;

and perhaps with other nouns. For this radical V; class 20Cq has the following system (cf. 4.183):

1. Retention radical u: > uxi:
   (radical e: > exi:)
2. Approximation radical i: o > exi:;
3. Transference radical u: > exi:;

(Transference is the term given to a change in front–back quality of the radical vowel.) The strategies of retention, approximation and transference of radical V; in this class, then, are optional. Contrasts between nouns that differ in this vowel only may be retained, particularly in more conscious production, but they are often neutralised. This can be seen in the pair artha (FGB ortha) and athri which have both been recorded with the whole range of the (Vxi) variable:

* artha and athri > arhoxi:, arhexi:, arhoxi:, arhoxi:, arhuxi:.*

Speaker 21Ptq, for example, was noted with:
**Conditioning**

*artha* > in conversation *arhuXi*: in query (pronounced more deliberately) *arhiXi*.

*aithrú* > initial response in query *arhiXi*: more deliberately *arhiXi*.

Speaker 43Mq has *artha* and *aithrú* > *arhuXi*. So also in the pair cruinniú > *kriEt!oXi*: 21Ptlq; also giorria and giorrú > *g!ulox*: Mq. In query quite a few speakers produce, for example, *aithrú* > *arheXi*: and then recall or notice the neutralisation with the plural of *artha* and produce the preferred *aithrú* > *arhuXi*: with deliberate retention of the radical vowel quality. In one session 20Cq responded *aithrú* > *arhuXi*: while 20My responded simultaneously with *arheXi*. Speaker 20C then repeated *arhuXi* with added emphasis on the *uXi* of his token and went on to explain the contrast with *artha* > *arheXi* (which is his plural of *artha* which he proffered independently of 20My). Speaker 20My then agreed with him: Tá tusa ceart 20My. No comment was made by 20C on his *gortú* > *gorteXi*. Recall that *gortú* is not in practical contrast with (rather rare) *gorta*. Cp. *colbha* > *koluxi*: vs. *collach* > *kolaxi*: . Also 21Ptlq’s *deaide* > *d!Et!oXi* which is distinguishable from the possible plural in *-achaí* of *deaideo* “*d!Et!oEniXi*”. Note further that the plural of *aitiú* was given by Mq as *áiteachaí* the same as the plural of *ait*, although she was doubtful as to its actual use. Speaker 21Ptlq also proffered *áiteachá* > *áiteachaí*. In conversation the older speaker 881J has *áitiú* > *átui*: *áitiú*.

4.25 **Disyllabic -ch**

Disyllabic nouns in (generally) final -ch (*2σCh*), which may take this (*Vxi*) plural ending, pattern much as nouns with simple suffix addition, the surface form being any variant of (*Vxi*). Such plurals can be treated as (haplological) ending substitution. An exhaustive list of the *V(V)*ch replacement type is given here:

- nouns containing *iEx* in the second syllable: *Ciarraíoch* *k!iEriEx* > *k!iEriExiE* *k!iEreXiE* *k!iErAxiE* also *k!iErExiE*;
- *Corcaíoch* *korkiEx* > *korkiExiE* *korkeXiE* *korkoXiE* *korkAxiE*;
- *gaiscíoch* *gaSk!iEx* > *gaSk!iExiE* *gaSk!eXiE* (but singular also *gaiscí* with different personal suffix);

one noun containing *ux* in the second syllable:

- *díthriúch* *d!iÉr!huEx* > *d!iÉr!hoXiE* but preferred *d!iÉr!huXiE* *d!iÉr!uXiE* Mq.

Note also *Sorcha* *sorExEc* > *soreXi*: *sorhuxi*: *soraxi*: 20Cq. In a plural query session 52Jq offered the following for *Corcaíoch* (in order of response): *korkuxiEx* *korkuxiEx* *korkiEx*; *korkuxiXe*: when ‘corrected’ by me he accepted *korkuxi*: as the intended form (4.20). Similarly, the effect of haplology between velars is clear in *56Bq*, who produced *Nollaig* *nolak* > *nolaxi*: *dealg* *d!Et!aEx* > *d!Et!alExi*: apparently erroneously in the query situation, accepting proffered *nolak* > *Nollaigeachaí* and *d!Et!alaxi*: *dealgachaí* as the intended forms.

4.26 **Infixed**

Forms with plural extension *V*: followed by a sequence other than *xi*: are taken as genuine infixed, i.e. mainly only *barriall*:

*barriall* *bared* > *barolaxi*: *barial* > *barelaxi*: (e.g. 10B).
Some speakers may infix in other words. Speaker 20Aq produced the following response with infixation except in his most conscious production in the last two tokens:

bonnhualadh bunual > bunialaixi nu buait a klo, bualexi klox bunialaixi bun [short hesitation] bunualaxi bunualaxi 20Aq
bonnhualachai nò buait cloch ...

Speaker 43Mpq has three words with regular infixation (more than any other speaker in my survey):

barriall baölor > baöloër (x2),
bonnhualadh bunAEl > bunAëlExi (x2),
timpiste tþþ¢imp !ESt !E (x2).

Infixation, then, has been noted with V É realised as iE eÉ aÉ and oÉþþ. The infixation of E occurs in barriall baölor > baö lorExiÉ (x3) 51Pq; this speaker has very little <V ÉxiÉ>. Similarly, speaker 29Cq has barìEl > barìElExE (x3),
bonnhualadh bunEl > bunAElExi (x2).

Speaker 60Mq, whose main variant by far in the (V ÉxiÉ) class of words is <V ËxiÉ>, has what can be described as <E xiÉ> infixation in barriall baölor > baöloraxi:, and a infixation in sochraíd soxrid > soxrdÉxí: (1.261). Speaker 60Mq also has second-syllable a in múr > muralaxi:, whereas the dialect norm is muri(l)Éxí: (4.5, 4.65). Similarly, speaker 78BAO has dreofur dr Éfur > dr Éforaxi:. Cp. deis > deisealachtaí related to alternate deiseálacha (í) (p. 675 n. 1).

4.27 Speaker 32J’s -éadai, etc.

Speaker 32J extends the variation of plural a ~ V: in second syllable position (actually a ~ o ~ e: in his examples) to the endings containing -d()- used in (mostly borrowed) multiple numerals of ten. These nouns have canonical (V ËxiÉ) type bases: 1σC É and 1σCV É. His attested surface endings with these numerals are -C‘adí:, -adí:, -C‘odi:, -odi:, -ed’axí:, -ed’axi:, -d’egí:, and -dir:, e.g.

fiche > f’ix édi: f’ix éd’axí: 32J fichéadai, fichéideachái;
caoga > k!Ïg ëdi: k!Ïgódí: 32J caogéadai, caogódaí; cf. 4.5.

An example of a plural in (V ËxiÉ) from 32J contains the variant <oxí>: k’æffoxí: 32J Ceaitseóchaí. This use of V Ëxi: and VÉdi: could be schematised as (V:ClÉ) plurals. The -di: ending, which speaker 32J adds to form a plural of ceathracha > k’æraxdi: 32J, seems to be a combination of axí: and adí: (the second syllable vowel of the plural suffixes, in this case a, is in position (mirroring the noun base), this is then followed by x of axí: (again mirroring the noun base) and then by d of adí:, then followed by third syllable i:). The form naocha > n!ïd’egí: 32J naidéagaí shows influence of déag (and perhaps naioi gcéad déag); in fact, déag may also possibly influence the e: in f’ix édi:, etc.

Grammatical

Declensional and other morphological and morphophonological conditioning factors are important in plural morphology. Some relations are widely applicable, whereas others affect only a small class of nouns.

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4.28 Declensional; Morphophonological

Declensional

1D nouns -C > C’, e.g. fear, gen sg fir, pl fír. This is perhaps the main plural formation of 1D nouns, and occurs almost exclusively with 1D nouns or masculine nouns that lack a specific genitive singular form. Many masculine 1D nouns in -ach have a plural in -agh corresponding to the genitive singular (4.88 ff.).

2D nouns > + a as well as + i regularly, e.g. bróig > bróga and brógaí. Note fj’ax sceach, pl fj’axaini M, but also fj’ehaxi M, fj’ehaxi, perhaps conditioned by genitive singular fj’ehi.

2D nouns > + ë as well as + ëi regularly, e.g. bróig > bróga and brógaí. Note Sk !ax sceach, pl Sk !ëxEni M, but also Sk !ëhExi, Sk !ëhExiÉþþ, perhaps conditioned by genitive singular Sk !ëhExiÉþþ.

2D nouns C’ þ > -C’ þ ~ -, i.e. have nonpalatal roots in the plural, e.g. bróig, ciaróig, adhairc, coins, binn.

3D nouns often have depalatalisation (C’ þ > C’ þ þ ~) in the plural, resembling the genitive singular stem, e.g. droim, gen sg drama, pl drama, dramannaí, dramachaí (also droimeannaí); dreacháir, gen sg dreachára, pl dr’ehuraxi (also dr’ehuru’axi); altóir, gen sg altóra, pl altoraxi (also altor’axi); regularly in polysyllabic nouns in -áil, e.g. sulleáil, gen sg sulleálaí, pl síd’élaxi (also síd’el’axi).

5D nouns > + an’ or other plural containing n, e.g. lacha, gen sg/pl lachan, pl lachain; bró, gen sg brón, pl bróin, bróinte, etc.; ceathrú, gen sg ceathrún, pl ceathrúnaí.

6D nouns > + axi; e.g. cait, gen sg cartach, pl cartachaí; in borrowings, e.g. draein [< drain] > gen sg draenach, pl draentachaí. Note céibh, gen sg céibheach, céibhe, but pl céibheannaí.

Irregular nouns, e.g. lá, genitive lae > lehan(t)i: laethann(t)aí; teach, genitive tí > fíchawi, etc.

Morphophonological

For some speakers the position of the morphemic boundary, differentiating extensional plural stems from syncopated plural stems, affects the choice of <axa> or <axi>. Cf. 4.14, 4.111. For agentives in -í and -ach with plurals in -i(tha), see 4.73.

4.29 Derivational

As is the case with so much of Irish morphology (where homophonous morphemes are common), extensions are not confined to plural noun formation. One finds similarities between plural formation in nouns and verbal derivation; for example, in fód > noun plural föide, föidreachaí, etc., verb föídaigh, föidigh, föidrigh; ainm > plural ainmnachaithe, etc., verb ainmn(n)igh. (Cf. 4.93 ff., 5.17 ff.) An important distinction between these nominal and verbal extensions is that generally only the former are truly productive. The process of depalatalisation, however, is productive in both verbs and nouns. In fact, the depalatalisation of -áil in the SÁBHÁIL class is paralleled by the nonpalatal l in the extension -aíl found in a few plurals (4.60; also corresponding to -áil > -ála of the 3D genitive singular and the plural of nouns in -áil > -ála chait).
4.30 Plurale tantum

Some nouns are found only in the plural: ciánta, fágaí SM (but sg fága 20C), feire gíntí, gréí, liocháí, maíracháí (for some younger speakers), mionacháí, oighearacháí, peítheacháí, also tárrmeilacháí (heard from Seán in plural only); with numeral seacht ránn; words for ‘old clothes’: gioblóidí, géaí, géasáibh; in meaning ‘out of order’ lídrachái > líd. Speaker 34Mq has kúintí: kúinnt’n cnothannaí with a doubtful singular kúintí in query (other speakers have historical singular cno). The plural form arúintí, meaning ‘many tools’, is given without a singular in a short vocabulary of rare words from speakers 869P and 875P (CAR). It is connected with singular earrra by another, more educated, informant cited in the same vocabulary. The same educated informant also gives another meaning for arúintí: ‘whims’ (perhaps related to athrú). Cpr. arúintí an bháis 852S and older airrdhe. Cp. ábhar. Cf. 4.49.

4.31 Verbal nouns

There are two main verbal noun plural formations: one is grammatical or lexical, the other phonological:

(i) VN > tó tó: and i(hó), i.e. plural forms which are identical or similar to the verbal adjective (1 Conjugation verbal nouns take tó tó; 2 Conjugation i(hó)). The i(hó) variant seems to be a conservative ending in the plural. It is robust, for example, in 869P’s speech (cf. 4.146).

(ii) VN > Vxi, especially laxi, which is related to the i of the verbal adjective. The Vxi ending corresponds to the formation of unmarked nouns which have final -a in the second syllable (1σCV). The 1σCV(a) structure is usual in VNs (common -adh, -u: -ú).

Since verbal nouns occur infrequently in the plural, their historical plural endings have in many cases not been lexicalised. Instead, (Vxi) is highly productive with verbal nouns in the plural. Generally speaking, verbal nouns are more likely to occur in the plural when their sense is less obviously verbal, e.g. d’ina déanamh ‘make’ (of product, e.g. of car) is common in the plural, e.g. d’inexi: déanach. Cpr. goÉl gabháil > goÉltraxi: gabháilracháí.

Some common nouns have a related noun which may function as a verbal noun or collective or both, and the simple nouns are themselves rarely used in the plural, e.g. verbal nouns in:

-úch béc, bécíuč, bùir, bùirbhúč;
-í brionglóid, brionglóidí;
-il geoin, geonnaí (for example, in a typical response to a query for the plural of geoin, Seán gave dár’a m’e n júníl’ S d’airigh mé an gheonnaí); gusta, gustail S.

As in verbal inflection, plural verbal nouns of the GEARR class show retention of long alternants in the younger generation, e.g. gearradh > g’urri: 56Bq.

Verbal nouns in -ú, like nouns in final long vocoids in general, have a tendency for the extension vowel, V:; to retain or approximate the singular -u: in (Vxi) plurals, e.g. athrú > arhuxi: 20Cq. On the other hand, also like other nouns in final long vocoids, another (Vxi) variant may be used, usually the speaker’s...
predominant variant, e.g. \(20\text{Cq}'s\ gortú > \text{gortexi}\): (this speaker's main variant is \(<\text{exi}>)\). \(37\text{Jq}'s\ athrú > \text{arhoxi}:\) (whose main variant is \(<\text{oxi}>)\).

Some verbal nouns attested in \(\text{Vxi}\) are:

with front variants:
\(<\text{axi}>:\ athrú, \text{gearradh};\)
\(<\text{exi}>:\ fiuchadh > \text{f oexi};\), so also \text{bualadh, casadh, déanamh, pósadh, réabhadh}, cp. also \text{scanradh > scanraeai}: also gortú, athrú;
\(<\text{axi}>:\ \text{déanamh};\)

with back variants:
\(<\text{uxi}>:\ athrú;\)
\(<\text{oxi}>:\ \text{gearradh, athrú;}\)
\(<\text{axi}>:\ \text{déanamh, athrú, gortú.}\)

Note also the \(<\text{axi}>)\ plural of \text{vastú} (from \text{i bhfastú}, historically a verbal noun) > \text{waestiax}: 35Et. For further examples and discussion of verbal noun plurals, see Máire’s forms (4.171, particularly Table 4.31 and Table 4.32).

**Syntactic**

Syntactic conditions may affect plural formation, depending on whether a noun is part of a larger syntactic unit such as a phrasal noun, qualified by a numeral, or in other collocations.

### 4.32 Double stress and phrasal nouns

In the case of complex noun phrases containing \{noun + noun (genitive) qualifier\}, there are four types of plural formation (bold type indicates changes from singular to plural):

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c}
\text{N1} & \text{N2} & \\
\text{(1) pl} & \text{pl} & \text{(g)sg} \\
\text{(2) pl} & \text{pl} & \text{gpl} \\
\text{(3) sg} & \text{pl} & \\
\text{(4) pl} & \text{pl} & \text{(rare)} \\
\end{array}
\]

the first noun only is plural
the first noun is plural and the second noun genitive plural
the second noun only is plural
both nouns are nominative plural

(For all the variants of certain noun phrases, e.g. \text{súil ribe}, see Table 4.1, p. 689.)

Type (1) is expected where the first element only is logically plural, e.g. \text{barraí iarainn}. Types (2) and (4) are logical where plural number is involved in both elements, e.g. (appositional) \text{crántachaí muc}. Type (3) is expected where the second element only is logically plural, e.g. \text{scamhach t’iongachai}. Clearly, illogical use of type (3) is common where phrases are highly lexicalised, e.g. \text{tmeis cinneann}. Types (2) and (4) have also extended beyond strictly logical use, e.g. (2) \text{balltaí éadach}, (4) \text{deideannai-deigheas}. There are also instances where logically one might expect types (2) or (4) but where other types are found; note, for example, the unusual type (2) plural in \text{cram allai > croinnte ull}.

### 4.33 \(1 \text{N1pl} + \text{N2(g)sg}\)

Many compound nouns have a pattern \{N1sg + N2(g)sg\} > \{N1pl + N2(g)sg\}:

\text{búid seoil} > \text{búd seoil} 11C;
Plural of nouns

barra iarainn > barrai iarainn 894Cs;
blao chluaise > bliáni klaʃə M blaonnaí cluaise;
caras Crist karas kr' ist > carasaíochtaí Crist 869P;
cois píce > cosa píce S;
each luachra > axrì luáxə, axə luáxə P, axáni: luáxə 43M;
each uisce > eachannáí uisce 892M2873;
faocha chapaill > fixax` xaµal: faochain chapaill (i.e. *faochain chaiple not permitted);
fear bréige > na f` ir’ vr’ eg`ə M na fir bréige;
gad maole > ga` travaí: miʃə S gadrachai maole;
glaise phoint > gláskaná: pint` S glascannaí point, glaʃaxi: pint` S glaiseachai point;
iodaícloiche > iomfaireachta cloiche 894Cs (x2);
madra uisce > mádaraí uisce (similarly madra alla > madEriò AÉlE Mq), also type (3b) (4.35);
mála céid > mAÉliÉ k /ù /ex /ù málal céid / leithchéid;
portán faoileann > portáin faoileann 83, smugairle rón > smugairlé rón 41, similar plurals Clad42, 49, 50, 54, 60, 62, 82, 232, 234–5, 238. Contrast {N1pl + N2pl} (with N3sg) in iasgán an ghaith nimhe > iasgán na ngaithí nimhe Clad95.

4.34 (2) N1pl + N2gpl

Many compound nouns have (optionally with N2(g)sg) a pattern {N1sg + N2(g)sg} > {N1pl + N2gpl}:

kak mik`ə M cac muice, kakáni: muk M cacannaí muc (both sg and pl used as expletives); krán` wiktə M cráín mhuice, krúntoxi: muk M crúntachtaí muc;
sír kloha M saor cloiche, sírha klox M saortha cloch; beirt, saortha cloiche dhie mhuintír ... 872P; cp. aclráxi: klox M alltrachtaí cloch; but balí: kloha P ballaí cloiche; cp. 51P’s sg saor cloch, saor cloiche, saor clocha;
staf` xaµal: S stail chapaill, stádraxi: kapaŋ S stálarachtaí capall; carr capaill > kæraní: kapaŋ 05M, also karáni: kapaŋ. 11C carrannaí capaí(ill);
deh iakal’ doigh ftiacail > dohaixi: / doxi: f`iakal M doightheachai fiacal, also dohaixi: f`iakla, and doxi: iakla 56B; 29Cq has doh iakal > dohaixi f`iakal;
fixə yl’ unə faocha ghliomaigh, na fìxən` yl’ uma Mq na faochain ghliomaigh, cp. na fìxən` yl’ unax Mperm na faochain ghliomach;
kraun uli: 35E crann ãlläi (x2), krixt` ulla 35E croinní ãllä (cp. sna krixt`ə 35E sna croinne), similarly ... kraunti: ul un ... S crannáí ãllæ ann; but
The dependent form is noteworthy in: sg ball éadaigh, pl balltaí ~ balltachaí éadach.
The plural of is éadach is edi: éadaí; I have no other example of the form éadach functioning as a genitive plural.

4.35 (3) N1sg + N2pl

[N1sg + N2pl] is the norm in many other compounds. Some take the normal plural which the second element takes in independent usage, e.g.
(3a) scamhlach t’iongan > scamhlach t’iongachaí S, corresponding to ionga > iongach.

Others conform to the syllable count and phonological shape of the second noun, monosyllables taking -EniÉþþ, regardless of the independent plural of the second noun, e.g.
(3b) tinneas cinn > t’ins’ af k’ins’ aní; e.g. nà t’ins’af k’ins’ aní: fó M na tinneas cinneannai seo (independent plural ceann > K’in’);
Máire an Ghabha > merch’ y auáni, in v’ir ga l’or merch’ y auáni: on wil’ is ed S bhí go leor Máire an Gabhannaí ann an bhfuil fhios a’d? (there was more than one woman of this name; independent plural gabha > gaivn’);
hóra-mhíle-grá > hóra v’íd’ a graúni; e.g. bhíodar ag rá hóra-mhíle-grá-annaí S (independent plural of grá not heard);
gléas ceoil: choinic sé, gleas ceoil a bhíodh ag imeacht ag, bhíodh gleas ceoilannaí ag, daoíní an dtigeann tí ... 881Jn (independent plural ceol > ceolta) more usually gleasannaí ceoil.

Polysyllables and nouns in -CÉ may take -iÉþþ, -ExEþþ, -ExiÉ or -VÉxi as appropriate, e.g.
(3b) madra uisce > moedr i[j’i: 18Bmq;
oighe chuimealta > ai xim’al-taxi: SM, 14M;
rite reaite > rit’ a raete’ exi: 36Pq, rit’ a raete’ oxixi: 36Pq;
spig neanta > sp’ig’ ñ’anti: M, sp’ig’ ñ’estoxi: 21Ptq, m’ig’ fN’estoxi: 51Pq, m’ig’ fN’estoxi: 51Pq;
c(h)roich cheasta > kor ñ’estoxi: 20Cq, 36Pq, xri ñ’estoxi: 21Ptq, also xor’ ñ’ esti: 36Nq, kohara ñ’ esti: 29Cq.

Others follow the semantic criterion of the compound, i.e. -s/z with personal names, e.g.
Plural of nouns

(3c) na kolam suí’ín’s 04Br na Colm Séiltins (‘C. S.’s descendants’, including Seán, my speaker 12S);
na Jó Mharcaisínz; na d’iarmaid t’iams fín’ 14M na Diarmaid Liams sin;
na porák’ín’ wakis M na Pádraigín Mhacaíos (i.e. descendants of my 869P).

Others seem to base plural formation on the syllable count of the phrasal noun, which then takes the plural ending of polysyllables, i.e. -ExiÉþþ, e.g.

(3d) deich gcinn > deich gcíneachtai 43M ‘tens’ or ‘packets of ten’;
tinneas cinn > tinneas cinneachtai 48M (contrast (3b) tinneas cinneannaí M);
cp. chúig phunt > chúig phuint ‘five pound notes’ but also na xuÉg’ pixn’axi: 43M na chúig puinntechái;
bail-ó-Dhia > bail’ o: jíaxi: in xur fá ga l’or ‘drox’wál’ o: ‘jíaxi: oram Mtrans chuir sé go leor droch-bhail-ó-Dhiachái orm (contrast Máire’s, and other speakers’, simple plural of Dia > d’íani:).

{N1sg + N2pl} is also the norm for relations with the element col:
kol k’á:haraxi 04B col ceatharacháí,
kol kuÉg’araxi: , kol kuÉg’raxi: col cúigeacharacháí,
kol fejfar(‘)axi: , kol fejfraxi: col seisearacháí,
kol oxtaraxi: col ochtarachá.

4.36 (4) N1pl + N2pl

This pattern, with both nouns in the plural {N1pl + N2pl}, is the rarest. It has been noted in:
bád iascach > báid iascacha 872P, also báid iascach;
capall rása > caiple rása [x2] ~ caiple rásaí [x1] 869P;
clo(ì)ch luai > clocha luannaí 892M, clocha luantaí 06C;
fata fial’ and fata fialí M fata sí(o)íl > fáti: fíalta SM fataí siolta (sg also fata sí fíF’);
scadáin eochráí > scadáin eocharacháí M;
pota gliomach > potái gliomachá (commonly, e.g. Clad1125, 11C, M), also potái gliomacháí 19J, 66N; contrast type (2) eangacháí roinntach 18J.

The form cited is the only example heard of eochráí > eocharacháí (dependent plural). It contrasts with regular gliúm oxri: [x2] 43Jt gliomaigh eochráí. The regular plurals of gliomach are -aigh, -achaí, -aí, in potáí gliomachá the ending -acha more resembles an adjective (similar to bán iascachá). In conversation, speaker 66N has potáí gliomacháí 66N but in response to query na potáí gliomaigh / gliomacháí 66Nq (and singular pota gliomach 66Nq).

Note ceanna slat > ceanna slata 01MARN (x1).

4.37 Variation

Given the choice of combination of various singular and plural variables, the plural of double stress and phrasal nouns may have several alternants. A selection of such nouns is classified in Table 4.1.
Table 4.1 Double stress and phrasal nouns in plural

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lexeme N2(g)sg</th>
<th>N1pl + N2(g)sg</th>
<th>N1pl + N2pl</th>
<th>N1sg + N2pl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cloch liabrán</td>
<td>kloxa l’iobhran S</td>
<td>kloxa l’iobhran M</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>damhán alla</td>
<td>duwan’ ada Mq, duwun’ æla Mq</td>
<td>duxn adi: Sq, duxen adaxi: Sq</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fál fígh</td>
<td>fúta fíg’ in’G:S</td>
<td>fúta fíg in’i:SM</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ribi róibéis 1</td>
<td>ribi róibéis tr91, ribi’ æxi: ribi’ æf S, ribæ æxi: ribæ æf M</td>
<td>ribæ æfæ: S, ribæ æfææxi: M, cp. Æ plural marker SM, 60M</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>píosa coráinch</td>
<td>p’isi: krunax regularly</td>
<td>p’isi: krunaxi: ?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>caras Críost(a)</td>
<td>carasaíochat / carasaíach Críost(a) 869P, 875T</td>
<td>karas kr’isií:á Mq</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hibile haibile</td>
<td>-iæ -is, -æxi: -æxi: Mq</td>
<td>hibæ afæ a hæ afæs [?] Mq</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hib airle habairle</td>
<td></td>
<td>-œ -æs Mq</td>
<td>... ilæxì: 20Cq, ... ilæ: 27Mq, ... iæ Æ 36Nq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>carn aoiligh</td>
<td>cp. kaarna 1f6”35Eq, kærdumæxi: iæ Æ 60Mq</td>
<td>skudæn’ oxæi: M</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scadán eochari</td>
<td>Special N1pl</td>
<td>Special N2pl skudæn’ ox(æ)oxæi: M</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maide crois</td>
<td>maad i: krof 21Pt, 43M, but also maad’æinì: krof 43M 2</td>
<td>suÁf æri: M, 29Cq, suÁf i: rib’æi: M, 29Cq,</td>
<td>suÁf æxi: rib’æxi: M &lt;&lt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>súil ribe</td>
<td>suÁl æri: rib’æi: M, suÁl æni: rib’æi: M Ærib’æi: M 45Mq</td>
<td>suÁl æri: M (commonest)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N2gpl (nsg)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tístea krúw S, also teinte cnúmh 852Sb l.191</td>
<td>tístea krúwa 05M, tísteæxi: krúwa S</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poti: gíuma</td>
<td></td>
<td>Special N2pl poti: gíuma 11C, M, -xi: (rare)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pota gliomach</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Double stress, etc..</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deideighe</td>
<td>‘dèsanæi: dais S &lt;&lt;</td>
<td>‘dèsanæi: S</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>béithi</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘b e’he:íi: S</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deargadael</td>
<td>d’æaragádil’ Æ rid 03V, d’ær ag’ædil 27Mdq</td>
<td>d’æaragádil’ 21Ptq, 27Mdperm</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sínneadh fad</td>
<td>jenæexi: fadæ, jenæ fadæ</td>
<td>jenæ fadæxi:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 In the following order in conversation na rib’æææ: M, na rib’ææææxi:, na rib’æxi: rubææ: S.
2 Produced, in conversation, by 43M with some hesitancy.
3 Singular b’ e’he:íi: M, plural (ri’ Ë fiad) b’ e’he:íi: (jé: peni’) S ríne siad béithéannai dhúbh héin.
4 In jénæ fadæxi: s púglání: vé: æna M sínneadh fadach is poncamai: a bhí a’ inne.

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A minority of speakers inflect the initial element more than the norm. The two main speakers noted with this preference are among the most literate in my survey. One of these is speaker 35Eq who offered:

- *carn aoiligh* > *koern`i il`a*;
- *sáil ribe* > *su`ta rib`a*;
- *croich chéasta* > *kroha k`esta*; but *spig neanta* > *sp`ig` na`anteaxi*.

A noun in the plural with (plural) adjective is of course the norm. Note lexicalised *sínéadh fada* in Table 4.1 and regular *Máire fhada* > *mor`aixi: fada* SM *Máireachat fada*, but compare the doubtful plural in the second phrase in:

- *kaur`fkr`exogi*, *mor`ædogi*: Sq *corscréachógóai*, *Máire fhadógaí*, with *-ógái* transferred from the first, synonymous phrase.

### 4.38 Further phrasal plurals

*Bleá Cliach* > *Bleá Cliachaí* << *muintir Bheá Cliath.*

- *croshbóthar* > *crobhóithre* generally (as base *bóthar* > *bóithre*), but *`kros,woraxi*: 76Mt *croshbótharchaí*.
- *cáilstruth* > *`kúl,truhuxi* [perhaps *-haxi*] 35E *cáilstruacháí*, also *`kúl.truhani: 35Eq *cáilstruannaí*.
- *deaided* > *d`æ:d, oani* 56T1 *deaideonnaí*.
- *mamó* > *ma`mox* 76Mt *mamóz*.
- *patar uisce* *pat`ar ike` M*, *pat rifk`a* 25Mnq (the singular reflects earlier *patraisc*), *patar uisce* FFG > *pa`tar`ar`i jk`a* M, 25Mnq, *patairí uisce* FFG. Cp. *madr` uisce* > *madair uisce*; *cearc(a)í uisce*.
- *polladh péisteach*: as singular *an fol`e f`eft`ax* Mq but later rejected by Mq; cf. 4.49.
- *briseadh amach* > *br`ifoxi* max 21Pt *briseóchaí amach* ‘eruptions (on skin)’.
- *ochtú cuid* > *extu: kid`ani* 43Mq *ochtú cúideannaí*.

### Noun with numeral

A few nouns have particular plurals used with cardinal numerals. The numerals in question are ‘3–10’ (and other numerals composed of these). The relevant nouns are generally prevalent in collocation with numerals. These plurals occur:

(a) with the numeral only,
(b) with the numeral but also in other contexts,
(c) with alternate numerals joined by the conjunction *nó*, e.g. *dó nó trí dhe* ...
, rare non-alternate use, e.g. *trí cinn dhe* ...
, (d) with numerals in lexeme-specific use.

### 4.39 (a) Pl₁ with numeral vs. Pl₂ elsewhere

In these nouns Pl₁ is found exclusively (or almost exclusively) with the numeral, e.g.

- *seacht mbliana* vs. *leis na blianta(i)* (*bliana*);
- *seacht dteangain* vs. *leis na teangaí / teangachaí / teangaíachaí* (*teangain*).

The nouns are listed here with further detail in footnotes; also 4.43 (*baile*).
4.40 (b) Pl₁ with numeral vs. choice of plural elsewhere

In these nouns the form that is categorical with the numeral is optional elsewhere, e.g.

sé seachtainí vs. le roinnt seachtainí, le roinnt seachtaineachái.

Nouns in this class are listed here.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pl₁ with numeral</th>
<th>Pl₁ ; 2 without numeral</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>seachtainɪ'</td>
<td>fajtanɪ'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>slatø</td>
<td>slatø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>troghø</td>
<td>trohø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cp. tinte</td>
<td>tinte</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Three forms occur with numerals (tré and cheithre attested): coirnéala(í) (least common), coirnéil (type (b), 4.40), as well as the singular (most common):
a cheithre coirnéal at ñomhain 852S2; ma cheire coirnéala mar leagthá cheire coirnéál an tí 982M1461;
go cheithre choirmhál an tí 894C9, ceire coirmhél 11C1348, trí coirmhıl;generally singular, including x er a xauræ ed a f í: Má cheithre choirmhéal an tí.Plural coirimhél only, without numerals.
2 Some speakers who have categorical, or near categorical, <ExiÉ> may nevertheless have (optional)<ExE> with coirmhél when governed by a numeral; other speakers have <ExiÉ> here, or the singular form. This is implied by speaker 20A’s data, which have categorical <ExiÉ> in all other nouns, but:
xur Se riÉt w Î trohø l eS M chuir sé roinnt mhaith troithe leis.Cf. 4.42; cp. feoirlinn, scillinn.
3 Especially with ‘2’, i.e. dhá leith (historical dual; now also dhá leath), but also with other numerals, e.g. trí leith.
4 The singular occurs with higher numerals (presumably ‘13(+)', such numerals are unusual with pínn), e.g.cheithre pínne vs. cheithre fhínn fhíchead 05M (explaining dhá scillinn).
5 So also SIDH point 60, q 319.
6 In na seacht dteangain. Also na seacht dteangail a léabh 20Pá, na seacht dteangachail a léabh 20Pá.Cf. 4.43.
7 Cf. 4.43, 4.44.
8 An example of trohø without the numeral is:
xur fe riÉt w trohø l ef M chaír sé roinnt mhaith troithe leis.
9 Plural with numeral noted in: ‘dhóghfaínn idir cheithre teinte [i.e. tinte] cnámh é,’ adeir Artúr 852Sb1.91.
4.41 (c) dó nó trí dhe ... ; trí cinn dhe ...

A few nouns have a specific plural in the syntagm {Numeral nó Numeral dhe Noun plural}, e.g. dó nó trí dhe ... (dhe = go, a, Ø; also transcribed as go in material from RBÉ; the conjunction can be realised as ná). The five main nouns in question, four of which have initial c-, take plural -E and less commonly -iÉþþ:

| Noun | Plural
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ceann</td>
<td>k'ánɔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>céad</td>
<td>k'ẽdə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cliabh</td>
<td>kl'ẽva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cuairt</td>
<td>kuârt̄á:i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>punt</td>
<td>puntã:i</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These nouns take plural -E and less commonly -iÉþþ in the syntagm {Numeral nó Numeral dhe Noun plural}, e.g. dó nó trí dhe ... (dhe = go, a, Ø; also transcribed as go in material from RBÉ; the conjunction can be realised as ná). The five main nouns in question, four of which have initial c-, take plural -E and less commonly -iÉþþ:

- ceann: k'ánɔ > k'ãanna ceanna, e.g. do: nu: tr'í: go x'ãna (bulan') dó nó trí dhe cheanna (bullán); naí n déich dhe cheanna d' e ga x'ãna muiríní beaga
- céad: k'ẽd > céada, e.g. dó nó trí go chéada ... 869P2–5; cúig nó sé dhe chéada sleat thimpeall an oileáin 06C. Now usually céada, e.g. trí nó ceathair dhe chéada sleat S (which I recall from memory).
- cliabh: kl'ẽva > cliabha, e.g. trí nó ceathar [i.e. ceathair] go cliabha eile mána 894C, cúig nó sé dhe cliabha carraigh 30Mst; note kuq' nu fé: go kl'ẽva Mperm cúig nó sé dhe cliabha but Máire's own use is cúig nó sé dhe cliabha go kl'ẽv'Mq.
- cuairt: kuârt̄á:i > cuarta(i): dó nó trí dhe chuarta S; tr'í: nu k'añhãr go xuârt̄í: ãnh P trí nó ceathair dhe chuartaí ann.
- punt: puntã:i > punt(i), see 4.42.

This rule, a use of the historical dative plural, was presumably more productive for the oldest speakers but go x'ãna dhe cheanna (< dhe cheannaibh) is the only form now current.1 Note the alternation between loxtí and loxt(ã) in:

- nil siad ag cuir na lochtaí chucub ... ... chaiteadh dó nó trí dhe lochta a cheannacht loxt a x'ãnax[t?] sa mbliain di sin ... 892Mg.

There is a long (anomalous M∅perm) plural in tr'í: nu k'ñe'r go yaurnanaxí: M trí nó ceathair dhe dhornánachát. Speaker 52Jq claims his plural for múir is (ná) múrál but that he would use trí nó ceathair dhe mháirta (produced twice); so also for his sian > sianall fímíř but trí nó ceathair dhe shianta hinto cp. his plump > plumpta for older plumpaí.

There is a remarkable synchronic change of n- > mh- in nóíméad num'ed which has regular plurals num'ed', num'edí:, num'edaxí:. Lenited following dhe there is, however, a by-form wum'edí: which is anomalous for our dialect; noted in:

- ceathair nú cá' dhe mhóíméadá wum'edí: 11C.

trí cinn dhe ...

The noun asal has been recorded in plural âs'lə preceded by a numeral and cinn dhe:

1 Cpr. Ó Buachalla (2003) with more dative plural forms in this conjunctive structure §7.7.1 than following cinn de §7.4.1.
The regular plural, *asail*, also occurs here, e.g. *cheithre cinn dh’asail*, and is probably most common in this syntagm.

### 4.42 (d) Other nouns

Other nouns have specific use with numerals outside of types (a)–(c).

*f*éa > *f*éannai: the singular is *f*éa (historically a plural *feadha*); it is used with numerals, and is optionally lenited only with *dhá*. There is an example of *f*éa (historically equivalent to singular *feadh*) in ‘25’ and possibly in ‘12’.

1½, 2½ *feá* go leith nu dhá *feá* 892Mg
2½ *ya: α ga l’i 21Pt dhá fhéid go leith
5, 6 *xug*, *fe: f* α: 15Pr, sé *f*ed Clad162, 35E
10 *d’e v: α: 15Pr
11 *en’ f: α: d’eg Mg
12 *ya: f: α / α: d’eg Mg*, perhaps also *f*e but not heard distinctly
13–16 *tr’i, x’er’, xug, * f: f α: d’eg Mg*; 14 also 21Pt
18 *ox: v: α: d’eg 21Pt
20 *f’ix’o f: α: SM, P
25 *xug’ f’ae f’ix’ad 21Pt
40 *ya: ix’o f: α: 15Pr

Plural *f*úroni, e.g. *naoi nó deich d’fhéanna* Clad163; *f*oan, etc. 46.364.

*fear* has a special plural *f*éara feara before déag, fichead, fichid (and combinations) following numerals higher than ‘2’, e.g. *tr: f*éara d’eg trí feara déag; *n: v*éara d’eg *naoi bhfeara déag*; *tr: f*éara f’ix’ad trí feara fichead; deich bhfeara agus tri fichid. Otherwise, plural *f*ir’, voc pl *a* fheara(íbh), also feara Fál; obsolescent feara in dative context: *bhíodh mná dhá bhfuadach fadó ag feara*. 864M9r31 (only example).

*fiche* f’ix’ > f’ix’ad after its qualified noun, after *dhá*, and after other numerals in absolute construction, e.g. in shillings and card games; otherwise plural *fichid*. E.g. *ya: v’ion’ ix’ad dhá bhliain fichead; tr: bhliana f’ix’ad trí bhliana fichead; ya: ix’ad dhá fichead*. Contrast trí ficheid ‘60’ with *trí fichead* ‘23 shillings’. For ficheadait, etc., ‘20s’, see 4.5.

*punt* has two plurals: *punta(t)* used with déag (generally with lenition, i.e. *dhéag*, as if *punta* were a singular noun), with *scór* and with the preposition *dhe*, otherwise the plural is *punt*. 1 Cp. *troigh* further below in this list.

**punta** in:

*skor 3*<sup>1</sup>: e.g. *joh: skor punta furead’ a S gheothá scór punta siúrdilte*

1 Singular *punta* is found in other dialects (Dinn, FGB). It may be that historical singular *punta* has been retained in use only with *dhéag* in our dialect. It is, however, synchronically closer to a plural form.
Plural of nouns

skoÉr funta S céad agus trí scóir phunta, x'er a skoÉr funta SM cheithre scóir phunta.

/Num nó Núm dhe ga_, e.g. do: ne: tr'i: ga funta dó nó trí dhe phunta.
Also punti: chúig phuntai dhéag 884, skoÉr punti: 20Ml scór puntai; xug' nu: fe: ga funti: M chúig nó sé dhe phuntai.
pint' and pint' elsewhere:
pint': d e bixt' agas d e bixt' M deich bpuint agus deich bpuint.
pint': d'etu: ru: gar b'og a lán pint' a johax ... 16B d'hfhéadhá a rá gur beag an lán puint a gheothadh ... tu: fe eská pint' a' x'manxt M tá sé éasca puint a cheannacht.
The singular normally follows 3–10, the plural punt following 5 and 10 can then have the meaning ‘pound notes’, e.g.
-xug' funt agas d e bunt M Chuig phunt agus deich bpunt. ‘five pounds and ten pounds’
-hæ S Hea?
-xug' pint' agas d e bixt' M Chuig phuint agus deich bpuint. ‘five pound notes and ten pound notes’.
Also na xug' pint' axi: 43M na chúig puntiachá ‘the five pound notes’.
troigh (4.47) has a semantic contrast between anatomical troháxi: da xos SM troitheachaí do chos and the unit of measurement. The latter has trohi with numerals and troho ~ trohi: without numerals. The ‘plural’ troho (unit of measurement) is also found in aon ... déag in:
dech droithi nó aon troithi déag 892M3110.
Thus, two nouns, punt > punta and troigh > troithe, have a specific teen or pre-déag form. The form punta regularly takes lenited dhéag, as if it were a singular noun, in contrast with troíthe which takes unlenited déag (as a plural noun).

4.43 Other examples

Nouns governed by numerals are regularly in the singular, e.g. x'er a yaurnan M cheithre dhornán. A list of nouns, not fully described above, which have been noted in the plural with numerals is given here. Regressive plural use is often confined to set phrases, especially common with trí and seacht.1

aithne: na deich n-aithenta commonly, deich n-aithenta Dé 894C, also in singular: trí aithne 894C9, cp. seacht n-aithine 894C.
asal: tr'i: aseal' 37M trí asail; generally in singular, e.g. trí asal (cp. 4.41).
bád: trí báid 872Pt (conversation; speaker is a boatwright); cp. xix tu: na ní: madded' (Atb)Pt chaoch tá na náoi mbáid; generally in singular.
baile: ni raibh aon eangach amháin thart, sna trí bailteachá seo. 06C. Common in: seacht mbailte caisleáin LL178; faXãt g'rixt', fa郇t g'laen, fa郇t ma'i: kif'cean' ... (Smre)04B seacht genoic, seacht gleann, seacht mbailte caisleáin ... ; fa郇t ma'i: kif'cean' (run)11C seacht mbailte caisleáin. In the same tale run, 19P uses the more progressive singular: fa郇t ma'kif'cean' agas b'id'if'cean (run)Pt seacht mbaile caisleáin agus bidís ann.

1 A very young speaker was noted in 1994 (aged 8) with frequent use of plurals governed by numerals, e.g. trí chlochaí a'd ... trí cloch a'd [sic] 86R ‘stones’ (not unit of weight). Such plural use is probably attributable to English influence.
Conditioning

bara: trí war or' ... nu fín' trí bari: or' 11Cta trí bharai oir ... nó sin trí bari: bari: 11Cta trí barai only. The storyteller first used the progressive singular but possibly checked himself for the more archaic plural in the rest of this narrative.

barr: le taobh portach, raibh trí bairi móna bainte ann. 892Mt.

bás: singular generally, e.g. trí bhás 894C2, but plural occurs optionally in set phrases, e.g. na fáx me] M na seacht mbáis, and in story: bhí na trí bás fáite [faíthe] ansin aige l.1.166.

buidéal: trí buidéil 875T; now regularly singular.

buidín: ceithre buidíni 864MDT30; now regularly singular.

carnán: plural sometimes, in the meaning 'cart' only: trí bháis fáite [faíthe] ansin aige LL.166.

carr: plural sometimes, in the meaning 'cart' only: trí carrannaí beaga múna ... trí carrannaí deich gcarrannaí ... trí carrannaí go mbeidh trí carrannaí a'd ann, ach bhí cheithre charannaí go leith móna aige. 20A.

cneidh: cheithre cneitheachaí móra troma.

cnoic: deich gcoimeachaí uaim; gur ordaigh Dia ... dho chuile dhuine ... trí coismeig achaí na trócaire a shiúl leis an marbhán. 11C; trí chuismeig ... cheithre chuismeig ... cheithre chuismeachaí ... cheithre chuismeig 21Pt; singular is common. Cf. 4.39 p. 691 n. 2.

cnog: fáx gtrík', fáx g'únam, fáx mal' i: kij-i:un' ... (SmrÉ)04B seach genotype, seach gleann, seach mbaili caisleánin ... ; generally singular.


coisméig: d' e gjim'eg xwi wem' (Smds)04B deich goisméigeachait uaim; gar ordaigh Dia ... dho chuile dhuithe ... trí coismeigeachait na trócaire a shiódh leis an marbhán. 11C; trí chuismeig ... cheithre chuismeig ... cheithre chuismeachaí ... cheithre chuismeig 21Pt; singular is common. Cf. 4.39 p. 691 n. 2.

crann: soithigh [i.e. soithí] thri [i.e. hr'i:] crainne SeólG44; singular is common.

deabhal: singular is general, but plural is common in set phrases, e.g. na fáx n'aul' P na seacht n-deabhal. Younger speaker 66N, however, has singular in: ... seacht mile deabhal ortha 66N.

dual: dhá chluas, a bhiodh ag coinneal, an fhearsad, ... ar dhionamh an chríos, dhe thuil ... é dhionamh le trí dual 894Cst.

éadach: (common in set phrases) snuha go na fáx n'edí: M snáithe dhe na seacht n-edait 'any clothes', Ní raibh falach na seacht n-edait orm FFG s.v. falach.
Plural of nouns

eite: cheire eite an tí ~ cheire eiteachaí an tí S.
fiacail: trí fiacla 852Sh11.91, etc., 869P in story, trí fiacla ~ trí fiacail 875T in story; generally singular.
fód: (plural use is obsolescent) deich bhfóid(e) ar leithead 899P, sé fóid(e) ar airse 899P (unclear whether fóid or fóide), plural also 19B, 37J; singular progressive: trí fhód 875T, fáx tó, ót wó: dé ag muna M seacht bhfóid, ocht bhfóid déag mòna.
galún: buicéad trí galúin 01P.
gaoth: ar cheithre gaothannaí 852S2 (only plural example with numeral).
lá(i)mh: ó thrí hrí: lámha déag go dtí cheithre lámha déag 889P (height of horse).
leithead: trí leithead 11C1250.
malach: d'e malhá: d'e malhox P deich maláí ~ deich malach.
mordar: in na mile mordair, na mile mordars.
oileán: with trí in nonspecific reference to Ireland, England and Scotland: suas, san fharraghe ó thuaidh dhinn anseo 'gus dhe na, trí hoileán seo. 06C; sna trí hoileáin FFG s.v. oileán 3; generally singular.
orlach: xuig aurlí: M chuíg aurláid, d'e naurlí: M deich n-orlái; plural regular.
paidir: (the Lord’s Prayer) Saíx d'Aídr! Exi EgEs Saíx ÞÓò'm Íe MR! Aír! iòÓ 04B seacht bPaidreachaí agus seacht n-Aimé Máirí, also 869PABg338; generally singular.
port: na trí poirt chéanna 894C6; generally singular.
punann: leabhreachar ... Sin deich bpunann. ... deich bpunannachai. ... i mbn an stiuca. 894C6; singular most common.
riocht: cén dít ar fud na seacht ríochta 866ESc75.35, ... is breácha sna seacht ríochta 870B1.155, 156.
ról: i gcúngar na dtrí róid 11Ctn.
saol: chعا' sí thrilled na seacht saoil 3SE.
seachtain: trí: fáxthe 79S trí seachtainí. In progressive use also singular. Speaker 84P has singular most often, e.g. trí sheachtain ulig 84P, but with dhá both singular and anomalous plural in dhá sheachtain eile 84P (often), dhá sheachtainí ó D' Éabhrachaidh 84P. Cp. anomalous trí: haextaí 79S trí sheachtainí (equivalent to traditional genitive; in this context perhaps a blend between traditional plural and progressive singular).
seol: bád trí seolta dátha a' tóicht 894C2, na trí seolta SeolG57, trí seolta 899D6092. Contrast regular bád trí thonna.
slat: slata often in plural meaning 'yard' but also in plural meaning 'rod', e.g. ('rod') ocht slata déag ... trí slat 892M1481–3, ocht slata déag [x4] ARN1481–7.
teachpall: fáx d'áémpair. 04B seacht dteampaill.
trian: na trí treana in stories, e.g. 866ESc, also na trian treana 866ESc; nò trí: trí'inn 11C na trí trianaí.
ubh: trí: hiv'a trí huibbe, fe: hiv'á sé huibbe, etc., generally. The singular was used, when qualified, in:

n'í raus gì m go ra fe: uv a b'í fí'í M
ní raibh fhios a'm go raibh sé ubh ar bith istigh.
Younger speakers: cheithre huibbe ~ sé ubh 66N, trí ubh 77Cq.

Finally, one can note the use of plural ranna following numerals, e.g. seacht ranna an domhain 866ESc105.38, which has limited or obsolescent use as a singular common noun in the dialect (roinn 14, also current in place-names).
Nouns which have specific plural usage with numerals (described in 4.39–4.43) belong to central and overlapping semantic fields:

1. Counting, measurement and division: bliain, coisméig, feoilinn, fiche, leath, pínn, scillinn, scór, uair (4.39); seachtain, slat, troigh (4.40); ceann (cf. 4.47), céad, ciabh, cuairt, punt, nóiméad (4.41); feá, fiche, punt, troigh (4.42); bara, buideal, carnán, carr, ceathrú, ciabh, cloch, cois, coisnéig, eite, galán, láimh, leithead, orlach, punann, trian (4.43). This includes geographical and spatial terms: baile, coirnéal (4.39); baile, cnoc, oileán, ríocht, ranna, róid (4.43).

2. Agriculture: ubh (4.39); slat (4.40); ciabh, asal (4.41); asal, barr, carr, ciabh, cloch, dual, fód, gaoth, malach, punann (4.43).

3. Metaphysics: teanga (4.39); tine chnámh (4.40); athne, bás, deabhal, mordar, paidir, saol, teampall (4.43).

4. Human or body: (cp. teanga, 4.39); fear (4.42); cloigeann, cneidh, cois, éadach, fiacail (cp. eite) (4.43).


### 4.44 Collocations

In many collocations, often in very specific and idiomatic contexts, a given plural may be preferred or even obligatory. Frequently an older, shorter plural form is maintained in a set phrase while the longer, more recent form occurs elsewhere. This is analogous with the often shorter form used with the numeral, e.g. baile, seachtain, scillinn, etc., described in 4.39 ff. Only a few relevant collocations are given here as examples.

**BAILE:** speaker 01J appears to use bat’o bailte proportionately more in collocation with mór, i.e. bat’o mórse baile móra ‘towns’ and bat’ax: bailteachai more often elsewhere: sna baile móra vs. (s)na bailteachai 01J, similarly sna baile móra M. Cp. seacht mbailte / mbailí cuiseáin (run) vs. trí baileachtaí (4.43).

**BOCHT:** generally boxt’. Before dependent Dé one finds boxt’ (in song):

`boxt’ a d’e: (Acsb)39J boichte Dé (x2); ar bhoichte Dé ‘894C9. 
This is probably also vernacular use, given boichte Dé FFG20 s.v. Día 5. In fact *boicht Dé (without the vowel desinence) would be homophous with the singular through consonant coalescence in sandhi (*`boxt’) d’e:). Also ar bhlochta na sráide ABg4.199. Cp. capall rása > caiple rása(i) below. 
**CAPALL:** for caiple rása(i), cf. 869P (4.144).

**CLÁR:** Seán uses clár in all recorded instances of the phrase kahu: na klar’ caitheadh [etc.] na clár in connection with the belief that coffin boards used to be heard falling in the place where a coffin was destined to be made:

`san ait’ a gae’i: na klar’ ... gur an d’in-f#: n xunt’g S
san ait a gcait na clár ... gur ann a déanfi an chonhra. 
On the other hand, clára only was recorded in his use of the phrase clára beaga in connection with breakage, in particular shipwreck, e.g.

d’arnu klara b’oga gan wadh, rín’ a je klara b’oga ji S
dearnadh clára beaga dhen bhád, rinne sé clára beaga dhi.
In many other environments clárachaí was recorded:

kaed'm na klar' ... fin' x'er'a k'is' go xlaraxi: ya hro jeg St
caiti na clar' ... sin cheithee cinn dhe cláraite dhá through dhéag.

Note also the proverb:

ball uairis a bhí ag cúipéara a thoigeanns na cláir S84;
an soitheach a mbíonn an fion ann fann roinn dhe sna cláir.

Also plural clártha. Note Is gá mbeadh caint ag na clárachaí nach n-insoidís scéal cráite! !(Acn)43Js where cláráth(i) scans better and is used by other singers and reciters, e.g. M. and T. Ó Máille 1905: 129 IIg. Cp. clárachaí Gaeilge ar an teilibhisean M.

CLEAS: céls, clís, cleasannáí, clìseannáí (4.81); but cleasa láth (agus gaisce), which, however, is singular for at least some speakers, e.g. sé an cleasa láth 11C, cp. le chuile chleasa luath (Smbb)04B.

CLEITH: Máire uses the plural cleitheacháí commonly in the phrase

tí 'fì 'gà xì and bì 'm do rì M taobh istigh dhe chleitheacháí an doiris.

Otherwise the plural of the noun kf e cleith (e.g. in a boat) is consistently kf' eni: Mq cleitheannáí; also kf' ex' uí. Cp. giall below, leitheacháí (14 leith).

FIANNA: f'ianá f'ianav' f'ianaw f'ianu: f'ianta (the last mostly in higher register). (Probably also *f'ianaw.) Speakers generally show regular collocational distinctions among these variants.

869P has the following data in my notes (from tales transcribed by Wagner (ZCP), folkore transcriptions (RBÉ), audio recordings (869Pt)):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fianna</th>
<th>Fiannaibh</th>
<th>Fiannu</th>
<th>Fianta</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ZCP:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- max</td>
<td>- amach</td>
<td>bhi na ~ Éireann</td>
<td>ar ~ Ph-Fionn!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td>ar na ~ Éireann</td>
<td>le ~ Finn!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- n</td>
<td>an</td>
<td>f'ianab' [sic]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ag na</td>
<td>~ Éireann</td>
<td>ar na ~ go brách</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dena</td>
<td>~,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ar na</td>
<td>~, (x2)</td>
<td>~ Éireann!</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>~</td>
<td>na ~ faobh!</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| RBÉ: |        |        |        |
|      | Ø       | go chlaann na bh~. | na bh~ Éireann (gpl) |
|      |         | na ~ a' diana. | na ~ Éireann |
|      | ar na ~ ar fud (x2) | na ~ Éireann |
|      | ar na ~ .... |        |        |

| 869Pt: |          |        |
|       | vù f'ianu: *er' an |        |

ZCP and RBÉ provide conflicting evidence here; ZCP is in fact often inaccurate (1.419). One can tentatively conclude that Fianna ~ Fiannaibh occur most freely, Fianta in more literary usage, in the examples with qualifying Fionn / Finn; Fiannu occurs before Éireann.

875T (brother of 869P) has four variants Fianna, Fiannu, Fiannú, Fiannaibh (final -it alternating with -it possibly reflects the alternation of f'ianu wer' an with f'ianu: (w)er' an).

Before Éireann he has Fiannu, Fiannú, i.e. Fiannu Éireann, Fiannú Éireann;
elsewhere, before other vowels and consonants, he has Fianna, e.g. na
Fianna a dhul, na Fianna bheith;
and also Fiannaibh in, for example, leis na Fiannaibh, etc., 875T.

There are three variants in his audio recording: na f’ianú ‘weər ‘àn’ | ... na f’ianú ‘yer ‘àn’ | ... na f’ianú ‘er ‘àn’ ... 875T na Fiannaibh Éireann.

892M was noted with f’iana except before Éireann where he has f’iana: er ‘àn.

04B has three variants f’iana f’ianuw f’ianta, gpl na v’ian.

Before Éireann he has f’ionuw: f’ianu weər ‘àn, gen pl na v’ianu weər ‘àn 04Bl, voc pl f’ianu: weər ‘àn 04Bl;
before Fáil he has f’ianta: gionta fuə’ (Lam)04B dh’Fhiannta Fáil, er’ ianta fuə’ (Lam)04B ar Fhiannta Fáil;
elsewhere, f’iana: na f’iana, 04Bl na Fianna;
genitive plural: a xi na v’ian 04Bl a Rí na bhFiann.

11J has f’ianov’ (in conversation, before pause; he claims to have forgotten his father’s (875T) tales since his (11J’s) long stay in England).

GIALL: Máire uses giallachaí consistently in:
fiò jiElExiò En t !iÉ M Maoi ghiallachaí an tí (cf. cleith above).

Otherwise gialtrachaí, giallannaí, e.g. dE jiEltrExi M do ghialtrachaí,
but note also anatomical dE jiElExi Mperm do ghiallachaí.

LÉIM: the semantics and syntax of ‘jumping’ contrast with ‘mounting’ in:
kaha t’em’raxi: M87 caitheamh léimreach ‘jumping’, cp. (V)N léimreach,
tr’i: nu: k’áhar qa t’em’áni: fuə’ ek’a M
tré nó ceathair dhe léimeannaí faighte aici ‘mounting in service’ (of cow by bull).

MAOR: generally mirha SM, P maortha, but mirhi: consistently in the phrase:
fi: wirhi: an daun’ P faoi maorthaí an domhain, FFG s.v. maortha.

Speaker 894Cs also has mirhi: outside this phrase; maorthat also in CABI §130(a) v. 3.

RÁ: generally ráiti in mos f’iar na rut’i: S más fior na ráiti; elsewhere often ráiteachai, e.g. na faem’fort’ agas na faem’rut’axi: S na seanphoirt is na sean-ráiteachaí.

RACHT: usually rachtaí in collocations that also occur as verbal nouns, e.g.
raxtil’ yur’i: S rachtaí gháirí, also ag rachtaí gháirí; rachtaíí more frequent independently, e.g. raxtani: (kasacht) 43M rachtannai (casach)

SEOL: generally seolta(i) but seoil occurs in one recorded instance d’ardaíodar a gcuíd seoil, 11C which may be a plural back formation based on the historical genitive plural as found in a gcuíd seoil 875PABg20. (Perhaps also influenced by the possible collective connotation following cuíd, as if seoil were genitive singular, cp. báid seoil, slata seoil; déan seol ‘set sail’ in Clad10, 22.)

SLAT: slata (generally ‘yards’, sometimes ‘rods’) with numeral; generally short plural in slata mara. The long plural form (in dependent position) contrasts with the short historical genitive plural of a set phrase in (cf. 4.80):
slám slatachait ... poteil slat a bheadh tontub 21Pt.
Plural of nouns

SMÉIR: general sméara but jaim sméars (4.68).

TINE: two basic plurals tinte and tint(r)eachaí, rarer tintóacháí. Only the shorter form is heard in the set plurals tinte laithach and tinte ceatha, tinti ceatha. Cp. cheithre teinte cnámh 1.1.91.

4.45 With qualifier

Nouns with qualifiers occasionally show a different plural formation to that of the independent noun. In the examples the marked plural in the qualified phrase retains more of the singular stem than the usual plural. For instance, kristi: ul an S crannait illa ann for regular crann > croinntéi. When queried later concerning this aberrant plural, Seán was doubtful about its permissibility. Similarly,

- ... tobar Cholm Cille? 69A
- ... Tá tobar Cholm Cille — tá neart toibreacháí teb'ar'axi Cholm Cille,
moladh le Dia, thart tímpeall 05M.

Otherwise only taibh'axi: toibreacháí has been heard in conversation. So also the plural of píosa in:

p'isaxi: kaf 43Jt piosacháí cáis,

which was otherwise noted as píosa > píosaí only.

Three examples of teach > teachannáí were noted, all three with qualifiers (dependent genitives from the older speakers):

gol'cg' t'axaní' dams as mar fin' | 899N
ag gol ag teachannáí damsas is mar sin;

s'ro t'axaní: maha lófh'in' agh: 10A

is an raibh teachannatain mathe lóistín agaibh?

... dhe na sean-seanteachannáí fæn | fæn t'axaní a bhí faul an é 79A:
for normal tithiúí (damsa, lóistín) and seanlithiúí, etc. Similarly, seanfhocal > seanfhocalachaí generally but also fæn,okalaxí' é' a 60M seanfhocalacháí eile.

Compare the use of more innovative formations in phrasal plurals (4.32 ff.). An example of a Ø-plural ending followed by a palatal-final epithet occurs in:

na buai péteá'f' fin' 16P na buai péteair sin,
for usual buañi: (including buañi: 16P), buánti: buann(t)ai (cf. 4.70 ff.).

Semantic

4.46 Semantics of suffixes

Some less common plural suffixes are found with certain nouns which share a semantic feature or resemble each other in sense.

anti: (lesser by-form anta) is common with, but not exclusive to, nouns of time, i.e. uair uar’ > uar’ anti; am > amanti; oíche lha > lhaanti; látu > lehanti. The last three also have less common, obsolescent amani; ihani; lehñi.

These obsolescent by-forms were noted as follows: both oíche and lát from 866Et, 892M, 892Mg, 899D; lá from 876Jt; am and lát from 872P, 52P; am from 889P, 892M, 899D; amantáit but also amannáit 869PRBÉ2; am but not lá in amanña 875PABg24, laethanta 875PABg24. For more innovative mí > miontaí, see 4.48.

The ending anti: is also present in lát > lanti:; luaí > luantí: generally but also ana: in luani; luani: 892M, cp. buai > buanti: frequently but also buañi: 899D.
búaní: 16P; lao > li(ₐ)nti. but liání: 14M and lá > leání: 14M. In fact, the only anti: plural recorded from 892M is garraí > garánti.; garrannaí P is rare. Speaker 16M generally has -anti: in these lexemes (she accurately claims she does not use oícheannaí) but am occasionally varies: amánti; usually but also amání: and amání: M. Similarly, amánti: >>> amání: S (4.78). For other words and possible phonological conditioning, see 4.18.

asi: is confined to three nouns related to card playing: triuʃ fəu > fəuasi; haiɾt hart’ > hart’asi; drámh drəv > drəvəsi; mámh máv > máwəsi: S, generally mámhannaí; cp. Cois Fharraige pl páirteasai (< pàirtí, s.v. tairrrgim), tabhairt pl -easai, -eannaí de Bhaldraithe 1949: 132–3.)
s (borrowed) is common with personal names, e.g. na hex’unus na hÉinniús, na d’armad l’ions na Diarmaid Liams (4.35 (3c), 12.9, 12.14). Note bramans, ábhrs (both humorous) and broibhs perhaps through association with children (cf. p. 2025 n. 1).

adi, di, d’i, d’á, daxi, also innovative (C’odi) 32J, ed(ax)i; etc., 32J, are plural suffixes generally confined to multiples of ten. For their ambiguous status in my classification, see 4.5.

The agentive suffixes -ach and -íoch may take plural -íthe (-íos), e.g. robálach > robálaíthe. This -íthe belongs properly to singular agentive -í, cf. 4.73. Exceptionally, -ach > -aíthe occurs also in a plural by-form of lugach > lugaíthe. Cp. tosach (related to VN tosaí) > tosaithe; crú > krihiá (4.74).

### 4.47 Split plurals

Some nouns have different plurals in different meanings, or in different styles of speech. The semantic split is relevant for use of the plural following numerals in: barr, carr, ceathrú, cloch, crann, ete, lá(i)mh, paidir, slat (4.43).

barr: in turf cutting: bar’; barání, borání, berfí:’
fingers and toes: bara;
in other contexts: barrai ‘crops’ Clad241, bara, barání, berání, barf’ 36Pq. Cp. new sg barEÐ < barrannaí.

bean: generally mrá mná, but in marked use b’anxi: beanachá. Examples are given in 14 bean. When I told speaker 43M that her uncle 19P had just used the form beanachaí she answered Ara ní dhéarthá e sin, sórt sleaing [< slang] ab ea? Cf. M. Ó Direáin (1961: 12) for beanachá and fearachá.

beithioch: generally b’éhi: reduced to b’ei often by, for example, 19P: in humorous use: b’ex’á, b’ehá S (based on alternations: rare obsolescent morphological x’ ~ h, and common plural i: ~ a; cf. 4.78). Questioned about b ex’a, Máire said ní abraíonn muid é sin, ... sórt magadh ét sin níor dhúirt muid ariamh e sin M. Both examples are from Seán (S) in the often used inquiry as to the whereabouts of cattle:

\[ \text{k’e ro na b’ex’a S Cé raibh na beithigh?} \]
\[ \text{wakə tu na b’ehá S An bhfaic tú na beithigh?} \]

bonn: ‘coin’: bix’;
in other meanings, typically ‘sole’: bix’, bunxí:, bunsxí:; in tale
Plural of nouns

run bhiː iː occurs in the phrase bhiː ː iː b' eː rə boinní béara.

bord: generally baurd’; of boat baurd’ 32J. baurdə S; explained by Seán as: hug ʃiː baurd mar ʃiːn’, ʃiːn’  baurdə S thug ʃiː bord mar ʃiːn, sin borda.

breac: b'aurd (sg) is very common meaning ‘fish’ (sg); in the plural éisc is more common and b'ric may be used more in the meaning ‘trouts’.

céanna: generally cinn, including following numerals, e.g. tri cinn; plural céanna occurs in the phrase céanna beithíoch ‘a lot of cattle’, e.g. tá céanna beithíoch aigesan 21Pt (with beithí only 21Ptq; query based on FFG 4). Also cármán dá g'ceanna LL.153 (higher register); also g'ceanna slat (type of seaweed). Otherwise céanna occurs with alternate numerals, and cinn elsewhere (4.41). Exceptionally, céanna is also found in the hesitant form wil ʃiːn ʃiː. An bhfuil aon ceann — céanna leathan ann? perhaps influenced by the younger speaker’s wider than average network. Speaker 898P t, however, has ʃiːn cinnte meaning ‘roofs’ (cf. 4.43).

Speaker 66N has general plural cinn but céanna meaning ‘jokes’. Her mother is from An Cheathrú Rua, in East Conamara whe where plural céanna is common in unmarked use. Speaker 25S (Carna) uses céanna without numerals, e.g. ... na céanna ceart aige, which he seems to have acquired from his period in West Cois Fhárraige (as schoolteacher in Innis Bearchain).

cois: cosal ː generally; for cosannai ‘handles’, see 4.79.

deis: ‘knack, contraption, rounders’ > d' ef'aniː;

‘contraptions’ > d' ef'ulaxa 31P. d' ef'ulaxiti ː 18J. d' ef'ulaxiti ː 25M.

duán: ‘hook’ > duan ː S;

‘kidney’ > duanː S. 52J. duan ː 52J;

cp. the surname Duán > duanː 23M, S duanː 52J.

glúin: ‘generation’ > gluːt ːiː;

‘knee’ > gluːn ːiː ~ gluːt ːiː.

gnimh: in religious context gr' iːvarha gr' ːivarə gr' ːiːvariː; gr' ːiːva ː 05M;

of action and valour gr' iːvarha gr' ːivarə gr' ːiːvaniː;

of clamp (peat, etc.) the plural in query is gr' ːiːvaniː >> gr' ːiːfə.

meall: of sickness in throat (especially ‘mumps’), generally m' aiːː’, also apparently m' ːultraxiː, etc.;

otherwise m' ala m' alaniː; m' ːultaxiː; m' ːulaniː; m' ːulta;

etc.; note ana v' ːæl ːa 25M ina mealla (of mist or haze), ina mealla bána FFG; m' aiːː yubaʃtə 36M ò perm *meil ː ghabáiste.

Cf. dau'bhl'heall > diː v'aiː. Mq dau'bhl'hеill, ‘dī'ultraxiː Mperm dau'bhleal'trachal.

míol: ‘(sea) creatures’ míleː; ‘lice’ míola;

‘whales’ m' méthla móra (4.231).

mùr: of welcome: murha murhíː;

otherwise ‘shower’ muríː, muríː(ː)axiː, muraʃλəx;

but 52Jq claims to have murhə also here.

scóir: ‘twenty’ syntactically determined variants scóir and scóiríːa;
‘number of points in game’ scóiríːa. Cp. stór below.

slat: ‘yard’ generally slata; otherwise slat(a), slat(r)achai.

slabhr: ‘mountain’ generally f' ef'ə, f' ev'tə;
but note ʃɾiˈiavani: 01J ‘moorlands’.

sop: the tendency is: ‘weed’ sep’ vs. ‘wisp’ sepr−axi:, sepr−axi:(3.14, 4.50).

stór: ‘story (of house)’ generally stór; ‘store’ generally stórtha;
‘darling’ vocative plural a stórachaí.

troigh: anatomy, trohaxi: do xos SM troitheachai do chos; otherwise of measurement, with numeral troho, without numeral troha trohaxi:
trohoni:.

Use of the singular is common when one of each is referred to, e.g. bhriseadar a gcroí. This is the use found in such phrases as Beannacht Dé le n-anam! The general use of the singular in Beannacht Dé le hanam na marbh!,1 however, may reflect a historical sandhi coalescence from forms such as le hanamain/ hanamanna(íbh) na marbh or related to the ambiguity of ant(a)main (dative singular and nominative plural) of beannacht Dé le hanmain na marbh Dinn s.v. anam; note that the synchronic plural of anam is anam(n)acha(i).

4.48 Avoidance of homophony

It has been stated in the analysis of Vxריק plurals that there is a tendency to retain the radical vowel or at least the radical vowel quality (4.24). This occurs particularly in more careful production and when there is the possibility of homophony, so that athrí > arhuxí: avoids clashing with (FGB ortha) artha > arhíaxi:. Specific nouns may avoid homophony in the plural with other lexemes.

For instance, in my notes of 852S’s material there is only one monosyllabic root in -oi −ach which has axai: -achat(i) in the plural: comhairleach > comhairleachat(i). Presumably, the expected plurals of comhairleach ‘advisor’ > comhairle (< comhairligh) and comhairlí do not occur for comhairleach in order to avoid confusion with the singular and plural of comhairle ‘advice’. The time noun mí is heard in the plural with -antaí and -osa, but it has been noted only from a younger speaker with the expected (time noun) plural suffix -antaí: m’anti: ~ m’anti: 66N (both forms in conversation and in query). The general lack of -antaí with mí was perhaps to avoid homophony with (now rather rare) mian > miata(i). Cp. crann > *cranntachaí (4.77). Compare also capall > capaill but caiple rásat(i) 869P (4.144), a collocational choice perhaps in order to avoid the homophony that sandhi (t’ > l before r) would cause in kapal rásat(i): capat(i)l rásat(i); and boichte Dé (4.44). There are further examples of avoidance of homophony in the plural of nouns in final -ach (4.89). Cp. the semantic specialisations sometimes involved in phrasal plurals (e.g. 4.37).

4.49 Variable number

Variable status with regard to number occurs in a few noncount nouns (cf. 4.30):

cathú kahu:, singular is common but historical plural (e.g. Tá cathaithe kahi: a’ deabhail ann S) and genitive singular are homophonous kahi: cathaithe.

1 Similarly, Paidir is Abhe Mairia le hanam na mbocht atá i bpia nta Phurgadóra CGT §110, but le h-anamanna do marbh Dinn p. 635 (second column). For an explanation of Munster le hanaman na marbh (etc.) through contamination with the accusative plural of ainm, see Seán Ó Coileáin (2002: xxxvii–xxxviii).
The genitive in *n ai nā kahi: S in aghaidh na cathaíthe may be a blend of nominative plural and genitive singular (3.5). (Historically one would expect a variant *kahīha (gsg, npl) but in my examples the form is consistently kahi: possibly through dissimilation of h.)

cuain, singular apparently kun’ ōg S cuain ōg ‘young litter’; plural in kun’ ōga, mubhar nā gun’ M cuain ōga, muthair na gcuain ‘... puppies’.

easpaí, singular meaning in æspi: er’ t’iakal’, æspi: d’int eg’ lot ort, M easpaí ar t’fhuaileil, easpaí d'éanta ag lot ort; plural syntax in nā hæspi: M na heaspaí. (FGB easp a ‘abscess’.)

fiacha, with plural article but singular anaphora in:

tabhair leat na fiacha seo 11C ‘take this debt / money owed’,
-Tá, sru siadsan, chúig plucht fiacha a' bh'fh'fear seo aghus ní fhéadann maid é chuair go deo mara n-íoctar é. 11C.

polladh péist(each) as singular an fola p’ejf'x Mq but later rejected by Mq; sg also paul / pola p’ejf’x Mq, pol p’ejf’x Mperm; as plural: waka tu nā polla p’ejf’x | a’ ví: a sa wata jin’ Mq an bhfaca tá na polladh péisteach a bhí sa bhfata sin? In conversation: poloxi: p’ejf’ orhu: M pollachait péist orthú. Attributively fatti: pola p’ejf’x(a) fatai polladh péisteach(a).

Some grammatically singular collective nouns may be treated as plurals, e.g.

a dr’am ōga P an dream óga, na dr’am ōga P na dream óga.

Cp. uirnis and other nouns with suffixless plural (4.72).

Note the variability in the singular in two nouns in historical singular -an. Both are typically used as (collective) plurals and may have been influenced by the (5D) ending -(i)n.

meacan: m’ækan S; (wild plant) heard in conversation in plural meacna.
Singular also m’ækan’ 19J. 20Cq, also 869P5.217 (x2), m’ækan’ [perhaps -n'] 20Myq, as mass noun in tá an garrúil sin lán le meacain 20Cq. When asked for plural, 20C produced meacnainnacha with confidence. In conversation and query, speaker 20My produced sg m’ækan’ [perhaps -n’] meacain and pl m’ækan-n—a meacne, as well as (preferred) m’ækna meacna. In conversation 32J has bhíodh meacna ... luibh ... a dtugadh an meacna air ... an meacna ... aige [referring to meacna] ... 32Jt. Cp. mion meacain, mior meacain.

ruacan: singular often ruakan but ruakan’ is given as singular in 46.1126 and in other replies to query; plural ruakan’, rokams, ruakans, etc., (1.259).

4.50 Mass nouns

The plural of mass nouns is used meaning ‘type of’, or ‘(individual / small) piece of’, or ‘unit of’.

aimsir: plural aimsireachai 18J ‘types of weather’. Speaker 18J also uses the plural of aimsir (referring to penal times and perhaps influenced by English) in the meaning ‘age, period of history, times’ thereby highlighting the idea of duration, extension or diversity:

nā hæmfar’ axi jin’ 18J na haimsireachai sin.
Conditioning 705

déatach:  d’aeataí  mór 05M  déatacháin móra
‘great bouts of smoke / smoking’ (tobacco).
feamainn:  Ní móran eolais a’msa ar na feamainneachai sin S.
féar:  n’i féir a tu:  cn af fhear, fáir g in S
Ní fear atá ann ach féaracháin, seacht gcineál.
feoil:  f’ek’r ar um ga h:’e:  n’of’ as ur f’um ga na f’o’dáiní: f’ug M
feicthear dhom go bh’ean fheoil is fhearr liom dhe na feolannaí uiliug;
na kahi:  màx na f’o’dáiní:  fín’ 52J
ná caithe annach na feolannaí sin (small pieces).
gloine:  ‘pieces of glass’:
tá an áit sin beo le gloineachait glin’äxi: 60M:
Fainic sib hén ar an gloineóchaí sin gá ngabhthadh ceann isteach
ina súil M.
mearúll:  e.g. (discussing will’-the-wisp)
Dearthadh daoine gu mearúll iad ARN4833.
sioc:  e.g. siocannait ... i bhfad ... ní ba mheasa 32Jst.
soil:  sél’äni: 32J  soileannait ‘sally rods’.
sop:  both a count noun ‘wisp, fragment (of straw)’ and a mass noun
‘weeds, bedding’. Máire uses sep’äxi:, sopr’äxi:, sepr’äxi: when
describing particles of chaff, etc., for instance, in bran (e.g. tu fé lán
f’é sepr’äxi:  M tá sé lán le soipreachaí), but she uses singular sop
and plural sep’ of weeds.

Count nouns may also be used in the plural with the meaning ‘type of’ when
qualified by chuile, e.g.
Tá an blaidht buí sin ar chuile fhataí i mbliana, chuile fhataí M
‘all types of potatoes are affected by that yellow blight this year.’
Compare:
Chur sé gach uile pharúlachaí uirthi ansin gan tada a inseacht Scl58.1;
xil’a x inäxi: tæ’b’óts 51M  chuile chinedlachait teaiblits [< tablets].

4.51   Singular – plural of mass nouns

The abstract noun lagar and some mass nouns (three meaning types of mud) are
found in the plural with little distinction in meaning from the singular. The plural
has perhaps more intensive meaning in puiteachait and the plurals of puiteach,
láib and lathach tend to have spatial reference similar to English ‘mud-flats’, and
more emphasis may be on clusters of ferns in raithneachait. (Cp. ‘Plurale tantum’
4.30.) Máire is not given to this use, in contrast, for example, to her brother
Pádraig (P). E.g.
puiteach:  i bpuiteachait 869P;  pít’äxi:  P;
o:  ifoa tu pít’äxi: n’i fo 47P ó uise tá puiteachait anseo.
raithneach:  Raithneachait, raithneachait, is maig nach mbainheadh i S;
raen’haixi:  P, ag gearradh raithneachait P.
lagar:  tháinig lagar orn ~ tháinig lagrachait orn S.
láib:  (context: sea-bed, shore)
Tháinig muca mara — chuiche acub — isteach insna láibeananna i
 gCuan na háirde DT 89;  soir ar na láibeananna 11P;
sna puiteachait sin, na láibeananna sin 31D.
lathach:  lathachait (ar Chroc Mourdáin) 869P.
It seems significant that three of these words are feminine (2D) nouns in -aich. The obsolescent dative singular of these nouns is -igh (historically *-aj). This dative may have developed to -ach in instances where a plural interpretation was congruous. Compare the plural noun and singular reference in Seán’s version of the rhyme or saying containing raithneachá (cited above) with the (dative) singular of other versions:

Huraí le raithnigh, is maing nach mbainfeadh i BBEO.193; Raithneach é, raithneach é, is maing nach mbainfeadh é (T. S. Ó Máille 1948 §588).

In fact raithneach í > raithneach is also a possibility here. Cp. masculine (1D) plural -igh ~ -achaí; also nouns such as an chonfairt, na confaírt, na confairteachá (4.72).

A few other words are almost equivalent in singular and plural: aobh and aobha; bálta and báalta S; both of which are composed of several parts.

**Suffixes**

4.52 C > C’ (palatalisation)

**Simple -C’ > C’**

This is most common with 1D nouns: alt alt > alt’; amhas ãvus > ãvaf; aspal aspal > aspal’; bád bud > bud’; barr bór > bór’; béal b’el > b’el’; clochar klofar > klofar’ [x1] 18JARN; cnoc krúk > krík’; corc kork > kork’; cudal kudal > kudal’ M; driotball dr’ibal > dr’ibal’; gabhar gaur > gaur’; gort > gort’ 894C; iarann > iarán’; marí > maiirt 866ESC32; mearúil > m’erui’; molt molt > mutil’; muileann > muílann; ord > aord’; punt punt > pínt’; stafall > stafal’ 892MARN; teampall > t’aempal’ SM; tros > trosk’ 892M; ucht ucht > ucht’; also cogúas (coguas) > kogúas S; corcal > korcal’ S; cumann cuman > cumán’ S (political); smút > smúit. So also, nouns in -án, e.g. lioinán > lioinán; tulán tulum M > tulun’ M; nouns in -éad, e.g. fáiméad > fáiméid; spíilead > sp’iileid 899D, 01C; M, also gimiléad, nóiméad; in -ar, -ear, -éal, e.g. orchar > orar ár’ M; sinsear > sinsear’ 04B; siotor > siutor’ M; simléar > simléar’ M, boimbléad > boimbléid S, síseal > síseal’ 07C; in -ard, e.g. locard > locard Clad194. In nominalised adjectives boch早日 > boxt’; marbh > mar’áv’. Vowel change (phonemic) is common: cleas > cleis (common case in an-t-uafás brách cleis FFG s.v. brách); fear f’ar > f’ir’; giall g’ial > g’éal’; meall m’ual > m’ual’; ard ard > aird’. Epenthetic groups: Colm colm kolom > kol’am’ kel’am’ (in three senses: as proper name, ‘pigeon’, ‘scar’); tarbh tarú > ter’áv’; lorg in (Lam)04B:

f’a b’aenax borb ágas ag gair ... a tafan gá g’er er’ a lor’ág’

fia beanbach borb agus an ghadhar ... ag tafann go gær a loing.

Similarly, deargduaol > d’éar’ág é didl 27MDq, also d’éar sóidl’ 21Ptdq, 27MDperm. Nouns in -aich (4.88 ff.) -ax > -a -igh, e.g. bacc ãh > baka, including flach dabh > f’ia yuva fiaigh dhubh. Some borrowings in -r and -n, which also have 1D genitive singular, take this plural (e.g. 11.159). Anomalous 2D dealg d’alag >
4.53 Complex

C’ > C’ ā

fód > fóide; ubh > uibhe. Generally with syncope: bóthar > bor’ha; capall kapal > kap’ā kap’ā; doras > dorfā; drioiball > dr’ib’ā dr’ib’ā. Both final and nonfinal consonant are palatalised in less common capall > kap’ā’ā 894C. kap’ā’ā 01P; drioiball > dr’ib’ā’ā Pq.

C’ > C’ ē:

Mostly nouns in -ēr: castsir > casstir; dochtur > dochturí; rásir > rásuir; siosuir > siossuirí; so also drisuir, pionsuir, saighdiur, taíluir; uachtar > uachtar’i; in -as: comórtas > comórtaisi 03St; costas > costaisi Sg; iontas > iontaisi 894C. 35E; also cúram > kuram’i; rare -ān in taobhán > taobháin is ratai SeolG40. With syncope bóthar > bor’hi; doras > dorfē. In créatur > vocative plural a x’ētur’i: a chréatuirí.

Nonfinal consonant in caora kir’ā > kir’ē; dorna dauña > dauñ’ē; mala malē > malē, (e.g. mp’ē pl mał’ē: 46.424), contrast singular mal’ā > mal’ē M.

C’ > C’ āni:

ard > ard > air’āni; boc bok > bik’āni; prós > prōiseamal 869P5.

C’ > C’ āxī:

ancard āŋkard > āŋkard’āxī: 894Cs; ceantar > ceantaireachta; cúram > cúrámmeacha; fóid > foideach (e.g. foideach màna 20T, caith ceathair ná cúg dh’foideachta ann 19P); siosuir fisur > fisur’āxī: 20Cq; sciathán fór’iθūn > fór’iθūn’āxī: M (see 4.82 (list effect) and 4.79 (aberrant forms) for siosuir and sciathán); tuicéad > tk’ed’axi; cp. amhrán orúin > no horúm’āxī: S. With vowel change ubh’uv > iv’āxī: (progressive uvxī: 79Jg and sister 82B); sceach > fk ehaxī. In an epenthetic type cluster blegam > bleγ’axa 20Cq. The palatalisation is a reflection of the genitive singular in ... d’e luin ... BOC ... Dé Luain ... -lun’axī: el’ē ... 15W Luaineachta eile ... . The palatalisation resembles vocative singular in créatur > vocative plural a x’ētur’a’xī: a chréatuiríachta, as well as a chréatuirí. With syncope and diphthongisation in pobal > paib’ēxī:, tobar > taibr’axī:. Double palatalisation in giobal > g’ib’al’axī Pq; drioiball > dr’ib’al’axī: ; rare tobar > tēb’ōr’axi 05M.

C’(V) > C’ X’i:

fód > fo’d’āxī: 20Tq; mala malē > mal’i’āxī: (more often mal’ē). Teach > t’iux’a t’huxi t’ihoxi 15Pt.

damhsa > dāvfuxi’i: dāvfoxi’i 04Fq (cp. VN daimhisiú).

1 The plural kir’ā is not followed by lenition of attributive nouns or adjectives, e.g. caoire bána. This nonlenition indicates that the status of final plural -ā in kir’ā is not equivalent to plural -ā in the baCachtí class which does cause lenition, e.g. baka vra baCachtí bheaga. Historically, two plurals caoirigh and caoire occurred. Nonlenition reflects the by-form caoire. The guttural ending is nonetheless retained in the genitive (sg and pl) kir’ax caorach.
Plural of nouns

C’ \( \rightarrow \) C’\( \hat{a} \)vi:

\( \text{teach t’ax \( \rightarrow \) t’ihav} \).

C’ \( \rightarrow \) C’\( \hat{u} \)vi:

\( \text{teach t’ax \( \rightarrow \) t’ihuvi} \).

C’ \( \rightarrow \) C’\( \hat{i} \)ui:

\( \text{teach t’ax \( \rightarrow \) t’ihui} \).

C’ \( \rightarrow \) Cr’a

\( \text{srón \( \rightarrow \) frunt’\( \hat{o} \); rón run \( \rightarrow \) runt’\( \hat{o} \); droom drun \( \rightarrow \) drunt’\( \hat{o} \) Mq; cuan \( \rightarrow \) cuainte. With vowel change crann krun \( \rightarrow \) kriunt’\( \hat{o} \); sliabh fli’iav \( \rightarrow \) fli’evt’\( \hat{o} \) fli’eft’\( \hat{o} \); cliabh \( \rightarrow \) kl’evt’\( \hat{o} \) 20Aq, 25Mnq.} 

C’ \( \rightarrow \) Cr’i:

\( \text{sliabh fli’iav \( \rightarrow \) fli’evt’i; rón run \( \rightarrow \) runt’i. Cp. rare rísa rusa \( \rightarrow \) ruas’ti: [x2] 21P1/1587 (slightly unclear in recording, more usually ruas’ti).} 

C’ \( \rightarrow \) Cn’a

\( \text{ionga ung\( \hat{o} \) \( \rightarrow \) inn\( \hat{n} \)\( \hat{o} \); dealg d’alag \( \rightarrow \) d’e’agn\( \hat{n} \).} 

C’ \( \rightarrow \) Cr’i:

\( \text{ionga ung\( \hat{o} \) \( \rightarrow \) ingr’i.} 

C’ \( \rightarrow \) Cn’i:

\( \text{ionga \( \rightarrow \) ingn; in epenthetic clusters: dealg d’alag \( \rightarrow \) d’e’agn’i; lorga loraga \( \rightarrow \) ler’agn’i.} 

C’ \( \rightarrow \) Cn’axi:

\( \text{ionga ung\( \hat{o} \) \( \rightarrow \) inn\( \hat{n} \)axi; dealg \( \rightarrow \) d’e’agn’axi.} 

C’ \( \rightarrow \) Cn’\( \hat{v} \)xi:

\( \text{ionga ung\( \hat{o} \) \( \rightarrow \) ingn’exi.} 

C’\( \hat{v} \) \( \rightarrow \) Cr’axi:

\( \text{ionga ung\( \hat{o} \) \( \rightarrow \) ingr’axi.} 

V + rC’axi:

\( \text{glaí > glair’axi S, M\( \ddot{\text{\( \hat{e} \)}} \)perm.} 

V + hrC’axi:

\( \text{glaí > glaihr’axi S (possibly glair’haxi), M\( \ddot{\text{\( \hat{e} \)}} \)perm.} 

C’ \( \rightarrow \) Cr’\( \hat{v} \)xi:

\( \text{ionga ung\( \hat{o} \) \( \rightarrow \) ingr’\( \hat{v} \)xi.} 

C’ \( \rightarrow \) C’\( \hat{s} \)

\( \text{Cp. seileastarn \( \rightarrow \) fel’astaran’s 04Br. In the borrowings boe bok \( \rightarrow \) bek’s; with vowel raising bloc \( \rightarrow \) blik’s.} 

See also palatalisation in combination with \( \text{\( \hat{a} \)v\( \hat{o} \) (4.63).} 

4.54 -a / -e -\( \ddot{\text{\( \hat{a} \)}} 

Simple C \( \rightarrow \) C\( \ddot{\text{\( \hat{a} \)}} 

Regularly in many monosyllabic nouns, especially 2D: \( \text{cos \( \cos \rightarrow \) kos\( \ddot{\text{\( \hat{o} \)}} ; \text{cruaich kruax \( \rightarrow \) kruaxa; slat slat \( \rightarrow \) slata; preab \( \rightarrow \) sna preaba deiridh FFG s.v. preab 1; sciath f\( \ddot{\text{\( \hat{k} \)}} \)\( \ddot{\text{\( \hat{i} \)}} \) \( \rightarrow \) f\( \ddot{\text{\( \hat{k} \)}}’\( \ddot{\text{\( \hat{i} \)}} \)ha (Smbb)04B; spág \( \rightarrow \) spuag\( \ddot{\text{\( \hat{a} \)}} \); also cioc, cloch, cruaich, cuach, muc, pést, screamh; mear (also mèir) \( \rightarrow \) mèara DT92; with vowel change clun klun \( \rightarrow \) klana ARN5707; trian \( \rightarrow \) treana (in tale run). Also aoibh \( \rightarrow \) iv\( \ddot{\text{\( \hat{a} \)}} ; \text{breith \( \rightarrow \) br’eha; glúin \( \rightarrow \) gluine; riecht \( \rightarrow \) riuchta Sc38. With syncope bráthair \( \rightarrow \) brúr’ha bráithre; cloigeann klog’\( \hat{a} \)n \( \rightarrow \) klogn’\( \hat{a} \); fiacail \( \rightarrow \) fiacla; focal \( \rightarrow \) foela;}} 

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4.55 -í: i-

Simple C(V) + i:
Monosyllables: coc > korki: 06C; cóir > cóirí catha FFG.4; cos kos > kosí:; feacht > feachtá móra troma Clad724; tomhais tef ‘measurement’ > tefi: 52J; also gáig, láth, rud. Disyllables: barann, bastard, bráílinn, buachaill, dearmad, éalann, eascann, námhaid, rungás, snáthad; younger speaker’s dealg > d’aedlai: 66N. Trisyllable: foirginn > fer ag aít:; comhartha > koharí:; duisínne > dufá:; muthairle > muthairlí, spreangaide > spr’àghad: S; also aicearra,
Plural of nouns

The spelling mionspráidhánaigh 876JDT98 probably stands for plural -ún: (sg mionspríuin), as does scíathána 852S DT9. With syncope coinneal kin’ál < kin’úí:; focal > fócaí; fiaccail > fiacláí; gamhain gavan’ > gavni’; leiceann > leíni; sluasaid > sluasí. Without syncope in scíobal > fí:iboli: M. More rarely added to nouns in long unstressed final vowel: aitiú > útí: [x2] 881J.

### 4.56 Complex

C’ > C’i:

Many of the nouns here are in the 2D: bodóig > bodógaí; cois > cosai; fainneogí > fainneogáí; ioscaí > ioscaai; snáthaid > snáthadai; and cluais, láímh, plúic; so also many monosyllabic nouns cnáimh > cnáimh; sáil > sálaí. Also caraid > caraí in le hanam a gcaradaí go dtí 20Myq.

+ hi:

maor mir > mirhí; slabhra > slairhi; toradh tora > torhi; tuar tuar > tuarthaí 894C9; condac > kundehi 20Myq.

+ ri:

each ax > axrí: with vowel lengthening mada madá > madri:; Following V(h) in tré: tr’e: > tr’e:ri: (i.e. //tr’e:ri//), or analysable as //tr’e+ri//.

+ hri:

with additional a in gníomh > gr’i:warhi:; For alternative analysis, i.e. -orhi:; cf. 4.54.

+ ni:

cno kru > krungi: (< //kru+ní//).
+ **ti:**
Following -t, -tn: gleann ghláin > ghlánti; so also caladh kaltha > kalttí; iónadh ìna > ìnti; talamh > taltàí. Replacement of stem in aonach > inti; fásach > fástaí. Following -sa: rása > rástaí; similar to VN casadh > castaí Clad63.

céad > k’eti: < k’ed+ti; (or k’ed+hi); similarly ambiguous céad > k’etñ (spelling céadh Na Cliad191 = k’ed+ñò).

+ **tú:** following a vowel or Vh the form is tú: crá > cráití; mít > múttí; rá > ráití; goitha > geò tì; scatæamh skañh > skat i.

C’ + Cí:
blain b’ian’ > bl’aontí; gaise > gasti: (in tale run, unless this form is the adjective gasta > gastaí in higher register, cf. 10.53).

+ **iða**
dilleachta > na dilleachtaíth’ aici 894C9 (aici < ag; chuici not intended); lugach lugax > lugicha; mionna > m’íniha 82C161; cp. tosach > tosaght’ air mo bhhróghaí 894C9; iarraidh > iarraidhth’ ABg. -Cu > -Cítha in colbha > folbha 21P; in verbal nouns, e.g. ordá > aurðíha. Cp. cruí > kriítha (4.74). Surface iða (< i+ða) is a common plural form in nouns in -i, e.g. sclábhaí > skluíðhí.
Palatal h’ in Créostaí > kr’ístíth’ 04B: gréasáí > g’r’ esíth’è 46.723, rare X’ in marcaí > märkíx’ 897P marcaíth.

+ **híða**
With vowel shortening in rare cruí > kriítha.

+ **iá:**
bibe > bibí ~ bibíochtaí, cp. 4.61 (Vxí).

+ **is ?**
raibhít > raibhítí SM but there is also a form raibhitíos M, perhaps plural.

### 4.57 -annáí -aná:
The variant <ona> is rare indeed and is discussed under the individual speakers 869P (4.147), 20C (4.179) and 73P (4.222). Cp. -anta (4.58).

**Simple C/V + aní:**

Regularly and almost exclusively monosyllables from all declensions: bior b’or > b’oráni: SM; bun > bunannáí; cás kús > kúsaní: ceap k’ap > k’éapáí: M (plants); cios k’ìs > k’ìsaní: cno > kruháí: crios k’ìs > k’ìsaní: M; drá > druáí: 60Mq; faugh fhua > fuáí: goín > gín’áñí: M; loch > locháini; mac mak > makáí: moing míng’ miq’ > miq’áñí: pràis > prò’k’áñí: S; raibháit > raút’áñí: S; rás > raiseannaí FFG; sceid > f’k’ed’áñí: SM; sceilp > f’k elo’áñí: 892M, 07C; sceith > sceitheanna rón Clad45; scrúin > skrín’áñí: Mq; seacht > fàsxaní: M; siobh > fìn ì: 899D, 21Pg; sioc. juk > fúkaní: 01P; smid > sm’id’áñí: M; sòl > sòlanna Clad130; spáilp > spál’áñí: 35E; speic > sp ek’áñí: 07C; stad > stàdáí: M; staon > stìnáí: M; straine > straineannaí; taobh > taobháinni; tìl fluor tìl’ñí: So also aghaidh, am, baogh, bruach, cabail, caoit, cao, céibh, céim, ceird, ceist, ciomhais, clúd, cor, crois, cùl (ciúanna bréí ghráinge 899N), dlíobh, pláís both ‘spread’ and ‘place’ (latter in pláisanna Clad132), ríasc, scréach 29Nq, seas, srúid, sruth, stuf 20Mt; tál
Plural of nouns

Clad195, tomhais. In compound seanreacht > na seanreachtannaí †fan raíxtnaí: a bhí i Maínis 25Tf. With vowel shortening, e.g. barr > bhar. Regularly with monosyllabic borrowings (11.160). Disyllabic combhsa kurfha > kurfjani; combha > combjannaí; cuisle > cuisljannaí; also oiche, ráithe. With elision of i(ø) in the trimoric vocalic sequence in buaí buai > buani; luaí luaí > luani; also làí > luani; in rare garrái > garáni. Some native and borrowed multi-stress nouns with monosyllabic stressed elements also take aníi (4.37, Table 4.1, 11.164).

4.58 Complex

C’ > C’úani:
3D: cuid > codannaí 894C2; droim drim’ > dramáni; greim gr’im’ > gr’amáni; snaidhm snim’ > snamáni. Also blaíosc > blaoiscannaí 894C2. With vowel shortening, e.g. barr > bar EniÉþþ. Regularly with monosyllabic borrowings (11.160). Disyllabic comhara kuÉr > kuÉrEniÉþþ; comhla > comhlannaí; cuisle > cuisljannaí; also oiche, ráithe. With elision of i(ø) in the trimoric vocalic sequence in buaí buai > buani; luaí luaí > luani; also làí > luani; in rare garrái > garáni. Some native and borrowed multi-stress nouns with monosyllabic stressed elements also take aníi (4.37, Table 4.1, 11.164).

V + hání:
cú > kühání; kuáni: 60Mq, átha > uháni: [x2] 60Mq (father from Doire an Lochain where singular áth is monosyllabic). (Plural kühání is unique and uháni is a minor variant in my sample, both are from 60Mq. They may indicate an overcompensation by 60Mq for his father’s general lack of intervocalic h.) With historical final short vowel (synchronously probably Vh): cno knö > kühEni 46.649, stoith sto > stoháni. With historical final th: tráth tru > truháni. With exceptional vowel change, as in genitive singular, in lá lu: > leháni.

V + aníi

With vowel alternance in lá lu: > leháni 894Cs; with elision of i(ø) in vocalic sequences in buaí buai > buaíta; láí laí > leínta; with loss of final u in dorú dorui > doránta 45Mq.

V + hánti:

With exceptional vowel change, as in genitive singular, in lá lu: > lehánti, also shortened lehánti: 53J, less common lohánti: 889P. With plural -hánti: one can compare irregular aíthne an’ ha > aéñánta aéhnánti.

C’V > C’úkáni:

In glaise glaÉa > glaskánta.

4.59 -achaí/-acha -aíxi: /-axa

For a minority of speakers <axa> occurs as a conditioned by-form; for details see 4.14, 4.111 ff. and individual speakers (e.g. 894Cs, 4.158, and 73P, 4.222). For the majority of speakers <axa> is common and regular in the plural of one noun.

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only: scillinn used with a numeral, e.g. fe: f¡k'·a x a s e scilleacha (also in rarer feolínn, cosméig, 4.39). Also (presumably once common) in sleagh > f¡k'·a x a 46 s.v. sleagh; cp. sned > f¡k'·a x a 20Páq (4.71); cp. bua > buacha.

Simple C(V) + a x i:
With certain monosyllables: áit > áiteachái, bonn > bonnachái; clár > cláraoch; cor > corachaí; S; creig > creigeach; crath > crathachaí; árb > ábraoch; dris > drisleachaí; ean > eánachai, pinn p'ix' > p'ix' a xi;; splain > splainceachaí; 66N; so also brat, bráon, broighead, ceirt, cnap (> krápaxí: 889P), craobh, cult, cúirt (cúirtteach 894C2), das, deás, fréamh, gág, ladhair, mán 60Mq, méar, naomh, plúid, scraíth > skraháixí;; slat, stéig, tom. Vowel final monosyllable rí 'forearm' riu pl ríaxí SfD.46 Vocab s.v. righe (for expected sg rí: pl ríaxí, sic 12Sq, although 12Sq was slightly unsure); also by-form in cláir kláí > klálaixí: cláochai. Cp. sleagh and bua directly above.
Very common and productive with polysyllables: baithis baha' > baha'axí;; calb kalam > kalamaxí: M; comhaois > kuhíaxí: M, kuijfaxí: M; colm 'scar' > kolamaxí: 25M; contúirt kiuntúrt' > contúrtteach 889P; cruthphas kruhunas > kruhunaasaxí: 18J8428; fearsad f'asád > f'asaádaxí;: maaid > ma'd'axí:; mürt'ëis > murt'ëfáxi: SM; purgóid > porogó'axí: M, purgóideachal 869P5; seáfóid > fachó'daxí: P; s'énas > fénasaxí: M; seanóir > fánamor'axí: S; teagasc > t'agáskaxí: S; borrowed raitl ra'tl' > ra'tl'axa mór 36S raitleacha móra báistí; polysyllabic nouns in -áil, e.g. súlaid > s'ual'd'axí:; So also Alfreann, ainm, aistir, Árainn, blogam, caraid, cleamhnas, cóibhia, comhairle, compás, condaí, costas, deimheas, fainic, iothlaínn, laidín, nioscód, námhaid, parí, Sc158.1, piocóid, punán, ríllí, socad, stoíric M, tamall 866EsC223.15, tóicair, títim, tuirpéis, tuairim, uill'áin, uncáil. Cp. scamnán > skunanaxí: M; dornán > dornánachái M, MOperm (influenced by punán). With optional syncope in aithnínn > aha'axí: ax'axí:; ascaill > askl'axí: asklaxí:; athair > aha'axí: ar'haxí: (e.g. 'fá'ar'haxí: 11C seanaithreachaí); banais > banáfo'axí: banáfaxí:; eiris > er'axí: orfoxi:; eochair > oxar'axí: oxr'axí:; iarainn > iarfo'axí: iarfaxí:; lagar > lagarachal 894C2, lagraxí:;锁sainn > iarfaxí: iarfoxi: 21Pq; iar faxí: M, 21Pt; paidir > paidireachal, paidreachal; cp. Sathrann > saharanaxí, saharanaxí. With syncope and diphthongisation in obair > aib'axí:; With syncope and consonant coalescence (or, more synchronically, -inn deletion) in scillinn > f'k'ù'axí:. Optional deletion of radical h is common in some words, e.g. féithe > f'e'axí:; fa'axí:; etc.; doigh fhiaicil > dohaí: / dohaxí: f'iokal M doigh(th)eachal fiaical.

4.60 Complex C' > C' a x i:
In monosyllables deoir d'or' > d'or'axí:; láir > láraoch; méir m'ér' > m'ér'axí:; scalp > skalpaxí: 21Ptq; scair > sgarach Clad119; úm um' > umaxí:.
In disyllables ascaill askal'axí:; dreatháir > d'ehuraxí:; altóir > altoraxí:; barúil > baru'axí: 21M; regularly in polysyllabic nouns in -áil, e.g. anail > análaach 866EsC63.1, suileáil > sile'axí:.
Speakers who do not depatalalise verbal -áil (SÁBHÁIL cláss) through
Plural of nouns

Suffixation may nonetheless depalatalise in the case of plural nouns in base suffix \(-áil\). Speaker 20C is such a speaker, i.e. verbal future -éil- but noun plural -éilx-. Similarly, in suffixation, speaker 36S retains palatalisation in -íl and verbal -áil but depalatalises plural -áil, i.e. muraileacha, sábháilthidh but suileálacha, billeálacha, also seasráilcha (all 36S). On the other hand, speaker 36S’s brother, 26P, and sister, 29C, are more typical in depalatalising both verbs and plural nouns. In contrast, speakers 05M and 56B retain palatal -áil- in both verb and noun, i.e. gosAÉil !Ex 05M go sábháiltheadh, sAÉvAÉl !E 56B gosábháilthidh; bildeál futur > b’il doa’axi: 05M, suileáil > síl do’axi: 56Bq. Unfortunately, no relevant plural extension, as in seas > seasráilcha, was noted from a speaker such as 05M.

With syncope in srathair > srarhExEþþ. Cp. cathair > kahErExEnE f !eÉÐ !E 11C catharacha na Féinne (in traditional beginning of Fenian tale).

C’ + C’raxi:

scalp skáл’ > skalpraxi:; stéig ft’ ed’ 36P > ft’édraxi 36P and fk’ ed’ > fk’édr’axi > f’ekr’axi: (l’ekr’axi: M heard in conversation, but M∅ perm).

C’+C’naxi:

glaise > glaskañoxar’ 34Mq, glaskañaxi: 21Ptq (perhaps a slip of the tongue in 21Ptq), cp. common glaskañi:.

C’+C’naxi:

glasnaxi: 27Mq, cp. common glaskañi:.

C(V)+haxi:

leaba l’aba > l’apaxi:; tìr > t’ir”axi: 60M.

C(V)+hraxi:

leaba l’aba > l’apraxi:.

C’+C’haxi:


C(V)+taxi:

Following l, n: baile bal’a > balt’axi:; seoladh foda ‘address’ > fódlaxi: 25S; tìn > t’ist’axi: t’ist’axi:.

Vowel followed by t’axi: (monosyllable in V): rá > ráiteachai (cp. ráiteas, vadj ráite).

-C’ > Ctaxi:

Following l, n: coróin kru’n > kruntaxi:; scoil skol’ > skoltaxi:; including the well-established borrowings draein > drentaxi: and traein > trentaxi:.

-C(V)+taxi:

Following l, n: giall > giallaxi:; gleann gl’ en > gl’èntaxi:; meall > m’altraxi:; tinn tun > tuntraxi: tuntraxi:.

ail’ > ail’treachai 875T1, etc.: baile bal’a > balt’axi:; tìn > t’ist’axi: t’ist’axi:.

Vowel followed by t’axi: (monosyllable in V): rá > ráiteachai (cp. ráiteas, vadj ráite).

Exceptionally following -lp in scalp > skaelp’traxi: [x5] 36Sq.

C’ > Ctaxi:

Following l, n: aill aí > aîl’axi:; blein > bl’éntaxi:; M: scal skal’ > skaltraxi:; scoil skol’ > skoltaxi:; with vowel change ginn g’ix’ > g’èntaxi:; sail sal’ > saltaxi: saltaxi:; slinn f’s’is’ > f’s’èntaxi:; well-established borrowings draein > drentaxi: and traein > trentaxi:.
4.61 -aiocháí, etc., (V:xi:)

For most nouns in the (V:xi:) class the long vowel (V:i) is best interpreted as an extension, which has the usual function of a plural extension: to mark the (syllabic) boundary between morphemes. In some nouns with alternate plurals in u: or i:, e.g. with u: as in leithe > l’e:huí: l’e:huí:, or i: as in cleite > kl’et’i: kl’et’i:xi:, the variants can be interpreted as plural suffixes in combination, e.g. //u:et’i: + u:xi:/l. The (V:xi:) ending is most conveniently described as one unit with variable realisation. The vocalic element varies through the whole vowel space. It is often reduced and phonetically short. There are no abrupt boundaries between the variants, which all gradually change through many vowel qualities, so that between the main variants, as classified here, there are many actual degrees of vowel quality heard, e.g. i:xi: e:xi: a:xi: E:xi: A:xi: o:xi: u:xi: etc. The main variants for analysis, following the cardinal vowel division of the vowel space, are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>i:</th>
<th>e:</th>
<th>a</th>
<th>a:</th>
<th>o:</th>
<th>o:</th>
<th>u:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i:xi:</td>
<td>e:xi:</td>
<td>a:xi:</td>
<td>a:xi:</td>
<td>o:xi:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(i:xi:)</td>
<td>o:xi:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In combination with consonantal extensions and suffix s:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>t</th>
<th>t’i:xi:</th>
<th>t’(e)xi:</th>
<th>t’a:xi:</th>
<th>t’o:xi:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tr</td>
<td>tr’i:xi:</td>
<td>tr’(e)xi:</td>
<td>tr’a:xi:</td>
<td>tr’o:xi:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>n’i:xi:</td>
<td>n’e:xi:</td>
<td>n’a:xi:</td>
<td>n’o:xi:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r</td>
<td>r’i:xi:</td>
<td>r’e:xi:</td>
<td>r:xi:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>h:xi:</td>
<td>h:o:xi:</td>
<td>(C’h)h:xi:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>s:xi:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Infixed into the stem, examples in barriall, bonnbhualadh and timpiste:

4.62 Examples

iáxi: \( \text{ribe} > \text{rib'íaxi} \); \( 27 \text{Mq} \); \( \text{ciste} > \text{cistidheacha} \); \( 864 \text{Mq} \).

iáxi: \( \text{iongá} > \text{uNgóaxi} \); \( \text{athrá} > \text{arhiáxi} \); \( \text{ceirtlín} > \text{k orlí in'íaxi} \); \( 32 \text{J} \); \( \text{sclaití} > \text{skl álaxi} \); \( \text{Mq} \).

ixi: \( \text{cp. bélí} > \text{b'ef'íxi} \).

eáxi: \( \text{célí} > \text{k'ef'éaxi} \); \( \text{combaíle} > \text{kurr'eaxxi} \); \( 45 \text{C} \); \( \text{tanaí} > \text{ta'néaxi} \); \( \text{iongá} > \text{uNgéaxi} \); \( \text{cp. condæ} > \text{kundeaxi} \); \( \text{kundeaxi} \).

exi: \( \text{gloine} > \text{glin'eaxxi} \); \( \text{iongá} > \text{uNgóaxi} \).

bón bhun > bunáxi: \( 20 \text{Mq} \); gortá > gortáxi: \( 64 \text{Mq} \).

ááxi: \( \text{súil ribe} > \text{suél rib} \).

4.63 -abhá -avá

The realisation of the intervocalic labial continuant here is regularly \([w]\), except in plurals of \( \text{gé} \) where \([w]\) alternates with \([v]\). Plurals in -Cúvá: in Iorras Aithneach are a recent development from -Cúvá < -Cúvá (4.132 ff.).
Suffixes

Simple + ønø

One item only: gê g’ e: > g’ ønø.

Complex

V + ønø:

gê g’ e: > gevi:; leithe L’ ehø > L’ ehøvi:, e.g. leitheabhaí Df93; reithe rohø > rohøvi:, breitheamh br’ eha > br’ ehøvi:, gearrrchaíle > g’ urxafø ønø: 26Pq.

C > C’ønø:
teach t’ax > t’ihøwi:.

Cp. hV + ønø:

leithe L’ eha > L’ ehøwøxø: 30Pq, perhaps a slip of the tongue or mistake in response to query.

C > C’(ø)ønø:
teach > t’iwøxi: 43M (seldom), cp. t’iføxø: 51Pq (i.e. C > C’føxø).

hV + uønø:

leithe L’ eha > L’ ehøwø:.

C > C’uønø:
teach t’ax > t’ihøwø:.

h + x’uønø:

cleith kl’e > kl’exø uøwi.

The following endings, which contain f, are categorised here for convenience; most lexemes have corresponding ønø: forms, although intradialectally, especially in the case of teach, these f-forms can be diachronically and geographically distinct from forms in ønø: (cf. II.VI).

hV > fi:

reithe rohø > rifø: [f’?] 36Mq.

V > -fa

dlaøi > dlaøfa 894C.

V > f’a, f’i:

cri > krif’a, dø > døraifi.

C > C’f’a, C’fi, C’f’i:
teach > t’if’a, t’if’ø, t’if’i, t’if’i:; t’if’i: (Palatal f’ is from in my earlier transcriptions only and is perhaps mistaken.)

C > C’af’i:
teach t’iafi: 56Bq.

C > C’ufø

teach t’iafa 15Pq, also t’iøta t’iaxø 15Pt.

4.64 -in -ønø’

Simple + ønø

In 5D bró > brunø 893P (uncommon), comharsa > kúrfønø’ S comharsain (but comharsanøi more often), cú > coin 869P3; faocha fixø > fixønø’; lacha laxø > laxønø’; also (nouns without specific 5D genitive singular) luch > luchøin, meach > meachøain.
Plural of nouns

(Simple + an)
In 5D cora > karañ’ 46 s.v. Given alternate (dative) singular korañ’ and plural korañ’axi:, and given that unstressed final /an’/ is often transcribed as an’ in SID.46 (1.417), it seems an’ is the actual plural ending here.

Complex
+ an’t a (< an’+t’a)
In 5D bró bró: > bront’a, brunt’a.
+ an’taxi:
In 5D cora > koran’axi:. Also comhla > comhlainneachaid 26Peq.
+ anaxi:
In 5D cearta > Kurtanaxi: [x3] 36Pq; cora > corranachaid Cladi23. Cp. naxi: (4.60), C’ an’i: and C’ an’ Vxii: (4.10).

4.65 -il -il’
Simple C + il’
barr bur > bairid’ 45C, bairid’; tom tum ~ tum > tumil’. As corresponding (verbal) noun in brúcht > bruxtìl’; locht and lucht > loxtìl’; múr mur > murid’: plump plump > plumpid’: scuaid > scuaidil; sian > jìnif’; speach sp’ax > sp’axil’. Perhaps also coch > koxif’.

Complex
C + hiil
múr mur > murhid’il’.
C + il’axi:
múr mur > muril’axi:.
C + ilaxi:
múr mur > murilaxi: ~ murilaxa:.

4.66 -ú -u:
Simple Ca + u:
gearraide g’aurxla: > g’aurxlu: (no longer productive for those speakers who were questioned); reithe > rohuy: 25Mnq, rohuy: 36Nq (both speakers from Loch Con Aortha). Plural f’iánur eir’an 892M also f’ián: wer’an Fiannaibh Éireann.

Complex, cf. Vxii: (4.61) and avo (4.63)
Ca + uxi:
gearraide g’aurxla: > g’aurxlu:uxi:.
Ca + uxi:
leithe > t’ehuixi; reithe > rohui:.
+ C’u:
teach > f’ihu: 881J.
+ C’ui:
teach > f’ihuixi; t’ihuixi.
Suffixes

4.67  -ibh  -av

The -av -av ending is obsolescent. It is clearly related to certain by-forms in -uw and -ur. It is found in two nouns which have strong associations with the higher register and in one place-name. All three lexemes are prevalent in the plural:

(f) jasan’ (faoi) gheasaibh, fianav’ Fiannaibh, also na fianu ‘yer’án’ | ... na fianav ‘er’án’ ... 875T na Fiannaibh Éireann;

cp. na der’u na Doiriú.

-av also in the special vocative plural of fear: ærav’ a hheareaibh (also æra a h哪儿a).

4.68  -s  -(a)s / -(a)z

Simple + s / z

Mainly with borrowings (11.154 ff.), e.g.

‘breem’ brem > bremz 889P; ‘flower’ flaur > flaurz; boc > boks; truec > trik’s Mq; veageabón > v’eag’abons;
céillí > k’eil’iz; claibhstar kluastar > kluastars M; scibhear > fikív’ars S; also as / is ~ az / iz in borrowings as in English, e.g. ‘sausages’ susadjs.

In a borrowing containing the Irish suffix –óg:
cabóg > kaboégs S ‘cobwebs’, also regular kaboégi SM. Also older borrowings under continuing English influence: Pradastún > Pradastans P.

With native (broibh rare singular >) broibh ‘rushes’ (collective) also brev’s; ruacan > ruakams M, 60M, ruakams P, ruakams; seileastaram > jel’astarams; sméir > jaim sméars (otherwise sméara, rare sméatha); cf. p. 2025 n. 1. With a few agentive nouns: Gaidi > gaid’iz 892Mg, gréasaí gr’eisi > gr’eisis 05M, Ciarraíoch (< Ciarrai) k’iariax > k’iarias 05Mq, soarriam > foriens 11C. Also with personal names: (a) group appellations, e.g. Aindreí > na h’eandr’us, Cól > na kois na Cóis, Éinneí > na heces’; (b) individuals with the name, e.g. Riccard > rukards 21.J. Cf. 12.9, 12.14. Also in humorous áhbars (perhaps plural e tantum), bramans. Cp. scib sceab fk’ib’ fk’iabs > fk’ib’ fk’aebs’ Mq.

4.69  Complex

+ af

lo(ing) > ligg’af in na loingis mhór(a) i dtír 11C5144 (-f- is analysable as /l/s + C’/l/).

+ a

dráir (< drawer(s)) > drarf’a S.

+ asi

háirt hart’ > hart’ así; drámh > drámasaí; triaf > triufaí.

+ afi

paca pak’a > pak’ai; puca > pucaí; cp. traip’afi SM, traipisi ... and Seán’s comment in explaining its use kosúl l’e traip’óni: e S cosúil le traipéannaí é; compare also tuík tonc with singular collective noun tuíkaí: M tuncaí (plural in FFG20).
720  Plural of nouns

+ fáixi:
  ‘fee(s)’ > fixeachaí ’894C; cp. tóraiseacha ABg ‘tories’.
+ afáixi:
  loing liug’ 0481 > na liigg’àfáixi 0481 na loingiseacha (the noun loingeas FGB is not known).
+ s/žáixi:
  céllí > k’el’izáxo (1), k’el’isáxo (7–9) 51Pq; cp. ‘Mulkerrins’ mál’k’erns > mál’k’ernsáixi:
+ soxí:
  sun sum > sumsoxí: (unique example, 4.82).
+ zi:
  leaid > f’aeži: ogo 76Mt leaidzai óga (speaker from Doire Iorrais, mother from Ros Muc); this plural is obsolete according to 44P (Loch Con Aortha). It is common in Ros Muc and North Conamara. In contrast, West Iorras Aithneach has f’ædz/s.

4.70  Zero suffix
There are a few examples of zero endings, where the singular and plural are homophonous. These generally have alternative specific plurals. Most of the base nouns can be divided into two types:
(i) those in final vowels (both monosyllables and disyllables);
(ii) those in final palatal consonant.
There is an instance of a zero ending in a phrasal noun containing a final vowel in the initial element and final palatal consonant in the second element (4.45):
no buái péatair sin.

4.71  (i) Final vowel
breith, k’e: na br’e v’i: fe hort’ oram Mq cé na breith a bheidh a thabhait orm?
file, sg file ~ fillí, pl generally fillí, filíthe, also less commonly filéachaidh. Two examples of plural file were recorded from 11C (3.155):
  gur i gCúige Mumhan is fearr a bhí file uilig. ARN5567;
  i dtsoch cainteoirí agus file. ARN5639.
gabha, the non-inflection can be taken as a slip of the tongue in:
go dtí gabha ... na scoláirí agus na tincéaraí agus na caitpeoirí agus na fir ceirde agus na gabha. 892M2130-45.

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go dtí gabha ... na scoláirí agus na tincéaraí agus na caitpeoirí agus na fir ceirde agus na gabha. 892M2130-45.

gnotha, sg ins an ngnotha céadna Cladi209, an gratha 892M1727, aŋ yruha P an ghnotha, gsg Si an ordóig atá a’ déanamh na graíthe dhó D196, pl na gnotha P (in the phrase déantha’ sé sin na gnotha P), faíorteach na ndionfadh sí na groíthe ceart 852SBTS146, a rinne na gnotha. Cladi203, leis na gnotha a dhéanamh Cladi222, bhí na gnotha gfruha le bheith dionta acub. 35E8376. Also plural gruhí: >> gráhí: e.g. go ndéanfá na gnáithí ... dhéanfá na gnaithí LL148. Tá na gnáithí déanta anois 870BDT31. My examples show plural gnotha following the plural article only. Cp. D. Greene (1974: 197, especially) and na lao further below.
grásta, sg grásta, also grás, pl grástaí, gen pl grásta, grásta, and possibly grás; cf. 3, 47.
langa, (example of singular loanga 46.1167) the plural is generally laggi: (e.g.
Suffixes 721

01C6540–8, 899D6401, 6546), also langaxi. There is an instance of what seems to be plural langa in 01C6539 (more doubtfully in 01C6547). It is noteworthy that the same speaker, 01C, has scohabaird both singular and plural (4.72).

lao, obsolete plural li., now lianta, lianti. Speaker 894Cs is the only speaker recorded with plural li lao; twice in thugadh muid amach na lao, ... dho na lao amuich, 894Cs (also lianti: [x3] 894Cs). Many speakers do not recognise li as a plural but 29Nq claims to have noticed its use and obsolescence. The old genitive plural survives in the specific term buachail na lao 866ESc135.35 and in the field-names, e.g. Garaí Beag na Lao in Máinis.

mionna (mionna FGB), sg m’una SM, pl mionnai S, m’iniha !2CP161, but mionna mòra m’una mòra 889P (in context: -Biodh acub, is dáirt mé focal eicint, mionna mòra. 889P); gen p[1 in (proverb) léis na mionn is feárr na m rá 894C. Also sg mionna FFG24, 31.

páiste, perhaps (old genitive) plural in cáigear nó seisear páiste aige 866ESc260.33.

peaca, ag sciuabadh amach na bpeaca 11C, insna peaca seo !(Af)05M (3.14). Also peacai, peacachat. One would expect all three forms also as plurals of peacach, although a plural inflection of peacach is not found in my notes.

sneá, sg and pl fn’a SM (independently), but when queried, Seán offered plural fn’a(o)is’ Sq (adding s dohii is dóichi), and Máire offered fn’aani Mq; also fn’aanka 20Paq, fn’aanta ? 51Pq. I have one example which may have been taken down from conversation: tu fn’aani n da xlo’an M tá sneánaí in do chloigeann. The form sneá is originally plural (< sneadh); one would expect singular *snea (as in GCF snea > snea §126(c)). We can compare regular singular fn’ae < sleagh and singular feá < plural feedha (4.42).

So also, nouns in -i: bannaí (but i gcómh-mbannaíthe !894C9 with pl -iha); one of the plurals of achainti, ãïnnti, urnáit. Cp. cith in ins na cith teinti ABg4, 11.212 ‘very fast’. Note the use of cheithre bhuláin to stand for corach(ai) cheithre bhuláin, in the plural, e.g.

corach beag a bhí aige, ceann dhe na cheithre bhuláin sin. ARN7737.

Contrast, for example, chuig phuaint ‘five pound notes’ (4.42).

4.72 (ii) Final palatal consonant

Of those in a final consonant three are compounds, where the second element could possibly be interpreted as genitive (ceannchochall, ceammfort, cionndairt); and there is one further clear derivative (mass noun confairt, cp. ceammfort). There are borrowings ancard, hairt, scohabard, sirriam, triuf. There are interestingly four in -r’t, one in -rd’ and one in -rd’ ~ -rt’. (In unstressed position, as in this instance, -rd’ is particularly similar to -rt’ because of final devoicing. Recall that r remains nonpalatal in these clusters.) The nouns in -irt are:

ancard, tancard FFG, ancart 46 s.v. (all three forms implying plurals *ancaird, *tancaird, *ancairt), singular also ancaird, ancairt; plural æŋkard’æxi 894Cs.
Plural of nouns

céannfort, plural céannfoirt, but many speakers have sg and pl k’ánafort M.
There is also a plural based on the palatal singular céannfoirt > k’ánafort‘axi: S (Mperf). Obsolete plural in: cinn-phoirt Shasana !894C9 (composition by local poet) CABI §528(b) v. 4. Transcriptions of this same speaker have both céannfort !894C9 and céannfoirt !894C3 in the singular.
cionnáirt Mq, sg = pl -axi: Sq.

There is also a plural based on the palatal singular céannfoirt > k’ánafort‘axi: S (Mperf). Obsolete plural in: cín-phoirt Shasana !894C9 (composition by local poet) CABI §528(b) v. 4. Transcriptions of this same speaker have both céannfort !894C9 and céannfoirt !894C3 in the singular.
triúf > triúf S (also trf, triúfasaí). Cp. hairt above.

There are three (or four) other words, also in final palatalised coronals (d, l, s):
diallaid, pl na diallaid ar a ndruím ... a’d. 852S 2; also diallaideachaí.
ribe roíthe, cf. phrasal plurals (4.37, Table 4.1).
uirnis, used regularly as sg k’én ausr’ef nu d’ef ... 20S cén uirnis nó deis ... , as collective, e.g. bosc na huirnísse Clad179, but also as plural na huirnis.
As a specific singular or singulative, ball uirnis is common; as plural ouirniseachaí 894C2.

Cp. lær, lór’ sg = pl Mq, also lárachaí.

Exception: nonpalatal final labial in one or two early borrowings:
sirriam, (possibly plural in) ag tiarnaí talthúna ... báillí 869P 4; triúf > triúf S (also trf, triúfasaí). Cp. hairt above.

4.73 Agent and personal nouns in -í, -(l)och

Agent nouns in -í can have their plural identical to the singular, or suffix ho, V:x, or (for a few nouns) s / z. The range of surface endings in this class is eight in all:

-í > -í, -íhá, -V:x, -axi, -ix/á, 1 also -íx’o, -íə and -íthí.

There is one example of extension r + axi: in leadlaid > r’axdáaxi 27Mq.
Obsolescent -íhá has been recorded only in marcai > máriax’o 897P marcaithé. Two tokens of -íthí have been noted in: (dative) gadaithi go rubáithi 869P2, and verbal noun go na héiríthí dona 869P5. The ending -íə is intermediate between -í and -íthá and can reasonably be taken to be a reduced form of the latter. For orthographic -íthí, ambiguous regarding its phonetic and phonemic interpretation, see speaker 852S’s individual material below (4.140). (The variants -íx’o -íhá -íə -iə -iə -iə are found in the diachronically and phonologically equivalent paradigms of the verbal adjective and verbal noun.) Nonpersonal nouns in final singular -í, in contrast, have limited use of -íhá and even less -í.

1 Agent plural in -aíos is less productive in Iorras Aithneach than in GCF §122(b). For instance, Seán and Máire, on separate occasions, claimed not to have heard the forms coisíos and gréasaíos (GCF §122(b)). With the far greater retention of intervocalic h th in Iorras Aithneach than in Cois Pharraghe it seems there was no pressing need for a clear substitute (such as -s) for historical -íthí.
preferring especially V(xi) (e.g. béili, tanáí, cp. 4.71). Table 4.2 presents examples of most of the plural range with specific personal lexemes.

### Table 4.2 Plural of agent and personal nouns in -í, -(ó)och

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Plurals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>in -í</td>
<td>iðhø ið ið ið, iðz V:xi: axi:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atarnait</td>
<td>894CRBE + M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bacadait</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brutait</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>carait</td>
<td>869PZCP +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cosait</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>comráidait</td>
<td>894Cs +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cuartait</td>
<td>46.684 06C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>faighlit</td>
<td>M M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fil</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gudait</td>
<td>+ S na gudáit Mlt +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guidait</td>
<td>892Mg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>greasait</td>
<td>+ + + +, 05Mq +, 36Pq +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jucait</td>
<td>869Pti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leadait</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>piolóití</td>
<td>ABg4.253</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>políí</td>
<td>ABg91 +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suothrait</td>
<td>+ 36Pq +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scéalait</td>
<td>11C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scélabhói</td>
<td>Mq Mq Mq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scódaí</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>soláthrait</td>
<td>21Ptq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>talmhóí</td>
<td>taláthóin '894C9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trodait</td>
<td>892MARN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trustait</td>
<td>trustaithe '894C9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in -ách</td>
<td>Giúdach 46.368</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>robáilach</td>
<td>ABg4.201–2 S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in -óch</td>
<td>Ciarraíoch Mq Mq 05Mq Mq + +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gaíochcnoch</td>
<td>+ (e.g. 11C) + + + +</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Speaker 20Cq’s responses to queried personal nouns in -í are presented in Table 4.3. They show a fairly typical preference for iðhø in conscious production in contrast with V:xi; the ending V:xi being more progressive in these nouns for many speakers.

### Table 4.3 Plural of agent nouns in -í, 20Cq

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>exi:</th>
<th>iðhø</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>coist</td>
<td>about to respond kořexi: but echoed and preferred 20Myq’s kořexi: initial response kořænhø selfcorrected to kořæhi... an rud ceart selfcorrected to kořeexi... an rud ceart echoed and agreed with 20My’s parfiexi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ceannait</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sclábháí</td>
<td>initial response kořewexi:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gréasait</td>
<td>initial response grëexi:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>páirti</td>
<td>tæřexi:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taist</td>
<td>iřixi:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>soláthrait</td>
<td>sularřoxi: sularřexi:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Plural of nouns

Examples of bases -íoch and -ach with plural -íthe variants are:

-íoch: Ciarráíoch (based on Ciarrát) > kíaróixí, kíaríhó, kíári Mq, kíárís 05M, also kíáríxi kíáríxi;
gaiscíoch > gaiscíochtí, gaiscíthe, gaiscí.

-ach: robálach [x3] > robálaidhthe ABg4.201–2;
Giúdach > Giúdaithe 46.368.

Another personal noun with íthe plural is:
caras Críost > dá xid’ kíarís Mq do chúid caras Críostaíthe, probably influenced by singular personal Críostaí.

Some agent nouns may have alternate singular suffixes in -ach and -í so that plurals in -í ~ -achaí can occur with either suffix as base. The plurals rubálaxi; or rubóli, for example, may derive from either the singular rubálax robálach or the singular rubóli: robálaí. Quite a few speakers, when prompted with robálai in plural query sessions, took robálai as plural of robálach, some adding the other plural by-form robálachtí. Plurals in -ása, expected from certain speakers, were not heard in such agent nouns with poly syllabic stems. If this lack of -ása is not merely coincidental, the use of final -í in plural -áxi (by speakers who otherwise have tetrasyllabic -ása) may reflect agentive -í: of the singular. For example, speaker 20C (4.179), who has prevalent tetrasyllabic -ása, has -áxi: in soláthraí > suláthhaxí suláthxí: (Table 4.3). Given the link between agentive í and plurals in (VíxiÉ), the lack of -ása in this environment may also be related to the infrequency of <Váxa> (4.113).

4.74 Irregular

Because of the importance of the lexicalised component in plural formation, there are many nouns which cannot be described as strictly regular. On the other hand, nouns with atypical formations are categorised here as irregular. Irregular plurals have anomalous vowel or consonant alternation or suppletion. Many have regular plural alternants. See 3.47 for words with irregular singular inflection and genitive plural.

abhainn aúí > aívináxi: (aívní 45B, a speaker no longer resident in the Gaeltacht); cp. gabhá below.
aíthe anátho > áhontá aíhontíí: common in na deich n-aítheanta(f); cp. seacht n-aíthe 894C.
bó generally > beithí (cf. beithigh, 4.47), pl of beithíoch; most (especially younger) speakers do not use the old irregular plural of bó at all. It is heard, however, occasionally in Seán’s use, e.g. an bhfaca tú na ba? (no doubt felt to be conservative) and in the saying troid na mba maol.
cliamhain > kliámáváxí, klávániha, kláváni: SM, kláváni: S, dá chliamhain ...
... agus a bheirt chliamsícháinach 866ESC158.9, 170.33.
colbha > regular koluíi, kolVxíi, koli: S, koluí: 45B (found humorous by the speaker, as it is homophonous with collacháí), koluíxi: 52Jq, koliha; anomalous koloígo 01P (perhaps for koloíxi; but cp. leithé > leithegat 52Jq, also leithiál, leithéocháí, etc., and spig neanta > spí i n’aentogóxi 76Nq (influenced by neantóg, speaker 76N’s singular not noted)).
crú > kríf ø, krúft í, krúft ø, crúthe, kruhií, krohií, krihiá, crihiá, crúithí, krihiíha: The most anomalous form is the rare krihiíha crúithíthe, arguably
containing two h extensions: kri+h+iha (with ending iha < i+h+a). At the lexical or diachronic level one can interpret this krihiha as a combination of kriha craoithe and krihi kruhi: crauthli (and even kri if cruih).

deis > d'efani, d'efalaxa 31P, deisealacha le haghaidh isasgaigh ABg4, d'efalxi: 18J, d'efulxi: 25M; the last three forms, in -dalulach-, have been recorded in the meaning ‘gadgets, contraptions’; the form d'efani: is not restricted in meaning.

doigh do > doxi:, dohexi:, dehexi:, dahaxi:, dohexi:, dehexi:;

doru: some speakers have sg dr- vs. pl dVr-, e.g. dâu: > dìoif o 46.1116, dru: > do'ruf o 896P; another speaker in query has sg dVr- vs. pl dr- ~ dVr, i.e. dorú: > drí: doránta 45Mq; most speakers have consistent sg and pl dr- or sg and pl dVr; other plural by-forms are dlí: 27Mq, doránti:, doraf o, druf o, druf i; druifí.

duine din a doin a daoine, din i: daoíní.

eán > enaxi: generally, but daibhín 864MABg, na 'tíar'én' 869Pn na fioréin, also obsolescent enla (perhaps usually in the context of ‘fowl’), e.g. énaxi: (or na hé:ma) 46.822; in gen pl context ceol na n-éanla faoi chúsás na coille craoí 1015ABG §231(b) v. 5; leaba chlíomhach na n-éanlaithe n'énla.

faoilleán sg fai i:en > regularly fai i:en', but rarely (with irregular vowel alternation) fai i:en' P, Sq (similar to daibhéin (fioréin) above).

fiche > fchid, with dlá > dlá fhchhead; meaning ‘twenties’: fchéadaí, fchide, fchidi, fchéadaí, fchéideachá.

gabh gau > gaín o, gáuní: gaibhneacha ABg4.251; cp. g'áiv o 51Pq.

gloine1 glin a > glán oxi: S, P glaineóchaí, also regularly (the majority of speakers retain radical) glin oxi: (etc.) SM glaineóchaí, glin i: gloiní.

leath: l' a > l' e leith, also l' ehaní: l' ahaní:, l' eaksi:.

leithe has regular plurals l' eaksi:; l' ehaksi:, l' eaksi:, l' eaksi: (l' eaksi:); according to 52Jq he has suppletion in leithe > leitheogaí (which resembles leitheochá) based on the synonymous sg leithoeg.

naocha níoxa > níd: eqi: 32J naoidéagaí.

nóiméad num 'ed > regular num 'ed', num 'edi:; num 'edi: anomalous.

"num 'edi: in ceathair ná cù' dhe mhóiméadai wum 'edi: 11C. Cp. SIDt.234 for regular móiméad in North Connacht dialects.


With coalescence of l and n and loss of n in by-forms:

1 Singular glaine has not been noted in conversation but is used, according to Mairé, by people from the district ‘thart anseo’, e.g. tomar a glan a fìn', glan a fìsk o Mq tabhair dhom an ghlain sin, glaine fulsa. On a separate occasion, when discussing Vxi: plurals with myself and speaker 66N, without any gloine prompt, Mairé informed us that d' erha kid a' kab glan oxi: glan oxi: ax s' id JF Káert M d'éaradach cuid acab glaineochá: glaineochá: 'ach níl sé ceart, implying a connection between the a vocalism and the plural form, as evident in my notes from Seán and Pidraig. The a in glaine (historically e glain) is found in the singular in local poetry (10.13) and in dialects to the north, e.g. SIDt.122; its use (or retention) in the plural may perhaps be affected by vowel dissimilation: a ú in glainnuchá.
Plural of nouns

guilinn, guillí, muileann, muilte, scillinn, skilliúintí, skilliúntacha, gealladh, geallúintí, geallúntais.

For some speakers, historical final mh is realised differently from internal mh in:
fréamh > fréamhaí.

Note further the place-name na der i: ~ na der áv historically na Doireadha.

There is a form of substitution of related stems in plurals such as:
cailleadh > cailleadhí, cailleadhachaí;
gealladh > geallúintí, geallúntachaí, geallúntais.

Cp. the type of alternative agentive suffix in noun s like robálach (also robálaí) > robálaíthe, etc., (4.73).

Variation and variables

4.75 Use, variation, developments and dialectology

Some general topics concerning plural allomorphy are discussed in the following sections. First, some variation and developments in plural production are described (4.76 ff.). There then follows more extensive discussion of seven variables:

1. \( (\text{o} \rightarrow \langle \text{og} \rangle <\text{ogx}\rangle) \) (4.87)
   e.g. coirceog > coirceogáí ~ coirceogacháí.

2. \( (\text{ax} \rightarrow \langle \text{a} \rangle <\text{axa} \rangle <\text{axi} \rangle) \) (4.88 ff.)
   e.g. Clochartach > Clochartaigh ~ Clochartachaí ~ Clochartáí.

3. \( (r) \rightarrow \langle \text{r} \rangle <\text{r} \rangle \) (4.93 ff.)
   e.g. culaithe > cultrachaí ~ cultrachá; leaba > leaprachaí ~ leapachaí.

4. \( (V) \rightarrow \langle \text{a} \rangle <\text{i} \rangle \) (4.101 ff.)
   e.g. bróig > brógaí ~ brógaí; scéal > scéaltaí ~ scéaltaí.

5. \( (VxV) \rightarrow \langle V\text{x}a \rangle <\text{Vxi} \rangle \) (4.111 ff.)
   e.g. culaithe > cultrachaí ~ cultrachá; carraig > carraigeachaí ~ carraigeacháí.

6. \( (V\text{x}\text{x}) \rightarrow \langle \text{axi} \rangle <\text{axi} \rangle <\text{axi} \rangle <\text{axi} \rangle, \) etc., (4.118 ff.)
   e.g. longa > longacháí ~ longachaí ~ longaí ~ longachaí, etc.

7. \( (u\text{wi}) \rightarrow \langle \text{u} \rangle <\text{uw} \rangle <\text{uw} \rangle <\text{uw} \rangle) \) (4.132 ff.)
   e.g. teach > tithiúi ~ tithiúbhaí ~ tithéabhaí ~ tíobhaí, etc.

4.76 Speaker preferences, comments and use

Speakers often show no preference for one form or another from among the often many available plural suffixes. Speakers frequently vary their use in conversation, and spontaneously offer two or three alternants in elicitation, adding comments such as ‘Tá tú i ndan chaon cheann acub a rá’ ‘You can say it both ways’, ‘X, nó tá tú i ndan Y a rá froisin’ ‘X, or you can say Y as well’, or as 20My commented (unconsciously using her polysyllabic condition for -ExE)

20My leaganacha cainte ‘turns of phrase’. On the other hand, many alternants do

---

1 A version of the description of variables 3–6 has appeared in Irish in Ó Curnáin (1997).
carry various values or stylistic suitability and preferences or degrees of permissibility among speakers.

4.77 Preferences

Often, one plural form is preferred to an accepted or even more prevalent alternant. Cp. *gloine*, p. 725, n. 1. The preferred form is often diachronically more conservative, as in the examples listed here.

*bille*: Sq first offered *b’i: oxiː*, but then added déáarthainn gob é ’n rud ceart b’iː’iː a rd Sq.

*fiach dubh*: Mq first produced *f’iə yuə fiəigh dlubha* adding that it was n rud k’áərt an rud ceart; she then offered the alternative form *f’iəxani: duə fiachannai dubha* which she seemed to feel was ‘easier’.

*pluic plik*: Mq produced *plukiː, plik’anːiː, plukanːiː*, and added *plukiː n rud k’áərt ’plucái’ an rud ceart* (in conversation *plucái* is also her commonest form).

*ruacan*: Máire’s form in conversation and query is *ro:kamːs* M. Queried about *ruokamːs*, her brother Pádraig’s form, Máire said ni dhéáarthá go deo é M.

*col ceathar*: > *col ceatharacháit, col cúigearacháit*, etc., were produced without trouble or comment by Seán and Máire but neither of them liked *col ochtaracháit* even though it is a form used by both of them in conversation. Perhaps *col ochtar* is the least prevalent lexeme (in both singular and plural) but there may also be some tendency to avoid -ch- -ch- in sequence here.

*cláː*; Seán and Máire generally use *klohəːxiː*; their son *52Jq* offered *klaithəːxiː* as his form. When queried regarding *klohəːxiː*, he claimed *klohaxiː* was the plural of *cloch*. It seems, then, that *52J* prefers a form closer to the singular base, as well as avoiding near homophony with similar *klaithəːxiː* is the norm, e.g. by his wife’s speech (*56N* from Ros Muc). In conversation with *56N*’s brother *59P* (whose plural is *klaithəːxiː*) my own ag *diənəməh klohaxiː* was mis-interpreted by him as *(ag diənəməh ballaː cloch(a))*.

*cúː*; Mq produced *coin* and *cúːːte* on separate occasions but reacted negatively to suggested *cúnəːiː*, S’iː *erhaː vuniː* M ni dhéáarthá ‘cúnəːiː’, a form accepted by Sq.

*déasː*; *d’eːfrəxiː* Mq and *d’esiːxiː* Mperm but *d’aːfraxiː* MØperm (cp. *894cs*, 4.158, 4.159).

*crann kranː*; Seán’s usual plural, as most speakers, is *kriːxtəː*, but he produced ... *kranːiː ul anː* ... *S crannəː vála anː* in conversation. When queried about the latter, he answered:

N’iː as am fiː *kranːiː, kranːiː, kranːaxiː*; S níl flúis a’m faoi ’crannəːt, cránmət, crán(ə)chəː’,
laughing at the last form, which is (also) Seán’s (and the general) plural for *kranː* crán.

*deireadhː*; Sq produced *d’eːrəːxiː, d’eːr’uxiː* and finally, with a laugh,
Plural of nouns

*d’ér’ani*: Sq. Such a combination of plural allomorphs *+w’ani* is not tolerated in the dialect. In sandhi, however, singular *d’ér*u occurs so that *d’ér+w’ani* is possible but *d’ér’ani* more so.

leac, leic: Máire used *l’êkr’axi* in conversation, but when questioned about it gave her preferred form: ‘leacrachai’ *l’êkraxi* a d’abraíomnus muide.

seas: Seán and Máire’s general plural of *seas* is *fæsraxi*: SM *seasráchai*, but when *fæsrudaxi*: *seasrácharachái* was queried it was decidedly preferred: *fin e: n tæn’am’ k’aert f en ai* SM *sin é an t-aím ceart lena aghaidh*. Neither speaker, however, was noted with *seasrácharachái* in spontaneous use.

4.78 Playful variation

A further example of a speaker’s awareness of the many possibilities of plural formation is seen in Seán’s spontaneous listing of alternants in an everyday question:1

\[
\text{k’er òga mìd’ na luàní, na luànta, na luàna S}
\]

\[
cér fhàga mìd’ na lánnaí, na lánsta, na lánna?
\]

where Seán seems to have produced his most usual plural second in the sequence and to have continued the variation playfully (*luàna* has not otherwise been heard). Similar playfulness with -annai ~ -antaí is seen in Seán’s spontaneous production of a plural by-form of *am* (uncommon for him):

\[
\text{amànni \ldots bramànni,}
\]

where the latter word was produced to rhyme with the former. Seán’s normal form is *am > amànni: amàntaí*. Cf. 4.46, 4.47 (beithigh), 4.58 and individual speakers in 4.138 ff.

4.79 Lapses and solecisms

Speakers sometimes have difficulty in conversation producing or remembering a given plural. This of course happens more frequently in the unusual context of plural questionnaires. One also sometimes hears plural forms that are generally not accepted (taken to be slips of the tongue or memory lapses). Examples of these phenomena are listed here.

ainm: in a discussion of townland names, *ainmneachaí bailteachaí*, the following slip of the tongue occurred:

\[
\text{ain’amàntaí: el’e 21C ainmtrachai eile.}
\]

Here the -t- was probably transferred from bailteachaí. The insertion of nonpalatal t might imply that, at an abstract level, the extension in bailteachaí is nonpalatal.

binn: *rin’ a m’ó na b’ardgànani, na, na b’áena wíl as xé d 23M*

\[
\text{rinne mé na beàrjannais, na \ldots na beanna an bhfúsí fhíos a’d?}
\]

with hesitation before *beanna*, seemingly in an effort to remember the plural (perhaps the speaker was about to produce a plural in -annai through interference from *beàrjannai*).

\[
\text{an bhinn \ldots na [hesitation] binn [plural], \ldots na binne [plural] \ldots 64M.}
\]

---

1 This occurred years before I had made any systematic queries of his plural usage.
Variation and variables

broc: \( \text{brok} \ldots \text{na} | \text{brèk} \), \( \text{broc} \ldots \text{na}, \text{broic} \).
The hesitation following \( \text{na} \) may have been caused by the speaker trying to produce an appropriate plural for this relatively rare word and generally solitary animal.

buidéal: \( \text{n'ær't} \text{e n'ix} \text{a s bid ed'axi: portar'} \text{P} \)
\( \text{near} \text{t} \text{e} \text{n'-ihe} \text{is buidéileachail pobair}, \)
taken as a slip of the tongue, which caused suffixation of the very productive \( \text{axi} \) ending to regular \( \text{buidéil} \).

ceast: the following occurred in the context of the English word ‘question’ (used in a programme on television at the time):
\( \text{Ó go deimhin tá ceisteannachá ... Ar an méid ceisteannachá ... ceisteannail aisteach a M;} \)
here Máire seems to have mixed ‘question’-achaí and ceisteannaí.

cloch: \( \text{kurh mid' a klooxi}: \text{je}, \text{tu ... n'ær't klooxa n'fin'} \text{P} \)
\( \text{cuirthidh} \text{muide clochannaí dhe, tá neart clocha ansin}; \)
taken as a slip of the tongue, which caused suffixation of the very productive \( \text{ani} \) ending to regular \( \text{clocha(i)} \).

cois: -\( \text{Ar féidir cossaí fhail leihí píct} \text{? M} \)
-\( \text{Hea? S} \)
-\( \text{Ar féidir co-, co-, co-, cois fháil leihí píce} \text{? M} \)
-\( \text{O! is féidir S.} \)
Later on, Seán went to buy a \( \text{cois píce} \) (‘pitchfork handle’) and, without hesitation, asked the shopkeeper:
\( \text{Bhfuil cosa píce a'd? S.} \)

craiceann: \( \text{Ná bí ag caitheamh} \text{ craiceann(-)}, \text{aí M, with hesitation in the pronunciation of this aberrant plural in -annaí. Máire generally has craicne.} \)

gasúr: \( \text{b'èr' gò will' mid' ò dufox na gasur' axi: ... na gasur' 49M} \)
\( \text{b'fhéidir go bhfuil muid ag dúiseacht na ngasúireachait [anomalous] ... na ngasúir [regular].} \)

gualainn: Máire has been recorded twice hesitating in conversation while producing \( \text{guElEÐ} \text{ExiÉþþ} \), e.g.
\( \text{tu gu} \text{,(,)EÐ !ExiÉ moÉrE ... M} \text{tá gualainneachaí móra ... .} \)
Without hesitation she has \( \text{guEû !iÉþþ} \), etc.

tasc: There is clear selfcorrection in:
\( \text{iaskan} \text{ | e} \text{jk' v'oga iascann-, ëisc bheaga ...} \)
\( \text{(speaker Máirtín Ó Gríofa, from Ceantar na nOileán, resident in Mánis, noted 1998).} \)

tioscaid: \( \text{-kadópi' t'in' ort (Tá / An bhfuil) calpaí timn ort.} \)
\( \text{-uskódi': BóC Ioscaíd.} \)
\( \text{-uskódaí: | uskódi': M (...) ioscadachait, ioscaíd;} \)
where Máire seems to have repeated the plural, showing preference for nonpalatal -d-, and finally settling for her own preferred version.

poll: \( \text{ga l'or pai}: \text{axi: daun' P(?) go leor poilleachait domhain;} \)
for regular \( \text{pái, poill.} \)

posta: (during a post office strike)
\( \text{- ... na posta (l)\text{\'axi: ... M - ... na posta — achat ...} \)
\( \text{-hò 52Cr -Hu?} \)
\( \text{- ... na posta | M - ... na posta.} \)
In the first instance, there was hesitation during the \( \text{a} \) of \( \text{posta}, \)
presumably searching for a plural form. In the second instance, the singular form was used with plural meaning (perhaps the plural, having apparently not been understood, was abandoned).

Two days later without hesitation:

\[ s \, d\ddot{o}hi: \, g\acute{a} \, m\acute{e} \, i \, n \, p\, \text{postaxi:} \, \acute{o}sk\acute{l}i: \, s\acute{m}\ddot{e}r\acute{a}x \, M \]
\[ \text{is d\ddot{o}ich\acute{t} go mbeidh na post\acute{a}cha\acute{i} oscla\acute{i} am\acute{a}ireach.} \]

Much later (referring to pilfering of money from letters) and without hesitation [x3]:

\[ t\acute{u} \, f\acute{e} \, g\acute{o} \, j\acute{i}n\acute{a} \, s\acute{n}a \, p\text{postaxi:} \, M \, t\acute{a} \, s\acute{e} \, d\acute{h}\acute{a} \, d\acute{h}\acute{\acute{e}}\acute{a}n\acute{a}mh \, s\acute{n}a \, p\text{ost\acute{a}cha\acute{i}.} \]

Another example of hesitation with \textit{posta}, perhaps also caused by plural formation, occurred in:

\[ \text{o\acute{a} \, f\acute{e} \, t\acute{u} \, n \, | \, a\acute{n} \, | \, p\text{postaxi:} \, t\acute{a} \, \text{postaxi:} \, u\text{ha\acute{s}a\acute{x} \, M} \]
\[ \text{\acute{o} \, t\acute{a} \, a\acute{n} \, — \, a\acute{n} \, --- \, post\acute{a}cha\acute{i} \, a\acute{t}\acute{a} \, i \, n\text{Ga\acute{i}ll}, \, t\acute{a} \, s\acute{e} \, u\acute{a}f\acute{\acute{a}sach.} \]

Compare Máire’s form \textit{postaí} in writing:

\[ \text{t\acute{a} \, a\acute{n} \, dea\acute{b}h} \, a\acute{r \, n\acute{a} \, p\text{ostal \, a\acute{n}ois \, \text{ar\acute{a}st \, a \, Bh\acute{r}i\acute{a}n \, Mlt, \, bh\acute{t} \, go \, leor \, l\text{it\acute{e}ach\acute{a}i \, rob\acute{u}l\acute{t}e \, \acute{o} \, \text{shoin \, s\acute{n}a \, postal \, Mlt.}} \]

This would suggest that at least some of the cause of Máire’s confusion in conversation is the competition between the two suffixes \textit{-achaí} (arguably vernacular) and \textit{-aí} (written and arguably conservative). The semantic clash with \textit{postaí} ‘posts, stakes’ is also relevant.

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textbf{punt:} \text{\textit{na \, xu\acute{g} \, pi\acute{e}nt\acute{a}x\acute{i}:} \, 43M \, na \, \text{ch\acute{u}i\acute{g} \, puint\acute{e}ach\acute{a}i \, ‘\text{five pound notes’; \, p\acute{a}\text{p\acute{e}ir \, ch\acute{u}i\acute{g} \, phunt \, or \, ch\acute{u}i\acute{g} \, phuint} \, \text{are more usual.}}}
  \item \textbf{sciatháin:} \text{\textit{\text{\acute{a} \, xu\acute{d}, \text{\text{\acute{a} \, xu\acute{d} \, jk'\acute{i}h\acute{e}n\acute{a}x\acute{i}: \, ort \, M}}}}}
  \text{\textit{a \, ch\acute{u}i\acute{d} \, — \, a \, ch\acute{u}i\acute{d} \, sciath\acute{h}\acute{\acute{a}n\acute{a}ch\acute{a}i \, ort.}}}
  \text{Máire usually has regular \textit{jk'\acute{i}h\acute{e}n' \, sciath\acute{\acute{a}in.}}}
\end{itemize}

\section*{4.80 Emigrants; Singular}

\textbf{Emigrants}

It is not surprising to find that emigrants from the area, now living in English-speaking regions, occasionally have difficulties in recalling a given plural form. For example, speaker \textit{45B}, in conversation on the telephone from Tipperary, her marital home, hesitated in:

\[ \text{\textit{na, \text{\text{n\acute{a} \, haiv\acute{d} \, \text{a \, wil\acute{a} \, \text{sed} \, 45B \, na} — \, na \, \text{haibhhe} \, \text{an \, bh\acute{f}\acute{u}il \, \text{fhi\acute{os} \, a\acute{d.}}}}}} \]

The form she actually produced is otherwise only heard in the genitive singular (instead of traditional plural \textit{a\acute{i}v\acute{d} \, ax\acute{i}: \, a\acute{i}bh\acute{\acute{h}}\acute{\acute{\acute{e}}n\acute{e}ch\acute{\acute{a}i} \, < \, aux \, abh\acute{\acute{a}in\acute{n}.}}). The actual morphology of \textit{a\acute{i}bh\acute{h}ne}, however, is not aberrant for a plural form and is the historical plural (e.g. DIL s.v. \textit{ab}¹, FGB s.v. \textit{aibhne}).

\textbf{Singular}

The opposite phenomenon to hesitation in the plural occurs when there is uncertainty concerning the singular of nouns which are most prevalent in the plural. For example, speaker \textit{37J\acute{q}} commented that \textit{lann\acute{a} ‘(fish) scale’ was probably (is d\ddot{o}ich\acute{t}) the singular of his \textit{lann\acute{\acute{o}}cha\acute{i}.}} Speaker \textit{52P} had difficulty in conversation with singular \textit{cocha \sim \text{coch for more common plural cochann\acute{a}i \sim cochail}} (1.53; cf. also 4.30).
4.81 Serial effect

There are instances in conversation, both monologue and dialogue, of the so-called serial effect on speakers’ production. In the flow of conversation a preceding form may be adopted without change or blended with another variant (often the speaker’s main variant) in succeeding forms.

\textit{ceann}:

\textbf{-na k’\ae\nna bir\’ ana fo (... interviewee) Na ceanna baineanna seo ...} \\
\textbf{-gan na k’\una hin\’ ana ... 30Ms Gan na ceanna baineanna ... .}

Although found further east, the use of \textit{k\’\ae\nna ceanna} as an unmarked plural of \textit{ceann} is not native to Iorras Aithneach (4.47). In the recorded interview, speaker 30Ms approximates extraneous \textit{ceanna} with this once-off form \textit{k\’\una}.

\textit{cleas}:

\textbf{-... kl\’\easn\’i: ... M \ldots cleasanna\’i ...} \\
\textbf{-... na kl\’ | kl\’\e\’ \’i: fin\’ \’i \’S ... na cl — clisanna\’i sin.}

Here Seán seems influenced by Máire’s -\’\e\’ann\’i, and combines what he seemed to be about to say, \textit{clis}, with the suffix she had just used. He was otherwise noted only with \textit{clis} and \textit{cleasanna\’i}.

\textit{reithe}:

\textbf{-... na rohaxi: ... 20Ml \ldots na reithinoa\’i ...} \\
\textbf{-... na rohi: ... 18Bm \ldots na reithi ...} \\
\textbf{-... na rohia\’xi: ... 20Ml \ldots na reithi\’ochai \ldots .}

Again, the last form in the series is a combination influenced by the preceding context.

\textit{slat}:

\textbf{-... [slatraxi: ?] \ldots vi: slat\’axi: \ldots vi\’n\’ \’en\’ \’a tarant na slat\’ ...} \\
\textbf{-... na slat\’ ... P \ldots (slatrachai?) \ldots bh\’i slata\’chai \ldots bh\’iin \’he\’in \’ag \’tarraint na slat\’ ...bh\’i \’slata ... .}

Here Pádraig uses a shorter plural in the genitive plural position and continues the use of this shorter form in the nominative plural context.

\textit{spread}:

\textbf{-... spr\’\e\’beaxi: ... 01P spreabra\’ochai} \\
\textbf{-... spr\’\e\’bra\’xi: Pádraig Mac Donncha (interviewer) spreabrachai} \\
\textbf{-... spr\’\e\’baraxi: 01P spreabrachai.}

\textit{teach}:

\textbf{-... ti\’f\’a ... 48M ti\’f\’a (her usual form; 48M (wife of 44Pn) is from Leitir hArd)} \\
\textbf{-... ti\’f\’a\’i: ... 44Pn ti\’f\’a\’i (44Pn from Maínis where ti\’f\’a\’i is a minor variant; his a\’f\’i may be a blend of fo (common in Leitir hArd) and a\’wi (common in Maínis))} \\
\textbf{-... ti\’h\’a\’i: ... B\’oC ti\’h\’e\’abha\’i} \\
\textbf{-... ti\’h\’a\’wi: ... 44Pn ti\’h\’e\’abha\’i.}

Other possible examples of serial effect occur in:

\textit{dealg}:

Cladl has four variants in nine plural tokens of \textit{dealg} (op. 4.82) noted in four parts of the book:

\textit{deilg\’n}\[x1]: a mbionn deilgn\’n l\’a\’idre 38; \\
\textit{deilg}\[x4]: le deilg l\’a\’idre ... na deilg sin 83, T\’a deilg gh\’e\’ara as 105, agus deilg gh\’e\’ara as 107; \\
\textit{deilgne}\[x1]: go leor deilgne ar 113; \\
\textit{dealg\’a}\[x3]: go bhf\’uil dealg\’a an-gh\’e\’ara ... , dealg\’a an-gh\’e\’ara 121, go leor dealg\’a gh\’e\’ara 122.

\textit{ronnach}:

\textbf{-... runaxi: ... B\’oC ronnacha\’i ...} \\
\textbf{-... runaxi: ... d\’ial run\’a ... run\’a P}

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... ronnachaí ... ag diol ronnaigh ... ronnaigh.

gabha: Bhi cuid de na Guairimeacha ina ngaibhneacha. ABg4.251.
Serial effect is the probable cause of gaibhneacha here, for otherwise consistent gaibhne.

traim: plural usually traimeannai, but; ... eangachaí, tramachaí. 72N.

Cp. bonn: gastáí géara, boinní béara is part of a tale run. Also boinní béara, gastáí géara. It seems possible that a historically correct *boinn bhéara or *bonnaíbh béara might have been amended through parallelism with gastáí géara to boinní béara.

4.82 List effect and query

List effect is very evident in my query sessions with speakers, and efforts were of course made to minimise its influence. Short plurals (i.e. frequently conservative use) are often consciously preferred in monitored style, so that elicitation may yield a higher proportion of these forms than in the speaker’s conversational style. Long plurals in (Vxi), on the other hand, are so common that they often spread in questionnaire sessions to nouns which more commonly have shorter plurals. This effect is apparent in the following exchange during a query session on noun plurals:

- susur BóC Siosúir. (prompt)
  - fisur a[a] 20C Siosuíreacha.
  - fisur i: ... a d’erhøn[a] ... 20My Siosúirí ... a déarthainnse ...
  - B’fhéidir go bhfuil tú curtha thrína chéile ag na cinn eile? BóC (addressing 20C)
  - tu[a], a todar hen’ a naam, kir’ a’f’æx er’ a xe[a] 20C

Tá, d’al tádar hein i ndan cuir isteach ar a chéile.

Despite the admitted serial effect here, fisur a[a] is by no means exceptional in formation nor is it inadmissible for 20Cq. Another example of list effect from 20Cq are the three genuine instances produced of dealg > d’aelaqha, where speaker 20C then quickly added nó d’el ag’, which was preferred. A few queries later, lorga > ler ag’n’i: was produced, and, shortly after that, dealg was prompted again, this time producing d’el ag’n’i: 20Cq. Yet another possible example from 20Cq is the following sequence:

gin > g’antaxa 20C, g’entraxi: 20My, g’antaxi: 20C,

with -i being copied in this instance.

Other examples with the words lorga (generally plural ler ag’n’i:) and dealg (cp. 4.81) occurred in a plural query session with husband and wife 12J and 23B in the following order:

loragaxi 23B, loragaxi 12J, lor ag’n’i [x3] 23B, loragaxi 12J, lor ag’n i 12J;

 d’el ag’ 12J, d’aelagaxi 12J, d’el ag’n’axi 23B, d’el ag’axi 12J.

As the serial effect occurs in conversation, it is not completely artificial in elicitation.

The only noted token of the ending soxi: < s + oxi:, in sumsoxi: d’ukar’ a 10B sumsochait [e sum] diocaire, was heard in conversation about 10–15 minutes after a plural query session with speaker 10B. She had produced many tokens of oxi:, her main (Vxi) variant (which is her default ending for nouns in 1σCa, the (Vxi) class). These tokens seem to have influenced her conversation, albeit
unconsciously for she is linguistically, in some senses, wonderfully ‘naive’. Máire was told of her friend’s use, and found it unique but fine Irish, commenting (not ironically):

- sumsoxí: d’úkar’á [laughter] n’ír xuála m’e r’iaw ax sums, sumanní,
  sumsoxí: d’úkar’á na x br’e: η yeq’i: fin’ M
  ‘Sumsócháid diocaire’ níor chuala mé ariamh ach ‘sums, sumannáí.’
  ‘Sumsócháid diocaire,’ nach breá an Ghaeilge i sin!

In queries for plural nouns, where the singular is used as a prompt, there is a tendency for speakers to respond with forms closest to the singular base. A good example of this tendency is found with the noun glaise. When prompted with glaise, speakers often offer glaise + Vxi:, rather than the plural most heard in conversation (by me): glascannáí. What may be a further example of serial effect of the singular base in the query situation is found in the SID.46.680 response: bro: bró plural brocé (brón, t é bró(nte); whereas in RBÉ material speaker 869P has the most ‘independent’ plural form (or form furthest from the base) in bruínte.

4.83 Aberrant responses

Some probably aberrant plurals were given as acceptable even when double-checked, e.g.

slat, ‘Slata’ ná ‘slatracháit’, ‘sluit’,’ rad céanna é Sq.
  go l’or slít’, slit’, slatracháit: nu: slati: to tu naan a ra, slata, x’ert
  ghn tít’ … Mq go leor sluit, sluit, slatracháit nó slataí tá tú i ndan a rá,
  slata, heart dhen tsluit … .

In conversation sluit, an old dative singular, is only heard in the singular (now rarely). Compare dealg which has a genuine plural by-form deilg; it is also, as slat, a feminine noun.

Speakers’ logical interpretations and explanations in query are not always accurate. As mentioned in 4.77, speaker 52J from Maínís, when queried about klohxí: (the most common plural form of clái in Maínís), in contrast with his proffered klaíxi:, claimed that the former was the plural of cloch and that it was therefore illogical. Speaker 43M, in query produced glafíxi: as the plural of glaise. When queried about glaskaní:, the only plural form heard from her in conversation, she claimed there is a semantic distinction between the two plurals. According to 43M, glaskaní: has a more mass noun or noncount noun quality, being, furthermore, especially prevalent in glascannáí na bhfataí. This type of semantic distinction between plural forms of the same word may reflect genuine speaker intuitions but may also be difficult to pinpoint in actual usage.

4.84 Frequency

Even some common nouns have no widely acceptable plural form, e.g. srón > sróin > sróina, sróinta, sróinte, sróinní are more or less ad hoc formations which many speakers feel unsure of. In the word srón, the singular is often used in the plural context meaning ‘one of each’, e.g. tá srón mhór orthub ‘they have large noses’. In discussing children’s sinuses speaker 43M’s voice was hesitant uttering srú(i):n:

go mbeadh prablam acub lena srúin, a srún. 43M.

Another example of a common noun without an accepted plural inflection is mac,
which for many speakers is permissible with plural meaning only in the phrase *clann mhac*. A younger speaker, however, has *macannaí* (*na múinteoirí*) 77C. Many nouns have only marginally acceptable status in the plural although many such plurals do occur in use. The phrasal noun *damhán alla* is a case in point. The plural of *duÉAÉn aÉlE* was requested from Seán and he proffered:

\[\text{duÉAÉn aÉliÉ, ... duÉAÉn aÉlExiÉ}\]

Sq *damhán alla*, ... *damhán allachaí* ach feicthear dhom nach bhfuil sé ag sabhaindéil (< sound) ceart.

He was clearly unhappy with either possibility. A third formation *damháin alla* was proffered independently by Máire (as well as other speakers), which she found completely unproblematic. The word *tanaí* has a plural form but *domhain* has no plural for Mq.

Verbal noun plurals are relatively rare except for the more nominalised verbal nouns such as *casadh* ‘turn’ (e.g. in a road), *gearradh* ‘cut’ (e.g. on skin), *briseadh* ‘wave’. Even for the plural of verbal nouns such as *pósadh* ‘marriage’ > *pósáechait*, speaker 20C’s comment is quite typical: D’fhéadthá é a rá, ach an mbeadh sé ceart? As well as the usual nominal usages, however, there are a few idiomatic collocations where the verbal noun plurals are common. For example, in the phrase *ag baint VN+pl (móra)* amach, as in *bearradh* > *ag baint bearraechaí amach* ‘shaving on,’ ‘doing the odd shave’ and *ag baint bearraechaí móra amach* ‘doing lots of shaving’. These idiomatic collocations were applied where possible in queries for verbal noun plurals.

### Developments and variation

#### 4.85 Productivity

Infrequent or marginal suffixes are becoming more marginal in their use and are in some instances lost completely. The suffix -*ú* (in *gearrchailiú*) is now more or less obsolete. The semantically determined plural -*asaí* is limited to one or two nouns for some old speakers, while it is not used at all by many other old speakers. It is not known to younger speakers queried, born in 1960s and later, and is replaced by -*annaí*. The main endings are obligatory with many of the nouns in their classes, e.g. -C*’* (palatalisation) and (V) (and i). Less widespread endings tend to be optional, being replaced by more common suffixes, e.g. -*íl* in *plump > plumpaíl* but also *plumpannaí*; *locht > lochtaíl* but more commonly *lochtaí*; *múr > múraíl* but also *múrannaí*.

Three endings are productive with borrowings in traditional dialect: -C*’*, and particularly *áni* and V(:i); the spread of *áni* and *áxi*: ~ Vxí: within the native stock is pervasive. For example, *splancaí* 46.549 and *scailp* 894C9 with i, are replaced currently by *splan(r)achái* (including *splancaí* 869Pt) and *scailp(r)eachaí* (and *scailprachaí* 894C), the latter also by *scailpeannaí*; similarly, *meáll > mealla ~ meállrachaí* 894C. So also, singular -i > plural -ithe of older speakers is now more often -i > *áxi*: ~ Vxí: for younger speakers.

#### AM class

Long and short vocoid variation occurs in plural formation in words containing sonorant syllable codas, as elsewhere in the morphology. Variation and change in progress is evidenced here, with the singular base form often spreading to the
plural. A small class of nouns shorten long vocoids before the vowel of the plural suffix, i.e. V: > V ÇV; these can be termed the AM class. This synchronic shortening rule is obsolete for some younger speakers.

am am > amani: amannai (mostly older), generally amanti: amantai, but also amanti: and amani: 66N. Note amanti: ... amanti: ... amanti: 18J in close succession. The oldest speaker attested with unhistorical a in the plural is 894C: amanai ~ amantai [x2] 894C9. Speaker 16M generally has amanti: but also amani: and amani: . Speaker 20At has consistent amani: (cp. his oiche > ihani).

barr barr > bárrannai 894C9, bárí 894C9, barra ... ar an arbhar 869P; baint mo chróíthrí ge bhárra géaga '01S, ar bhárra a méar '869P, baríd 45C (who found baríd aberrant), bará, barání, bairdí, bair', also bairt 36Pq.

bun bun > buní: bunoxi: (also bi`). Long bun- is not used in the plural except in one response to query; bunix: 15Ptq, M0perm.

carr kér > generally karEni: carrí: but some young speakers have frequent if not categorical, kérEni: e.g. 66N. Interestingly, Máire regularly has karEni: but in a letter she spells cáraní Mlt. Cp. karerExtÔx carré: (cht) with short stem only.

dream dr am > dr amani: 01J, S, [x4] ARN, >> dr amani: S.

streall ftr aul > ftr aul: n streallí:.

treall tr aul > tr aul: n treallí:.

Cp. plural verbal nouns of the GEARR class, with retention of long alternants in the younger generation, e.g. gearradh (g ío cará queried)

> g araxi: g araxi: 51Pq (in that order). g araxi: 56Bq.

Another class changes the long vocoid quality through palatalisation or depalatalisation, e.g. bun bonn > bi` boinn, gín > geáintachá. Yet another class lengthens radical vowels before clusters brought about in plural formation through syncope or extension suffixation, e.g. drioball > (rare) dríble, lagi > (rare) lágrachaí, sail > sáltrachaí.

Examples collated from speaker 869P’s material (SID.46, RBÉ, audio recordings; cp. moda > modi 202):

dall > dáiil (1), doyill (2–3), i.e. daí`. The initial token is more progressive; barr > barra ná céam ar an arbhar RBÉ4, bionn a ngrá acub ar bhárra a méar ‘869P CABI §38(b) v. 6;
binn > b`a, ná 485; lann > luna ~ lana !ZCP; muíng > muíneannaí RBÉ5;
am > amantai a- 757, ac- s.v. am, s.v. corr scréachóg, amantai ~ amannai RBÉ2.
tuile > tiúl`i òga `ZCP tuilte agus; paidir > puadr áxi: 869Pt.

4.87 -óg > -ógáí ~ -ógachá

The ending -axi: -achá is one of the two most productive plural suffixes and it is gaining ground. A case in point is its use with (polysyllabic) 2D nouns in -óg which diachronically took i: exclusively (earlier -ó, noted from one speaker: 894Cs, 4.157). These nouns still have dominant plural -ógáí, e.g.
féasóg > f’isogí: M;
Plural of nouns

_coirceog > kor' acknowledge meachan.

However, -ógacháí does occur, e.g.
ciseog > na' kífogáxi: 13Jdt (only example);
_coirceog > kor' acknowledge: ... kor' acknowledge: ... Mt;
tornóg > ansa | taurnogáxi: 20A insna tornógacháí.

Rare: fíosóig (cp. adjective fíosóigeach S) > fíosóigeachaí S, fíosóigí M.

Three speakers were queried for their plural forms of nouns in unstressed -óg. Their responses, as well as Máire’s usage in conversation, are set out in Table 4.4. For Mq, only the most commonly used nouns are not permitted with -ogacháí.

Table 4.4 Plurals in -ógaí, -ógacháí, M, 20Cq, 12Jq

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<th>-ógaí: M, Mq</th>
<th>-ógacháí: Mperm</th>
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<th>12Jq</th>
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<td>Ωperm</td>
<td>-i:</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

4.88 Masculine -ach > -aigh ~ -aí ~ -acha(i)

Masculine nouns in final unstressed -ach can be classified according to the occurrence of three plural endings -axi, -i, -axi: (~ -axi occurs, attested in roots of more than two syllables, but its patterning is not significant here): 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Radical syllables</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>e.g.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I a Monosyllabic roots</td>
<td>-a, -i, -axi:</td>
<td>bairneach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>-i:</td>
<td>bealach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>-axi:</td>
<td>giolch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>-axi:</td>
<td>scoirneach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II a Polysyllabic roots</td>
<td>-axi:</td>
<td>Sasanach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>-a, -i, -axi:</td>
<td>Clochartach</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In almost all of these lexemes, where -a occurs it alternates with -axi:, sometimes (also) with -i:. The most common plural overall is -axi:.

1a Most singular disyllabic nouns take three plural endings: -a, -i, -axi:, e.g.

---

1 From initial response a'sogáa | 20Cq, where the speaker was about to use the plural in axi:.

2 For marginal plural alternants in -ach (tosach and lugach being the most anomalous), see lugach, rohilach, tosach (4.90; cp. plurals of nouns in singular -i, 4.73, and related Giúdach > Giúdaíthe SID.46.368, etc.). Cp. cri > krihiÉhE (4.74).
Variation and variables

A few disyllabic singular nouns generally take plural -i: only:
bealach,1 cladhach, éadach, orlach and (generally) criathrach, portach and ualach, perhaps also clúdach.

Another small subset takes -i: and -i: (but no -a):
Domhnach, giolcach, fuílleach (rarely portach; for some speakers (in query) also ualach).

A few monosyllabic roots (attested frequently in the plural) take -i: only:
corach, collach, scoirneach, speirtheach.

Polysyllabic roots regularly take -i:þþ, -Exi:þþ, e.g.
sasEnEx SasEnach > SasEni: sasEnExi:þþ,
oÉgAÉnEx oÉgAÉnach > oÉgAÉni: oÉgAÉnExi:þþ.

Only five trisyllabic roots occur in my material, they have -i:þþ, -Exi:þþ, i.e.
Albanach > Albanáí, Albanachaí;
Caitlicheach > Caitilicí, Caitiliceach;
Meireacánach > Meireacánáí;2
Gearmánach > Gearmánaí, Gearmánachaí;
cp. Aifriceáinach > Aifriceáinachaí 35E (highly literate speaker).

The plural in -a occurs in particular with monosyllabic roots (Ia). There are, however, a few exceptions in the data. Trisyllabic singulars in -Ex are mostly proper names. Plural -E use in these nouns is obsolescent in contrast with -i:þþ, -Exi:þþ. Those which were recorded with plural -E are surnames:

na kahasa 18J7094 na Cathasaigh,
na klochárt 892MARN, 18JARN, 20C na Clochtaigh,
na Cualánaigh 892M1590,
na flaharta wora S na Flathartaigh mhóra (also 869P);
(cp. surnames in monosyllabic roots:
burká Búrcaigh, kilá Caolaigh, girá Gaoraigh, mar. á Múilligh,
pera Paoraigh, pola Pólaigh, but Ceallaigh ~ Ceallach;
foq' a >> foq'í: Seoigigh, Seoigí;
cp. surname in disyllabic root: Ciobúnachaí);
and nationalities:
Éireanna ~ Éireannáí 852S,
lochrána ~ lochráni: 894Cs Lochrannaigh ~ Lochrannaí.

Cp. the monosyllable in -ch, fiach dubh fíax duw > fía yuwa Mq, fíaxani: duva Mq (4.77).

Avoidance of homophony

Table 4.5 presents the plural forms heard in masculine nouns in -ax. Gaps in the expected range of variation for given lexemes can often be explained in terms of morphological distinctiveness or specific lexical contrasts. For example, the nouns corach and collach have been heard in conversation in the plural as corachaí and collachaí only. Perhaps in the case of corach there is a need to

---

1 But also tá bealachaí eile 60M, and bealacht eile 66N, heard from these two younger speakers only.
2 I cannot find *Meireacáinach (cp. Aifriceáinachaí) in my notes but it almost certainly occurs, though less frequently than Meireacánáí and the latter is probably preferred by speakers.
Plural of nouns

maintain a distinction between *corach* and *corai* (the genitive singular in dialects to the south, where *corach* is feminine and where plural *corach* is declensionally regular), and *coraigh* the local genitive singular, where *corach* is masculine. In the case of *collach* there may be an inclination to avoid homophony or near homophony with plurals of *coileach*, e.g. *kôl* *coiligh*, with the noun *kôlha* *cualith*, and *kôla* *codladh* and verbal adjective *kôl* *codlaith*). The fish-name *ballach* has been heard with both -*E* and -*Exi*:*E* very frequently in the plural but more rarely with -*i*:*E*. The rarity of *ballach* > *ballaí* may be attributable to an avoidance of homophony with *ballaí* plural of *balla*. Similarly, *comhráiteach* takes plural -*achaí*; *comhráití* is first and foremost the plural of *comhrá*. Cp. *comhairleach* > *comhairleachaí* (4.48). Clashes do, however, occur, e.g. *gnothach* > *gnothaí* = plural of *gnotha*; but not *gnothach* > "*gnothaigh" which would be homophonous with singular *gnotha*. *Domhnach* has no plural in -*aigh* as this is too similar to the genitive singular of Dé Domhnaigh which is effectively the base form. Finally, we can note the plural *fearach* of *fearach*, a noun rarely used in the plural. See also material from 852S (4.138) and 869P (4.145) below. Cp. genitive singular -*aich* > -*ái* ~ -*iÉ* dependent on syllable count and other criteria (3.19).

4.90 List

Although further research is necessary, there is some indication that -*i*:*E* and -*Exi*:*E* are general in East Iorras Aithneach. No token of -*a* in this class was noted in the limited data from 25Mn(q) (Loch Con Aortha) and 43Mp(q) (Doire Iorrais).

Table 4.5 Masculine nouns in -*ach*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>-<em>a</em></th>
<th>-<em>i</em></th>
<th>-<em>Exi</em>:<em>E</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cp. Africéanach</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Albanach</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Árainneach</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>burnaíach</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>ballach</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bealach</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bheidhí</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>bodach</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>bogach</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brealach</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breataigh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brollach</td>
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<tr>
<td>tromach</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bùrca</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caitteach</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 A humorous episode, with a pun on the plural *Breataigh* and the 2sg impv *breathnaigh* (both *br* *aench*), is related by Seán. When working as a postman *b-a sed in An Aird Mhóir*, with a letter addressed to a certain Breataigh, Seán asked a group of children if any of them was a Breataigh:

-br* aench*  s* t*ur* aench*  d*er*  fr Breataigh an triúr a’inn, a deir sì.
-f* ef* am*  f*ib  a*durft  m* e* hen*  S  Feicim sib, a dàirt m’è héin.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>-a</th>
<th>-e</th>
<th>-axi:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Caolach</td>
<td>x1</td>
<td>01CARN</td>
<td>Cattleach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cathasach</td>
<td>kahasa</td>
<td>ARN7094</td>
<td>kahasi: 899P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ceallach</td>
<td>kæela</td>
<td>892MARN</td>
<td>Kælaxi:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ceithearnach</td>
<td>k eharni: Mq</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cionabach</td>
<td>kibenaxi: 03C</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ciontach</td>
<td>qá x’unti: na her’æn’, (MP)04B dhe chiontaí na hÉirinn</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cladach</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cléireach</td>
<td>11C</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clochtaí</td>
<td>20C, 892M, 18J</td>
<td>(ARN x4)</td>
<td>kloxsaxa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ciontach</td>
<td>+, e.g. 01CARN</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>colchach</td>
<td>kol a v oga S</td>
<td>11J</td>
<td>52Jq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>collach</td>
<td>SM</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>comhairleach</td>
<td>852NRBE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cóbráiteach</td>
<td>korut</td>
<td>axi: S</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>corach</td>
<td>+, e.g. 869P, ARN x17</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>crioitalach</td>
<td>869P</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>crioithachtach</td>
<td>kr’iarha S</td>
<td>&lt;&lt; kr’iarhi: S</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cú</td>
<td>(a)</td>
<td>lánach</td>
<td>892M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domhnaigh</td>
<td>892M1950</td>
<td>11C5313, Mq</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dúbhchroí</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>éadaich</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Earraich</td>
<td>29Cq</td>
<td>29Cq, 52Jq</td>
<td>21Ptq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éireannach</td>
<td>Éireanna</td>
<td>852S</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fathach</td>
<td>04Bn, 11Cn, 20Cq, 20Myq</td>
<td>fahi: M</td>
<td>M, Sem124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fearach</td>
<td>+, e.g. 01CARN</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>féarach</td>
<td>+, e.g. 01CARN</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flathartach</td>
<td>na fiaharta wóra S</td>
<td>03V, Mq</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Folach</td>
<td>860P</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fotharach</td>
<td>forhaxi an t’ep ef 04B ~chait an tséipéil</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Francach</td>
<td>na fraeagka</td>
<td>01J, ARN x4</td>
<td>852S, 21PGARN (x1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Francach</td>
<td>fraeagka</td>
<td>43M, fraeagka wóra S</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Freachan</td>
<td>80C</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fuilfeach</td>
<td>fuighligh</td>
<td>11.102 ⇒ fuilí</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaolach</td>
<td>892MARN, 18JARN</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gearrach</td>
<td>x1</td>
<td>892MARN</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gearrúnaigh</td>
<td>x1</td>
<td>892MARN</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gearrbhodach</td>
<td>g’ orwodi: SM</td>
<td>20Myq</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gealbhach</td>
<td>g’ olwaxí: S</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goilcach</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>893P</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gliomach</td>
<td>M, 26Pq, 52Jq, 80C</td>
<td>29Cq</td>
<td>894C, M, 29Cq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gnothbach</td>
<td>gruhi’ M</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grúabhach</td>
<td>graulaxí M</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gréigeach</td>
<td>46,148</td>
<td>852S</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guairimeach</td>
<td>x1</td>
<td>21PGARN</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inbrach</td>
<td>olri: Mq</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lanach</td>
<td>lanaxí: 01J</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locht/Rannach</td>
<td>x1</td>
<td>892MARN, 894Cs x2</td>
<td>894Cs x2, x3 ARN, + &gt;&gt; +</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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## Plural of Nouns

<table>
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<tr>
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<th>-i</th>
<th>-a:í</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Loingseach</td>
<td>869P</td>
<td>46.1121, pl and gpl a</td>
<td>lugá: S, 80C, lugach Clad32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lugach1</td>
<td>lugá S</td>
<td>haxt lugí: ... lugí: P a</td>
<td>lugó: S, 80C, lugach Clad32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maílle(a)</td>
<td>máilé S, S</td>
<td>11C, S</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mairréineach</td>
<td>869P</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muirmfach</td>
<td>869P</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>malach</td>
<td>malé: S, P</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>manach</td>
<td>04B</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mangach</td>
<td>S, 20Cq, 80C</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>M, P</td>
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<tr>
<td>marach</td>
<td>cp. 894C9</td>
<td>+</td>
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<td>marach</td>
<td>maráí S</td>
<td>marách 21Ptq</td>
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<td>Mímáinmheach</td>
<td>852S, 04B!</td>
<td>852S</td>
<td>SM; also na hathmáinmheach S</td>
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<td>mairbhéidh</td>
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<td>-acha 869PDT21</td>
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<td>orlach</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>páighnach</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>852S, S</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paorach</td>
<td>S, 21J and his brother</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pólach</td>
<td>na póilé S, 27Cl</td>
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<td>portach</td>
<td>x5 ARN, porti: S &gt;&gt;&gt;</td>
<td>portá:í: S, portacha 875PA</td>
<td>B</td>
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<td>príosúinach</td>
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<td>réiteach</td>
<td>x1 3SEARN</td>
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<td>robáilach2</td>
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<td>roinníneach</td>
<td>x4 894C9, SM, P, 21Ptq, 29Cq</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>M, P, 26Pq, 52Jq</td>
</tr>
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<td>rualbaíceach</td>
<td>Mq</td>
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<td>ruilleach (roilleach)</td>
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<td>sásanactí: P</td>
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<td>46.1161, 892M, 896P, 06C, 11C, SM</td>
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<td>searrach</td>
<td>seárra 20Mlí, 23M</td>
<td>+</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>sibínneach</td>
<td>11CARN 01J</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seoige(ach)</td>
<td>na foigé a (/, paísa, a) 11C, 27Md, etc., 21J</td>
<td>Seoige Innis Bheachain</td>
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<tr>
<td>stíneach</td>
<td></td>
<td>11CARN 01J</td>
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<tr>
<td>Speirneach</td>
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<td>Speirnneach</td>
<td>x16 ARN</td>
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<td>spríollach</td>
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<td>FFG</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>stócach</td>
<td>869P, 11C, 01M, ARN x3</td>
<td>869P</td>
<td>875TrL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tamhnaich ± fem (3.32)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>uaimí: Sq</td>
<td>S &gt;&gt;</td>
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<tr>
<td>teallach</td>
<td>875TTrL</td>
<td>cp. fuathactí: Sq</td>
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<tr>
<td>tóirínneach</td>
<td>11CARN</td>
<td>881J</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tóilíneach</td>
<td>tóilí: S</td>
<td>tóilí: S</td>
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<tr>
<td>Turcach</td>
<td>852SrRBE</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>uallach</td>
<td>uái: &gt;&gt;</td>
<td>uallí: 20Cq, 20Mq</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Also lugíí . Cp. alternative singular forms cited in FGB lug, lugha, lugán.
2 Also robúlích. Cp. alternate singular robáilí.
3 Also tosiíí, influenced by (plural by-form of) VN and noun tosáí.
Variation and variables

4.91 Variation; -úch; Gender

An instance of alternation in close succession is:
-... lán l’ e funa M... láin le sionnaiigh.
-hae S Ha?
-l’ e funa M Le sionnaiigh.
-o: l’ e funaxi: S Ö! le sionnachai.

For a possible example of list effect in the plural of ronnach, see 4.80.

Nouns in -úch have (been noted with) -úchaí plurals only:
cearrbhach > k`ærhuxí: 21Pt cearrbhach;
díthriúch > d’ir`huxí: M díthriúchaí.

For agentive and personal nouns in singular -ach and -í with ambiguous plural suffixes, see 4.73.

Feminine nouns regularly take axí: e.g. caileach > caileacháí: But some have axí: - i: e.g. procach > proki 46.149. Others may in fact be masculine or have both genders, e.g. bualtrach > bualtraigh 866ESemr86, bualtrí: 01P, bualtrí: [genitive singular and plural] S, bualtraí: recall gioleach in Table 4.5 > na gioleachaí [x3] 869P5 => g’ulki:; gioleacháí (feminine in FGB but masculine 1D gen sg giole’ in our dialect, cp. gen sg gioleí LFRM s.v. móin. Note bratach (feminine) ‘flag’ > bratáxí: e.g. 06Mc.

4.92 Conditioning by following context

As mentioned in 4.89, ballach has common plurals ba`la and ba`laxí: The plural token of ballach > bálí: recorded in my notes occurs in a phrase before a full vowel, i.e.

bht ballaí an-fhairsinn an t-am sin 18J7791.

Similarly, of the four plural tokens of gliomach in a sequence, the single token in <i> occurs before a full vowel:

... ga yl`uma: oga | ... k`ænaxt gli`uma ... ga yl`uma: i`e ... na gli`uma | 25M ... dhe ghliomachaí oga, ... ag ceannacht gliomachaí ... dhe ghliomachaí le ... na gliomach.

(Contrast plural gli`um oxri: [x2] 43J: ghliomachaí eochraí:) Prevocalic position is the most favourable segmental condition for the realisation of <i> in bróig > bróga ~ brógaí type plurals (labelled variable (V), cf. 4.101). The examples of ballaí and gliomai suggest a similar constraint affects ø ~ i: plurals in masculine nouns in -ach (subtypes Ia, Ib) but examination of possible constraints in this class remains for future study.

4.93 Variable extension (r) → <r> <Ø>

Speakers may have distinct quantitative or lexical use of a given extension. Indeed, the r extension shows striking contrasts between speakers. As illustrated in Table 4.6, speaker 20Cq uses generally r-less variants (18 r-less vs. 4 with r), whereas his wife, 20Myq, and speaker 21Ptq have more intermediate patterns (20Myq has 4 r-less vs. 8 with r; and 21Ptq has 10 r-less vs. 6 with r).
Table 4.6 -acha(i) vs. -r(e)acha(i), 20Cq, 20Myq, 21Ptq

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>+ -acha(i)</th>
<th>+ -r(e)acha(i)</th>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ainn</td>
<td>20Myq</td>
<td></td>
<td>-neacha 20Cq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anam</td>
<td>21Ptq</td>
<td>20Cq, 21Ptq</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stoirm</td>
<td>20Cq, 21Ptq</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>carraig</td>
<td>20Cq</td>
<td>20Myq</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>splanc</td>
<td>20Cq</td>
<td>20Myq</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nead</td>
<td>20Cq</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gail</td>
<td>21Ptq</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scalp</td>
<td>21Ptq skalp-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spread</td>
<td>21Ptq</td>
<td>20Cq, 21Ptq</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blaosc</td>
<td>20Cq, 21Ptq</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tóid</td>
<td>20Cq</td>
<td>20Myq, 20Cq (following 20Myq)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fréamb</td>
<td>20Cq, 21Ptq</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stég</td>
<td>20MMyq, 21Ptq</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ (e)acha(i)</td>
<td>+ -tr(e)acha(i)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>draein</td>
<td>21Ptq</td>
<td>20Cq, 20Myq, 20Cq</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>traein</td>
<td>20Cq, 20Myq</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aill</td>
<td>20Cq òítaxa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meall</td>
<td>20Cq</td>
<td>20Myq, 21Ptq</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ginn</td>
<td>20Cq g’ántaxa / í:</td>
<td>20MMyq g’ántraxí:</td>
<td>21Ptq g’ántraxí:</td>
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<td>21Ptq</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>scoll</td>
<td>20Cq</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>sleán</td>
<td>20Cq</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sinn</td>
<td>21Ptq f’ánn-</td>
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<tr>
<td>baile</td>
<td>20Cq</td>
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</tr>
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<td>21Ptq</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>gail</td>
<td>20Cq</td>
<td>20Myq</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>léine</td>
<td>20Cq, 20Myq</td>
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<tr>
<td>+ téachaí</td>
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<td>bhlí</td>
<td>20Cq, 20Myq</td>
<td></td>
<td>-éachaí 20Cq, 20Myq,</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-óchaí 21Ptq</td>
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<tr>
<td>léine</td>
<td>20Cq</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cine</td>
<td>20MMyq k’i:n’ exi:</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tine</td>
<td>21Ptq f’i:n’-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.94 Analysis

In the following discussion the importance of the lexical membership of this class and individual weighting for given variants will become apparent. The variable r-extension has received little attention in previous analyses, the most detailed treatment being that of R. Hickey in his important article ‘Reduction of allomorphy and the plural in Irish’ (1985: 149–51). R. Hickey makes many significant points regarding the phonology of both the t and r extensions. There are, however, theoretical and descriptive weaknesses in his general approach of over-emphasising phonological factors (perhaps an understandable reaction
against earlier non-analytical lexical descriptions). In short, not enough attention is paid by R. Hickey to the irreducible lexical status of so much plural inflection.¹

I shall discuss the occurrence of \( r \) in combination with \( axi \) in two sets, i.e.

\[
\pm r \text{ preceded by the extension } t: \text{<(traxi)} > \sim \text{<(taxi)}>, \text{ e.g.} \\
\text{léine} > \text{léintreachaí} \sim \text{léinteachaí};
\]

\[
\pm r \text{ without the extension } t: \text{<(raxi)} > \sim \text{<(axi)}>, \text{ e.g.} \\
\text{splanc} > \text{splancrachaí} \sim \text{splancachaí}.
\]

Once the lexical class of nouns which take \( r \) in the plural is defined for the dialect as a whole, it is possible to classify core and more marginal lexical members as well as to make an arbitrary classification of individual speakers' usage with regard to their propensity to use \(<r>\) or \(<Ø>\) (where \( Ø = \) absence of \(<r>\)). One can classify three main types of speaker:

1. Speakers who use \(<r>\) more often than \(<Ø>\) (whether extension \(<t>\) is present or not);
2. Speakers whose frequency of \(<r>\) usage depends on the presence of extension \(<t>\); there are two subtypes, namely:
   2a Speakers who use proportionately more \( raxi \) than \( traxi \);
   2b Speakers who use more \( traxi \) than \( raxi \);
3. Speakers who use \(<Ø>\) more often than \(<r>\) (whether extension \(<t>\) is present or not).

Table 4.7 presents this classification along with the number of speakers in my sample found in each class.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>( raxi &gt;/&gt;= axi )</th>
<th>( traxi &gt;&gt; taxi )</th>
<th>Number of speakers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2a</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2b</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The actual numerical yield of two sample speakers from each class is presented in Figure 4.1. In these figures I use the following shorthand: \( Œt+r = <rxi> \), \( Œ0r = <axi> \); \( tr = <traxi> \), \( 0tr = <taxi> \). In the tables I use \( Œt+r = <raxi> \), etc.) In classes 1 and 3, in particular, the most contrastive speakers are shown. Note that speakers 60M and 64M have a very high yield of \( <traxi> \), higher than any older

¹ To mention only one point of detail: his duplication analysis (R. Hickey 1985: 149–50) of, for example, \( carraig > carraigreachaí \) (claiming extension \( r \) is duplicated from root \(-r\)), needs to be revised given plurals such as \( carraigneachai \) (where extension \( r >> n \)), and words without \( r \) in the root such as \( blaoscrachaí \), \( leapreachai \), \( scalpachaí \), etc. Cf. Table 4.11 p. 749 and Table 4.12 p. 749. There is perhaps a copying of \( r \) or reinforcement of \( r \) from the preceding syllable in the \( r(e)achai \) plural by-forms of \( fréamh \), \( craobh \), \( spreab \), \( stoirm \) and \( carraig \) (\( carraig \) may also be influenced by \( leac \) and even \( aill \)).
speakers. For example, they have the uncommon plurals eala > a‘itraxi: 60M, cliabh > kfev‘itraxi: 64M.

Figure 4.1 Characteristic speakers in classes 1, 2a–b, 3; (r) use

Speaker 20C is one of those chosen to illustrate a class 3 member. The lexemes counted from his usage (as well as a few other examples) are listed in Table 4.6 above. From Table 4.7 one can see that the majority of speakers use relatively high <itraxi> (classes 1 and 2a), that most speakers have more <itraxi> than <taxi> (classes 1 and 2b), but that a high proportion also have the opposite pattern, i.e. higher <taxi> (class 2a). A small minority have a very low yield of r all round (class 3). An equally small minority have relatively low <itraxi> but relatively high <itraxi> (class 2b). In Figure 4.2 the percentage proportion of <itraxi> and <itraxi> is given for the same six representative speakers. This presentation makes clear the greater range of variation within the variable class of (itraxi) words (a range of 80% between the lowest and highest users of <itraxi>) than within the variable class of (itraxi) words (a range of 40%). It appears, therefore, that <itraxi> is more constant than <itraxi> in two ways: (i) 29 out of 37, i.e. 78% of speakers sampled, have higher <itraxi> than <taxi>; (ii) the variant <itraxi> has a narrower range of variation with a higher bottom limit and lower upper limit than <itraxi>. 
Figure 4.2 Characteristic speakers in classes 1, 2a–b, 3; percentage <r> use

4.95 Variable (traxi) class: words with <traxi>

The lexical class of nouns which take <traxi> in the plural must first be defined for the dialect as a whole; only then is it possible to classify core and more marginal lexical members. One can subclassify words according to the frequency with which they occur with <traxi> in contrast with <taxi> as:

(i) Words where <traxi> is dominant, i.e. traxi: > taxi:
(ii) Words where both variants are fairly equally common, i.e. traxi: = taxi:
(iii) Words where <taxi> is dominant, i.e. taxi: > traxi:

Table 4.8 lists members of these subclasses together with the number of tokens attested in my sample. Words which are tentatively categorised (cabhail, gail), or which are intermediary between categories (ginn between (i) and (ii)), are indicated by an asterisk.

From column (i) in Table 4.8 it is obvious that, for example, far more tokens of alltracha(i) have been recorded than alltachaí. In column (ii) one can see that, for example, the number of attested scoltrachaí and scoltachaí are fairly equal. In column (iii) it is clear that trae(i)ntachaí and drae(i)ntachaí are the most frequent. (A few words, i.e. dîle, teile (but t’èitr’oxi), without definite attestations of <traxi>, have been included in this class as I believe they most probably have <traxi> variants. Note cráin > crántrachaí elsewhere in my notes and in Table 4.9 from SID, and dlîtréacháí IA.)
Plural of nouns

Table 4.8 Membership and subclassification of the lexical class of (tráxi):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(i) tráxi: &gt;&gt; taxi</th>
<th>(ii) tráxi: = taxi</th>
<th>(iii) tráxi: &lt;&lt; taxi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>all 18 2</td>
<td>baile 5 8</td>
<td>béilí 1 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dl 8 1</td>
<td>caladh 4 4</td>
<td>cráin 0 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*cabhalt 2 1</td>
<td>culaithe 8 12</td>
<td>dile 0 (1) 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gábhail 4 1</td>
<td>*ginn 15 9</td>
<td>draeín 6 16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*gail 3 1</td>
<td>léine 6 9</td>
<td>teile 0 (1) 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gaill 16 3</td>
<td>line 4 4</td>
<td>tine 4 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meall 27 2</td>
<td>pian 3 2</td>
<td>tolach 1 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sail 8 1</td>
<td>scoil 10 9</td>
<td>traeín 4 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sleán 7 2</td>
<td>slinn 2 3</td>
<td>teallach 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>speal 11 2</td>
<td>tonn 2 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stál 13 2</td>
<td>tuile 2 3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stól 9 3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.96 (tráxi) in SID

Nine words from this class, as defined for Iorras Aithneach, have been checked in SID and are collated in Table 4.9.1 In Co. Clare and Connacht, it appears that <tráxi> is strongest in the west, although the sample is very small. Similar to interspeaker variation in Iorras Aithneach, some points have little or no <tráxi>; whereas others have frequent <tráxi>. Six characteristic points are arrayed in Figure 4.3 according to the percentage of <tráxi> found in the attested words.

Figure 4.3 Characteristic points in SID; proportion of <tráxi> vs. <taxi>

One can compare the results of SID (which includes 43b) in Table 4.9 with those of Iorras Aithneach in Table 4.8.

---

1 SIDI: all 267 (points 51 and 53–9, with singular dl, must be disregarded); SIDII–III: cráin 10, 110, 114; culaithe 283; ding, ginn 536; gleann 1078 (no example of -tracháí); léine 284–6; speal 589–92; stál 169; tine 540–50; tonn 1060–1.
Table 4.9 Membership and classification of (tr\text{Exi}i); SID–III points 22–63, 87

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>t\text{Exi}i &gt;&gt; t\text{Or}r</th>
<th>t\text{Exi}i = t\text{Or}r</th>
<th>t\text{Or}r &gt;&gt; t\text{Exi}i</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>all</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>cráin: 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ginn</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>cráin: 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>speal</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>léine: 24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tomm</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>tine: 15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Four words — all, speal, cráin and tine — are in the same category (i.e. column) in both samples (Iorras Aithneach Table 4.8, and SID-III Table 4.9). Other words are in different categories but not altogether randomly; words change, left or right, by one column only: stall, culaith and léine have more <tr\text{Exi}i> in Iorras Aithneach; ginn and tomn have more <tr\text{Exi}i> in SID. From this evidence it appears that similar conditions are in force all over Connacht. The phonological base most favourable for <tr\text{Exi}i> realisation in Iorras Aithneach is final l. With low vowels and final l very common in column (i) in Table 4.8, it seems that bases or stems in -al/-AÉl are highly favourable for a nonpalatal <tr\text{Exi}i> plural. It is more difficult to define what differentiates phonologically columns (ii) and (iii) in Table 4.8. Certainly, final unstressed vowels and palatal stems are disfavourable. The word baile has greater use of <tr\text{Exi}i> than béal presumably because of, in some degree, the former’s low stressed vowel. What seems to differentiate léine, lín and caladh, culaith with greater use of <tr\text{Exi}i> from teile, tine, tolach and dílé is the initial consonant. It may be that initial single coronals favour single coronal extension <t\text{Exi}i>, perhaps in a process of assimilation. (Because of its final stressed sonorant, tonn is not as bound by this condition.) In contrast, the initial r-clusters in cráin, draein and traein disfavour <tr\text{Exi}i> through dissimilation; cráin especially so, perhaps to avoid a kr...tr sequence.

The phonological facultative conditioning of <tr\text{Exi}i> apparent in the data is therefore quite complex. The dominant condition is the status of the stem coda on the sonority hierarchy, -al/-AÉl (low vowel and liquid) being the most sonorous coda possible (e.g. Laver 1994: 504). Nonpalatal environments are more sonorant than palatal. The t extension serves as a sonority contrast with the base final consonant (or coda). The sonorant r extension, in combination with t, optimally follows a sonorant coda in a form of assimilatory transition. Perhaps final unstressed vowels are a disfavourable base environment because these words also have (optional) VːXi plurals where Vː is another extension, in competition with r. It is noteworthy that, although the stem coda is most important for this conditioning, the onset can be a secondary factor. In all conditioning, however, the guiding principle is one of phonological similarity (dissimilation or assimilation).

4.97 Summary

The dialectal results from this survey of Co. Clare and Connacht are summarised in Table 4.10. Points with no information are not included. Points with three or more lexemes returned are tentatively categorised according to:

- <t\text{Exi}i> dominance (indicated by an asterisk, e.g. *23),
- <t\text{Exi}i> = <tr\text{Exi}i>, equal tokens of both variants (underlined, e.g. 39),
- <tr\text{Exi}i> dominance (indicated in bold, e.g. 41).
Table 4.10 (træxi:) in SIDI–III, points 22–64, 87

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>-trachái</th>
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<td>0 3</td>
<td>43a</td>
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<td>43b(b)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

There is clearly a contrast between points 23–38 and 49 on the one hand, in Co. Clare and East Galway, which have little <træxi>, and the rest of Connacht on the other, which has <træxi> (often more than it has <taxi>). The only western exceptions are points 43b(a) and 47 (cp. point 49) in West Conamara with dominant <taxi>. The dialect of Iorras Aithneach can now be interpreted in the light of these SID patterns. It shows its associations with greater Connacht in that the majority of speakers have dominant <træxi>. On the other hand, it also reflects the general variability of usage and the large <taxi>-dominant minority pattern similar to points 43b(a), 47, 49 and the majority pattern further east.

4.98 Variable (ræxi): class of words with <ræxi> without <t>

The variable class of words with (ræxi) → <ræxi> <axi> (independent of extension t) in Iorras Aithneach can be arbitrarily subcategorised into three types:

(i) Words where <ræxi> is dominant, i.e. ræxi >> axi;
(ii) Words where both variants are fairly equally common, i.e. ræxi ≈ axi;
(iii) Words where <axi> is dominant, i.e. ræxi << axi.

Table 4.11 lists the relevant lexemes, with the number of tokens recorded. One can see from Table 4.11 that tádracháí, for example, in column (i) is far more common than diátracháí but that diatrácháí (i.e. at’ræxi), for example, in column (iii) is far less common than àiteacháí.

---

Footnote:

1 The usual realisation of words in column (iii) is <axi>. Tokens of <axi> were not counted except in the case of cisth (nowadays an infrequent word). In the case of cis, sláim and stríoc, plurals ciseannaí, slámainn and stríocannaí are most common; so also stumppa > stumppaí. In the case of seas extension -dl- is optional. The forms eanga > eangachaí / eangaí, rarely eangrachaí (Ó Curnán 1997: 169), are mistaken for eangach > eangacháí by Stenson (2003: xxxvi).
Variation and variables

### Table 4.11 Membership and classification of \( r \text{x}:i \)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>( r \text{x}:i )</th>
<th>( r \text{x}:i \gg \text{axi} )</th>
<th>( r \text{x}:i \approx \text{axi} )</th>
<th>( r \text{x}:i \ll \text{axi} )</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( \text{fód} )</td>
<td>11 1</td>
<td>ainn 4 7</td>
<td>áit 2 ( \ll )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{fréamh} )</td>
<td>21 4</td>
<td>blaosc 5 6</td>
<td>ascaill 1 ( \ll )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{gad} )</td>
<td>4 1</td>
<td>carraig 17 12</td>
<td>cis 1 ( \ll )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{leac} )</td>
<td>15 2</td>
<td>craobh 5 5</td>
<td>cleite 1 ( \ll )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{léas} )</td>
<td>11 1</td>
<td>dëas 5 7</td>
<td>coirb 1 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{nead} )</td>
<td>20 3</td>
<td>eiris 5 6</td>
<td>eanga 1 ( \ll )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{scailp} )</td>
<td>12 3</td>
<td>glaise 5 3</td>
<td>lata 3 ( \ll )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{sop} )</td>
<td>5 0</td>
<td>leaba 4 2</td>
<td>leide 1 ( \ll )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{téad} )</td>
<td>21 1</td>
<td>seas 9 5</td>
<td>leidhe 1 ( \ll )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>slat 11 7</td>
<td>lota 1 ( \ll )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>splanc 10 11</td>
<td>slán 1 ( \ll )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>spreab 9 6</td>
<td>stríoc 1 ( \ll )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>stéig 4 6</td>
<td>stupa 1 ( \ll )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>plúid 1 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 4.99 \( (r \text{x}:i) \) in SID

A small number of these words, as well as \( \text{díog} \), are found in the plural in SID and can be examined in order to shed light on the wider distribution and occurrence of \( (r \text{x}:i) \).\(^1\) These words, in descending order of proportional \( <r \text{x}:i:> \) attestation in Clare and Connacht, are given in Table 4.12. (Points 22–63, including 43b, and 87; \( \text{leac} \) and \( \text{craobh} \) have two few tokens for any conclusion.)

#### Table 4.12 Some lexemes with \( (r \text{x}:i) \) from SID–III (Clare and Connacht)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>( r \text{x}:i )</th>
<th>( \text{axi} )</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(i) ( r \text{x}:i \gg \text{axi} )</td>
<td>( \text{seas} ) 5 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>( \text{dias} ) 8 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>( \text{splanc} ) 4 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>( (\text{leac}) ) 1 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ii) ( r \text{x}:i \approx \text{axi} )</td>
<td>( \text{cglaise} ) 3 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>( \text{díog} ) 9 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>( \text{fód} ) 3 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>( \text{carraig} ) 11 15 ( (+ 1 \text{n}) )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>( (\text{craobh}) ) 2 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iii) ( r \text{x}:i \ll \text{axi} )</td>
<td>( \text{leaba} ) 3 34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>( \text{ainm} ) 1 1 (9 ( r \text{x}:i ))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>( \text{ionga} ) 0 12 ( (+ 8 \text{n} / l) )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>( \text{cleite} ) 0 24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>( \text{áit} ) 0 28</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With regard to lexical subclasses there is little change in the SID material of Table 4.12 in comparison with Iorras Aithneach in Table 4.11, except for \( \text{fód} \) and

---

\(^1\) SIDI: \( \text{cleite} \) 36; \( \text{ionga} \) 136; \( \text{fód} \) 167; SIDD–III: \( \text{áit} \) 249; \( \text{leaba} \) 499; \( \text{cglaise} \) or \( \text{díog} \) 630; \( \text{dias} \) (also \( \text{dëas} \)) 661; \( \text{craobh} \) 970; \( \text{carraig} \) 1082; \( \text{seas} \) 1092; \( \text{ainm} \) 1145; \( \text{leac} \) Vocab, point 26.
Plural of nouns

leabha which have less <rExiÉ> in SID (both are one class higher in our dialect). With so few words attested for most points it is of course impossible to draw any certain conclusions, particularly with regard to possible geographical differences. There is, however, a near continuum of points with a score of 3 or over (of 4 or more attested words): points 25, 37, 35, 49, 50 and 51, i.e. Central Galway and South Central Mayo, which may represent the area of most concentrated <rExiÉ> use. Points 40, 42, 47, 52 and 56–7 all have 2 (of 4 or more attested words); all are western and coastal and perhaps represent an area less intense than the central area with regard to <rExiÉ>, but stronger than an eastern area.

In view of this evidence from Iorras Aithneach and SID it is possible to investigate the phonological conditioning favourable for <rExiÉ> in Connacht. The factors involved are much less transparent than those for (trExiÉ) (4.96). Words ending in a in the singular tend not to have <rExiÉ> (for Iorras Aithneach in Table 4.11, no items in column (i), two items in (ii), eight in (iii)). Palatal stems are less likely to have <rExiÉ> (contrast, for example, slat with áit). It seems that the phonological change of n > r following other consonants in clusters (e.g. in ainm, ionga and cp. carraig), which might be regarded as a (diachronic) source for <rExiÉ>, is quite marginal in the overall patterning of (rExiÉ).

4.100 Interrelation of lexical class and speaker class

There is a predictable relation between the lexical class of a word and speakers’ position on the scale of r usage. Speakers who use <axiÉ> far more often than <rExiÉ> tend to be the speakers who use <axiÉ> with words that, in the dialect as a whole, generally have <rExiÉ>. That is to say that speakers of class 3 in Table 4.7 above tend to have <axiÉ> with words of class (i) in Table 4.11. Similarly, lexically uncommon <traxiÉ> is found mostly from speakers in the majority class 1 in Table 4.7 above, i.e. strong <traxiÉ> users. This noncategorical relationship is confirmed by the following two tables.

Table 4.13 Class and ratio of speakers who have lexically uncommon <axiÉ>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Speaker Class</th>
<th>Speaker</th>
<th>Ratio</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>869P, 16M, 37M, 34M, 60M</td>
<td>5:18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2a</td>
<td>04Br, 25Mn, 29C, 43M, 56B</td>
<td>5:11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2b</td>
<td>21Pt</td>
<td>1:3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>20A, 20C, 51P</td>
<td>3:4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.14 Class and ratio of speakers who have lexically uncommon <traxiÉ>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Speaker Class</th>
<th>Speaker</th>
<th>Ratio</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>20My, 30P, 36N, 60M, 64M, 78C, 78R</td>
<td>7:18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2a</td>
<td>25Mn, 43M</td>
<td>2:11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2b</td>
<td>52J</td>
<td>1:3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>20C</td>
<td>1:4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
One can see that the speaker classes with the lowest ratio (italicised and underlined), i.e. the highest amount of ‘uncommon’ usage, are classes 3 and 1 respectively.\footnote{There is only one word which has been noted with both <i>tr<i>ax<i>i</i> and <i>tr<i>ax<i>i</i> : scailp > scai<i>l</i>p<i>i</i>achai generally, but scai<i>l</i>p<i>i</i>achai 36S (but *scai<i>l</i>p<i>i</i>achai is not attested). I do not classify this form scai<i>l</i>p<i>i</i>achai in this analysis as an ‘uncommon’ example of <i>tr<i>ax<i>i</i> given that ‘uncommon’ <i>tr<i>ax<i>i</i> contrasts with <i>tax<i>i</i> in all other cases.}

### 4.101 Variable (V) → <ao> <i>i</i>:

Variation between the plural suffixes <i>ao</i> and <i>i</i>, in what is termed here the variable (V) class, occurs very frequently (in the speech of the same individual), often in close proximity. Examples are:

**aoth:**  
aobh in ga na hiw e P dhe na haobha e; na hiw fi:chab 01J na haobha leothub; also SID.46 q 47; but aoibh FFG s.v.

**blain:**  
na blianta as cionn blianta ‘na dhaithid. 11C

\[ \text{-bi in na bi’ianta flaiuc 01J Bhion na blianta ag fluidheidil.} \]

-ha Ha?

- ... im ìns na bi’ianta, bi’ianti: 01J ... imionns na blianta, blianta.

**caora:**  
cuoir is most common but cuoiri seems more common for some speakers in North-West Iorras Aithneach.

**céad:**  
mostly k êta but: l ê k êtiê bl êiEn ê (MP, prose) 04B le céadtaí bliain.

**cloch:**  
trÏk ër biÉ xuÉ SiEr er bAÉl EgEs kloxiÉ er ëgE d ëv ëtA kloxE tarÐ ëiÉ  ÏkEb M  
traictar buí a chuaigh siar ar ball agus clochaí air, go deimhin tâ clocha tairníthe acub;

\[ \ldots \text{ m êd ëín kloxa goî, ... hiê lu: ga m ëx x’ãrt kloxi: ës a m’ã̀stå’u’ M ... méid sin clocha ag goil, ... shítheá go mbeadh nert clochaí as an mbleasteáil.} \]

In these sequences it is noteworthy that Máire has iÉ preceding full vowels, i.e. (V) > <i>i</i> /_V, similar to 11C’s example of bliantaí above.

**cois:**  
-ana xid guai: i’ s ãna xosi: M -Ina a chuid guaillí is ina chosai.

-ana xosi: -Ina chosat?

-ana xosa frofìn’ M -Ina chosa froisin.

Also in an instance where ë seems preferred in pause:

- ... do xosi: | M ... do chosai.

-ë S ëta?

-ë do xosa ëir’ suas ... do xosa ... M Do chosa a chuir suas ... do chosa ...  

Note ëa vs. -i: in b’ãèn na gosa 01J bean na gosa (chiroprodist) vs. ãa xosì: 01J mo chosai. Perhaps ëa is attributable to the genitive plural context in the former (i.e. older bean na gosa). Cp. example of slat > slata in genitive plural (3.14).

**duine:**  
\[ \text{a m’êd dìn ë tô’i: ón} | ãag ñè dìn i’i | ã y [slip] v i: b’o; ën ... 852Sn} \]
an méid daoine a bhí ann, agus na daoínt a bhí leo ann ... .

In reasonably close succession in:

\[ \text{b’ãèk dìn ë | ër} \ 
\text{dr’ibol dìnì: ër} \ 
\text{dr’ibol dìn’ orha} \ 
\text{a mud} \ 
\text{na nín an’jìn} \ 
\text{a kab} \ 
\text{a wud no nín i: a’kab} \ 
\text{a mud na nín Ò} \ 
\text{24N} \]

beac daoine, ... drioball daoínt ar an mbhean ... drioball daoínt ortha ... i bhfud (nbad ’t) na nádaíne ansin acub ... i bhfud na nádaíne acub ... i bhfud na nádaíne.

**scéal:**  
chuir i gclo na scéalta ar fad 869P5: en’ f’k edhà yit’ 04Br aon scéalta dhuit?; scéaltaí acub 15W; scéaltaí gearr Ma; b’an-bhean scéalta a bhí intí seo 18JABN;

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4.102 Other descriptions

This a ~ i: variation in the plural has been discussed by several scholars. Wigger (1970: 68) describes a ~ i: variation in material from West Iorras Aithneach, as in, for example, scéalta ~ scéaltaí. He does not discern any pattern, however, because of the lack of a detailed analysis of the syntagmatic and phrasal environment and the lack of a facultative or quantitative approach. Wigger was perhaps not aided by the description of a similar phenomenon (IEM 141, 191–2) by Mhac an Fhailigh, which is not completely consistent (in that the important proviso of ‘with consonant initial’ is noted only on p. 191; see also Mhac an Fhailigh 1947: 254–5, and ‘allegro’ a vs. ‘pausa’ i: in de Bhaldraithe 1970: 163–4). This imprecision is continued by Ó hUiginn (1994: 550–1, 571) in an article discussing Connacht Irish in general, although he does note that (i) variation on the lines of Iorras Irish in Co. Mayo is found ‘thall is abhus i gceantair eile’ (‘here and there in other areas’) and that (ii) at least one exception was noted to the ‘nós’ or ‘system’ in IEM: ar leacrachaí dearga in a traditional tale (IEM p. 110–1 lines 630, 632). Although not mentioned by Mhac an Fhailigh, it is clear from his examples (IEM §555) that plurals following numerals end in a, e.g. kug’ klagn o cúit cloigne (also SIDIII.56.362); but also in e, e.g. k er’ a stufi ceithre slataí ar fad SIDIII.56.361. Indeed, the material in SID (for example, ku reanntacha (probably prepausa) 110, cf. 349, ar v’i axi f’ e’ n ar bhfiachai féin 344, m eir do’ xos méaral do chos 463b, cp. 159, SIDIII.56, slut: ‘mura slataí mara SIDIMp 269 point 55) provide further counterexamples to what are presented as invariable rules by Mhac an Fhailigh. The discrepancies may perhaps reflect the usage of different speakers. They may also arise in part because Mhac an Fhailigh may have based his description exclusively on spontaneous (and fluent) speech, in contrast with other sources.

4.103 (V) lexical set

As with other variables the (V) variable contains a lexical set. To define this set for each speaker a given lexeme should ideally be checked to see whether both <a> and <i> appear in the plural for that speaker. For example, one cannot be certain that a speaker uses bliantai if only blianta has been attested in his usage. Thus, from a narrow perspective, bliain cannot be classified as a member of his (V) set. In fact, within the set there appear to be subcategories with a greater or lesser use of one of the variants. Like other variables, of course, the set as a whole can be defined according to the local dialect and speakers’ usage compared from this broader perspective. Generally speaking, words in unstressed -òg do not belong to the class of nouns which show plural a ~ i: alternation, e.g. neantóg > neantógaí only. One speaker, 894Cs, however, has both neantóga and neantógaí. Similarly, -antaí is general, e.g. oíche > oicheantaí, although oicheanta has been noted, as discussed in 4.105. Many masculine nouns in singular -ax -ach also
Variation and variables

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vary plural -agh with -i: -í but the segmental and syntactic constraints involved have not been studied (cf. 4.92).

Although further research is necessary, some striking examples of <i> from natives of Doire Iorrais (North-East Iorras Aithneach) imply a greater class, or use, of <i> than in central Iorras Aithneach (the main focus of my study). For example, scian was noted as only fícá in central Iorras Aithneach (and so scian was not included in the (V) lexical set for central Iorras Aithneach), but speakers from Doire Iorrais have: lé fícá: | 01P le sceaná, fícá: móra 20A sceaná móra. Greater use of <i>, plural and otherwise, is also of course a more northerly feature in Connacht.

4.104 869P, Pádraigín Mhacaí ’ac Con Iomaire

The variable (V) alternates between <a> and <i> in the following words in the material collated from speaker 869P (SID.46, RBÉ, audio recordings), An Coillín:

coir, céad, cearc, cloch, cluais, cois, cuan, (-)dáine, fianail, gé, geasa, gníomh, gualainn, liath, míle, ní, péist, pian, rócht, scéal, scuab, síl.

E.g. faoi gheasa ag 869P t, faoi gheasa Fionn 869P t; faoi gheasa RBÉ often, but also faoi gheasaí before pausa RBÉ.

These nouns are certainly members of his (V) class. Plural <a> is the most frequent variant overall. Many tokens of <a> were not counted, so that the figures for <a> given in Table 4.15 and in Figure 4.6 (for 869P) could be considerably increased; those for <i>, being the more marked variant, were noted more systematically. It is likely that the distributional pattern shown below is not a result of the inconsistency in the recording of the two variants, but rather a reflection of his overall usage. Controlled for following context (i.e. consonant, schwa, other vowel, or pausa), the two variants differ particularly in the preconsonantal environment where <a> is dominant, this is in contrast with prepausa position where <i> is proportionately at its strongest.1 The prevocalic environment occupies an intermediate position between these two 'extreme' conditioning sandhi environments. The preschwa position shows no highly significant contrast with other vowels but is retained in the description here as it is seen as relevant for other speakers and lects. Table 4.15 and Figure 4.4 summarise and illustrate the quantitative conditioning.

Table 4.15 (V), 869P

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Consonant</th>
<th>Schwa</th>
<th>Vowel</th>
<th>Pausa</th>
<th>No environment noted</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-a</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-í</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Most lexemes in this class show similar weighting between the two variants, i.e. dominant <a>. A smaller subgroup seems to have a relatively high proportion of <i>, whereas only one noun, scuab, has dominant <i>:2

---

1 Pausa is defined as any definite pause in the flow of speech, including syntactic (which includes end of utterance) and hesitation pauses. Cf. Kerswill (1994: 81).
2 Only a small number of his tokens of plurals of cearc and síl have been noted.
4.105 Examples

The marked nature of <i> for many members of the [<> >> <i>] subclass seems apparent in the single token of **míle** noted from **869P**, which occurs in the prevocalic position (which is close to optimal for <i>) but also preceded by two other plurals in -(acha):  

*na druideachtaí ar na giolcaigh* [i.e. giolcaí], *na míltí acub*, *amantaí* **RBÉ**.

The only token of *caor > cuíoraí* occurs in an emphasised appellation context:  

*... a dtugtar cuíoraí cuíorthain orthub. ... cuíora caorthainn ...* **RBÉ5**.

Only two examples of *daoiní* were noted:  

*daoiní óga* (also *daoinne óga*); *Phósach daoiní go leor ...* **RBÉ**.

Many other words were not included in the (V) class for **869P** for various reasons. Words with only one or few tokens, for example, *cióch > k'íaixi* **477**, could not be strictly classified. Similarly, plurals in -ntaí (and -ltaí) overwhelmingly have <E> (contrast radical *n* followed by -ta, e.g. *blianta*, below) as in the dialect in general and so are not members of the (V) class:  


cp. *aomach > úiobtaí* **RBÉ4**;  

*talamh > tuílti: 961, i dtaltaí múna RBÉ5**.

Only one exception was noted:  

*oícheanta ainréamh geímhre RBÉ5*.

So also, <E> occurs in -n!É in ionga**453**.

4.106 Potential (V) members

On the other hand, potential members of the (V) class, which have been noted with several tokens, show <E> only. Numbers given are minimal figures, many of these words are very frequent:  


Other potential members noted with <E> only are:  

*ar uíobha na ...* **RBÉ4** (= *aobha*); *beanna* **485**, s.v. *binn*; *gú mbosa faoi ...** RBÉ2; *gamhna* **19**; *gaibhne* **715**; *leabhartha* **RBÉ4**; *maortha bhíodh* **I.12**; *póga é ... deora é* **RBÉ2**; *sála* **869P**, **RBÉ2**.

These include many monosyllabic consonantal final roots in plural -ta and related forms:  

*blianta* (3+); *líonta* **1108**; *seolta* (4); *síolta* **628 = Mp 182**; *tonnta túnnta* **1060**; *arán > ranco n.s.v. arán; sluaste 632; tine (1), *brot* é *bróite* *brónti* é *bróinte* **680**, *brúinte* **RBÉ4**; *fr* *ef* t é / -v t é *sélbhite* **957**; *coillte* **RBÉ** (x2), **869P**, also ambiguous *kóil i* **967**; *rón > run t é* **1168**; *croinnt* **MP 248**; *muilte* **RBÉ5**. Cp. *láí > lánnti* **635** either *láinte* or *láinti* (for more common *láinta(i)*).
Contrast ró > róití RBÉ with rí > as Teamhair na ríte !ZCP161, but the number of tokens noted is insufficient to classify the lexemes.

Note further <a> in:

na héanlaith na héanla 46.822, chuile chineál éanla RBÉ.

Figure 4.4 (V) and following context, 869P

4.107  894C, Colm Ó Caoidheáin

One can compare speaker 869P’s usage in Figure 4.4 with Figure 4.5 of speaker 894C, Colm Ó Caoidheáin, Glinsce.

Figure 4.5 (V) and following context, 894C

The major difference between 869P and 894C is the place of pausa in the implicational scaling of their usage. Both have the highest amount of <a> before consonants but <a> occurs least frequently before pausa for 869P whereas it is least frequent before full vowels for 894C, i.e.

- <a> for 869P: Consonant >> Schwa >> Vowel >> Pausa
- <a> for 894C: Consonant >> Pausa >> Schwa >> Vowel

It is argued in 4.129 ff., that the conditioning factors in this scale also apply with respect to <ax>, in the (VxV) variable. This indicates the morphological relationship between (V) and (VxV). In fact certain speakers have the same ordering of conditions for the following context with (VxV) as speaker 869P has with (V).

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1 In these figures a represents <a>, and i represents <i>.
4.108 Family: Pádraigín Mhacaí and his daughters

The sampled usage of Pádraigín Mhacaí ’ac Con Iomaire (869P) can be compared with that of two of his daughters (04Br, 15W) in Figure 4.6.

Figure 4.6 (V) and following context; 869P, and daughters 04Br, 15W

A dialect-general class of (V) was used to attain the daughters’ pattern. There is one striking difference between the generations and again it pertains to the position of pausa in the scale. Speaker 869P’s least favourable position for <a> is the most favourable for his daughters:

- <a> for 869P: Consonant >> Schwa >> Vowel >> Pausa
- <a> for his daughters: Pausa >> Consonant >> Schwa >> Vowel

With regard to the frequency of either variant, it is clear that 15W has a high use of <i>. As noted above (4.104), many tokens of <a> were not counted for 869P so that his proportional yield cannot be taken at face value. His daughters, however, do contrast clearly: 04Br has 90% <a>, whereas her sister 15W has...
65% <a>. It is evident even from the sisters’ conversation, without counting any variants, that 15W is more ‘fond’ of <i></i> than 04Br. For example, 15W has:

fuaraíocht na gleocháil, na tíobháil [< teach] tá dionta le clocháil,
scéalait acub, na súilí go maith anois, na ceartá héin (all 15W).

4.109 Summary and diachrony

If we examine the results obtained from eight speakers, it is possible to deduce the implicational scaling of <a> (and related <V>E> for 866E, 894Cs, 29PM):

869P, <V>E> for 894Cs and 29PM Consonant >> Schwa >> Vowel >> Pausa
894Cs (4.157, Figure 4.18); Consonant >> Schwa >> Pausa >> Vowel
<V>E for 866E (pausa and vowel)
894C
04Br, 15W (869P’s daughters) Pausa >> Consonant >> Schwa >> Vowel

It may or may not be significant that Schwa and full Vowel are generally not separated in the sequence by Pausa. They are separated in 866E’s and 894Cs’s data, which are incomplete and may yet, when further collated, show conformity with other speakers (e.g. 894C). From the understanding we have gained, based on relatively large numbers of tokens, we can postulate individual systems of speakers from whom only a few tokens are available. For example, based on síúl dearga, bailte móra breá, daoine a bhí, and daoins ## from the short recording of my oldest speaker, 852S, one can postulate the order of scaling for <a> as:

852S Consonant >> Schwa >> Vowel >> Pausa

(Cf. 4.139 for 852S’s examples from RBÉ; and 4.143 for 866E’s limited sample.)

The fixed relative order of consonant, schwa, full vowel in contrast with the shifting position of pause finds a striking parallel in English in the effect of the following context on the deletion of final t, d (Guy 1980: 27–8): ‘Let us consider the significance of this finding for linguistic theory. In all our studies, K (consonant) and V (vowel) are rigidly ordered ... The distribution of Q (pausa) values is highly variable’. Pausa is a ‘genuine dialect difference’ in American English; it differentiates New York speakers from Philadelphians, and, it seems, blacks from whites. Guy suggests that the consonant–vowel contrast is universally valid and therefore rigid in its conditioning of preceding t, d-deletion but that pause is independent of that phonetic contrast. It is for that reason that each dialect is free to define its own position.

Diachronically speaking, if our dialectal <i></i> is a reflex of -ibh (and <a> reflects deleted -bh), one would indeed expect -ibh to be retained more (frequently) before vowels than before consonants. Given that there is no clear evidence of fricative weakening before pause, one might expect that prepausa -ibh would be frequent. These expectations would predict the order:

Consonant >> Schwa >> Vowel >> Pausa

as in 869P’s, and perhaps 852S’s, usage for <a>, and both 894Cs and 29PM for <V>E>. It is, therefore, tempting to see these speakers and variables as most conservative. On the other hand, if <i> (whatever its origin: < -ihb and / or -idhe)

Plural of nouns

is a later insertion before vowels (avoiding coalescence, cp. the use of -i before vowels in the verbal adjective), then pausa might well come before consonants in the frequency scale, or at least i before pausa could be expected to be less consistent (e.g. Pausa >> Vowel in 866E’s <Vxə>, 4.143). Given the synchronic variable position of pausa, it is obvious that reinterpretations of the primary function of <i> have taken place. If <i> is actually a declining variant, being the marked form in the present-day South Conamara Gaeltacht, the shift in the position of pausa (e.g. 869P vs. his daughters) may represent one stage in the ascension of <a>.

4.110 Conclusions

We can summarise what has been discovered regarding the variable (V) in plurals such as bróig > bróga ~ brógaí:

(i) the class of words can be individually and dialectally defined and subcategorised;
(ii) there is a facultative relation between the following context and (V) variants;
(iii) speakers differ with regard to the position of pausa within the implicational scale of following contexts;
(iv) the rigid order of consonant, probably schwa (in our dialect), full vowel, in contrast with the variable position of pausa, has parallels in other languages with regard to deletion of preceding consonants;
(v) speakers differ with regard to level of use of a particular variant;
(vi) both these interspeaker differences are found between the different generations (with regard to position (iii)) and members (with regard to yield (v)) of a single family;
(vii) the details of these scalings may have diachronic implications.

4.111 Variable (VxV) → <Vxə> <Vxi:>

Although <Vxi> is by far the commonest realisation of this variable, e.g.
āit > āt xi:i:, leac > l‘akraxi:i:, banais > banfexi:i:,
dreatháir > dr‘eharaxi:i, 
plurals such as:
āit > āt xa:, leac > l‘akraxa:, banais > banfexa:,
dreatháir > dr‘eharaxa, 
are frequently heard from a small minority of speakers in Iorras Aithneach and from speakers in other parts of Conamara. This minority <Vxə> variant has been neglected in previous descriptions of Conamara Irish. The phonological and morphophonological conditions for <Vxə> use are set out in 4.14, 4.16. In brief, the greater the phonological weight or substance of the stem that precedes the variable (VxV) the greater will be the possibility that the variant <Vxə> will occur. Disyllables with unstressed open syllables, mostly 1σC(C)a, characteristic of the (Vxi:) class, are the least likely to take <Vxə>. The (Vxii) class therefore forms an exception to the consonant cluster or phonological structure constraint on (VxV). This can be illustrated by the contrast between lexemes in final consonants and lexemes in final unstressed schwa from 20C’s usage:
Variation and variables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1σC</th>
<th>&gt; 1σCC+&lt;axa&gt;</th>
<th>vs.</th>
<th>1σCa</th>
<th>&gt; 1σCC+&lt;axi&gt;</th>
<th>1σCC+&lt;Vxi&gt;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gall</td>
<td>&gt; galtacha</td>
<td></td>
<td>caladh</td>
<td>&gt; caltachai</td>
<td>caltachai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scolt</td>
<td>&gt; scoltacha</td>
<td></td>
<td>dite</td>
<td>&gt; diteachai</td>
<td>diteóchaí</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These can be contrasted with one interpretation of morpheme-boundaries: gall#tacha vs. cal#tachaí. Given my analysis, based on phonological substance one might expect that the extension vowel V; being more substantial than a, would perhaps favour <Vxa>. A possible explanation for the prevalence of <Vxi> is that this variant is most closely related to the surface alternate of the plural of many 1σC(C)(E)nouns, which have (historically) final long-vowel plurals, some in -uE, more in -iE. For example, the final -iE of caltachai and caltaechai both preserve or reflect (older) caltai better than caltacha (as though -ViE-x was infixed preceding -iE). Another or additional, possibly related, explanation is more diachronic than the previous one. This explanation would hold that <axa> has been added to 1σC type nouns earlier than to 1σCa nouns so that the latter take the more progressive -xiE ending. Yet another explanation might be that the V; extension is not substantial with regard to (morpho-)phonological weight. Weight in this context might count syllables and consonants in clusters and even morpheme boundaries but not vowel length.

4.112 Idiolects

Speaker 29C has a clear implicationally ordered distribution of the (VxV) variants. Figure 4.7 displays her percentage usage and that of speaker 20C. (S = σ, i.e. syllable, in these figures, thus $1 = 1σ, $2 = 2σ.) This figure shows that <Vxa> is least common in the (Vxi) class of words. Thereafter the <axa> yield increases gradually — in monosyllables with one final consonant, 1σC#; then the two subcategories related to the consonant cluster constraint: words with extensions and syncopated words; finally, with the highest <axa> yield, are the unsyncopated disyllables, 2σ#, words conditioned by the tetrasyllabic constraint. In Figure 4.7, speaker 29C can be compared directly with 20C. It is clear that 20C has almost categorical use of the tetrasyllabic and (Vxi) class conditions. The other conditions are not differentiated and all yield c. 60% <axa>.

It is tempting to speculate that 29C’s more differentiated usage represents a progression from an older system (where <axi> is used almost categorically in the (Vxi) class, facultatively with trisyllabic plurals, and almost not at all with tetrasyllabic plurals), to a more progressive system with higher use of <axi> spreading (implicationally) through types of trisyllabic plurals. This pattern is, however, not apparent in speaker 73P’s usage, the youngest speaker with <axa>. His yield is low and the differences between various stems may not be significant; his percentage tokens are nonetheless given in Figure 4.8 for comparison.1

1 The percentages are based on the following numbers of tokens, in the morphonological order of Figure 4.7, i.e. V(cha(f)), then S1CAPEcha(f), etc.: 46, 10, 26, 7, 18 for 29C; 58, 5, 15, 7, 31 for 20C. His numbers of tokens, following the order in Figure 4.8, are: 13, 48, 14, 26, 9, 7; i.e. 13 tokens which contain a consonant extension, 48 disyllables in final vowel, etc.
Although I have heard the plural of *dreachái* with *<exa>* from a woman born c. 1960 in central Máinís, the youngest speaker in my material for whom we have evidence of possibly higher *<exa>* use than 73P is speaker 51P (Máinís). The proportion of *<exa>* to *<xiE>* in tetrasyllabic plurals in my material from speaker 51P is 5.9.

4.113 (VxV) and *<VxE>*

According to the implicational scale discovered for *<Vxa>* it appears that the most likely positions for *<Vxa>* to occur is following syncopated or polysyllabic bases. In fact, although the data are very limited, they do support this prediction. The only example of *<Vxa>* noted from speakers, 20C and 29C, on whom the implicational scale is based, occurs following a syncopated word: *banais > banífexeá*.

For other speakers, *exa* occurs more freely. Speaker 894Cs has *snáithe > snáiteexa*, and speaker 19B of Doire an Locháin has *bun > bunexa*, *snáithe > snáiteexa*, *giorria > giorréexa*. In fact, all six examples noted of *<Vxa>* are in *exa*. It is perhaps significant that speaker 19B (Doire an Locháin) has three *exa* tokens out of nine *<exV>* variants but no *uxa* tokens out of eighteen *<uxV>* variants (i.e. *<uxi>* only). The main possible explanation I can offer for this apparent preponderance of the extension vowel e: to be followed by final *-xa* is that the front vowel variants, in particular *<iaX>* may be less likely
to add final -i, given the presence of preceding i. The variant <exa> may then reflect a common earlier <axa>. It is also possible that <exa> might reflect its southern, Munster, equivalents, whereas <uxi> reflects its northern, Connacht, domain.

4.114 Family networks and scaling

Speakers who have <Vxe>, and whose family members can be investigated, belong on the whole to families who commonly have <Vxe>. This close affiliation is evident in, for example, Maidhcil Mhúití Ó Maoil Chiaráin’s family. Figure 4.9 shows that, in tetrasyllabic plurals, every member of the family questioned has <axa>, almost in the same proportion.

Figure 4.9 (VxV) in tetrasyllables, clann Uí Mhaíl Chiaráin

The implicational scaling, evident especially in 29C’s use (Figure 4.7), is present in the dialect as a whole. As indicated in Table 4.16, if a speaker lacks <Vxe> in tetrasyllabic plurals he or she will not have <Vxe> at all (but belong to the majority class D speakers). On the other hand, if a speaker has <Vxe> in monosyllabic stems which end in a single consonant he or she will have <Vxe> in the other two categories. Similarly, speakers who have no <Vxe> following monosyllables with final consonant clusters have no <Vxe> following monosyllables in final simple consonants.

There are other speakers who properly belong to class C but their yield of <Vxe> is so low that they are included in class D. Séan (speaker 12S) is one such speaker; he has only balliarr > balliarracha ~ balliarrachat in query. One exceptional speaker has been found, 52J (son of 12S), who in query has <axa> following consonant clusters only (i.e. not with tetrasyllables as predicted by the implicational scale). He is also exceptional in that his father was recorded in query with <axa> in balliarracha only and his mother and sisters have no <axa> at all. His wife, from Ros Muc, has <axa> and 52J may have acquired this rule from her. This might explain his exceptional usage. His wife also has <ana>, which 52J claimed to use early in his query session but he did not use it later in the same session. We should recall, however, that another young speaker, 73P, has his highest <axa> yield following syncopated stems, therefore resembling

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1 The values for 29C and 36S are so close that they all but coalesce in the figure.
Both speaker 73P’s paternal and maternal family networks have <axa>. He is a grandson of Jó Bhairebre Úí Mhaoil Chiaráin (Table 4.16), and both his uncle Cóilín Jó Bhairebre (20C, Maínis) and his mother Catherine Chonra (27C, An Coillín) have common <axa>.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Speakers</th>
<th>Constraints</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>894Cs, 20C, 29C, 73P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>866E, 869P, 04Br, 36S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>Others = (majority)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**speaker** = Macaí 'ac Con Iomaire’s children, grandchildren and great-grandson, An Coillín

**speaker** = Maidhcil MhaitúÚí Mhaoil Chiaráin’s children, Central Maínis

**speaker** = Jó Bhairebre Úí Mhaoil Chiaráin’s children and grandchildren, West Maínis

Quantitatively, as seen in the figures above, the highest <Vxa> yield for speakers tends to be in categories furthest to the right on the implicational scale. Similarly, the younger the speaker is, the lower the overall <Vxa> yield tends to be. This is apparent in percentage reductions from 20C to 29C (Figure 4.7) to 73P (Figure 4.8). The younger members of Maidhcil Mhaitú’s family have less <axa> in tetrasyllables than the eldest speaker: 20My at 90% in Figure 4.9. Speaker 26P at 40% has unexpectedly less than his younger sister, 29C, and younger brother, 36S — both at 80%. In the clann Mhacaí ‘ac Con Iomaire network there is a neat correspondence of age and spread of <axa> over the three conditions of the implicational scale: the two oldest speakers (869P and his daughter 04Br) belong to class B, four younger speakers (15W, the younger daughter, and cousins 11J and 25M, 46S (04Br’s son)) belong to class C (which has more members than A or B). See 4.147 for a quantitative contrast between 869P and his daughters but an agreement between 869P and both his brother and his nephew.

In fact, like most speakers from the ‘linguistic community’ of Iorras Aithneach, speaker 46S (great-grandson of Macaí ‘ac Con Iomaire) was unaware of the existence of dialectal <axa>. He believed that his mother’s and aunt’s <axa> in query was due to spelling pronunciation. The spelling, however, does not explain the regular use in conversation by these speakers and the regular conditioning described above including speaker 46S’s own inín > in’in’axa inineacha in conversation. On the other hand, users of <axa> also seem unaware of their usage being exceptional or belonging to a minority.

### 4.115 Other Conamara dialects

The position of <axa>, commonly following disyllables, seems quite unsalient, even for some investigators. I myself only became aware of <axa> when querying 36S, 20C and 20My for other plural types. A few disyllables were interspersed in the plural questionnaire to avoid list effect in the other plurals, but <axa> appeared regularly here with some speakers so that subsequently more
disyllables were added to the list. The three speakers noted were neighbours of mine and I had frequently heard them in conversation without noticing <axa>. It appears that de Bhaldraithe committed the same error in his monographs on Cois Fhárraige. He records <axa>, without any commentary, only as an alternate with scillin > scilleacha(í) and in the place-name na Forbacha (GCF §§100(b), 488). In SIDi and III point 40, where both speakers consulted were informants for de Bhaldraithe’s GCF, Wagner transcribes nine tokens of <axa>, all of which occur with disyllabic stems, alternating with <axi> which occurs with five disyllabic stems.¹

Use of <axa> in genuine conversational style is rare and the two speakers who do have genuine <axa>, speakers 20C and 73P, are, as we have seen (Table 4.16), in class A regarding <axa> and are in the same family network, descendants of Jó Bhairbre Uí Mhaoil Chiaráin.

We have seen evidence for <axa> in Iorras Aithneach and Cois Fhárraige and it is not uncommon in Ros Muc (personal experience and SID point 44). There is evidence for its occurrence further east in Doire an Locháin in the Forbacha district (about six miles on the coast road west of Galway city) based on material collected from speaker 19B. As can be seen from Figure 4.10, speaker 19B has facultative but not uncommon <axa> in query.²

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**Figure 4.10 (VxV) → <Vxa> and (morpho)phonology, 19B (Doire an Locháin)**

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### 4.116 Comparisons

Speaker 19B appears to have similar conditioning factors at work to those found in older speakers in Iorras Aithneach. In the following list one can compare his implicational scale with that of the Iorras Aithneach speakers for <Vxa>:

1 SIDi–III point 40:
- *-acha* (nine tokens, all of which are disyllables):
  - m’ulineacha 443b, Caitílteacha 777, muraislacha 856, carraigeacha 1067, carraigreacha 1082, giúirlineacha 1089, seasrlacha 1092, ruiliceacha 1092, ainmneacha 1145;
- *-achá* with disyllables; five tokens:
  - caithcrais Mp 153, tumbridchaí 198, dreacháir 345, imaracháid 627, cineál 654; note monosyllabic dreifúr 346.

2 His numbers of tokens, following the order in Figure 4.10, are: 5, 56, 11, 21, 15, i.e. 5 tokens which contain syncope, 56 with V(cha(í)), etc.
We have seen that for the three Iorras Aithneach speakers illustrated above (20C, 29C Figure 4.7, 73P Figure 4.8) the order between syncopated (underlined) and extensional plurals is the same in that syncopated plurals have higher <ExE> yield. Other Iorras Aithneach speakers in the list above have the reversed order, in that extension plurals have higher <ExE> use than syncopated plurals. Speaker 19B resembles the latter speakers in his relative order and it is striking that, although the order of the rest of his scale resembles that of 20C and 29C, he has no <ExE> with syncopated plurals.

4.117 Diachronic and comparative

The importance of syllable and consonant number as conditioning factors on (VxV) has been defined earlier (4.14, 4.16) and further illustrated in the discussion immediately above (4.111 ff.). The consonant cluster constraint is also evidenced in the variable (V) → <ao> <i>, although no precise quantification of this constraint on (V) has been attempted. The constraint can be further illustrated from SIDIII q 680 bró point 40 where bróití has alternate bróinte. The response in point 46, bróite ~ bróinte, emphasises the facultative nature of the constraint. Diachronically, the conservative final ā of both (V) and (VxV) variants, still used in the written standard as -a and -acha, is retained following long forms, whereas ē: is more likely following short forms. Isochrony (i.e. the tendency for surface forms to resemble each other in length) may be a feature here, in as much as longer bases take shorter plural variants and vice versa. In Tokyo Japanese short verbal forms, containing one or two morae, take an innovative ending, in contrast with longer verbal forms which categorically retain the older ending (Matsuda 1993: 16–27). There, however, the innovative ending is shorter than the older one so that isochrony cannot be evoked as an explanation. Similarly, in Corca Dhuibhne, West Kerry, in the second conjugation past tense before pronouns sé and sí, long stems retain long -ig more than short stems do: typically, trisyllabic dh’fhoghlaimig sé vs. disyllabic cheanna sé ~ cheannaig sé (Ó Sé 2005: 74–8). Compare also 4.88 for short masculine bases in -ach taking the short plural. Matsuda (1993: 25–6) does refer to syllabic morphological conditioning in other languages but the closest parallel I have come across is found in the excellent analysis by Anttila (1997) of the quantitatively constrained genitive plural allomorphy in Finnish.
Variable (V:\text{x}:i) \rightarrow \langle i\text{x}:i> \langle e\text{x}:i> \langle a\text{x}:i> \langle u\text{x}:i>, etc.

The range of (V:\text{x}:i) variants is generally narrower in a given speaker’s repertoire than the full possible range found intradialectally (4.61, 4.125). The most frequent variant of the (V:\text{x}:i) variable is \langle e\text{x}:i>. It occurs regularly in the speech of some of my oldest informants. The second most frequent variant is \langle o\text{x}:i>. In other words \langle e\text{x}:i> \gg \langle o\text{x}:i> is the dominant pattern in the dialect. Interdialectally and diachronically \langle i\text{x}:i> and \langle u\text{x}:i> can be taken to be the older forms, so that speakers with these variants can be described as having recessive and conservative variants. There is no synchronic evidence in the dialect for an older dialect-wide, well-balanced, strict system of \langle i\text{x}:i> vs. \langle u\text{x}:i>. Nor is the development to a more progressive system of \langle e\text{x}:i> vs. \langle o\text{x}:i> a uniform process. Speakers vary in the range and use of the four main variants. From the oldest of my informants down through the generations there is an individually marked front or back vowel dominance. The variant \langle u\text{x}:i> generally becomes (in apparent time) the least common. For the majority of speakers \langle e\text{x}:i> becomes the dominant variant with reduction or absence of consonant-quality conditioning. For others, \langle o\text{x}:i> becomes the dominant variant, generally retaining quality conditioning better than \langle e\text{x}:i>. Some speakers, particularly speakers born after the 1930s, have a single unconditioned variant. Generally speaking, pre-1940 speakers have \langle e\text{x}:i> \gg \langle o\text{x}:i>. Post-1940, \langle e\text{x}:i> becomes common. The forms \langle e\text{x}:i> \sim \langle i\text{x}:i> can be dialectally described as a final stage in the lowering and reduction in the phonological distance between older \langle i\text{x}:i> and \langle u\text{x}:i> now ‘collapsed’ with a concurrent ‘collapsing’ of older conditions. The class of (V:\text{x}:i) nouns, or in other words the general (V:\text{x}:i) yield, becomes smaller in the speech of many younger speakers.

The largest collection of these plurals previously published is found in GCF where the four nonlow variants are given (especially GCF pp. 47–8). Although GCF uses the term ‘comhfhóirméacha’ (literally ‘co-forms’) for the two variants of contrasting quality, no cover term is used in GCF for all four variants. It is clear from the examples in GCF that all four can occur in some words. The following words have both -\text{-íochaí} and -\text{-úchaí} in GCF: bonn, teanga, gloine, cuisle, faithne. It seems that a single variable can be abstracted for the Cois Fharraige dialect as in Iorras Aithneach. Wigger (1970: 109–10) fails to note five examples of words with this plural in his material, namely artha, damhsa, cogadh, sine, cine. His material has few tokens of (V:\text{x}:i) anyhow, so that it is marginal to his analysis. Indeed, the scarcity of these plurals in the rich material used by Wigger emphasises the importance of directed research to obtain speakers’ usage, which I have carried out in Iorras Aithneach. In fact R. Hickey (1985: 159–61) was the first to give a cover term to the (V:\text{x}:i) variable: ‘infix vowel’, and provide the clearest description up till then of its qualities. His important statement that ‘only if the stem has an extending suffix, such as /\text{a}:l/, ... is the occurrence of a long vowel before /s/ impermissible’ is correct in as far as phonological conditioning goes. The importance of lexical conditioning is as crucial in this class as in other classes but it is a major stumbling block for R. Hickey’s claimed economic ‘reduction of allomorphy’. His quantitative statement that ‘the mid vowels are decidedly less common’ with a reference to GCF, p. 47, does not correspond to de Bhaldraithe’s assertion that the high vowels ‘are slightly more common’ (‘is coitianta, de bheagán, \langle i\text{x}:i>’.
§107, n. 2, ‘is coitianta de bheagán uÉxiÉþþ.’ §108, n. 2). R. Hickey’s statement, however, does correspond to the actual proportion of examples given by de Bhaldraithe. This is shown in Figure 4.11, where there is a trough at the mid vowels in the middle of the figure.

**Figure 4.11 (VÉxiÉ) in GCF and the quality of the preceding consonant**

The discrepancy between the actual examples and de Bhaldraithe’s descriptive statement can be interpreted as notational convenience, where the lower variant can always be understood as an alternant to the (historical) higher variant. Furthermore, R. Hickey claims that ‘the long vowel does not occur with loan-words’. This claim may be based on the fact that it is not found in GCF or NGCF with borrowings. We have seen that it does in fact occur with borrowings in Iorras Aithneach and I have heard bitse > bitséachá from speakers born in An Máimín, bitséachaí in Ros Muc, and bitsiúchaí from 19B of Doire an Locháin. It should also be noted that R. Hickey is imprecise with respect to his sources. This is unfortunate; for example, R. Hickey’s alternate plural in ola > oliaxi (only in GCF) ~ oluxi: is a potentially significant addition to our knowledge of dialectal features, but no precise source for the form is given.

This (VÉxiÉ) class is marginal in Ó Siadhail (1989: 164), where it is described as containing a ‘limited, if unpredictable, number of nouns’. Phonologically, the candidates for membership of this class in Connacht are in fact quite predictable (4.19) and the number of nouns affected is not very ‘limited’. Lexical conditioning is, however, still highly significant in order to assign, generally, either an i or an (VÉxiÉ) plural or both to 1σCV(ı) bases.

### 4.119 Style, intradialectal awareness

There is a stylistic contrast for many speakers (if not the majority of speakers) between the highest and / or longest variant in more ‘careful’ usage and the lower and / or shorter variant in more ‘casual’ use. For example, ‘careful’ eaxi: or iaxi: may contrast with ‘casual’ axi:. Speaker 43M has frequent axi: in her ‘casual’ usage and exi: in her more ‘careful’ examples. Her mother Máire (16M) similarly has oxi: for more casual o(ı)xi:. Two speakers showed the apparent influence of spelling in their description of (VÉxiÉ) or of words which contain (VÉxiÉ). Pádraig (19P) has a higher standard of Irish literacy than average and when queried directly about (VÉxiÉ) he preferred <axi> to his own main variant <exi>. He used
the English term ‘bad grammar’ to describe $<\text{oxi}>$ (which is, by the way, his sister Máire’s (16M) main variant). He is, of course, correct when ‘bad grammar’ is taken to mean ‘not corresponding to the spelling of the written standard’. Speaker 27C responded to a query for the plural of iomaire with ‘correct’ iomraeli but added that fear Chonamara says iomraeal. She no doubt includes herself in the category fear Chonamara since $<\text{exi}>$ is her main variant. Like so much variation in the dialect, there is little or no conscious awareness or salience of precise interspeaker variation. Máire (16M with main variant $<\text{oxi}>$) is unaware that her brother’s main variant is $<\text{exi}>$ and vice versa. Her children are unaware of their parents’ main variant. Máire is unaware that there is a local $<\text{uxi}>$ variant (albeit the least common variant). Husband and wife, 21J (main variant $<\text{exi}>$) and 24Mr (main variant, at least in the palatal context, $<\text{oxi}>$), are unaware that their plurals differ. In query, examples have been noted of speakers influencing one another; see discussion of 20C’s usage (4.181, 4.182).

4.120 Individual patterns

Speakers vary between (i) their main variants, (ii) their range of variants, (iii) their amount of (V $<\text{exi}>$) use, and (iv) the conditioning on each variant. These four factors describe the dimensions of community variation. Individual usage of this variable is discussed in the sections dealing with individuals (4.138 ff.). It is, however, instructive to collate representative speakers to get an overall view of community dynamics.

Speakers 869P, 20My, 36S and 64M have main front variants in contrast with speakers 04F, 12S and 43Mp who have main back variants. Speakers 12S and 64M show a greater range than other speakers, e.g. 36S and 43Mp, who have only one variant. Speaker 12J has very low (V $<\text{exi}>$) use. With regard to quality conditioning, speakers 869P and 20A show quality conditioning on both front and back variants, whereas speakers 04F and 12S have clearest differentiation on the back variant. Speakers with only one variant show no obvious quality conditioning.

These speaker groupings can be analysed diachronically and dialectologically. It seems that there have been historically four speaker groups with regard to weighting of the (V $<\text{exi}>$) variants:

I $<\text{oxi}>$ users (i.e. synchronically main variant is front), e.g. 869P
II $<\text{oxi}> < <\text{uxi}>$ users (i.e. high yield of both front and back), e.g. 20A
III $<\text{uxi}>$ users (i.e. synchronically main variant is back), e.g. 04F
IV $<\text{exi}>$ users (i.e. non-(V $<\text{exi}>$) speakers, main variant is $<\text{exi}>$), e.g. 12J

Group I resembles closest the neighbouring southern Irish (Munster) dialects which have ixia only (corresponding to (V $<\text{xi}>$) in Connacht). It is difficult to know how old or established the minority group IV is. It reflects a tendency to substitute $<\text{exi}>$ for $<\text{xi}>$ and $<\text{uxi}>$ plurals. This may be contemporaneous with, or subsequent to the strategy of adding $<\text{axi}>$ to $<\text{xi}>$ and $<\text{uxi}>$. Once the lowered variants, in e.g. $<\text{uxi}>$, etc., became available, it is evident that some speakers exploited a greater range than others. Both qualities of consonants conditioned variants from the outset but it is likely that the constraint on the back variant was strongest.

The typical Iorras Aithneach speaker born before the 1940s belongs to group I and has mid-variants $<\text{exi}>$ and $<\text{oxi}>$, with quality conditioning on the latter,
Plural of nouns

i.e. resembling the uneven bimodal distribution of 20My (a family member in Figure 4.13).

4.121 Some representative family networks

As with other phonological and morphological features, family members very often have similar (Vxi) plural systems. The four family networks discussed below have time depths of between sixteen years for the ‘shallowest’, and sixty nine years for the ‘deepest’ network investigated.

Clann Mhacaí ’ac Con Iomaire

Macaí ’ac Con Iomaire’s descendants are the deepest network I have researched. Figure 4.12 presents their (Vxi) plural distribution.¹

![Figure 4.12 Percentage (Vxi), clann Mhacaí ’ac Con Iomaire](image)

Speakers 869P and 875T are brothers. The evidence regarding 875T is very limited but he is included because it is very likely that his main variant was <iExi>. Speaker 875T’s sons, 11J, 20T and 25M, and 869P’s daughters, 04Br and 15W, all live within two hundred yards of each other in An Coillín. It is clear that this is an <iExi> network. Dynamically, <eExi> becomes common in the second generation, i.e. the 1900–10s generation. The high back variant <uExi> is infrequent and attested from 869P only, whereas <oExi> becomes common in the 1910–20s generation and is most conspicuous in the two younger speakers’ usage. Given the low internal network usage of <uExi>, the source of the higher <oExi> usage is external to the network, i.e. local community usage. During his query session, 25M slowly raised the proportion of his <iExi> responses. This could be interpreted as a gradual formalising towards a more careful, self-consciously conservative familial usage. His system might be interpreted as evidence of a mixture or weakening in paternal network usage, a weakening

¹ In these figures for (Vxi), where relevant, échaí = Óxi; úchaí = axi; óchaí = axi; échaí = exi.
which arose between the 1911 and 1925 age-group, in contrast to previous age-
groups, 1869 to 1915, who closely resemble their brothers and fathers.¹

4.122 Clann Mhaidhcil Mhaitiú Uí Mhaoil Chiaráin

Figure 4.13 presents the homogeneous sibling network of the family of Maidhcil
Mhaitiú Uí Mhaoil Chiaráin from Maínis.

Figure 4.13 Percentage (ViXi), clann Uí Mhaoil Chiaráin

This is clearly an <exi> network. In the later 1920s age-group <oexi> becomes
very rare until it actually ‘disappears’ in speaker 36S. Therefore, while <oexi>
was on the increase in the clann Mhacaí network (Figure 4.12) it was being lost in
this Ó Maoil Chiaráin family.

4.123 Seán and Máire Chúláin and family

The systems of Seán (from Carna) and Máire (from Maínís) Chúláin and their
family (from an Aird Mhóir and Maínís) is illustrated in
Figure 4.14. For this network we have information from both mother and father.²
In contrast with the two previous networks, this family has dominant back
variants. The father, 12S, has the highest front variant usage, he has a little
<iexi> and quite a few <exi>. The mother, 16M, has no <iexi> but a little
<exi>. The dominant variant for both parents is <oexi>. They have little or no
<iexi> and little <exi> and <axi>. Their children have almost no front variants.

¹ This network of clann Mhacaí seems to have a few southern dialectal traits. Locally <iexi> is also a
southern trait. The increase in the back variant can be interpreted as localisation or Connachtisation of
this feature. My ignorance of the (ViXi) use of the two mothers in this network is a major lacuna here.
Perhaps <oexi> has a maternal source. Cp. 4.147 for speculation on the possible maternal source of
prevalent <oexi> in speaker 869P’s daughters.

² This family have been my own Gaeltacht ‘family’ since 1976, but I was unaware of their precise
usage of (ViXi) variants until 1994. I have a fond memory of the circumstance that brought about my
(ViXi) ‘epiphany’. Seán noticed lengths of wire (for rabbit-snares) and asked what they were for.
Máire had to repeat her plural of suil ribe since Seán was hard of hearing: ‘Cé leihí aige iad?’ (‘What
does he want them for?’) asked Seán. Máire replied: ‘Leihí (‘for’) suil rib oxic, suil rib axi, suil
rib oxic, etc.’ That evening I had based a list of possible (ViXi) plurals on GCF pp. 47–8, and Máire,
in a thorough query session, gave me her versions: <oexi> was her main variant.
Their main variant is <exi> / <oxi>, i.e. a lowered version of their father’s, and, in particular, of their mother’s, main variant.

Figure 4.14 Percentage (V:xi), Seán and Máire Chúlán and their family

4.124 Máire an Ghabha Uí Cheannabháin and family

Máire an Ghabha, speaker 05Mq, has [<exi>] >> [<oxi>]. Two of 05M’s children, 29N and 37M, were queried and they also have predominant <exi> in: [<exi>] >> [oxi] 29Nq and [<exi>] >> [oxi] 37Mq. The spouses of both these speakers were also queried as were some of their children. Máire an Ghabha’s grandson 51P (son of 29N) has a weak (V:xi) category with <oxi> as his main variant. Speaker 51P’s father, speaker 20Páq (with 10 lexemes attested), has main variant <exi> (following both palatal and nonpalatal stems) and minor <oxi> (following palatal stems) and least frequently <iExi> (with toírramh). Speaker 51P therefore seems to have promoted his parents’ minor variant <oxi> to his own major, although infrequent, variant. Another grandson, 64M (son of sadly deceased 30B), has a robust (V:xi) category with predominant <axi>. Máire an Ghabha’s granddaughters who were queried have little or no (V:xi), i.e. 74Nq has <oxi> in iomaire only, neither of her younger sisters, 75Nq and 78Cq, have any (V:xi). Speaker 74N is daughter of 37M and 36N. As mentioned, her father 37Mq has [<exi>] >> [<oxi>]. She lives with her parents next-door to her grandmother 05M. Her mother, speaker 36Nq, has <oxi> only (25 lexemes). In this instance it seems the daughter 74N agrees with her mother (05M’s daughter-in-law) against her father and grandmother, i.e.

\[
\text{iomaire} \rightarrow \text{umre} oxi: 05Mq ((\text{grand})\text{mother}) \rightarrow \text{umre} oxi: 37Mq (\text{father}); \\
\text{umro} oxi: 36Nq (\text{daughter-in-law, mother}) \rightarrow \text{umro} oxi: 74Nq.
\]
Obviously, networks with parents who have contrasting systems are of special interest. Further investigation of such networks will reveal to what extent transmission of ($V\xi$) is matriarchal. Even between siblings who are close in age, however, acquisition can be heterogeneous. This is indicated by the contrasting systems of Máire (16M), who has main variant $o\xi$, and her brother Pádraig (19P), who has mostly $e\xi$ and $a\xi$.

### Developments and intergenerational change

#### 4.125 Transfer and approximation

Two modes of phonemic merger — approximation and transfer — are of particular relevance to an analysis of the morphophonological developments found in ($V\xi$) plurals. In the change from $V\xi$ to $\xi$ there is both (i) a type of phonologically abrupt approximation (i.e. the peripheral vowels, $i$ and $u$, become centralised to $a$) and (ii) morphemic transfer (i.e. the $V\xi$ ending is replaced by the $\xi$ ending, which is a process of morphological levelling). Morphophonemic transfer is present when one variant is used exclusively. The commonest development and that which forms a major part of my description is, however, gradual phonological approximation — the high peripheral vowels approximate each other and schwa in a parallel process of lowering and centralisation — as illustrated in the diagram below.

![Diagram](image)

An important question regarding parallel changes in language in general is whether the changes occur simultaneously or consecutively. Given that $e\xi$ is more common than $o\xi$ in SID, and that $o\xi$ is the least common variant in Iorras Aithneach (in contrast with $i\xi$ which is very common) it is apparent that the lowering of the back variant occurred more rapidly than that of its front counterpart. Technically speaking, in Iorras Aithneach $e\xi$ is a function of $o\xi$, i.e. if a speaker has both front and back variants and if that speaker has the front mid variant $e\xi$, then the speaker’s back variant must be $o\xi$ or lower. This functional relationship between parallel changes which have leading components is described, for example, by Bynon (1978: 212).

Based on a sample of hundreds of speakers from Iorras Aithneach, one can determine which speakers are the first users of progressive variants or progressive overall systems. The ‘termini post quos’ regarding height and quality of the $V\xi$ extension in Iorras Aithneach are:
Plural of nouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lowered variant</th>
<th>Speaker’s date of birth</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>eÉxiÉ</td>
<td>1852</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eÉaxiÉ</td>
<td>1869</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eÉoxiÉ eÉxiÉ</td>
<td>1878</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eÉxiÉ</td>
<td>1889</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eÉxiiÉ</td>
<td>1902</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oÉxiÉ</td>
<td>1905</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aÉxiÉ</td>
<td>1912</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ÒxiÉ</td>
<td>1902</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ÒxiÉ</td>
<td>1905</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ÒxiÉ</td>
<td>1912</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ÒxiÉ</td>
<td>1916</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The 'termini post quos' regarding the value of a speaker’s main variant or variants are (apart from 869P one cannot be certain of the evidence until 1904):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Main variant(s)</th>
<th>Speaker’s date of birth</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>? &lt;iáxi É&gt;</td>
<td>1852</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>? &lt;iuxi É&gt;</td>
<td>1866</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;iáxi É&gt;</td>
<td>1869</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>? &lt;iexi É&gt;</td>
<td>1887</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>? &lt;iexi É&gt;</td>
<td>1902</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;iexi É&gt; &lt;oxi É&gt;</td>
<td>1904</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;iexi É&gt;</td>
<td>1905</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;oxi É&gt;</td>
<td>1916</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;oxi É&gt; oxí É</td>
<td>1943</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;oxi É&gt;</td>
<td>1952</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;oxi É&gt;</td>
<td>1964</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As for unimodal systems (i.e. one-variant systems), the speakers earliest noted are: 26Pc <exi É>, 36S <exi É>, (20M, 37J almost <oxi É> only). 36N <oxi É> and 43Mp <oxi É>. Therefore 1926 is the terminus post quem for unimodal systems, which are all based on nonhigh vowels. It is true by definition that these termini are not absolute for the community and that many younger speakers are found who have more conservative systems than the most progressive speakers listed above (e.g. 16M with main variant <oxi É> (progressive) against 27M with main variant <iáxi É> (conservative)). Within speakers’ family networks, however, the termini can be taken to be highly predictable of younger speakers' usage in that they will be constrained by the systems of their older peers. For example, they will not generally use higher main variants than their family elders. Brothers 11J and 20T are interesting in this respect in that the younger brother has a more conservative pattern (from their unfortunately limited data) in Figure 4.12.

4.126 Rapidity of vocalic lowering

The vocalic developments in (VÉxi É) plurals represent a classic example of morphological conditioning of sound change. It is not denied that similar vocalic lowering occurs elsewhere in the phonology but nowhere is it nearly as substantial. In fact, the vocalic lowering of these plurals coincides with

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1 From a very short questionnaire: <oxi É> in sine, faithne, gloine, eite; <eÉxi É> in giorria; otherwise <oxi É> (x6).
2 For example, in the second conjugation nonpersonal future (óidh) → <oÉ> >> <oÉ>; and the related past habitual and conditional second singular (óthá) → [oÉ] >> [oxi É] >> [oxi É] >> [oxi É], etc.;
4.127 Diachrony and dialectology of (V:xi)

Diachronically, the plurals i and u have been appended with the plurals aixi / axi to give new complex plurals in (V:xi). Plural i derives historically from -idhe (all over Ireland), and u from -adha (in Connacht). There is a plural u(ı) of different origin (< -abh < -íbh) found especially in East Connacht as well as Ulster and Scotland but it is of marginal relevance here. It is also possible that some i: plurals in North Connacht are reflexes of -íbh. The historical reconstruction of the plural of a given lexeme often depends on its historically attested plural. For example, one can be quite certain that dialectal k'ef uxi: is a reflex of cleiteadhachaí, and that laiuxi: reflects lataidhe-achaí. On the other hand, bori > bunlìxi: and bunuxi: may reflect bonaibh-eachaí and bonnabh-achaí respectively, given the frequent presence of the nominal plurals is no doubt a major factor. Perhaps one can use what Labov (1994: 588) terms “the envelope of variation” to analyse the vocalic development. In the perception of an V:xi: plural the range of vocalic possibilities before xi: is large, from i to ø to u. Given that ø is the least marked variant, the perception of other variants could be lowered in its direction. Furthermore, given the higher frequency and productivity of the independent -i: plural suffix in contrast with the regressive independent -u: suffix, both production and perception of the high front <iaxi> variant would tend to be greater than that of the high back <uxi> variant. This would explain the precipitated fall of the back variant. (In fact East Galway, which has productive independent plural suffix -u(ı) (< -íbh), has no lowered back variants in SID. On the other hand, there are tokens of <uxi> in the mixed lects of East Mayo which have relatively frequent independent -u:.)

lowering is common before velars in historical phonology, e.g. before ch, bèícüich b'èk'ùx >> b'èk'ux, Ciarraíoch k'ariux >> k'arírex, etc. Lowering of unstressed vowels is a leitmotif of Irish historical phonology and a definitive feature of Middle Irish. In Modern Irish there are also cases of morphological conditioning, e.g. -éan > -án. The development closest to the (V:xi) plural is seen in the Middle and Modern Irish developments in the é-future, which Jackson (1976: 99) describes as having ‘Protean’ ‘subdivisions’, an appropriate description of (V:xi). The é-future and (V:xi) variables have the following in common: (i) more than one historical source, (ii) a large range of vocalic variants, (iii) second syllable position, (iv) infixation in that position, (v) the vowel can be joined with other morphological markers, (vi) quality opposition or dissimilation between the preceding consonant and the vowel (oí in the case of the é-future). In fact it may have been the dissimilatory function which caused é to oust é in the future; a possible response to that part of Jackson’s question ‘why it ousted é’ (1976: 103) that D. Greene (1978) did not answer.

1 Given that stressed broad dh regularly gave ò in the south, unstressed -adha could become ic; an explanation, perhaps, for the lack of plural ic in Munster. In Scotland there was a tendency for -adh and -acha to coalesce as a voiceless variant; an explanation, perhaps for the lack of plural ic < -adha in Ulster. (I am grateful to Roibeard Ó Maolalalagh for drawing my attention to these two points. Cf. Ó Maolalalagh 1999b.)
Plural of nouns

cuiridheácháí, tórramh → tórraimheacháí; and for uÉxiÉ, for example, fobhra → forabhachaí, tórramh → tórramhachaí.

In order to discover the basic dialectal dispersion of (VÉxiÉ) plurals, fifteen words were collated from SID I–III. The words are: sine Mp 18, cleite Mp 36, ionga Mp 136 and q 453, teanga q 247, fobhra q 425, gloine q 426, fáthne q 436, tomaire q 627, claise q 630, gráinne q 660, conra q 711, tórramh q 703, eite q 1133, lamh q 1136. The majority are disyllables of the structure 1σCε, which are, as we have seen, typical (VÉxiÉ) members in Iorras Aithneach.¹

Plural ioxa / ioxi: is widespread throughout Ireland, uÉxiÉ is common in central and southern Connacht only, as shown in Map 4.1. This <uÉxiÉ> then is an important morphological characteristic of Connacht Irish which is found (in the fifteen words checked) north of a line which extends from the South Sound (between Innis Oírr in Co. Galway (point 41) and Co. Clare) eastwards and passes south of An Carn Mór (point 37), Poll an Chrosáin (point 30) and Ceathrú an Tairbh (point 32) in Co. Roscommon. The northern limit of <uÉxiÉ> in SID extends from Béal Deirg (point 58 on the northern coast of Co. Mayo) to Áth Chláir in Co. Sligo (point 60) and Cill Móbhí in Co. Mayo (point 62). The northwestern corner of Co. Mayo, Iorras, points 55–57, constitutes a relic area which contains u only. Mixed dialects with both u and uÉxiÉ are found east and south of Iorras: Béal Deirg and Baile an Chaisil (points 58–59) to the east; and Acaill (points 54–53),² and Cluain Cearbán (point 52) to the south. There are four other mixed points in South Connacht which have <u> in this list: points 32, 34, 49 (sine) and 41 (eite).³ This implies that all of Connacht was a mixed area until very recently. In fact independent <u> is found all over Connacht, but it is confined to a very small class of words which have limited geographical relevance and which are not in the test list (for example, gearrchaile in Conamara; teach in West and North Conamara, etc.; cf. SID Mp 147 and Wagner (1982: 98–109)).

² The Acaill variant is avoxa/owoxa/uvoxax, in both the island and in An Corrán, but it can be classified as <uÉxiÉ> for present purposes. Only u is attested for An Corrán (point 53) in SID but the main informant in The Irish of Achill, a speaker from An Corrán, has faithne fun lvuxa (IAlM p. 321 §1402) although u is more common. This is the only point where contains information extraneous to SID. It is striking that u(xa) in the Acaill dialect (a transplanted Ulster lect with substantial Connacht adstratum) is more likely a borrowed feature from Connacht Irish, rather than a retained feature (since plural nominal -adhá has left now trace of u(xa) in the original Ulster homeland). Cf. O’Rahilly (1932: 189–90) for the historical background of the Acaill dialect.
³ Note the significance of the maritime context for retention of older eiteadha in Oileáin Árann (the Aran Islands). I have collected plural eiti in query from Bríd Ní Dhreáin, Fearann an Choitce, Arainn (An tOileán Mór, born in 1895, North Conamara (Bun a Cnoc) and South Mayo (pt 50) have cró > cruithí (4.132). Through oversight I failed to include SID Mp 57 cruithí in my calculations for (VExiÉ); plural crúiocha(i) is general in central East Galway, points 28, 36–8, as well as cruithíochtae at 39.
This area (points 30–62, except for 55–57) is therefore the domain of (V\uxxi\), where there is a choice of quality of the long vowel preceding -xi.\(^1\) It is in this area exclusively that remarkable lowering of the historical i and u is found in (V\uxxi\) plurals. It would appear then that both front and back variants are necessary for the substantial lowering to occur. The four nonlow variants of (V\uxxi\) are found in SID. The high variants <i\uxxi\> and <uxxi\> are by far the most common (Figure 4.15). The rarer mid-variants are found regularly only in a few points: there are thirteen tokens of <i\uxxi\> (point 42 has 4 examples; and, in a

\(^1\) The supplementary point 43b (Stenson and Ó Ciardha 1986) was not analysed, through an oversight, with the bulk of the SID material. The relevant details for 43b are as follows (‘a’ and ‘b’ refer to the older and younger main speakers respectively; ‘Sa’, ‘Ma’ to siblings of ‘a’, ‘PC’ to another younger speaker):

- <i\uxxi\>: teanga (a, b); iomaire (b); törramh (b); eite (Sa);
- <\uxxi\>: iomaire (a); conra (Sa);
- <\uxxi\>: féithne (a, b); conra (b); eite (Ma);
- cp. i: mula (a, b); faibhre (a, b); glaise (b); conra (PC); törramh (a); lann (a, b);
- cp. aní: teanga (b); koni: glaise (Sa).
northern near-continuum, points 51 and 58 have 1 example each, point 59 has 3, point 60 has 2). The front mid-variant <exi> is found only once and it is probably significant that it is found in point 43a, recorded by H. H. Coyle, not Wagner.

Figure 4.15 shows the quality conditioning and yield of variants for the SID material (in all 207 tokens; ‘oicha’ = -locha and -lochá, etc.) taken together: an abstract view of Connacht (Vξi), comparable to that shown for individual speakers and networks in Iorras Aithneach. It should be borne in mind that the evidence of SID is not directly comparable in the time or age dimension with my material from Iorras Aithneach, since SID witnesses the speech of the two generations born between c. 1860 and 1900.

Figure 4.15 (Vξi) and quality of preceding consonant, pts 30–62 SIDI, III

The overall range and quality conditioning for Connacht can be formulated as:

range and quality conditioning of (Vξi) in SID

\[ \{ <\text{iaxi}> \gg \gg <\text{exi}> \} \quad \{ <\text{uxi}> \gg <\text{oxi}> \} \]

nonpalatal (\(<\)) palatal (\(\text{palatal}\))

This formula summarises the overall picture for Connacht. The majority of individual SID points follow these constraints quite strictly but there are some points and some words which are exceptional. The seventeen regular points are: 30, 31, 32, 34, 35, 36, 37, 39, 40, 41, 42, 44, 45, 47, 48, 50, 61. Points that do not follow the quality constraint narrowly are:

back variant <uxi>: with fabhra: 33, 49, 51, 58, (59 <u>), 60, 62; with ionga: 38, 43;

front variant ia/exi/: 43a (faithne, sine), 46 (faithne, glaise, gloine, gráinne), 49 (mala), 52 (ionga), 55 and 57 (mala), 60 (sine).

SID point 46, whose main informant was speaker 869P (the secondary informant was his son), has more prevalent irregular <iaxi> (irregular, that is, as regards quality) than any other point. This trait (i.e. having a main front variant) is a feature of 869P’s family network, of Iorras Aithneach in general, of An Máimín speakers known to me and of GCF. This implies that a dominant front variant is a feature of West Conamara (i.e. at least between Iorras Aithneach and Cois Fharraige). The <u> of points 52–59 follows the quality condition (remembering that simple <u> can (facultatively) take the place of <uxi>, except that <u> follows a nonpalatal consonant in fabhra in point 59). It is also clear from Figure 4.15 that
the actual number of back variants is far greater than front variants. This would be especially true if relic simple uÉ were added and if, as in Figure 4.15, plurals which are discussed in the following section, gréasaíocha and giorriacha, were excluded.

4.128 Nouns in final long vocoid with (VÉxiÉ) plurals

The plural of words in a final long vocoid can be examined by collating the plurals of giorria q 151 and q 820, and gréasaí q 723. All points in Connacht with a plural in -xi: return <iÉxiÉ>, except point 41 which has <aÉxiÉ> and the younger speaker in point 43b who also has <aÉxiÉ> [x3] (in contrast with the older speaker's <aÉxiÉ> [x3] point 43b). These <aÉxiÉ> plurals can be interpreted as iÉÔEÔ + aÉxiÉ; they show no indication of lowering or change in quality which would suggest (VÉxiÉ) status, i.e. there is evidence of what I term retention of the radical vowel. The change in quality is not to be expected, because the final consonants of these two words are nonpalatal. In GCF §154 with verbal nouns in -ú we find scanrá > scanraíochaí (as well as retention: míniú > míniúchaí, and other plurals). Otherwise there is no evidence of quality change in (VÉxiÉ) plurals in GCF. More definite evidence of (VÉxiÉ) with the class of words in final long vocoid does occur, and can be taken as instances of transference. There is iÉ > <uÉxiÉ> in, for example, glainí > glainiúchaí point 48 (SID Mp 122, q 426), and uÉ > <iÉxiÉ> is common, for instance, in caladh, cuireadh, creideamh > calaíochaí, cuirióchaí, creidíochaí in North Connacht (e.g. Skerrett 1968: 99).

Multiple conditioning of complex endings

We have seen how individual plural suffixes and extensions are conditioned by preceding phones (syllable offsets and even codas), possibly by the position of morpheme boundary in clusters, and by the following phonological and syntactic environment (terming the syntagmatic constraint). When these suffixes and extensions combine the conditioning becomes multivariate and a priori demands multivariate analysis. It could be claimed that the lack of such an analysis is a major defect in the present work. Nevertheless, I propose to continue below with monovariate analysis so that at least some of the constraints may be identified even though their relative weightings are not quantified.

4.129 Variable (VxV) → <VÉxiÉ> <VÉxO>

The evidence presented in 4.101 ff., has shown that the use of (V) → <iÉ> depends facultatively on the following syntactic environment. It follows that similar conditioning would be expected for (VxV) → <VÉxiÉ> <VÉxO>. This is in fact the case. There are therefore two important constraints on (VxV): the preceding (morpho)phonological weight of the stem to which it is suffixed and the following phonological and / or syntactic environment.1 Speaker 894Cs has but weak syllabic conditioning of (VxV), i.e. he has only slightly more <VÉxO> in tetrasyllabic plurals than in trisyllabic plurals. It is clear, however, from Figure 4.16, even from the very limited data available (which include monosyllabic and

1 There are interesting similarities between the loss of final s in clusters in English (for example, as regards preceding phonological and morphological environment and following context) with (VxV) in Irish. For English s, see the summary in Guy (1991).
polysyllabic bases and $<V\text{xa}>$, that $<V\text{xi}>$ occurs most frequently before full vowels and before pausa.

To give some concrete examples: the final vowel in 894Cs’s plural variable (VxV), for instance, in áiteacha, is conditioned like the plural variable (V), for instance, in cluasa. Thanks to the fine recording of 894Cs made by the folklore collector Proinsias de Búrca we can see the various plural constraints in operation:

- daoiní as vs. daoine maithe, i.e. in the variable (V) the following vowel effects $<i>$ vs. $<a>$ before a consonant;
- in gloineóchaí é vs. snáithéacha tairní [turaingthe], i.e. quality constraint for (Vxè), and the following vowel effects $<V\text{xi}>$ vs. $<V\text{xa}>$ before a consonant;
- áiteachá, driseachá (both prepausa) vs. iomaireachá ceapthaí, i.e. $<\text{axi}>$ with monosyllabic base and prepausa vs. $<\text{axa}>$ with polysyllabic base and before a consonant;
- neantóga is driseachá, i.e. $<a>$ common before schwa (in as is) for (V).

(All examples, 894Cs.)

With further collation of all of speaker 894Cs’s recorded material it may be possible to juxtapose use of both (V) and (VxV) to ascertain whether or not the constraints of following context are ordered and weighted similarly for both variables.

### 4.130 Other speakers

Speaker 26P has the same weighting of constraints of the following context as 894Cs on his similarly limited number of tokens of (VxV). Speaker 26P has facultative $<\text{axa}>$ in polysyllabic bases only. There is, therefore, no need for multivariate analysis in his case. Speaker 866Et, in his audio recording, has four plural tokens of dreatháir:

- before pausa: $\text{dr' eharoxa} \ [x3] \ dreathárachá;
- before a full vowel: $\text{on' e'hoxi' j} \ \text{óna ndreathárachá i}.$

Although his number of examples is small, the four tokens do follow the implicational scale of [pausa >> vowel] for $<V\text{xa}>$. 

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Variation and variables

Speaker 894Cs has <Vxα> in all types of words, i.e. he is a member of class A in the implicational scale for (VxV) made out in Table 4.16 above. Speaker 26P has <Vxα> in tetrasyllabic plurals only, i.e. he is a member of class C. But both speakers have the same weightings of constraints with regard to the following context. Other speakers, such as 04Br, a member of class B, and 20My, a member of class C, show very high <Vxα> yield in tetrasyllabic plurals. In other words, they have an almost categorical application of the syllabic constraint. This overrides the constraint of the following context. Other speakers, such as 04Br, a member of class B, and 20My, a member of class C, show very high <Vxα> yield in tetrasyllabic plurals. In other words, they have an almost categorical application of the syllabic constraint. This overrides the constraint of the following context. It is clear, then, that the rules used by these speakers can be formalised to differentiate them. For example, the distinction between 26P and 894Cs is that some of the latter’s facultative constraints are absent for 26P and that one constraint defines the environment in the structure of the rule for 26P. Speaker 04Br has facultative and categorical constraints. In contrast with the other speakers, 20My has a simple (almost) categorical rule. These speakers’ rules for <Vxα> are illustrated in:

894Cs (VxV) → n<Vxα>; n = f(1σ, etc., 2σ, following context)
04Br (VxV) → n<Vxα>/2σ_; n = f(1σCC)
20My (VxV) → <Vxα>/2σ_; n = f(following context)

(The asterisk * represents a categorical constraint within a variable rule.)

From the standpoint of innovative <Vxi>, the contrast between 894Cs and 26P is, of course, related to that set out for <Vxα>. A facultative constraint for 894Cs’s <Vxi> becomes categorical for 26P (i.e. 26P has categorical <Vxi> outside of polysyllabic bases). This is a common trait in the morphological spread of innovations (e.g. Labov 1972: 276–7; Bynon 1978: 211). The (maximum) multiple constraints (four for the base and four for the following context) on <Vxα> can be formulated as a variable rule:

(VxV) → n<Vxα> / \( \{ \sigma > 1 \} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} C^{>1}\# \\ C\#C \end{array} \right\} \#_{\#_{\#_{\#}}} \); n = f(network, age)\(^1\)

V Schwa
C

4.131 Complexities of (VxV): (V | x | V), (V | x | V), (VxV)

Another way of showing that complex and simple allomorphs are related by common constraints is to relate them with each other in the derivational analysis. We have seen that (V) and the final vowel in both (αxV) and (Vxi:) are subject to similar constraints. Given this similarity, the more abstract variable (VxV) can be deduced. Since individuals differ with regard to their application of constraints, the derivational analysis must inevitably also differ according to those individual

\(^1\) Conditions pertaining to the base are: \( \sigma > 1 \) = polysyllabic constraint; C\(^{>1}\)# = consonant cluster constraint without extension consonant (mostly syncopated bases in the data); C#C = consonant cluster constraint with extension; C(>1)V# = monosyllabic bases in final vowel, typical (Vxα) class. Conditions pertaining to the following context are: V = vowel; Schwa; C = consonant; ### = pause. Cp. 4.16.
uses. It would be redundant and unrealistic if an abstract derivation that suits the most complex and morphologically ‘deepest’ usage were assigned to a simple ‘flat’ system. Such an abstract ‘interspeaker’ grammar would blatantly misrepresent the complexity of some speakers’ systems in contrast with the simplicity of others. It is perfectly clear that speakers do not have well-defined access to each others’ systems. Thus a complex ‘interspeaker’ nominal plural grammar cannot be justified on practical grounds.  

Therefore, the derivational complexity of (VxV) within Iorras Aithneach can be shown to range from more complex systems to less complex systems (schematised below). System A is most complex, consisting of three analysable parts, i.e. (V|x|V), as in, for example, 894Cs’s speech. System B (V|xV) has only two clearly analysable elements. With the loss of the syntagmatic constraint, the connection with (V) is lost. System C is less complex: only the extension vowel can be related to the schwa of axi. It is the commonest system in my sample. The loss of (V|axi) in the younger generation brings us closer to a simple indivisible plural ending axi: system D. To include speakers with <ana>, it is clear that the four systems shown here would have to be expanded.

\[
\begin{array}{c}
(V|x|V) \rightarrow <\text{axa}> <\text{axi}> \quad \leftarrow \text{tetrasyllable, cluster, following context} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
A \\
(V) \rightarrow <\text{ax}> <\text{i}> \quad \leftarrow \text{(cluster), following context} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
(V:|x|V) \rightarrow <V:ax> <V:xi> \quad \leftarrow \text{tetrasyllable, cluster, following context} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
(V|xV) \rightarrow <\text{axa}> \quad \leftarrow \text{tetrasyllable} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
B \\
(^\wedge)^\wedge \\
(V:xV) <V:xi> \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
(V|xV) \rightarrow <\text{axi}> \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
C \\
(V:|xV) <V:xi> \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
D (VxV) \rightarrow <\text{axi}> \\
\end{array}
\]

In fact, further complexity is evident, especially with (V|xV). It can convincingly be analysed as (V:|ax|V) where V: is either an extension or, less frequently, a plural ending, i.e.

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1 The problems of ‘diasystemic’ and ‘polylectic’ grammars are discussed in Chambers and Trudgill (1980: Chapter 3) and illustrated by Trudgill’s own rejection of his impractical earlier attempts (1974: Chapter 8) at over-conformity in incorporating intergenerational and other social heterogeneity into the same diasystem.
(V: | ax | V) = V: (extension) + axV (ending)
= V: (ending) + axV (ending), e.g.
lata > lataí = lataíochá
gearrchaille > gearrchailiú = gearrchailiúchaí.

Phonetically front nonlow variants are actually often trisyllabic, i.e. iXi:i,
e:iXi:i. In careful emphatic pronunciation during query, one speaker, at least, produced:
sine > [fín’ e ‘x:i: 19P sinéacháih
(which he then realised was homophonous with one pronunciation of sin é an chaoi).

Plurals in -uí: and -ówi:
The plural endings -uí: and -ówi: (cf. 4.66 and 4.63) occur with very few nouns and are peculiar to West Conamara. In this section I analyse their diachronic and dialectal developments.1

4.132 Suffix -uí plus -i: yields -uí:

As shown in the historical exposition of (V:xi) (4.127), in particular regarding <uxi>, the geographic and lexical domain of the independent plural suffix -uí has diminished in Connacht. In SID I and III, from point 30 to point 51, independent -uí: (that does not alternate with reflexes of -ibh in East Galway) is very limited: siniú 32, 34, 49; eitiú 41; gearrchailiú 38. Supplementary information to SID for West Conamara is available: An Clochán,2 Bun a Cnoc3 (north of Sraith Salach), An Máim,4 An Líonán,5 Innis Nia6 (near Cloch na Rón); and areas covered in SID: Ros Muc7 (44) and Cois Fharraige8 (40). The evidence for -uí in West Conamara is summarised in the list below.

It is clear that, apart from three lexemes (gearrchailiú, found all over Conamara, siniú in Corr na Móna (49) and the place-name Doiríú), words in -thiú make up this limited class with -uí:, for which we have a continuum of examples especially in West Galway and South Mayo.9 I have shown that the majority of historical -uí plurals have become -íchaí plurals (4.127). But in the area where the subclass -thiú survived, while other -uí nouns transferred, the -thiú class tended to take the ending -í instead of becoming -íchaí. In An Clochán, Bun a Cnoc (and in Ros Muc) this combination yields -thiúí and -theabhaí, the ends -uí: and -ówi:.

1 A version (in Irish) of this section forms the main part of Ó Cumáin (2001: 161–7).
2 Stenson (2003: 44, 112). The plural of teach occurs only twice (eclipsed only), in an English-based orthography: dehoveah and deioveah. I follow Stenson in taking the author to be Pádraig Ó Loideáin, born in 1832.
3 Nilsen (1975: 118–9).
4 From Tadhg Ó Cadhain of Tír na Cille, in the archive of Raidió na Gaeltachta, Cas 3920, 3963.
6 Raidió na Gaeltachta, DAT 3380 and 02.01.86.
7 LFRM and my own limited field notes.
8 GCF.
9 To these correspond leithiú, reithiú, seithiú in a subclass with -thi- of the productive class -ú in loras Mayo (IEM §527).
The two basic independent elements, as well as their combination, are found in one revealing answer in SID III point 44 (Ros Muc) q 483: /iú/ (or /iί/). The speaker may well have proffered an extradialectal form in his last answer, given that I have heard only /i/, /i/, /i/, in the plural of teach from the conversation of Ros Muc speakers. (This includes /iú/. Nonetheless, a Ros Muc speaker from An Aill Bhuí (born c. 1950), whose mother and wife come from West Iorras Aithneach, had /iίίί in query.)

The innovation and development which occurred can be taken to be as follows (each stage has been recorded): /i/ → /iί/ → /iίί/ → /iί/ → /iί/. There is, however, no need to conjecture a direct linear progression from one form to the next, particularly with regard to the final three stages; /iί/ might not be a necessary intermediate stage in every instance; perhaps /i/ → /iί/ also occurred. Contemporaneous forms such as /iί/ and /iί/ could influence each other to give /iί/. Some speakers alternate /iί/ with /iί/, e.g. reithe > rohói; 35E and teach > /iί/ 35E. There seems to have been a (facultative) dissimilation blocking the sequence *huxi; or *hˈuxi; or *xˈuxi; which would contain two related fricatives. As a result the normal -iús was avoided. That is to say:

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1 Cp. bara FFG19, bara ~ barú ~ barúintí ‘intention’ FFG20.
2 Also leatha (leithi) > leathadha Cladi13.
3 There is a minor lapse of judgement (metanalysis in fact) in GCF §154, note 4, where it is claimed that /i/ as a plural suffix is found in words such as colbha, fíniú in §103(d). In fact /i/ is the suffix in §103, as stated there, i.e. /i/ (stem) + /i/(plural). The existence of surface plurals in /iί/, as attested in díitū > /drίi/ 881J díitūίί (and GCF §154), however, might support the development of /iί/ as a plural ending.
4 Perhaps this is what Wagner thought or was told. In any case he did not enter the last form in Mp 147 SID. Unfortunately, we do not know what criteria were used for the choice of variants between volumes I and II–IV. Cf. 1.412.
5 A similar dissimilation is postulated by Armstrong (1985: 236) between two potential -ch-sounds in Early Modern Irish plurals codchanna (< cuidigh) and cartchanna (< cairt) instead of expected *codchacha and *cartchacha which would be declensionally ‘regular’.
The only exception with regard to this -thiiúi class is the plural gearrchaileabháith but gearrchaileicheadh is much more common. One can postulate two stages: first, a dissimilatory constraint on the agglutinative -hu: > *-huxi:; second, an innovative solution: -u: > -ui:. It may be due to the short delay in ‘finding a solution’ that, in general, plurals such as reithiúi lasted longer than plurals such as siníú.

4.133 Form -ui: becomes -awi:

The development -ui: → (-uwi: →) -awi: is quite unremarkable on a number of levels. The glide w is not uncommon between long vowels which have opposing values for roundness. For example, uwc alternates with u(w)wa, iu: with i(wa), and ui: with wi:.

In Iorras Aithneach one finds duvane meaning spider, a consonant does also occur: uwa: (35), ywa: (44), uwa: (45), ywa: (47) (cf. q 471 ‘kidney’); also ± w/v in Connacht and Munster in SIDI 277 dubhán ’hook’; one finds gr’uCat, gr’uCat (cp. griúán FFG) in Iorras Aithneach and similar gr’uCat. gr’uCat s.v. griúán in Ros Muc (LFRM); in Iorras Aithneach griwuCat’ alongside much more common griwuCat’ griwaiúi, gwein SIDI, point 38, 768 and guaúl’ point 34, 768; in Árainn (An tOileán Mór) daiúf daithúil, loiaf laethúil (Pedersen 1909: 386); sidlacht fiaulaxt ~ fiaulaxt in Mionlach (FFG); kuiaf coaiththiúil SIDI, point 34, 982; adjectival -ulf, -wil’ in IEM §542 < -amhail; in ordinals alternation as in trúi: - tróibhas; and, further afield, trúáin > tróibhas in Corca Dhuibhne (Ó Sé 1997: 215; cf. O’Rahilly 1942: 137). We can compare the general loss of intervocalic mh in mímhánta m’iwnxt a with the minor by-form m’iwnxt a 872P. Historical súide is generally suí in South Galway but also rarely suí: (e.g. SIDI point 547, without w in all points except points 42, 43b (a)). One can compare directly the rare w glide heard in a by-form of a plural of colbha > koluxi: 121q, more often koluxi: A similar phenomenon is found in Acaill in a combined plural, where the suffix -ui (< -adh) alternates with -awaxa ~ awaxa ~ uwaxa (cf. 4.127 p. 774 n. 2). As well as -ui: still found today in Iorras Aithneach, -aw (< -ibh) may also have been a basic element which could influence glide formation in the plural. Since, however, -aw is not found with any lexeme which has -awi:, it is most likely that the intervocalic consonant is a phonological and morphological glide in Iorras Aithneach.2

The two allophones v and w generally alternate in all phonological environments especially for my oldest speakers. In this plural, however, apart from very few v

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1 The possible origin of ‘eclipsis’ in historical ni bhfíail, ni bhfíach-, etc., has been explained as a glide by O’Rahilly (1932: 44) and as actual eclipsis, reinforced by the gliding tendency, by McCaughey (1966). Cf. Ó Buachalla (1977: 100–1). Note also intervocalic sandhi w in the Irish of Acaill (IIM §1595), e.g. xw xwad’ dá uair.

2 Compare breitheamh bre’ eada (historically bre’ eadh). I have heard bre’ eadhí in the plural both in a tale (11C) and in query. Other plurals are breithi, breite, breit and breitheicheadh; the last three heard in query only. Note also Doireadhá daur which is more common than daur 43Mp.
4.134 Morphology

On the morphological level -awi: corresponds to the consonantal and syllabic structure of the highly productive suffixes -ani: and -axi: (i.e. a + Ccont + i). It could be argued that there is a synchronic relation between g'eva ~ g'evi: ~ g'eva ~ g'ewi: and the -awi: class, given that it can be derived from g' e: + awa ~ awi: and that g'eva ~ g'ewi: may support the development of an -awi: suffix. Similarly, the class in -awo ~ -awi: may be increased on the synchronic level by deriving t'ifha ~ t'ifi: tíofta(i) (< teach), a common variant in West Iorras Aithneach and further to the west and northwest, from -awo ~ awi: plus infixed extension h, i.e. -awo ~ -awi: + h → -awha ~ -awhi: → -afa ~ -afi:. If, however, there is a relation between -awi: in géabha(i) and tíofta(i) it is quite abstract (but cf. t'íafh 44Pn, 4.80). I have not heard *g'ewa ~ *g'ewai: (in conversation) in contrast with, for example, trànnai trecani:, tráy-anndi trecani:, glaeacháil gláixi:, where the schwa of the suffixes -ani: and -axi: is often retained. The diminutive suffix -ín can be added to the plurals géabha(i) and tightheabhaí but they differ optionally in palatalisation: géabha(i) → g'ewiín'i: ~ g'eviín'i: (the latter probably preferred by Mq), tightheabhaí → t'íhawin'i:. Palatalisation takes effect on the consonant in géabha(i) but the w of tightheabhaí is not a ‘consonant’ and therefore is not palatalised. Disyllabic t'íwi: may well be primarily a phonologically reduced form of t'í(f)hawí:, the latter has many current by-forms: t'láwi:, t'thiwi:, t'láwi:, t'tíwi:, t'úwhi:, t'úwi:, t'ví:. It is noteworthy that t'íwi: is the quotation form in point 46 and is the unmarked form for 869’s daughters. Professor Máirtín Ó Murchú suggests to me that (*t'íu: >> t'íuí: > t'íwi:) is also a possible derivation. Compare the weak h in neighbouring point 47 t'íru SID, Mp 147 and An Clochán tehoveah ~ teioveah. There may be both internal and external pressure on trisyllabic t'í(f)hawí: to be disyllabic and thus structurally resemble other plurals of teach in Iorras Aithneach and its environs (mainly t'íi(f)aí:, t'í(f)hawí:).1

Only the first stage of the innovation, -uí:, is found in Bun a Cnoc. In Iorras Aithneach -awi: is probably more common than -uí:. Only tehoveah and teioveah (perhaps for [t'í(f)hi:vi:]) have been noted for An Clochán. On the diachronic and geographic level it is clear that -uí: is the result of a choice between two plural suffixes: regressive -uí: and progressive -í:. Given that both historical suffixes are available throughout Connacht, the ending -uí: was a possible development in the

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1 Speaker 11C (Maoras) has many recorded tokens of his plural forms of teach. He has two variants: t'íifi: >> t'íhi:. Note the variation in the following passage:

*Nuaír nach raibh aon títhí ceann scláta sa tír seo, ná rud a bhí cosúil leis, séard a bhí ann tíoftaí ceann tuilig, agus ceann cibe. 11C.*
whole province. Why then was it exclusive to the western half of Conamara? Perhaps the clue to a possible answer is found in the plural of *teach* as seen in Map 147 SIDI. The innovation *-ú*: is found only in areas which have or had *tíothuí* as plural of *teach*, i.e. the domain of *-ú*: is a subdomain of *tíothuí*. Perhaps this common word *tíothuí*, surrounded by and intermingling with areas with *tíofaí*, *tíothí*, etc., was the pivot for the small class of words containing plural *-thiú*. The innovative *-ú*: can be interpreted as a compromise between related dialectal features. It is now a defining feature of West Conamara formed from two defining Connacht features: *-ú* and *-i*: (although *-i*: is of course geographically far more widespread). Such compromise formations are typically defining features of interdialects.¹

### 4.135 Diffusion of *-ú*: and *-á*:wi:

The diachronic morphological and phonological basis of *-ú*: and *-á*:wi: have been presented. One can now establish its diffusion and demise, both lexically and in real time. According to my data the lexemes which have either *-ú*: or *-á*:wi:, or both, are:

- Iorras Aithneach (IA) *breitheamh*, *cleith*, *gearrchaile*, *leithe*, *reithe*, *teach*;
- Innis Nia (IN) and An Clochán (Cl) *teach*;
- Bun a Cnoc (BC) *cró*, *crú*, *teach*.

(*crú* > *cruife*, *crúití*, etc., in Iorras Aithneach; *-á* only in *gearrchaile* and *reithe* (*leithe* is not mentioned) in Bun a Cnoc; evidence for *teach* only, in An Clochán and Innis Nia.)

Table 4.17 summarises the forms related to *-ú*: for each lexeme and each of the four areas.

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<tr>
<td>reithe</td>
<td>BC, IA</td>
<td>IA</td>
<td>IA</td>
<td>IA</td>
<td>IA</td>
<td>IA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leithe</td>
<td>(IA Clad)</td>
<td>IA</td>
<td>IA</td>
<td>IA</td>
<td>IA</td>
<td>IA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>breitheamh</td>
<td>IA</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cleith</td>
<td>IA</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.17 shows the synchronic (superficial) variation. Table 4.18 displays the same information for *teach* and *cró*, *crú*, in the dynamics of diachrony. The dates of birth represent speakers first attested with an innovative form or last attested with a conservative form. The earliest recorded speaker (and writer in this fortunate instance) with *á*:wi: (*á*:wi:) perhaps) was born in 1832 in An Clochán. Although *-ú*:/*á*:wi: occurred in Iorras Aithneach in the mid-nineteenth century (in apparent time) and probably earlier, *-ú*: remained as an alternate plural for *teach* until very recently and *-ú*: still occurs, uncommonly, for *reithe* (note that *reithiú* is the only plural in Bun a Cnoc). The last area to introduce *-ú*: is Bun a Cnoc, after c. 1915, i.e. about (at least) one hundred years later than An Clochán.

¹ Cf. Trudgill (1986).
The earliest example (in apparent time) I have noted of -abhaí in leithe was transcribed from lobster fishermen (DT96) born in the 1860s and '70s in Iorras Aithneach: leitheabhaí DT93 (Mac Giollarnáth 1940). The historical form occurs consistently in Clad in leathadha, bó-leathadha and dubh-leathadha where -adha unambiguously indicates -u: (e.g. Clad13, 129, 131–3, 142, writer born in 1891).

Where, then, is the geographical source of this innovation and how did it spread? Although the history of community and communication within this triangle — An Clochán, Iorras Aithneach, Bun a Cnoc — has not been investigated, and the intervening dialects are now lost, it is clear that the main modes of communication and socialisation in An Clochán and Iorras Aithneach were maritime and coastal and that the latter was far more orientated than the former to the southeast, in the direction of Galway city and Co. Clare. Nowadays there is little communication between these three areas. In fact there is a folk distinction between muintir an chladaigh ‘the coast people’ (i.e. in Iorras Aithneach and An Clochán, etc.) and muintir an tsléibhe / na gcnoc ‘the hill people’ (i.e. in Bun a Cnoc, etc.). The fact that islands of English divided these communities since the late nineteenth century again shows that diffusion of recent innovations from one of these areas to the other is unlikely. Without this actual knowledge of the dearth of social ties linking the districts one could easily conjecture a wave-like spread.

---

**Table 4.18 Real-time -ú, -úí, -abhaí**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Speaker(s)</th>
<th>teach</th>
<th>teach</th>
<th>teach</th>
<th>cró, cruí</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>date of birth</td>
<td>BC</td>
<td>Cl</td>
<td>IA</td>
<td>BC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1832</td>
<td>27Cb</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1852₁</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1852²</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1869¹</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1875¹</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1879²</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881⁶</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. 1900 and earlier</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. 1915</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Speaker 852Str78; also recorded from this speaker is tighthe in RBÉ, volume 657: 355. Also, tightheadh at 864Mr37.
2 Speaker 866E: tīhiú i tīhiúí and tīthē in P. Ó Cearnabháin (1983: 222, 309) and tīthē in RBÉ, volume 589: 506. In his sound recording: t'īhuri.
3 Speaker 869P's plurals are: tīhiúí 46, map 147; tīhuwi 46.485, beanna ná d'íshē 46.485 (x2); tīhiúí (x2) RBÉ, volume 160: 335.
4 Speaker 875P; in Mac Giollarnáth (1941), i.e. ABg pp. 170, 178, 266.
5 Bartla Mac Donnchadha, An Aird Thiar, 879B; in Mac Giollarnáth (1940: 96 (= DT)). This speaker’s son is 27Cb. In response to query 27Cb has tīhuí, tīhuwi: and, in the following conversation, tīhuí; asked whether he believed his father had tīhuí, as indicated by DT, 27Cb replied his father did indeed have tīhuí.
6 Speaker 881J from Caladh Fhínse. His relevant passage is transcribed as:

   \[ \text{rivídar tīhuí: n’fin’ na scéad tīhuí: a’ fídar an fin’} \ldots \text{na tīhuí: b’oga fin’} \ldots \text{na scéad tīhuí: a rivídar 881J rinnidh dar tīhiúí ansin, na chéad tīhiúí a bhíodh dar ansin, \ldots} \text{na tīhiúí beaga sin \ldots na chéad tīhiúí a bhíodh dar rinnidh.} \]

7 Much of the humour in the tale ‘An Haicléara Mánas’ (Stenson 2003: e.g. 8–11, 120–3) is based on the opposition between An Clochán (cladach) and Dúiche Sheogheach.
Variation and variables

of an innovative plural from An Clochán. In reality, the causative features held in common by each area seem to have had quite independent but similar effects. These common features were: (i) teach as the prime member of a -thiú class, (ii) an avoidance of -thiúchaí, (iii) development of glides. Polygenesis, then, seems to be the most likely mechanism.¹

4.136 Demise

I have demonstrated that -Ewi: is a relatively new plural ending in Iorras Aithneach. Its lifespan promises to be short. Not only can it be defined interdialectally; its reign is proving to be provisional. For the majority of speakers -Ewi: is exclusive to teach. There are plenty of older speakers, born since the 1910s (at least) and plenty of social networks which have -awi: in teach only. It is likely that membership of the -awi: class was never lexically categorical and words are increasingly joining other plural classes; especially → (crú, teach), -i: (breitheamh, crú, reithe, teach) and the dissipimatory block, which was posited above to have brought about -uci:, is cancelled with plurals in -iaxi: ~ -uxi: ~ -axi: found with breitheamh, leithe, reithe and rare plurals of teach > t’iuaxi: t’ihauxi: t’ithaxi: t’ifaxi: t’iwaaxi: It can be claimed that -awi: began to lose ground before it had completely replaced regressive -u; recall that reithe > reithiú is still heard. Recall also that -uci: ~ -awi: was weak (or weakening) in Iorras Aithneach at the beginning of the twentieth century just as it was gaining ground in Bun a Cnoc. In Iorras Aithneach there seems to be an interclass relation between lexemes with -awi: and the back subclass of (Vxi:) plurals, particularly <oxi>. In concrete terms this means that speakers (e.g. 26P) who have limited back variant use, may well use <oxi> in lexemes that have for them alternate -awi: relation and is perhaps one reason for the virtually complete absence of an -awi: > -awaxi: development.

The demise of -awi: can be interpreted as a form of syncretism (i.e. loss of an uncommon ending) but speaker 52J, who has many Conamara Gaeltacht contacts outside of Iorras Aithneach (especially in his job as building contractor), tells me that t’ihaú: used to be his form roimhe seo 'previously', which corresponds to his parents’ and sisters’ usage, but that he has ‘recently’ taken to t’ihaa, through the ’habit of hearing it from others’. In fact, one of his sisters, 54Cq, also uses t’ihaa but she lives and uses much Irish outside the Gaeltacht. In the terms of J. and L. Milroy (1985) the loose network ties of 52J and 54C have replaced their family network ties in this lexeme. The plural t’iu(hawí: a defining interdialectal form, is, therefore, under both system-internal and dialect-external pressure toward levelling. It is, however, still common in younger speakers, e.g. t’ihaú: 76M and 77B (both from An Aird Thoir), t’ihaú: 73N (An Croomán), t’ihaú: 80P (Ros Dugáin). From these examples it would appear that long i is dominant in this variant for speakers of this age group. One also hears the West Iorras Aithneach variant from younger speakers: t’ifa 70M (An Aird Thoir), 71D (Damhras), 79J (Mainis), 81C (Maoras).

¹ Cp. Ohala (1993: 244) with regard to the rareness of individual innovation, in his opinion, and internal multicausation of innovation. For the polygenesis of dar, 3 plural personal pronoun, on the margins of the Conamara Gaeltacht, see 5.399 ff.
Previous explanations of *tightheabhaí

The abstract relation between the suffixes in *tìfhì:i and g`e:wi is discussed in 4.133 ff., as are the important differences between both endings. In fact, Wagner (1982: 109, 112), and Ó hUiginn (Hartmann et al. 1996: volume I, 62) who refers to him, would derive *tìfhì: of our point 46, a ‘strange form’ as Wagner calls it, through analogy with g`e:wi. It is argued that the analogy would be:

gè : géabhaí :: tì : x : x → tiobhái.

Wagner makes no mention of *-u:i: nor of any words within the same plural set. Neither does Ó hUiginn emphasise the importance of this lexical set although he does note one other lexeme rei:the > reitheadhaí. Wagner’s explanation fails to cover two important tokens from his own material already cited above (4.132), i.e. tìhu:i (point 46, 484) and tìhi:i (point 44, 483). There is a further difficulty with Wagner’s analogical base of géabhaí. Given the by-form géabha, one would expect *tiobha and *titheabha but these are not attested. Why -i: and not -a was added to tìghì:i can be presumably explained in terms of the salience and productivity of -i: in this position. Adding -a would most likely involve adding -hà, which is slightly regressive in -i:ha plurals, and which would clash with the h of the stem anyway. Wagner’s explanation of the long stem vowel in tì:wi is perhaps also inadequate. He derives i: from the loss of intervocalic h, i.e. tì:ha > tì:i as is regular in Cois Fharraige and Árainn, spreading westwards in this lexeme as far as point 48, far beyond even the border of the area where h is lost, and eastwards to point 24. In border areas this explanation is quite attractive but the form of the h-less lects may have been only one factor involved in lects further removed such as Iorras Aithneach. Other possible, not mutually exclusive, factors include (a) this long vowel could in fact be very old, e.g. the historical plural tìgh > tì:i + -the > tì:ha, (b) -ighth- gives ìh in other contexts (e.g. verbal adjective -ìha -ighth), (c) paradigmatic levelling where i: is regular in genitive tìgh and is also the vowel of dative tìgh, (d) the influence of other ‘irregular’ plurals such as crù > craoithe, drú > draoithe.

We cannot be certain what the progenitor of the -u:i plural in teach was, owing to lack of diachronic evidence. Based on what we have, however, in particular the common use of tìghìhi:i in East Galway, it may, as Wagner (1982: 108) suggested, derive from tìghìhi:i. This has by now fallen together with other plural nouns containing medial palatal th which have -u:i: from historic -eadha, e.g. reitheadha. The ending -i: is far less frequent in East Galway in nouns which diachronically had -eadha. The problem is that there is simply not enough evidence to definitely support either an etymological or analogical (or more complex type of) historical morphophonological hypothesis, as is so often the case (cf. van Reenen and Schössler 1988: 506). Given that -ibh and -adh, not to

1 It is an indication of the rich material that Wagner’s work supplies when his own hypothesis can be falsified by SID. His oversight, however, is also illustrative of the difficulties of accessing his material. This inaccessibility is largely attributable to the lack of an index for volumes II–IV.

2 This acceptance of base tìghìhi:i may explain why Wagner derived tiobhái through analogy with g`e:wa < géadha rather than as an instance of phonological change -dh- > -w- in tìghtheadha. Interestingly, one finds w in by-forms of the related abstract noun tìghtheadhás tìf`as, tìf`èis (cp. tiobháin FP20), tìf`àis. The real-time evidence for plural -u:i: > -we: > -w: is lost, however, belies a historical consonantal change analogous with géadha > g`e:wa.

3 In fact there is a striking analogy between variants of plural -ibh and variants of genitive -adh in Donegal, perhaps parallel to the -ibh ~ -adh developments in Connacht. In the Donegal instance one
Individual speakers

Speakers differ in their application and range of morphophonological conditions and suffixes and in their lexical marking of words for suffixes. That is to say, that a given speaker may have a propensity to use or not to use a given plural suffix or extension, and to apply or not to apply a given constraint. Usage is often optional and quantitative rather than categorical. An effort is made in this section to define for certain features and variables the plural space or repertoire of individual speakers. Information on the plural patterns of field informants (e.g. speaker 04F, 4.161, and younger speakers; cf. 13.17, 13.24) was obtained by means of a plural questionnaire, aimed particularly at the variable (V:xi), variant <axa>, extensions and irregular plurals.

4.138 852S, Seán Veail 'ac Con Raoi

Masculine -ach > -igh ~ -i ~ -acha(i)

If one reads a for manuscript -ale, and iː for -igh, a clear pattern can be seen in this class. Table 4.19 shows the words attested and their plurals and number of tokens.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>a</th>
<th>iː</th>
<th>axː &gt;&gt; axa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>monosyllabic root</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gréigeach</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turcach</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muímhneach</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fathach</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Francia</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spáinneach</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>from -CV base</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>combhairleach</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>polysyllabic root</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éireannach</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1 (from serial effect)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Albanach</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Connachtach</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lochlannach</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sasannach</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caitliceach</td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caitlicí, Caitliocáí</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caitliocachaí</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Páigínaigh</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All three endings (a, iː, aixoː) are found with polysyllabic roots. The commonest ending for both classes is iː. Monosyllables take a more often than polysyllables. Polysyllables take aixoː more often than monosyllables. There is one polysyllabic root with plural a: Éireannach > Éireanna. There is one stem in -CV

of the three variants of -ibh spreads to historical -adh contexts, i.e. -ibh = uː, uw, aVoː = -adh = uː, uw, x : x → aVo, e.g. tine > gen sg t in uː – f in aVo tineadh. Cf. Ó Curnáin (2001: 175).
Plural of nouns

with plural ́anáː, namely comhairleach > comhairleach(í) (comhairleach > comhairle (i.e. kúr! *comhairligh) or comhairlí could perhaps otherwise be confused with the singular and plural of comhairle).

4.139  \( (V) \rightarrow \langle a \rangle \langle i : a \rangle \)

Plurals with -ałe ~ -i are quite common in the material from Seán Veail ́ac Con Raoid (852S). His attested as well as potential members of the (V) class are listed here:

- ałe ~ -i  duine, tír, cloch, ríocht, Fiann, bláin, caora;
- i  síl, cluais, fiacail, céad, dealg > dailgní, (cp. lorga > loirgní);
- ałe  slat, crann > croínnte, cuan > cuanta, baile,
  rí > righte (which indicates re! a), cloigeann > cloigne,
  cnáinn > cnámha !, glúin > glúna, aingeal > aingle, mile > mítle.

The only noun where any pattern is immediately apparent is duine. Plural daoine occurs regularly both before vowels and consonants while daoiní occurs, in 12 tokens out of 12, before vowels. On the other hand, caoire and caoirí do not show such a clear sandhi pattern (< caoirígh). Cf. 4.109 for his four audio-recorded tokens.

\(<Vx\alpha>\)

-acha is fairly common although less frequent than -achá; some examples are:
  gaiscíoch > gaiscíocha (gásk !iExiÉ in his recording), námhaideacha,
  comhairleach > cúirrleacha.

\( (Vx\alpha) \)

Only -íochaí has been noted, implying that <iáxi> is his dominant variant, perhaps similar to speaker 869P. The examples are:

- C’  na hÍndíacha(i); gloiníochá;
- C’  gearraí < gearraíochá;
  cp. - i  giorraidhachá.
  Cp. gaiscíochat(i); corresponding to gásk iáxi: in his recording.

Note -acha(i) in cleite 852S2 and ribe 852S5.

4.140  Agent -í and other plurals

Agent -í > -i ~ -ícha << -ighthe, in Giúdaí > Giúdai (x4), Giúldaí << Giúdakeithhe (x15). The spelling -ícha is difficult to interpret. It may indicate ax’á but one would expect this to be spelt -iche, so that ixi (phonemically ix’í) or even ax’i: are possible. Apart from general iha, only ix’á is attested from recordings but -íthi, one of 869PRBE’s rarer variants, might lend support to the ix’i: interpretation of Giúldaichi. (It is perhaps worth comparing obsolescent by-forms of crá > kriha, crúthá, krihiha.) In 852S’ recording one notes ri: na ́ udi: ~ ́ udiá ~ ́ udiáin 852S. Ri na nGiúdaíthe where both -a and -an may be phonetic off-glides. Cp. plural searbhoíntaí (singular in IA fáráwanta).

Other plurals

-annai(i)  Dia > Diannaí; cá > cúannaí RBÉ, na cúanna ABgs47. Cp. in higher register ag toimhse na léimeanna brice 852S3.
-the in plural of ní; note clainhe > claidhmhí RBÉ, claidhmhít LL.50, but cp. claihthé RBÉ, which may be an alternate plural.

Note further: dorna > doghrná (x1) ~ doghnrní (x2); sceach > seicheadhacháí ð droighneachá; teach > tigthe 852S2, tightheadhá DT.8. Note also his plural in higher register in arúintí an bháis (MP) presumably related to Early Modern Irish airrdhe.

4.141 852Sb, Seán Éadbhaird Ó Briain

(VÉxi)
The few (VÉxi) examples from Seán Éadbhaird Ó Briain show preference for <iExiÉ> in nonpalatal environment:

eala > ealaidheacha LL.130; gearradh > gearraidheacha [x2] LL.130;
also na hIndiacha Thiar LL.34.

In the only audio-recorded token which I have noted from 852Sb, one finds the earliest example, in apparent time, of <iExiÉ> in Iorras Aithneach:

na haleáxi: 852Sb na healatochá.

This suggests, given ealaidheacha 852Sb LL.130, that actual <iExiÉ> may well have been transcribed as -idheacha in 'Loinnir Mac Leabhair' (LL), the collection of stories published by the folklore collector Seán Mac Giollarnáth.

Extensions

-r- téadracha LL.25, but fréamhachá LL.4.
-t- talhai an domhain LL.121.

Other plurals

-C’ cola > culmh gheala LL.143, koÉ am’ 852Sb.

-a na cnámha abhaile leis LL.128.

-i leathchóir puntai airgid LL.30. Also bútai LL.6; ascallaí LL.7.

Also: (brat ‘flag’) > faoi bhratanna geala LL.27; creidh > creicheacha in note in LL.129, possibly *kr’ex’axa or *kr’ehaxa.

cró (glossary) > crotha’ní (in note on crotha’ní) LL.3 (the spellings -tha’ní ~ -tha’ní perhaps indicate that Mac Giollarnáth was unsure of the palatality of n or the by-form crotha’ní may reflect, or be affected by, the variant krunhí).

4.142 864M, Maidhcil ’ac Dhonncha

(VÉxi)
Maidhcil ’ac Dhonncha (864M) has only one token here but it is significant in indicating <iExiÉ> in the palatal environment:

buaile > buailidheacha [x2] ABg277; cp. gráinneacha ABg274, 296.

Other plurals

-C’ duibhéin ABg314.

-a cloigne LL.87.

-anna sábhanna agus tuaghanna LL.82; plural brobhanna, gpl brobh ABg285.

-r- extension in neadracha ABg249.

Also caipál > go leor caiple aige LL.77, set caiple dona LL.81; gróit LL.166;
broighealacha [x2] ABg314; cliamhain > cleamhnacha ABg136; lao > laoghanta ABg280; dlaotha !ABg31; iarla > iarlacha ABg280; teach > tigthe pobail ABg287.

In borrowing ‘tories’ > tóraisbeacha ABg117.
792 Plural of nouns

Dative plural: *iasc (in runs) > ag éisce, róinte, miolta móra* LL.148 (all three noun plurals in the phrase are disyllabic);
*ceann > cárnán dá gceann* LL.153.

4.143 866E, Éamann Liam a Búrc

(VxV) → <axa> ~ <axa>

There are quite a few examples of *-acha* in Éamann Liam a Búrc’s material in RBÉ (speaker 866E). These often occur in tale runs in words with clusters consisting of stops followed by *r* (C*r*r), i.e. in monosyllabic root *leacracha* (more often *leacrachai*) and in syncopated *toibreac*ha. Also, *-acha* is common in polysyllabic *barrial* > *baruiola*cha which occurs in runs (but which was noted from 12S, for example, as his only <axa> token). Other *-acha* tokens are in polysyllabic roots or compound words, e.g.

carcairecha guisai Sc87.22; mo dreithiúracha agus Semr50; tamallacha den bhealach Sc223.15; agus olphéisteacha agus Sc107.11; mo chuid sean-
(t)seanathreacha romhaim Sc47, 49; a chuid seanmháthracha marbh Semr154 (the last two are commonly unsyncopated in the dialect, the syncopation indicated in the spelling may therefore be a mistranscription, in which case the stems would remain disyllabic); also the borrowing *gá chuid*
actionacha inné Semr122.

In his audio recording (866Ei), the plural of *dreachair* occurs in the following contexts:

> <axa> /_pausa (x3) dr' ehoraxa | > <axi:/_Vowel (x1) ona 'sr' ehoraxa i |
dreachaircha

ona ndreachaircha i

Similarly, all his examples in context of *-acha*, which were cited above (from Semr, Sc), precede a consonant or *agus*. This would imply that both the syllable count of the noun base and the following context combine to affect his <axa> use. One also finds examples of *-acha* with monosyllabic roots, in single final consonants, before epithets in initial consonants, e.g.


(Vxii)
The (Vxii) variable has been noted only in the plurals *gloine > gloiníoch* Sc104.7, *eala > ealácha* Semr42, 46. This is early evidence of <uxii>, with *eala* in the nonpalatal environment and suggests an early system at variance with speakers 852B, 869P and (869P’s brother) 875T (and implicationally with other older speakers) who have *ealaíoch*, in recordings e(a)xi. Singular *gaíoch* takes *iaxi: iha* and *i*: *gaíoch* > *gaíc*ü té, *gaíc*égh*. Cp. *dearn* > *dearnacha* Sc274.2, 5.

Other plurals

Extension *r* occurs in *tine > tíntreacha*, *fréam* > *fréamhrach*ai, *leac* > *leacracha*.

Note *teach > tighthe, túthe, tithiú, tithiúí, t'íthri*.

More extensive examination of 866E’s copious folklore corpus would be worth while; particularly concerning (Vxii) and it would be interesting to know how his plural conditioning of (V) (including (VxV)) → <a> ~ <i> compares with his verbal adjective conditioning of <a> ~ <i> (‘Sandhi’ 2.67). The prepausa <axa>
vs. prevocalic <axi> of his audio-recorded dreacháchara(í) is indicative of the typical conditions for (V) and (VxV) but interestingly opposite to (V) order of 869P and probably to (VxV) order of 852S (4.109).

4.144 869P, SID.46, Pádraigín Mhacai ’ac Con Iomaire
capall ~ caiple
As presented in Table 4.20, the simple ending of palatalisation, i.e. -C’, alternates almost in equal proportion with complex -C’a in the plural tokens of capall which I have noted.

Table 4.20 capall > capall, caiple, 869P

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>capall (x10)</th>
<th>caiple (x7)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ZCP order (1-6)</td>
<td>denga ~ a bhí ag rith (2)</td>
<td>bhí ~ breá rásaí ag an rí (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>go bhfaca sé na ~ chor ar bith (3)</td>
<td>ar na ~ ag rith (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>leis na ~ — (6)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>order (1-2)</td>
<td>marcath the agus capall agus coisithe (1)</td>
<td>leis na ~ rása (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cp. gen pl</td>
<td>alo chuid capall (x3); ... na gcapall (x1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SID.46</td>
<td>~ 168</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>869P</td>
<td>na jacaíle ar ch~, xa:pal’ (1)</td>
<td>dhe na ~ rása, kaep‘³ (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RBE</td>
<td>na ~ (x2) RBÉ2</td>
<td>a gcuid ~ 7 confoirt (1) RBÉ3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>capall ... go chapaill RBÉ5</td>
<td>na ~ 7 a chonfoirt (2) RBÉ3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

At least one collocational condition seems apparent: that of caiple (…) rása(í) (underlined in Table 4.20). In this phrase caiple occurs three out of three times. Perhaps there is avoidance of potential loss of plural marking through depalatalising sandhi in possible capall rása (which would yield kapal rasa). Otherwise capall is the main variant. Cp. d’ríb‘³ g. 46.1; drible RBÉ5. Speaker 875T (869P’s brother) also has capall ~ caiple.

4.145 Masculine -ach > -aigh, -ai, -achaí
Overall, monosyllabic bases have more <a> than <i> or <axi>. There are 13 words with <a> against 7 with <i> and 6 with <axi>, as shown in Table 4.21 (where 1084 = 46.1084, 134 = 46.134, etc.). Two words show alternation: stóicach <a> and <i>; gliomach <a> and <axi>.

Table 4.21 Monosyllabic masculine roots + -ach > -(a)igh, -(a)i, -(e)achaí, 869P

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total 25</th>
<th>a (x13)</th>
<th>i (x7)</th>
<th>axi (x6)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bairneach</td>
<td>1084</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bárcach</td>
<td>RBÉ5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cladach</td>
<td>869P</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>coileach</td>
<td>134, 137</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>collach</td>
<td>koxaxi: 111</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>corach</td>
<td>1091</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>créachtach</td>
<td>RBÉ5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Plural of nouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>a</th>
<th>i</th>
<th>axi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fatbach</td>
<td>46 s.v., RBÉ3</td>
<td>(x13)</td>
<td>(x7)</td>
<td>(x6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fíogach</td>
<td>1167</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fathach</td>
<td>folach</td>
<td>folachaí leapa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fíogach</td>
<td>1121</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>frannach</td>
<td>581, 1124 (1)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>griogach</td>
<td>L48</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>loingseach</td>
<td>RBE4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lagach</td>
<td>1121</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náthach</td>
<td>porti ZCP, RBÉ5, including lagphorsaigh RBÉ5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ronach</td>
<td>(x3) RBE4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scórnaích</td>
<td></td>
<td>skóirn</td>
<td>(x5) RBE4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seanach</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stócach</td>
<td>606, RBÉ5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Polysyllabic masculine roots with -ach regularly take i: >> axi: >> a (interpreting -igh as i in RBÉ, where -ale stands for a generally):

i: | laxrani [5CP, Sasanaigh [x2], Máirtínigh, Éireannaigh [x2] RBÉ4, 5, mairnealaigh, páganaigh RBÉ4, 5; | | |
axi: | Caitligeach [x4] RBÉ4, 5; priosúnach RBÉ4, tioránach RBÉ4, 5; | | |
a: | Flathartach RBÉ3, 5. |

Note: na giolcaigh [x3] RBÉ5 = i; and feminine procach >> proki 149; agentive Giúdach > Giúdaithe 46.368.

(V)

For 869P's usage of variable (V), see 4.104 ff., especially Figure 4.4.

4.146 Nouns in final V: and related nouns

With agent -í the predominant ending is íha, in contrast with the more progressive V:i:íx:í: of many younger speakers (cp. his verbal adjective which is also consistently <íhá>, but such consistency in the verbal adjective, especially in the 1 Conjugation seems to be, in one sense at least, unhistorical (5.184; cp. also his -íthe, -íthí impersonal past habitual (5.64)). The full range of realisations attested in 869P's data is íha, íha, ía, i, and the ending -íthí (869P only (cp. 4.140), both tokens of -íthí are in dative plural contexts).

RBÉ: -íhe bhíodar ina gcaoráithigh an t-oirn RBÉ2; na páirtithe RBÉ3; scéalaithe [x3] RBÉ5; seanacháite RBÉ5.
-i cuimse go mandar gadhair ' capall ' cois' acub ... RBÉ 3; na seanscéalaithe, thugaidh ... RBÉ5.
-íthí godaithe go ruballíthi RBÉ2, cp. éíthí below.

Cp. -ach (see also gaiscíoch) in na triúr rubálachai RBÉ2.

869P6 -í A Rí shaor na gádaithe ar chráinn na Páise 869P6.
Individual speakers

ZCP: 

- **iha** Críostai k’r’ístiha, markai > markiha, coisí > kőfiha.
- **iá** carai > na karia te; ZCP na caraiithe atá ... 
- **cp. i** in mionna below.

46: 

- **ihá** cp. cliamhain > k’l’uníha s.v. (now generally cliamhaineachaí).
- **ihé** cuartaí > kuarjhíhé 684; cp. Giúdach > g’udhíhè 368;
- **ih’é** gréasai > g’ réisíhè 723;
- **869P: ihá** coisit > kőfiha.
- **iá** na džákía [er’ xapax’ ... kőfiha ... na kőfiha ... na džákia]
na jacaíthe ar chapaill ... coisíthe ... na coisíthe ... na jacaíthe.

Cp. singular gaiscíoch (and gaiscí ?) plural in iha, iá. iáxí: gafg’ihá ZCP, gaiscí [x2], gaiscíthe móra [x1], na gaiscióchat [x5] RBÉ2.

Cp. faráonta > faráontaí ZCP, tunóntai RBÉ4.

Verbal nouns and similar nouns in -í > -íthe:

- **urnaí** > aurniha !ZCP; a n-ournaiithe RBÉ5; 
- **na tri éiri is dona ... go na héirithe dona seo ... éiri ó Aifreann gan éisteacht** RBÉ5;
- **cp. tosach (tosai) > ó na céad tosaiithe anuas go dtí ...** RBÉ5.

Nouns in -i > -ithe:

- **colbha > colaiithe RBÉ5;**
- **cp. mionna (related to mionnú, vadj mionnaithe) > m’inihè m’iniha !ZCP.**

Nouns in -ae > -aethe:

- **condae > na cúndaethe RBÉ4.**

4.147  

(\(\text{\textit{En}}\)) \(\rightarrow\) (\(\text{\textit{En}}\)); (\(\text{\textit{Vx}}\)) \(\rightarrow\) (\(\text{\textit{ax}}\))

Only two occurrences of (\(\text{\textit{ax}}\)) were noted. There is -anna before a consonant-initial epithet in:

- ʼna dhlaoíanna fada caola. ... ʼna dhlaoíannaí caola ... RBÉ5.

The transcriptions kuána ~ kui occur in:

- ʼl an fe: hen’ agas na kuána / kui agas v’idar na d’i gugas ... ZCP, transcribed in ZCP as:

  Lean sé féin agus na cúna l cúi agus bhiodar ina diaidh agus ... .

The pronouns é and i are, however, often missing in ZCP so that some phrase resembling na cúnaiti(i) or na coín i was perhaps meant by the speaker. Cp. this speaker’s coin (4.150) and his brother’s cúnaí 875TL67.

Tokens with (\(\text{\textit{ax}}\)) occur with either polysyllabic roots or with monosyllables which have a final consonant followed by a tr extension. These are similar phonotactic constraints to, for example, speakers 20C and 29C.

In the two higher register examples of (\(\text{\textit{ax}}\)) (tale runs and song), both lexemes are polysyllabic and are followed by a consonant-initial qualifier:

- *ye ramatassa jímamasaxa 869P; dhá ramatacha dhíomasacha [sic] 869P2;*
- *na karasaxa k’rist !ZCP na carasacha Críost.*

1 The token corresponding to my ramatassa is transcribed as ramatassa rámatacha in ZCP. Speaker 869P has a noticeable tendency for back variants of /a/; sometimes phonetically [o]. Wagner often transcribes this back allophone as ae; more often than I would. The token in 869P definitely has [a], agreeing with the transcription in RBÉ. The meaning of this word is unknown to me; it is perhaps a form of FGB rama (~ rámoid) ‘wretch’.
Plural of nouns

In SID.46, \(<\text{axa}>\) is remarkably rare: monosyllabic polysyllabic

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c|}
\text{axi} & 20 & 12 \\
\hline
\text{axa} & 2 & 1 \\
\end{array}
\]

\(<\text{axa}>\) in: monosyllabic: \text{sleán} > \text{\`untraxa} ; \text{sail s\`ultraxa} s.v. s\`ultracha; polysyllabic: \text{caithoic} > \text{\`ohair} \text{\`axa} MP 153 (also \text{caithoireach} RB\`E2).

Speaker 869P’s \(<\text{axa}>\) score noted from SID.46 in polysyllabic stems is therefore 1/13. This is in stark contrast to his daughters who have been noted with far more conservative regular polysyllabic \(<\text{axa}>\) use: 04Br 19/21 and 15W 14/18. It is possibly similar to his brother 875T (4.152) and his nephew 25M (4.189, who has 2/11 polysyllabic \(<\text{axa}>\)). It seems, therefore, that 04Br and 15W have not acquired their prevalent polysyllabic \(<\text{axa}>\) from their father nor from their nearest neighbours (their uncle and cousins). It is tempting to speculate that they may have acquired it from their mother.

4.148 (V\text{xix})

According to my interpretation of the recent and more established developments of (V\text{xix}), Pádraigín Mhacaí ‘ac Con Iomaire (869P) shows the most conservative range that can be described with any certainty for my sample of speakers. The two high vocalic variants are by far the most common in his material, with only one mid \(<\text{eaxixi}>\) token. Nevertheless, the mid vowel token is one of only two (V\text{xix}) plurals transcribed from his audio recordings, raising the suspicion that it may in fact be more common than both the material in SID, point 46, and folklore transcriptions actually suggest. It is in fact difficult to distinguish the audio-recorded \(<\text{eaxixi}>\) token from a possible \(<\text{Ixi}>\).

His distribution of these variants would not seem to be strongly conditioned by the palatal constraint. The range and use of 869P from all noted tokens in this class is as follows:

range and quality conditioning \[
\{ [\text{\text{\`axixi}}] \text{>>>} [\text{\text{\`eaxixi}}] \} \text{ vs. } [\text{\text{\`axixi}}] \text{palatal}
\]

Table 4.22 lists his tokens in full.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>iaxi:</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>uxi:</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-C' (-)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-C' (-)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gloine</td>
<td>gi'n iaxi:</td>
<td>426</td>
<td>sine</td>
<td>f'm uxi:</td>
<td>Mp 18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gloinóchaí</td>
<td>RBÉ5</td>
<td>ete</td>
<td>eitiúchaí</td>
<td>RBÉ2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>faithne</td>
<td>fám híaxi</td>
<td>436</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glaise</td>
<td>glefísaxi</td>
<td>630</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gráinne</td>
<td>gruá'axi:</td>
<td>660</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gráinnechaí</td>
<td>RBÉ5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>banais</td>
<td>bainisíochaid</td>
<td>RBÉ2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(cine)</td>
<td>téintéochaid</td>
<td>(MP)RBÉ2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tan-</td>
<td>iníochaid (x2+)</td>
<td>RBÉ3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tuairisc</td>
<td>tuairiscíochaid</td>
<td>RBÉ3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Words 8; tokens 10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Total words 2; tokens 3</td>
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<tr>
<td>-C' (-)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-C' (-)</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>lonna</td>
<td>'rónaxi:</td>
<td>Mp 136</td>
<td>lanúnx:</td>
<td></td>
<td>1136</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'rón 'n é</td>
<td>453</td>
<td>given as alternant of lq'maxi:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teanga</td>
<td>t'angaxi:</td>
<td>247</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>törámbh</td>
<td>toraxi:</td>
<td>703</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>conra</td>
<td>konaxi:</td>
<td>711</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bonn</td>
<td>buntaxi:</td>
<td>869Pt</td>
<td>artha</td>
<td>arthaxochaid</td>
<td>RBÉ4, ABg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bonnáchoichaid</td>
<td>RBÉ5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aradh</td>
<td>gearradh</td>
<td>gearradhchaí</td>
<td>RBÉ5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>caras</td>
<td>carasalochaid Cristost</td>
<td>RBÉ2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>karasalochaid Cristost</td>
<td>RBÉ2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>also karasáx a' rísta</td>
<td>!ZCP</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-h;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>giorria</td>
<td>gi'níaxi:</td>
<td>151, ZCP</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.-ria- giorrátochaid</td>
<td>RBÉ5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eála</td>
<td>adeaxi:</td>
<td>869Pt</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Total words 1; tokens c. 20</td>
<td>Total words 1; tokens 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To aid comparison with other speakers, given the relatively small number of words attested from 869P, the number of tokens are charted in Figure 4.17 (according to the quality of the preceding consonant), rather than my otherwise normal practice of charting the number of lexemes.
Note the two examples which violate the second syllable position constraint on the V; in (Vxi): tuairisciocháí and carasaiocháí (~saxax ZCP).
Cp. 869P's <sxi> in certain nouns which are prevalent in the (Vxi) class:
\[\text{cleite} > k’ t’ e f’ xí: Mp 36, ZCP, 869P; \text{iomaire} > iomaracli fatai RBÉ5;\]
\[\text{gráinne} > \text{grón’ ixi} 46.660, \text{grón’ xí: 869P};\]
and, with less prevalent (Vxi) in the dialect: \[\text{easna} > \text{asnExi}: 1092, ZCP.\]
Cp. nouns in final V; and plurals in Ì (4.146), many of which have (Vxi) intradialectally, but not for 869P.

4.149 Extensions

Table 4.23 lists words from the plural classes in (r)axi: and t(r)axi:.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 4.23 r-extension, 869P and SID.46</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( r )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nead &gt; n’(\text{udr}axi) ZCP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stríocraclai RBÉ5¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>téadaclai RBÉ5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>craobhracclai RBÉ5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fréamhacclai (s2) RBÉ5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>carraigreacclai RBÉ4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glaisreachclai (s2) RBÉ5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( tr )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stail &gt; s(\text{tal}traxi) 169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sleán &gt; f(\text{untraxa}) 524</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ginn &gt; g’(\text{untraxi}) 536</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aill Mp 267, RBÉ4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>speal &gt; sb’(\text{adtraxi}) 589</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sail &gt; s(\text{ultraxa}) s.v. sáltrach</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Cp. -\(\text{annaí}\), rather than optional -\(\text{(t)}\)rachaí, in plúideannaí RBÉ5, seanscoileannaí RBÉ5.

¹ Plural stríoc > stríocraclai has been noted here only.
Other extensions

n-extension  anann- ZCP, RBÉ5;
feilm > na feilmneachai RBÉ4 (noted, in IA, from 869P only).

t-extension  +t  Ø t

claimhe  claidhmí ZCP, RBÉ2
rása ZCP  bhi caiple breá rásaí ag an rí 138.3
ri  as Teamhair na ríte ‘ZCP
ró  róíí RBÉ2
taoille  taoííııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııııı�

Other plurals

For 869P’s AM class, see 4.86.

-C’ in  na hánlacain RBÉ4; asail 185; coirc 1112; duail RBÉ2; fóid Mp 167;
lóid RBÉ5; púitsí RBÉ5; spuir spoir RBÉ4; stíobhaird RBÉ4;
t Brockin > truská RBÉ4.
-i in  aitheorri RBÉ4
báillí RBÉ4
breitheamh > b’rehi: s.v.
buillí RBÉ4
cáithli RBÉ4
dournach RBÉ5
-í ~ -achaí: splanc > sblánc: 549, splancachail 869P (splancachail is now general).
-annaí  ciosannach RBÉ4; drochbheartannaí RBÉ4; creachannaí RBÉ4.
-achaí  altóir > altóri RBÉ5
comórtasachail RBÉ5
faollainneachail RBÉ2
fuireannachail RBÉ4

Further examples from 869P are listed here.
aobh > iv’ 869P 471.
broibh 869P 43; na broibh luachair RBÉ5, genitive plural in crosóg broibh RBÉ5.
cith > K’c’hani 866.
clai > klóixi Mp 6, klóixi: 183, kláixi ‘ZCP; claidheachail RBÉ5; most often klohxí in West IA.
cno > knuhi 649.
cru > kriha 181; króhi: krut’è Mp 57.
cu > kuana / kui ZCP, kín’ ‘ZCP; coin gadhair RBÉ3.
dealg > d’él’ig’ ni 973; deilgi mór RBÉ5, deilg RBÉ5, na deilg gheara RBÉ5; deilg
mhaith chrua gheara láidir ar ... RBÉ5.

1 See discussion of these forms in 4.147 above.
Plural of nouns

dorú dau: > disif a 1116.
fed f ac: > f acani: 364.
fia > f iani: ZCP; fiannai RBÉ2.
foirgneamh FGB, foisgrint 11C > foisgranta RBÉ3.
gnóimh > g r isw arhi g r iswara tZCP.
gorán > gorú: Mp 133.
láí > lau t i 635.
mila > mailí ZCP, RBÉ; also malaí RBÉ; the nonpalatal quality was perhaps misheard by
the folklore collector Liam Mac Coisteala; he writes both forms for 866E also. The
daughters of speaker 869P both have
mailí 04Br q, 15W (~ mailiochta 04Br).

mí > máeannaí RBÉ4.
prós RBÉ5 > próiseannaí RBÉ5.
rón > run t é 1168.
sleagh > Íx axa s.v. sleagh.
smaoinii > na smaointithe RBÉ4, smwri: tZCP.
solas > na solais RBÉ3 often.
teach > t rnu: Mp 147; t lhui 484, beanna na d ihe 485 (x2); tithiúi (x2) RBÉ2.
tom > tomachá RBÉ4.
uaigh > uain 712.

Formal continuity can be seen with his daughter, 15W, in clái > klaíxí: 15W, and bláth >
blá-annaí 869P RBÉ, bláxí: 15W.

4.151 875P, Peait Bhile ’ac Dhonncha

Peait Bhile ’ac Dhonncha’s (V xi) plurals show <lxí: in the nonpalatal environment:
bonnaidheacha ABg94, 99, 329; orthaidheacha [x2] ABg230.

Other plurals

Extensions: r in scailpreacha ABg25, téadracha ABg99; t in rásatá cos ABg18; bailteacha
ABg322.
-igh, -acha (for -achai) in roilleacha ABg23, crotai ABg23; ach lochanna is portacha ise
criautheach ABg62 (speaker identity is uncertain in ABg62).
-anna, -anta in amanna ABg24, laethanta ABg24.
-igh, -acha in roilleacha ABg23, crotai ABg23; ach lochanna is portacha ise
criautheach ABg62 (speaker identity is uncertain in ABg62).

4.152 875T, Team Mhacaí ’ac Con Iomaire

(Vx)

Only -achai has been noted from relevant sources (i.e. accurate transcriptions in
RBÉ), e.g. casaoideachai 875T1; also kahir’axi: in dho na cathaoireachai a
raibh ... na cathaoireachai dhen urlár. 875T1.

(Vxi)

Team Mhacaí ’ac Con Iomaire’s relevant material (875T) is very limited indeed;
it is significant in its agreement with his brother 869P’s use of <lxí: as the
dominant variant in this class. This correlates with his sons, 11J, 20T and 25M,
who have stronger use of <lxí: than is now usual in Iorras Aithneach. Only one
word was noted with palatal consonant before (Vxi):
Individual speakers 801

*comhairle > cáirlíocháit* [x4], contrast *comhairle > na comhairleach* LL59.
The other three words noted are:
*eala > ealaíocháit* [x2]; *ola > olaídeach* LL64; *bonn > bonnadhéach*,
contrast *bonnacha* LL190; and cp. *giorra > giorráíoch* often, also
*girrfhíadhach* LL168. These four words are the same for 869P. Cp.
gaiscÍocháit RBÉ, gaiscÍideach LL181.

Compare *carasacha Cristoit* ABg298 with *carasacha Crist* 869P 1ZCP and
*carasáíocháit Crist* 869P.

**Other plurals**
-anna  cúanna LL67.
-igh, -achaí  na fathaigh LL173; *na stóchaí* LL59.
t-extension  rástai capall LL39, 40; claidhmhí LL43; *seacht mháilte cásleáin* LL178.
Others
  *báithi* LL173; *capall > Bhí na caipe le rith agus ... LL37, ... ba látthe
  ná na capall LL37, na caipe le dhuil ag rith i ngeall LL38; fréamhacha
  LL42.

4.153  894C, Colm Ó Caoidheáin

(V)
For an overview of Colm Ó Caoidheáin’s (V) variable, see 4.107, Figure 4.5. It
must be borne in mind that only some of his recorded material has been collated
for this (and other variables). The proportion of *<a>* to *<i>* in the noted examples
is roughly 2:1, but (as with 869P) many *<a>* tokens were left uncounted. Speaker
894C’s words in this class are:
  aithne, capall, céad, cloch, cos, duine, glúin, mias, míle, súil.
All the individual members show a similar proportion of 2:1 in favour of *<a>*
except súil which has 2 tokens of *<a>* against 4 tokens of *<i>*. A possible reason
for plural súile being less common, it would seem, is that it is homophonous with
the common genitive singular by-form. The other nouns, except perhaps for
glúin, when they add *<a>* are not homophonous with any singular case.
Potential members of this class attested with *<a>* are:
  bróg, caora; glór > glóirthe!, meall > meála (also meálltraí); póg, scéal,
lámh, coill, bliain, múileann, rón > rúinte.
The plural *mucaí* occurs in:
  ... beithí, kir’ a, muki, ogas kapi’ a ogas ...
  ... beithí, caoirigh, mucaí, agus caiple agus ...
For 894C’s more frequent use of *<i>* in songs, see 10.51.

*<exex>*
Only two tokens were noted in vernacular use, alternating with -achaí in one
instance. There occur in polysyllabic roots:
  *na spioraideacha seo* 894C9, *na giúistíseachai isteach* 894C2.135,
  *na hatournáithe* 7 *na giúistíseach amach ... 894C2.134.

4.154  (V:xi)
Speaker 894C’s material on (V:xi) is scant yet valuable for generational depth in
the description. Three endings, -tchaí, -ṭchaí and -úchaí are attested. It is likely
Plural of nouns

that \(<e\overline{x}i>\) also belongs among his variants. The examples in 894C2-9 of comhairle > cairteach, ribe > ribeacht, deireadh > deireacht, gloine > gloineachtai may well be examples of \(<e\overline{x}i>\) which were not indicated or heard by the transcribers, -aechai and -óchaí being used very rarely indeed in RBÉ material and in writing in general. His minimal pattern then seems to be:

\[\begin{align*}
\text{range and quality conditioning } & \left\{ \begin{array}{c}
\text{[<}e\overline{x}i:(<e\overline{x}i>\ ?)] \quad \text{vs.} \quad \text{[<e\overline{x}i>:<\overline{x}i>]} \\
\text{palatal}
\end{array} \right. \\
\text{The examples are: } & \text{féithe > féithíochaí; cp. giorria > giorraíochaí;}
\end{align*}\]

\[\begin{align*}
deirce > deirciúchaí; \\
claidhre > claidhreóchaí; \\
gloine > \text{g}
\end{align*}\]

\[\text{glin }\overline{oxi} .\]

4.155 Agent and other instances of -íthe plurals; Extensions

Speaker 894C shows regular ('conservative') \(<i\overline{h}a> >> <i>\) rather than (V\overline{x}i) in this class, he also shows a more extensive use of \(<i\overline{h}a>\), at least in the example of tosach, than is the case in younger speakers:

-íthe  
\[\text{fíli > filíthe }\overline{894C}t; \text{atournáithe }\overline{894C}2; \text{dílleachta > na ndílleachtaíth’}
\]
\[\text{aici }\overline{894C}9 \text{ (prose) (chuici not intended); cp. -íthe in tosúghth’ air mo bhhrógaí agus ... }\overline{894C}9.\]

-í  
\[\text{na Giúdaí é }\overline{894C}9.\]

Extensions

Table 4.24 presents a sample of extensions in r\overline{x}i: and t(r)\overline{x}i:.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(\text{r }\overline{x}i:)</th>
<th>(\text{t }\overline{x}i:)</th>
<th>(\text{t(r) }\overline{x}i:)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>scalp &gt; scalprachai</td>
<td>ginn &gt; geántrachai</td>
<td>slinn &gt; sléanntachai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fód &gt; fóidreachai</td>
<td>meall</td>
<td>slat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leac</td>
<td>aill</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>téad</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Cp. cabhaltrachai Rí Seoirse \overline{894C}; note singular cabhaltach 11Ctn.

4.156 Other plurals

AM class  
\[\text{bárrannaí }\overline{894C}9, \text{bárra }\overline{894C}9; \text{amantaí ~ ámantaí }[x2] \overline{894C}9.\]

-C\overline{a}  
\[\text{goirt }\overline{894C}t; \text{spoir }\overline{894C}t \text{spoir.}\]

-a  
\[\text{na héanla’ }\overline{894C}9.\]

-í  
\[\text{scailp > na scailpí }\overline{894C}9 \text{ also scalprachai (both -annaí and -(r)acháí are prevalent in IA); bláth na n-áirí }\overline{894C}9; \text{eisirí }\overline{894C}9; \text{fáiltí }\overline{894C}9.\]

-annaí  
\[\text{cnámh > crámhannaí }[x2] \overline{894C}t (of skeleton), \overline{894C}2; \text{blaosc > blaoscannaí }\overline{894C}2; \text{seas > seasannaí }\overline{894C}9; \text{tráth > tráthannaí beatha }\overline{894C}9; \text{beart > beartannaí }\overline{894C}9.\]

-ntaí  
\[\text{garrantaí }\overline{894C}t, \text{lúi }\overline{894C}t; \text{lontaí }\overline{894C}2; \text{amanntaí, ámantaí }\overline{894C}2; \text{laethantaí, cp. ag imeacht ‘na slámantaí }\overline{894C}9; \text{clearly a member of the majority regarding -ntaí plurals (4.46);}\]

-ntaí ~ -anta  
\[\text{deich n-aitheantaí Dé, na huitheanta anois, also in singular trí aithne }\overline{894C}9\text{ and possibly mixed form seacht n-aithe.}\]

Cp. -(a)í  
\[\text{rí > ríí; dí > dáthí }1\overline{(894C)}\overline{894C}9.\]
4.157 894Cs, Colm Ó Dubháin

(V)
Not all of Colm Ó Dubháin’s material (speaker 894Cs) has been collated, so that any conclusions drawn here must remain provisional. In the (V) variable <a> and <i> alternate in the same word in the plurals cluasa(i), daoine and fiacla(i). The three <i> tokens occur before full vowels (vowels other than schwa), whereas the four <a> tokens occur elsewhere, i.e. before consonants, schwa and pausa:

cluais  kluais | ... sna kluasí | akaab cluasa, ... sna cluasaí acub;
dúiné  diiní aés ... diinní aés ... fef na diiní a márha | ... diinní a márha | daoiní as ... [x2] ... daoine maith [x2];
fiacai  fí iákli: an | ... lán fí iákli li | go iákla b'ogá kilo wai'ri | fiaclai ann, ... lán fiacla uilig, dhe fiacla beaga caola vaidheur;
cp. cosí  cosí | cosáí admaid.

The number of examples is unfortunately very small. Nouns with a ~ i: in the dialect in general (i.e. the (V) class in Iorras Aithneach) provide examples of <a> preceding vowels other than schwa, e.g. lé na lúwé i | lena lámhá i, and of the opposite, e.g. línnti: lé toq'ad laoontá le tôigéd. Speaker 894Cs’s data, encapsulated in Figure 4.18, are, however, suggestive of a prevocalic conditioning sandhi typical for a ~ i: in other speakers (and generally in Connacht; cf. 4.102), and prominent in 894Cs’s verbal adjective use (2.68).

Figure 4.18 (V) and following environment, 894Cs

Speaker 894Cs has one token each of -óga and -ógaí in:

ax n'áentog af dr'íjáxi ... ax dr'íjáxi gaj' n'áentogí |
ach neantóga is driseachúi ... ach driseachú agus neantógaí.

This is the only example I have of unstressed -óg > -oÉgE -óga. Note that the environmental conditioning of (V) seems to be relevant for -oÉgE -óga in that it is attested before schwa, with -ógaí before pausa.
4.158 \( (VxV) \rightarrow <axa> <axi> \)

894Cs’s use of the variants \(<axa> \sim <axi>\) is only weakly (if at all) conditioned by syllabic constraints. His data are presented in Table 4.25 in order of occurrence, reading left to right (except \(snúithéacha(i)\), as indicated). Cf. 4.129. In summary, in monosyllabic nouns and \((Vxíi)\) class nouns the proportion of \(<Vxä>\) to \(<Vxíi>\) tokens is smaller (4:14), than in polysyllables (3:7), so that, although the data are limited in extent, they at least do not violate the syllabic conditioning seen in other speakers, and there may be a weak version of the constraint at work. Note that \(<ani>\) only is attested, but with few tokens, e.g. marc > marcannai.

4.159 \((Vxíi)\) and other plurals

Only two words were noted with the \((Vxíi)\) variable, the last three tokens given in Table 4.25 above. From these two words one can derive a tentative minimal distribution of \((Vxíi)\) for 894Cs as follows:

\[
\text{range and quality conditioning} \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{l}
\text{<exä/i/> vs. <oxi/>} \\
\text{of (Vxíi) following h palatal}
\end{array} \right.
\]

Note his lack of syncope and non-\((Vxíi)\) variant in \(iomaire > umar\‘axa\). It is likely that his brother, Jó Ó Dubháin (881J), also has palatal conditioning on his back variant, attested in one word: creideamh > kr\‘ed\‘oxi: kr\‘ed\‘uxi: 881J.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Individual speakers</th>
<th>805</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Table 4.25 `<axa> <axi>`, 894Cs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><code>&lt;axa&gt;</code></th>
<th><code>&lt;axi&gt;</code></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>monosyllabic roots</td>
<td>polysyllabic roots</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>including (V&lt;axi&gt;) class</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><code>&lt;axa&gt;</code></th>
<th><code>&lt;axi&gt;</code></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pərsanaxa d' er&lt;axa&gt; d' enaxa</td>
<td>nəntəg aʃ dr' ifaʃi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pərsanachá deireanachá déanachá</td>
<td>neantiəg is drisearchaí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kahař' axi ax dr' ifaʃi gəf ...</td>
<td>kahař' axi ax dr' ifaʃi gəf ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cathaireachá aʃ drisearchaí agus</td>
<td>cathaireachá aʃ drisearchaí agus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ogaš l'aepaxi, agus leapachá¹</td>
<td>aŋkar&lt;axi&gt;, ancaireacháí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skrahaxi' er' scraitheacháí air</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ūt' axi, [x3] áiteacháí</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ūt' axi: gə ... áiteacháí go ...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;l'epaxa raeth'hi:</td>
<td>leapacha raithní</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l'epaxa raeth'hi:</td>
<td>leapacha raithní</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ūt' axa gynsamara</td>
<td>díteacha i gConamara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ūt' axa gynsamara</td>
<td>díteacha i gConamara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na s'usraxa&lt;axi&gt; for ...</td>
<td>də xud' umar&lt;axa&gt;(k) kəpə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na ndéasrachá atá ...</td>
<td>do chuid ioniareacha ceapthaí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na rit'ee'ar an'fin'</td>
<td>d'us'axi kurha déasrachá curtha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ina roilleireacha ansin</td>
<td>d'us'axi maxa, déasrachá amach</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><code>snáth&lt;axa&gt; tarni'i</code></th>
<th><code>snátheachá taírníthe</code></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><code>snáth&lt;axa&gt; tarni'i</code></td>
<td><code>snátheachá taírníthe</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>snáth&lt;axa&gt; tairnithé (2)²</td>
<td><code>snátheachá taírníthe</code> (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a gln' oxí' e, i ngloineóchaí e</td>
<td>a gln' oxí' e, i ngloineóchaí e</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ Immediately preceding `<l'epaxa>`.
² (1)–(2) = order.
Other plurals

Extensions show typical optional lexicalisation: no r in leapachai; r in carraigreachaí, mealltrachaí, déas > d’ásraí.

The vowel change in the plural déas > d’ásraí: (also d’os’aí, d’ao[raí]) has been noted from 894Cs only. The plural of déas occurs in many of the responses to question 661 SIDIII. The r extension occurs in a contiguous area in an extended arc south-east, east, north and north-west of Lough Corrib (the continuum of points 25, 30, 37, 38, 49, 51, 52) and more isolated in North-West Mayo (57). In fact, with the additional data from Forras Aithneach, we can see that the base vocalism of eí (as against í) and the (metathesised) r-extension in the plural are more or less co-extensive, geographically covering the south of Co. Mayo and most of Co. Galway, apart from the far east. There is one point which has vocalic lowering in the plural, presumably due to the r-extension: d’eas (d’es) > d’e[raí] point 35.661. There is, however, no vowel recorded for any point.

Speaker 894Cs is also the only speaker recorded with obsolete lao > plural li[2].

4.160 04B, Beaittle Beag Ó Con Fhaoila

(V:xi)

Beaittle Beag Ó Con Fhaoila’s (V:xi) data (speaker 04B) are very limited here. One can, however, observe, from three lexemes which have variants of (V:xi), a range and use as follows:

range and quality conditioning of (V:xi) <exi> vs. <uxi>
both palatal and nonpalatal palatal

Note that <exi> includes lowered exi. The tokens are: cuisle > ku[xi]; bonn > bunexi; ionga > iŋ[xi].

Cp. <exi> in easna > aesnaí: (Smbb)04B, and note wa[exi] ma vroq (Smbb)04B bharriallachai mo bhróg.

We can contrast his son, 35Eq, who has a pattern of [<exi>] <- [<uxi>]. 35Eq’s corresponding lexemes are:

cuisle > ku[xi]: 35Eq; bonn > bun[xi]: 35Eq; ionga > iŋ[xi]: 35Eq.

Extensions

04B has the r extension in leac, typical for IA: er’ l[raí] glása (Smbb)04B ar leacrach glasa; without r in mada in bhlaogh sé ar a chuid madaí, coin agus gadhar ... (run)04B.

4.161 04F, Feist Fheichín Uí Cheannabháin

Feist Fheichín Uí Cheannabháin (speaker 04F), along with speaker 04Br, is the oldest of my field informants.

(V:xi)

Speaker 04F shows a robust realisation of (V:xi) variants: <axi> is infrequent in this class. His basic pattern is as follows:

range and quality conditioning of (V:xi) [<exi>] vs. <uxi>
both palatal and nonpalatal palatal

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Both variants seem relatively frequent: \(<\text{oExi}<\) (13), \(<\text{Exi}<\) (7). (The variant \(<\text{iExi}>\) is not included in his range as \(\text{Exi}:\) occurs in \(\text{céilí}\) only.) Figure 4.19 displays the occurrence of \(\text{(V:xi)}\) variants following palatal and nonpalatal consonants and following \(\text{h}\).

None of the words show alternation between the two main variants. His palatalisation in the plural of \(\text{damhsa}\) is unique in my data (cp. verb \(\text{daimhsigh}\), VN \(\text{daimhsiú}\)): \(\text{da}\)òv\(\text{Suòxiò da}\)òv\(\text{Soòxiò}þþ\).

Nouns in radical \(\text{V}\): show some tendency to approximate the radical vowel:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Radical</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(\text{i}): retained &gt; (\text{Exi}:)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\text{i}): approximated &gt; (\text{Exi}:)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\text{u}:) approximated &gt; (\text{Exi}:)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\text{i}:) transferred &gt; (\text{Exi}:)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\text{u}:) transferred &gt; (\text{Exi}:)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Agent and personal nouns in \(-l\) have plurals identical with the singular, as well as \(\text{iha}:\)

\(\text{comrádaí kumrAÉdiÉ} \text{sg} = \text{pl}; \text{grésaí} > \text{gr’esiha}; \text{leadat} > \text{l’æ’diha}.\)

### 4.162 Extensions

**Table 4.26 Extensions, 04F**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(\text{oxi}:)</th>
<th>(\text{axi}:)</th>
<th>(\text{troxi}:)</th>
<th>(\text{taxi}:)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(\text{fód})</td>
<td>(\text{stoirm})</td>
<td>(\text{aitl})</td>
<td>(\text{scoil})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\text{fréamh})</td>
<td>(\text{strainc})</td>
<td>(\text{fēiæ})</td>
<td>(\text{ginn} &gt; \text{g’un-})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\text{spread})</td>
<td>(\text{lēas})</td>
<td>(\text{féith})</td>
<td>(\text{fēiæt} &gt; \text{f’æt})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\text{dēas})</td>
<td>(\text{dēas})</td>
<td>(\text{kriæ})</td>
<td>(\text{kriætæ} &gt; \text{kl’æv’})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\text{seas} &gt; \text{seasálach})</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Cp. \(\text{leitir} > \text{f’æt’axi’}, \text{paidir} > \text{pæd’axi’},\) neither of which plurals have any audible \(\text{r’}\) sound.

The ending \(-\text{ta}\) is very frequent:

-\(\text{ta}\)  
\(\text{sleád, meall, srón, cp. aonach} > \text{inta};\)
\(\text{in doubtful} \text{tom} > \text{tumta} \text{for more certain} \text{tumaxi};\)

-\(\text{fa}\)  
\(\text{tuile, tasail, féiti, f’e > f’eæ’; crá > kritæ;}\)
\(\text{and in doubtful} \text{ctiabh} > \text{kf’effæ} \text{for more certain} \text{kf’ev’}.\)
4.163 05M, Máire an Ghabha Uí Cheannabháin

(V Exi)
Máire an Ghabha Uí Cheannabháin (05M) has a high proportional realisation of V:xi variants in the (V:xi) class. Her main variant is <exi>, realised as eExi eExi (heard in conversation), and, in more deliberate articulation, regularly as eExi: (heard in elicitation). Of 25 attested tokens in all, 22 are <exi> and 3 <aExi>. No tokens of <aExi> or <aExi> were noted, but the lack of <exi> tokens may well be due to the (lexical) gaps in the data. Her <exi> tokens in the palatal environment are (from 05Mq):

*ionga* > inng eExi: ; *cuisle* > kifl eExi: (2–4) kifl aExi: (1);
*gráinne* > gránn eExi: 05Mq.

Her <exi> variants include radical iEx in:

*Ciarrailoch* > kiarexi: [x2] 05M, kiaarexi: 05Mq.

The form <aExi> occurs (following stressed low vowels) in:

*garla* > garlaExi: ; *snáithe* > snathoxi: snathaxi:

Other plurals

Loss of h was observed in (f eha 37M) fEithe > f eExi: [x2] 05Mq.

Agent -tí > í in *comrádai* > kumraidi: 05Mq;
> iha in *Criostat* > kr istiha 05M;
> is in *gráuí* > gr éxis 05M;
   cp. *Ciarrailoch ~ muintir Ciarrail* > na k íairis 05Mq na Ciarráis.

Note also:

*teach* > t íhui: [x3] 05Mq; *doró* doró: > dorónti: 05Mq;
*crí* > krihiha 05M.

4.164 11J, Jó Team Mhacai ’ac Con Iomaire

Jó Team Mhacai ’ac Con Iomaire (11Jq) has <axa> in two polysyllabic words out of eleven, i.e. <axa> 2 vs. <axi> 9. He has, therefore, weak syllabic conditioning of (VxV), possibly like his father 875T (4.152), like his brother 25M (4.189), and like his uncle 869P (4.147).

(V:xi)
Speaker 11J’s material on (V:xi) is very limited, only 28 words in all. The variants <aExi> and <aExi> are given both independently and combined in Table 4.27 and combined in Figure 4.20.

Table 4.27 (V:xi), 11J

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>lóchaí</th>
<th>échaí</th>
<th>lóéchaí</th>
<th>échaí</th>
<th>achaí</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Palatal</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nonpalatal</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

His <aExi> and <aExi> tokens are charted together in Figure 4.20 because (i) otherwise no probable quality conditioning pattern is evident, (ii) both variants seem to pattern together phonetically with an important variant <aExi> often closer to /aExi/ than to /et(ə)xi/.
Individual speakers

Figure 4.20 (V:xí), 11J

Some words, which are in the (V:xí) class for other speakers (20C, 25M), take <axi> here: sloinne; srathair > fra:rha:xí.

Extensions

The words in the extension class are noted here for completeness.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>nxí:</th>
<th>rxí:</th>
<th>axí:</th>
<th>tráxí:</th>
<th>taxí:</th>
<th>taxi:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>anam</td>
<td>fó</td>
<td>slóin</td>
<td>meall</td>
<td>gín &gt; g’an-t-</td>
<td>cráin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fréamh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>draeín</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For examples of juncture a and a, which are relatively prevalent in 11J’s speech before r, see 4.10.

Other plurals

Speaker 11J has all three (òwì:í) plurals: teach > t’í:ha:wi; leithe > l’e:ha:wi; reithe > roha:wi. Also note dealg > deilg, as in the speech of 869P his uncle (4.150), but generally deilgne/í in Iorras Aithneach.

4.165 12J, Janáí Shéamais Ó Uaithnín

Janaí Shéamais Ó Uaithnín (12J) has the most limited (V:xí) class of my older speakers. Many of the nouns that are members of this class for his contemporaries and for many far younger speakers (e.g. 64M) take axí in his data, e.g. ribe, cuisle, banaí, gine, gráinne, faithne, cogadh. His range of variants in this class does nonetheless correspond to his contemporaries: <i:axi> and <o:axi>. His comparatively high use of <axi> in words of the (V:xí) class is immediately obvious from Figure 4.21. It is perhaps pertinent that 12J’s wife (23B) has even less (V:xí) use than 12J. His words in (V:xí) are intradialectally perhaps the more core members of this class:

<i:axi>:  iomair > umarìa:xí; cruiinne > kri:xí:i:xí; eala > a’li:xí: a’laxí;

<o:axi>: artha > arho:xí; conra > kun’t roxi;
gloine > glin’ o:xi; buille > bi’:oxi’.
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Figure 4.21 (V:xi), 12J

Forms less clearly audible are scátha > skochoxi; (ceannaghaidh > kærnuxi: ?). Words with radical V: are not included in his (V:xi) class as the vowel is retained:

- i: tanáis > tanaixi; saothrais > srhixi; céillí > keldiaxi;
- iə: giorria > qúruxi; Ciaraíoch > kíariaxi;
- u: coltha > kolu: "axi.

4.166  Extensions

Table 4.28 sets out 12Jq’s use of t and r extensions.

Table 4.28 Extensions, 12J

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>òa</th>
<th>axi:</th>
<th>raxi:</th>
<th>taxi:</th>
<th>traxi:</th>
<th>traxi:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cuan</td>
<td>anam</td>
<td>nead</td>
<td>buille</td>
<td>díl</td>
<td>speal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sleán</td>
<td>stoirm</td>
<td>téd</td>
<td>sloinne</td>
<td>giall</td>
<td>meall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stól</td>
<td>scalp</td>
<td>skalp’</td>
<td>teile</td>
<td>calaith</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aonach</td>
<td>carraig</td>
<td></td>
<td>slinn</td>
<td>fúx:ín’-</td>
<td>caladh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seid</td>
<td>naxi:</td>
<td>seas</td>
<td>fainne</td>
<td>funnt-</td>
<td>stail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ainn</td>
<td>ainn</td>
<td>crán</td>
<td>aill</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ti:</td>
<td>spíanc</td>
<td>talamh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rása</td>
<td>fréamh</td>
<td>tolach</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>comhla</td>
<td>eiris</td>
<td>gearraigh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>fə</th>
<th>fə</th>
<th>fə</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gró</td>
<td>sliabh</td>
<td>fú</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taol</td>
<td>rón</td>
<td>tua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ró</td>
<td>cró</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>breithaimh &gt; br’ẽt’ə br’ẽf’i: br’ẽhi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>crú &gt; krit’ə</td>
<td>krihi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>binn &gt; b’i鑫’ə but b’æna preferred</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other plurals

- "C’" brobh > brev; muileann > miř aŋ’ miř’ə.
- -ani: peann > p’onani:.
- -axi: cis > k’i鑫axi:.
- -hə cnead > kř’ẽtə; gniomh (ar mhóin) > gr’i鑫a:.
| smear (dubh, dearg) sm’er > sm’erə duvə, směar d’aerəq, sm’erha. |

Note further dealg > d’el ag’ d’ælagaxi: d’el aŋ’axi: d’el ag’axi:.
Individual speakers

\[ \text{drioball} > \text{dr'ìbalaxì: (conversation), dr'ìb'ì'axì: (query).} \]
\[ \text{béilì} > \text{b'eì'antì: (deemed by 12J to be correct and permitted).} \]

4.167 12S (S), Seán Choilm Chúlán

\[ \langle \text{axø} \rangle \]

The variant \[ \langle \text{axø} \rangle \] is rare in Seán’s speech. It occurs once in his plural questionnaire: \[ \text{barriall} > \text{bailliàrxì: (1, 3) ~ bailliàråxa (2).} \]

(V:xi)

Seán has a frequent realisation of the (V:xi) variants in proportion to \[ \langle \text{axì} \rangle \], which, however, does alternate with (V:xi) in a few words. Figure 4.22 displays his overall pattern in the (V:xi) environment. His main variant is \[ \langle \text{oxì} \rangle \] with frequent \[ \langle \text{exì} \rangle \] and infrequent \[ \langle \text{iaxì} \rangle, \langle \text{oxì} \rangle \] and \[ \langle \text{axì} \rangle \]. Only \[ \langle \text{oxì} \rangle \] seems constrained by the consonant-quality condition.

Figure 4.22 (V:xi), S

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variant / Stem</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Word</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( \langle \text{oxì} \rangle )</td>
<td>casadh</td>
<td>casàocháì (conversation)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \langle \text{axì} \rangle ) ( \langle \text{oxì} \rangle ) in</td>
<td>cogadh</td>
<td>kogiàxi: kogòxi:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-CV</td>
<td>giorria &gt;</td>
<td>g’ùrìàxi: g’unòxi:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \langle \text{cv} \rangle = /\text{hx}/ ) in</td>
<td>( b'eì'ìoxì: )</td>
<td>giorria &gt; g’ùrìoxì?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-CV:</td>
<td>( b'eì'ìoxì: )</td>
<td>giorria &gt; g’ùrìoxì?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-C</td>
<td>bonn &gt;</td>
<td>bun-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-C’</td>
<td>ribe &gt;</td>
<td>rib’-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-C’</td>
<td>conra &gt;</td>
<td>kon’rèxi:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \pm \text{sync} )</td>
<td>ionaire &gt;</td>
<td>umàrèxi:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \langle \text{axì} \rangle ) ( \langle \text{oxì} \rangle ) in</td>
<td>toàranh &gt;</td>
<td>torhèxi: torhòxi:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-C’</td>
<td>fàithne &gt;</td>
<td>fàn’h-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \langle \text{axì} \rangle ) in</td>
<td>leithe &gt;</td>
<td>t’èh-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is frequent alternation within the same lexeme, as is clear from his examples listed here.

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variant / Stem</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Word</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-C'</td>
<td>aithinn(e) &gt;</td>
<td>a'ch'h-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cleite &gt;</td>
<td>k'li et 'oxí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-C'</td>
<td>eala &gt;</td>
<td>ad-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n' oxí:</td>
<td>ionga &gt;</td>
<td>iogn' oxí:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f oxí:</td>
<td>sloinne &gt;</td>
<td>slixf oxí:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;oxí:</td>
<td>deireadh &gt;</td>
<td>d'èr oxí:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;oxí:</td>
<td>bitse &gt;</td>
<td>b'íf-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;oxí:</td>
<td>ionga &gt;</td>
<td>uggóghí, (h taken as weakened x)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;oxí:</td>
<td>buinne &gt;</td>
<td>b'is-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>òxi:</td>
<td>teanga &gt;</td>
<td>t'ànng-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+sync</td>
<td>banais &gt;</td>
<td>b'ànňoxí</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Seána's single token of <oxí:> occurs with deireadh, which has the singular by-forms d'èr'ú: and d'èr'òw in specific sandhi (2.53). Note his plural of seire sèr' ò a sèr' ha > sèr' oxí: with consistent absence of h in the plural. Other speakers have the opposite contrast in seire with h in the plural. Note also his plural gloine glìn' a > glìn' oxí: glán' oxí:.

16M, M, Máire Mhicil Uí Chon Fhaola

4.168 (Vxi:) and (V:xi:)

Máire Mhicil Uí Chon Fhaola (speaker 16M, also abbreviated as M) has dominant <oxí: in the (V:xi:) class. This <oxí: is palatally conditioned in contrast with her <oxí: plurals but not in contrast with her <oxí: variant. The nonpalatal environment shows a steady increase from <e:xi: through <oxí: to <oxí:, as is clear from Figure 4.23. Her overall (V:xi:) system then appears to be as follows:

range and quality conditioning of (V:xi:) class words  
{ [<oxí:] << <oxí: >] vs. <oxí: >

We can contrast and compare Figure 4.23 which depicts M(q)'s system with that for other speakers, particularly with 20C's Figure 4.27 p. 827. In intradialectal and dynamically diachronic terms, it could be argued that Máire's system has lost the <oxí: variant and the consonant-quality conditioning on the related front variant <e:xi:>, instead [<oxí:] << <oxí: >] pattern together while <oxí: > favours the nonpalatal position. The variant <oxí: > occurs, but quite rarely, regularly as a weakened version of <oxí: >; this <oxí: > can be difficult to distinguish from <oxí: (interpreted as <oxí: >). I noticed it too late, when relistening to her recordings, for inclusion in my present calculations.
4.169 Words in final unstressed V(C)

Máire has surface <iExiÉ>, only in words in final unstressed V(C) as a reflex of radical -i: and -iø which also varies with <oExi> or <oExi>:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Radical</th>
<th>oi: &gt; Exi: vs. Radical retained</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i:</td>
<td>bélí &gt; b’efi xí:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>leoráí &gt; l’oráxi: (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gádál &gt; gádáxi:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lúdí &gt; lníxí:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>saothraí &gt; sírhoóxi:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gènásí &gt; g’ènóxóxi:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iax</td>
<td>Ciarruáoch &gt; k’éoróxi:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>giorría &gt; g’úroóxi: (generally)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ò: &gt; ixi:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>giorría &gt; g’úríaxi: in more</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>conscious production</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o:</td>
<td>comhbrá &gt; kóróxi:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>e: &gt; eaxi:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>condáe &gt; kúndéaxi -éaxi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u:</td>
<td>cruinniú &gt; kri’axi &lt;2&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>breathná &gt; b’ráéntóóxi:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u:</td>
<td>díthríach &gt; d’ír’hoóxi:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>q 97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>radical approximated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i:</td>
<td>coist &gt; kófóxí: (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>i: &gt; eaxi:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kófóxí: (1)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Máire also provides many examples of radical -V: > òxi:  
gréasaí > gr’èsxóxi; leadaí > leadachóí, etc.,  
and in the third syllable position òxi: is the only (Vxi:) variant:  
bacsálaí > bacsálahóí; comrádaí > kumrádóxí.

Agent -i can also take, perhaps most often, i:, but also, especially in more conscious production, iha, rarely is, e.g.  
ætaurní: M singular and plural; scódaí > -í: -íha, -is Mq.  
Cp. ò d’axid’ kárás kr’ístíthó Máq do chuíd caras Críostaíthe.

1 Here Máire was asked to provide an Irish plural ending for ‘lorry’; leoráíos only was noted from her and most other speakers in conversation; she finally produced plural for (4–5) which is her preferred native plural for this borrowing. Cps.  
 1 loróí 892Mq, Mperm.

2 Optionally homophonous with cruinniú > kri’oxí:; note alternative and slightly preferred cruinniú > kri’iha.
Phonetically the V in Máire’s <oxi> is very often short and realised as ø, æ and ə, the V in her <eoxi> is often realised as ea, e.g. *conra > kundreaxi; also as e’a, ea and e. Sometimes ø or æ occur, e.g. *tráthnóra > tran hunaaxi, sloinne > slis’axi: din’axi M sloinneacháin daoine. Also æa in súil ribe: sul’ rib’a > sul’ rib’axi: (n. 2 p. 769).

A sample of the words noted with variable (Vxi) forms and some other plurals (see also gearraile, 4.170 below) are listed here.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variants in</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>root / form</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>root</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>oxi: exi:</td>
<td>gine</td>
<td>g’in’-</td>
<td>ribe</td>
<td>rib’-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cuisle</td>
<td>kifs’-</td>
<td>faithne</td>
<td>fan’h-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oxi: axi:</td>
<td>cleite</td>
<td>kl’et’-</td>
<td>aithinn</td>
<td>æn’h-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>eite</td>
<td>et’-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oxi: axi: i:</td>
<td>artha</td>
<td>arh-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oxi: i:</td>
<td>cuireadh</td>
<td>kir’ oxii: (1) kir’i: (2, 3)</td>
<td>eala</td>
<td>al’-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gline</td>
<td>glin’-</td>
<td>sine</td>
<td>fin’-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ionga</td>
<td>urg’ urg’i: urg’ ai: urg’ ur’ oxii</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>exi: axi:</td>
<td>bann</td>
<td>bun- exii: &gt;&gt; oxii</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>exi: i:</td>
<td>bearna</td>
<td>b’uarn-</td>
<td>spig neanta</td>
<td>’spig’ ’uanta-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note the third syllable position of V in by-forms of ionga > ɪ’g’ ar’oxi: and ionramh > umaroaxi: (verbal noun, 4.171). Máire regularly has (Vxi) in at least two words which are basically used only in the plural:

<oxi> in by-forms of *ionga > ɪ’g’ ar’oxi: and ionramh > umaroaxi: (verbal noun, 4.171). Máire regularly has (Vxi) in at least two words which are basically used only in the plural:

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<oxi> in by-forms of *ionga > ɪ’g’ ar’oxi: and ionramh > umaroaxi: (verbal noun, 4.171). Máire regularly has (Vxi) in at least two words which are basically used only in the plural:

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<oxi> in by-forms of *ionga > ɪ’g’ ar’oxi: and ionramh > umaroaxi: (verbal noun, 4.171). Máire regularly has (Vxi) in at least two words which are basically used only in the plural:

<oxi> in by-forms of *ionga > ɪ’g’ ar’oxi: and ionramh > umaroaxi: (verbal noun, 4.171). Máire regularly has (Vxi) in at least two words which are basically used only in the plural:

<oxi> in by-forms of *ionga > ɪ’g’ ar’oxi: and ionramh > umaroaxi: (verbal noun, 4.171). Máire regularly has (Vxi) in at least two words which are basically used only in the plural:

<oxi> in by-forms of *ionga > ɪ’g’ ar’oxi: and ionramh > umaroaxi: (verbal noun, 4.171). Máire regularly has (Vxi) in at least two words which are basically used only in the plural:

<oxi> in by-forms of *ionga > ɪ’g’ ar’oxi: and ionramh > umaroaxi: (verbal noun, 4.171). Máire regularly has (Vxi) in at least two words which are basically used only in the plural:

<oxi> in by-forms of *ionga > ɪ’g’ ar’oxi: and ionramh > umaroaxi: (verbal noun, 4.171). Máire regularly has (Vxi) in at least two words which are basically used only in the plural:

<oxi> in by-forms of *ionga > ɪ’g’ ar’oxi: and ionramh > umaroaxi: (verbal noun, 4.171). Máire regularly has (Vxi) in at least two words which are basically used only in the plural:

<oxi> in by-forms of *ionga > ɪ’g’ ar’oxi: and ionramh > umaroaxi: (verbal noun, 4.171). Máire regularly has (Vxi) in at least two words which are basically used only in the plural:

<oxi> in by-forms of *ionga > ɪ’g’ ar’oxi: and ionramh > umaroaxi: (verbal noun, 4.171). Máire regularly has (Vxi) in at least two words which are basically used only in the plural:

<oxi> in by-forms of *ionga > ɪ’g’ ar’oxi: and ionramh > umaroaxi: (verbal noun, 4.171). Máire regularly has (Vxi) in at least two words which are basically used only in the plural:

<oxi> in by-forms of *ionga > ɪ’g’ ar’oxi: and ionramh > umaroaxi: (verbal noun, 4.171). Máire regularly has (Vxi) in at least two words which are basically used only in the plural:

<oxi> in by-forms of *ionga > ɪ’g’ ar’oxi: and ionramh > umaroaxi: (verbal noun, 4.171). Máire regularly has (Vxi) in at least two words which are basically used only in the plural:

<oxi> in by-forms of *ionga > ɪ’g’ ar’oxi: and ionramh > umaroaxi: (verbal noun, 4.171). Máire regularly has (Vxi) in at least two words which are basically used only in the plural:

<oxi> in by-forms of *ionga > ɪ’g’ ar’oxi: and ionramh > umaroaxi: (verbal noun, 4.171). Máire regularly has (Vxi) in at least two words which are basically used only in the plural:

<oxi> in by-forms of *ionga > ɪ’g’ ar’oxi: and ionramh > umaroaxi: (verbal noun, 4.171). Máire regularly has (Vxi) in at least two words which are basically used only in the plural:...
Table 4.29 (V:\textit{xi}), range and permissibility, Mq

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Score</th>
<th>Typical members</th>
<th>laxi:</th>
<th>exi:</th>
<th>axi:</th>
<th>axi:</th>
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<td>4</td>
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<td>5</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>aithinn</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 18    | tiona ig

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Score</th>
<th>Atypical members</th>
<th>laxi:</th>
<th>exi:</th>
<th>axi:</th>
<th>axi:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>sp lain: spla\textit{rk}(r)\textit{ }</td>
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<td>5</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>17</td>
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<td>4</td>
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<td>0</td>
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<td>5</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Her judgement, as well as showing that her (active) diasystem does not cover all the variability even within her own family, is another indication (along with speakers’ usage) that <\textit{uxi}> and <\textit{axi}> are the least common variants in this class, the former being the most ‘recessive’ variant the latter being the most ‘progressive’.

Another point that arises from M\textae’s evidence is that <\textit{axi}> can practically always be substituted for (V:\textit{xi}). It is given a score of 5 in all words except:

(a) belit with 4, but M\textae does use b\textit{c}e\textit{f}\textit{axi} in conversation;
(b) gadal with 0, but M\textae uses gad\textit{axi}: gad\textit{axi} and gad\textit{i} in another query session and I would expect it in conversation also;
(c) cuisle with 0.

It seems that an idealised or competence-orientated approximation of the radical -V: is the constraint in both belit and gadal. It is difficult to explain the constraint in cuisle where axi is not permitted (in contrast to 12Jq and 34Mq). Perhaps this is due to the influence of her own alternative cuil\textae, and perhaps the intradialectal alternative cuislean\textae and the high frequency of (V:xi) with this word.

Words with axi: only, i.e. \textit{O}perm in V:xi:, are: coismeig, cathaoir; n\textael\textad; scoil skoltr-; ainm an\' an\' -; cr\textael kr\textaelnt-; draein dren\textaelnt-. The higher scores of two tr

\[1\] tran\textael\textit{h\textae}axi is her general conversational form.

\[2\] Also cuil\textae.
variants contrast with the t variants of the same lexemes, and the higher score of the n variant contrasts with the corresponding n-less variant in:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>kolt- vs. kolt-</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>culaith</td>
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<td>18</td>
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<td></td>
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</table>

It is interesting to contrast Máire’s results (concerning the variant permitted) in words that fulfil the (Vxi) membership criteria, i.e. typical (Vxi) members, with words that do not fulfil these criteria and are not generally used in the (Vxi) class, i.e. atypical members. Dominant <oxi> in the typical (Vxi) class words corresponds to her actual use and contrasts with dominant <exi> in the atypical words. This contrast can be seen in Table 4.30 and Figure 4.24.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>iø</th>
<th>e:</th>
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</thead>
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<td>Typical (Vxi) class</td>
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<table>
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<td>Typical (Vxi) class</td>
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<td>Atypical for (Vxi) class</td>
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<td>e:</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

The high productivity of oxi is very evident. Concerning the atypical (Vxi) class words, at least some explanation, both for the permissibility of (Vxi) and for the preference for front quality V: variants, can be found in the alternative plurals of these nouns and the more transparent compositional status of <ixi> and its related by-form <exi>. Many of the higher-scoring words have alternate plurals in -a or -i, obviously related to the -iocháí / éacháí ending (this longer ending can often be analysed as a combination of -aí + acháí).
4.171 Verbal nouns

With over 50 verbal noun plurals, Máire, in query (Mq), provides the highest number of such plurals I have heard. Her tokens of verbal nouns mainly in -adh and -úi are given in full in Table 4.31, and with more precision where necessary in the annotated lexemes. Notation in the table is as follows:

- = produced by Mq; +? produced but doubtful;
\(\vee\) = Mperm, permitted; \(\varnothing\) = M\(\varnothing\)perm, not permitted.

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Verbal Noun</th>
<th>ia-</th>
<th>e-</th>
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1 lofxi: lofxi, lowi: lofi.
2 rehí̈ha
3 lasroxi: lafraxi.
4 b'æröxi, b'æróxi.
5 tolóxi: taulit.
6 f'oonoxi, f'ooniti, f'oonité.
7 m'aloxi, m'aleiti.
8 g'aloxi, g'áleiti, g'áxéi.
9 f'ii'oxi, f'ii'ite, f'ii'ité.
10 fl'ooxi, fl'ëoxi, fl'ëoxi, e.g. na fl'ooxi: o'f'ig' a fuar' m'ë na fleicheócha uilig a fuair mé.
818 Plural of nouns

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</table>

Verbal nouns in final consonant (-C) take -achaí and less often -i: bagairt > bagairteachaí; cuimilt > cuimitleachaí; féachaint > féixintaí; fheascantaí; fuagairt > fuagairteachaí; oscailt > oscailteachaí.¹³ The variant uáxí was queried but not permitted for any verbal noun. For each verbal noun there is an average of close to two endings.

¹ keitoáxí, kaiféixí.
² miiáxí: moorá milltí móra.
³ kaít uáxí.
⁴ umáxí: umará, umarréixí.
⁵ sklávta.
⁶ lomáxí: lomráxí: lomráxí:.
⁷ fír ióboxí: fír éibé:.
⁸ bruúxí:.
⁹ dohoáxí:.
¹⁰ bhriúxí, bhroha:.
¹¹ X íd'as k'en aedú: tu... na fadí: ... na fadá: na fadó:... ní fíos cén fhadá atá... na fadaí... na fadaithe.
¹² baúlha:.
¹³ oskáruáxí, skiuáxí.
Verbal nouns in -V(\(i\)) pattern much like other nouns, most having \((\text{V}x\text{i})\), 31 in all. The range of plurals is greater than in other nouns, with many variant plurals tending to approximate verbal adjective forms. Many other factors are of course at work. Note the ’r extension’ plurals in \(\text{lomadh}\) and \(\text{lasadh}\), both of which seem influenced by related lexemes, \(\text{lemra}\) and \(\text{lasair}\) respectively. Table 4.32 presents the totals for each ending.

Table 4.32 Verbal nouns in -V(\(i\)), plural totals, Mq

<table>
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<tr>
<th>-ócháit</th>
<th>-éacháit</th>
<th>-éachait</th>
<th>-achait</th>
<th>-í</th>
<th>-íoi</th>
<th>-aí</th>
<th>-aíthe</th>
<th>-ta</th>
<th>tae</th>
<th>other -ta</th>
<th>-tha</th>
<th>-tócháit</th>
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</table>

The formation of verbal noun plurals, therefore, has two main sources: a phonologically conditioned \(\text{V}(\text{x}i)\) plural, added to verbal nouns in singular \(-\text{adh}\), \(-\text{ale}\) and \(-\text{u}:\) \((-\text{i})\), and a morphologically conditioned verbal adjective based plural. Other conditions are at work also, both phonological and lexical. Table 4.33 arranges examples of this double and multiple lineage. The morphological situation is similar to the doubly and multiply sourced abstract comparative forms, also evidenced by Máire (Table 3.7).

Table 4.33 Verbal noun plurals, various morphological sources, Mq

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbal noun (\text{V}(\text{x}i))</th>
<th>→</th>
<th>Plurals</th>
<th>←</th>
<th>Verbal adjective</th>
<th>←</th>
<th>Other formant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(\text{lascadh}) (-\text{oxi})</td>
<td>→</td>
<td>(\text{laskoxiy})</td>
<td>←</td>
<td>\text{laski}</td>
<td>←</td>
<td>\text{laix} (noun)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\text{gearradh}) (-\text{oxi})</td>
<td>→</td>
<td>\text{'aeroxoxi}</td>
<td>←</td>
<td>\text{'ari}</td>
<td>←</td>
<td>\text{i}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\text{lobhadh}) (-\text{oxi})</td>
<td>→</td>
<td>\text{lofoxoxi}</td>
<td>←</td>
<td>\text{lo'f'o}</td>
<td>←</td>
<td>\text{-ho}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\text{lobhadh}) (-\text{oxi})</td>
<td>→</td>
<td>\text{lofoxoxi}</td>
<td>←</td>
<td>\text{lo'f'o}</td>
<td>←</td>
<td>\text{-hi}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\text{lascadh}) (-\text{oxi})</td>
<td>→</td>
<td>\text{lasrooxi}</td>
<td>←</td>
<td>\text{lasar} (noun)</td>
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<td>(\text{décanamh}) (-\text{oxi})</td>
<td>→</td>
<td>\text{'d'intoxi}</td>
<td>←</td>
<td>\text{'d'inta}</td>
<td>←</td>
<td>\text{-ta}</td>
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<td>→</td>
<td>\text{tolooxi}</td>
<td>←</td>
<td>\text{tault'e}</td>
<td>←</td>
<td>\text{-li}</td>
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<td>\text{'f'anoxi}</td>
<td>←</td>
<td>\text{'f'anta}</td>
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<td>\text{-li}</td>
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Plural of nouns

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<th>Verbal noun</th>
<th>Plurals</th>
<th>← Verbal adjective</th>
<th>← Other formant</th>
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<td>-axi:</td>
<td>→ f’ i.‘axi:</td>
<td>f’ i.t’ œ</td>
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<td>← -i:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fliuchadh</td>
<td>-oxi:</td>
<td>→ f’ i.ehoxi:</td>
<td>fl’ eho</td>
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<tr>
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<td>-axi:</td>
<td>→ f’  oehoxi:</td>
<td>← adjective</td>
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<td>buxta ← buxta</td>
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<td>sklavr’ a ← sklavta</td>
<td>← -t’ œ</td>
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<td>k’ iarha ← k’ iarha</td>
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<td>-oxi:</td>
<td>→ kriv’ exi:</td>
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<td>-axi:</td>
<td>→ kriv’ oxi:</td>
<td>kriv’ i:</td>
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<td></td>
<td>← kriv’ iha</td>
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<tr>
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<td>-oxi:</td>
<td>→ kivr’ exi:</td>
<td>← cuimhn noun</td>
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<td></td>
<td>-axi:</td>
<td>→ kivr’ axi:</td>
<td>← cuimhneach adj</td>
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4.172 Extensions and other plurals

Maire, M(q), uses relatively little n and t but quite frequent r and tr; Table 4.34 lists some examples.

Table 4.34 Extensions, M(q)

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Other plurals

-C' ~ - achait: cráimeasc > krum’ æskaxi:
-C' ~ - C' a: driobail ~ drible.
-i: buinne > buinní; cearta; cogadh > cogaí; cófra > korhi;
combha > kudhi; cine > cín; combhrá > koroxi: (1, 4) ~ kori: (2, 3);
fascadh > fascáil; galar > gar’tri; calaí; ócáidí; obair > oibrí; olaí; sloinní;
teangaí.
-ti: scáth > scáith Mq; teilli.

¹ In conversation mostly glascann Mq.
² But spalla is her usual and preferred form.
³ stróireachtach also permitted Mq.
4 Note *baltrachat Mq perm.
⁵ Also scealpann Mq.
Individual speakers

-anná: brobh > briv'ани; cráig k'raoe > k'rag'ани;
   cráib > kruh'ани; kruh'bani.
-achá: cleitheach; orsaínn > orf'ани;xí; iomaire > umar'ани;
   úchta > úchtaí.

Note condae > kuendï, phonetically [ei] with both vowels of equal length, which is phonetically distinct from the (morpho-)phonemic diphthong /ei/ [ei], e.g. /b eil beidh.

4.173 19P (P), Pádraig Mhicil Úi Chon Fhaola

(V:xi)
Pádraig Mhicil Úi Chon Fhaola (speaker 19P also abbreviated as P) is of particular interest because his use contrasts with that of his elder sister, Máire (16M, M). Máire has predominant <oxi> (4.168), whereas Pádraig has predominant <exi> with rather frequent use of <axi>, denoted in Figure 4.25 by ‘achá’, a variant not recorded from Máire or permitted by her for Iorras Aithneach. Her brother, Pádraig, has only a very marginal occurrence of <oxi> and he has the variant <axi> quite frequently. We can compare his Figure 4.25 with Máire’s Figure 4.23 p. 813.

Figure 4.25 (V:xi), P

His main variant <exi> seems to favour the palatal environment more than <axi> (or <oxi>) does. It is very difficult to draw any conclusions from his query session as he used more <axi> initially but then used <exi> consistently throughout so that the consonant-quality conditioning shown may well be coincidental. This preference for variants with higher vowels in elicitation was noticed in other speakers, e.g. 05M, 20A and 25M, and is at least partly due to informant ‘learning’ in such circumstances. In (V:xi) overall the nonpalatal environment seems favoured by <oxi> similar to his sister, Máire. Table 4.35 gives an overview of Pádraig’s forms. (Note the third syllable position of the (V:xi) variant in inoga and iomaire, and compare the examples of nonsyncope in drioball, etc., in the following section.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Environment Word</th>
<th>Word</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-C' V laiste &gt; látê exí</td>
<td>eite &gt; et' exí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-C' V samhradh &gt; savrexi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-CV: giorria &gt; g'urexi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'exi: sloinne &gt; slíst exí</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Pádraig has consistent gloine glin’ a > glan’e:xi > glan’e:xi > glin’e:xi. Some nouns commonly in the (V:xi) class take a:xi: only in his responses: bearna, easna, cleite, aithinn singular ãxh> ãxh:axi:, teangá, conra, seire. He has barrialíl > barrial:axi: (as has his sister Máire).

Pádraig’s perception of (V:xi:) plurals is noteworthy. During the questionnaire he commented several times that all the plurals were the same: oxi: oxi: a:líg iad (lóinthe) connected ‘-achaí’, ‘-achaí’ ulilig iad (lóinthe) connected ‘-achaí’, ‘-achaí’ ulilig iad, and his sister Máire’s form, he again rejected it as ‘bad grammar’. His emphasis on spelling and his greater than usual literacy in Irish, the written form probably strongly influences his judgement and perception of norms. It does not, I believe, influence significantly his predominant use of <axi:> in vernacular. Recall that Máire claims that the <u:xi:> and <axi:> variants are not local forms, the latter nonetheless is common in Pádraig’s speech.

4.174 Extensions and other plurals

Similar to his sister Máire (4.172), Pádraig has high use of raxi: and traxi: ;
Individual speakers

Other plurals
In three out of three words Pádraig elides the h of the singular stem in the plural, i.e. -ChV > -CV(çi):

\[ \text{tórramh to} \text{zha} > \text{toroxi}; \text{faithne f} \text{an} \text{h} \text{a} > \text{fan} \text{exi}; \]
\[ \text{loine l} \text{in} \text{ha} > \text{lin} \text{e} \text{x} \text{i}; \text{lin} \text{oxi}. \]

This pattern of usage has been noted as a tendency in conversation from other speakers.

He has nonsyncope in:

\[ \text{drioball dr } \text{ub} \text{El} > \text{dr } \text{ib} \text{ Eû } \text{Exi}; \]
\[ \text{giobal g } \text{ib} \text{ El } \text{Exi}; \text{ascaill } \text{æ} \text{s} \text{k} \text{i} \text{lxi}; \text{gualainn } \text{g} \text{ual} \text{æ} \text{xi}. \]

He has syncope in:

\[ \text{eochair ox} \text{rExi}; \text{paidir } \text{pa} \text{dr } \text{Exi}; \text{leitir } \text{l } \text{et} \text{rX} \text{i}; \]
\[ \text{orsa} \text{inn } \text{o} \text{rf} \text{næ} \text{x} \text{i}; \text{eiris } \text{e} \text{rfæxi}. \]

Note fréamh fr eÉm [sic] > fr eÉwrExi; dron drun > drunta (?); speal > speil; sloit > sluit. The last two are very doubtful and attributable to the query context. They are historically dative singular and have not been heard as plurals in conversation where forms such as spealta and slata ~ slatrachai are heard, including from Pádraig.

4.175 20Pá, Pádraig Cholm Thomáis Bairéad

(\text{uwi}:)

Speaker 20Páq has regular uÉwi: \text{teach } \text{t } \text{I} \text{huwi}, \text{leithe } \text{l } \text{ehuwi}, \text{reithe } \text{rohuwi}. He is the only speaker recorded with kl e cleith in this class: kl eÈuwi. For his (V:xi) use, see 4.124.

4.176 20A, Antaine Ó Máille

(V:xi):

As can be seen from Figure 4.26, Antaine Ó Máille’s (20A) dominant variant is <iExi> but <oExi> is also frequent. In the course of the query session <iExi> became more frequent giving the impression that it was felt by 20Aq to be a somehow clearer articulation. The only significant consonant-quality conditioning would appear to be on <oExi> which occurs mainly with nouns in final palatal consonants. If <iExi> and <eExi> are considered together, although only a few words have both variants, they show very weak preference for the nonpalatal environment. The endings <iExi> and <eExi> can be taken as possible by-forms within their own subclass as they show no preference for the palatal environment and also because 20A’s realisation of both is often close phonetically: <iExi> is sometimes jaxi, and <eExi> is generally eaxi, sometimes eaxi. The distribution can be interpreted as follows:

\[
\text{range and quality conditioning of (V:xi)} \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{ll}
<iExi> & <eExi> \\
\text{perhaps nonpalatal (weak)} & \text{palatal}
\end{array} \right. \quad \text{vs.} \quad <oExi>
\]

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I suspect that <exi> would be more common in spontaneous production. Twice the speaker interrupted his production of <exi>, in one instance with the noun tanai, to resort to <iexi>. The subclass of words in palatal consonant (-C") with <oxi> contains those words which are more typically members of the (Vexi) class. These words are particularly common with back variants, so that many of these lexemes can be taken to be core members of the back variant subclass. In contrast, the subclass of words in palatal consonant with <iexi> ~ <exi> are overall intradianectally less prevalent members of the (Vexi) class. They therefore take the speaker’s main productive variant of the (Vexi) class. The lexemes in question (with -C+exi: /iexi:/ exi:) are:

-C" > <exi> banais, ionga, ribe, baiste, bitse, glúin;  
- <iexi> geimhreadh;  
- <exi> sine;  
- <iexi> drioball, fáinne, orsáinn, díle, Aoíne, glaise, Saíle, bible, faithne;  
- <exi> Maire.

Two further tokens of <oxi> occur in conversation recorded by Hartmann in 1964:

-C" > <oxi> gránne, tine > ’ɪst’oxi'.

The palatal constraint on <oxi> seems to have remained constant in this speaker over the thirty-year period from 1964 (then aged c. 44) until 1994 when I recorded an interview with him.

Two tokens of possible <uxi> were not included in his chart as they are not acoustically very clear and may actually be short <oxi> variants; the forms are:

bun > bunoxi: bunoxi: perhaps bunoxi: [?] 20Aq;  
beann > d'ínoxi: 20A (conversation).

Three nouns with syncopated plurals show (Vexi) forms:

banais > ba’njôxi:; drioball > dr’ibl’íaxi: (x3); orsáinn > orf’n’íaxi: (x2).

Compare optionally syncopating iomaire > umar’i: (early in plural elicitation), umaraxi: (later in session); and umaraxi: ... umarxi: ... umaraxi: ... umarxi: ... um’r’oxi: ... um’r’oxi: ... um’r’oxi: (in order of production, in conversation recorded by Hartmann).

Radical V: in second syllable position is retained or approximated in most examples but verbal noun -i may be realised as <iexi>: 

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For discussion of 20A’s example of infixation bonnbhualadh bunual > bunialaxi; etc., see 4.26; note the non-infixation or retention of radical i in barrialaxi: barial > barialaxi: A possible instance of a contrast of plural forms produced in query and conversation is seen in his avoidance of a native plural form of céili in conversation. About to echo my conversational (Vxi:) use with céili he began k’el’ia, but selfcorrected to k’el’is, the most common form in the dialect, which he then used several times. I would suspect that in elicitation he might well have offered k’el’ixi: as a plural form. Cp. Saera which, when prompted in elicitation, was initially answered as Saiochait (< Saile).

Variants of (Vxi:) and other plural endings occur with the same lexeme as follows:

Finally, note the alternation of h in sine fin’a > fin’hoxi: fin’heaxi:

4.177 Extensions

In Table 4.36 speaker 20A shows relatively restricted use of the r extension.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>root</th>
<th>root / form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>geimhreadh</td>
<td>g’i’évr oxí: (1), perhaps g’i’évr iaxí: (2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tanáí</td>
<td>taníxí: tane’, Saera ser-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>díle</td>
<td>d’i.x’-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ionga</td>
<td>i’n’oxí: i’n’i:i: i’n’i:i: i’n’ oxí:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sine</td>
<td>fin’-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gín</td>
<td>glúin gluén oxí:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other plurals: reithe > rohi: with permitted by-form rohui:.

4.178 20C, Cóilín Jó Bhairbre Ó Maoil Chiaráin

The data for Cóilín Jó Bhairbre Ó Maoil Chiaráin (20C) and his wife Meará Mhaidhil Mhaitú Ó Maoil Chiaráin (20My, 4.184) were obtained in two fairly thorough sessions, with an interval of sixteen days between sessions.
Speaker 20Cq has strong preference for (Vxíː) in the (Vxíː) environment. More precisely, in disyllabic roots in final -CV he has a high preference for (Vxíː) as against (iː), and for (Vxíː) as against <axiː>. This propensity of course furnishes many tokens for the analysis of the (Vxíː) variable. Some of his few examples of iː in this class are: cófra korhá > korhíː; [sic]; taca > tαekiː; cp. also timpiste > tʾimp ʾαțiː. An example of axiː is baile > baiː ʾaxiː; other axiː tokens alternate with Vxíː and are given in 4.183. His use of axiː in nouns in -og is exemplified in 4.87. See 4.93 for 20C’s and 20My’s use of the r-extension.

4.179  <anaː> ~ <aníː>; <axaː> ~ <axīː>

Speaker 20Cq is one of only two speakers noted with regular <anaː>. This <anaː> is definitely used by speakers 20C and 73P in ‘unmonitored’ conversation. His use is optional but very frequent in 20Cq. Suspicious of external (standard) influence, or serial effect from <axa> in elicitation, I queried him whether he would genuinely use such ana forms, for example, in fuaigh > fuana. He responded quite negatively, 1 and echoed the preferred fuaniː from 20My and myself but immediately followed the following prompt dream with drʾamana (x2) and appeared unconscious of his frequent use of ana subsequently. Other examples are cleith > klʾeːhana; hairt > harrʾanə; sruth > srukaːna; tőin tunʾ > tunʾanə; and many monosyllabic borrowings.

Speaker 20Cq regularly uses <axaː>, especially, but by no means exclusively, with polysyllabic stems. In fact <axa> occurs more often than <axiː> with such stems. He provides 29 tokens of <axa> in the first query session, e.g. drioballachá, eascannachá, coismeig > klʾmʾeɡʾaxa, éadan > edonaxa, muileannachá and with the borrowing beairiceachá; from the second session also borrowings in -ail, e.g. bildeáil > bʾilʾđulaxa. So also Clochartach > kloxartaxa. Alternate <axiː> is not infrequent here, e.g. arrainn > araʾʾaxiː, ballær (barrial) > baʾlerʾaxiː; gealluinteachá, uachtarachái. The variant <axaː> also occurs with monosyllabic roots and syncopated disyllabic roots, 16 tokens in the first session. All 16 tokens end in a final consonant, a subsection therefore of the non-(Vxíː) class: splancacha, téad(r)acha, blaoscacha, streallachá, ladharachá, fréamhrachá, galtacha, scoltacha (sic both sessions), sléántachá, draeinrachá drʾenʾtra xa 20C, 2 traeinrachá, leiceamn > leineachá, srathachá, paidir > paidreacha padʾrʾaxa padʾrʾaxa. In such words <axiː> also occurs, e.g. neadachá, eochrachá, leitreachá. In contrast with the <axa> variant of the non-(Vxíː) class, nouns which at least fulfil (Vxíː) class syllabic and phonotactic requirements, some of which have optional Vxíː forms, all show <axiː>ː baikleachá, caladh > caltachá, ceártachá, léinteachá. Note also mangach > mangachá. For discussion of atypical exa (a solitaire token), see 4.21.

Speaker 20C has the highest frequency of <axa> use in monosyllables of any living speaker in my survey (higher than 29C). His nephew 73P (son of 25T who is 20C’s brother), however, also has monosyllabic use, which 73P may have

---

1. (Ach an bhfuil ‘-anna’ a’d dháiríre, an ndéarthá) ‘fuanna’? BóC.
2. This speaker’s /iː/ is slightly palatalised (apparently a minor speech impediment) causing neighbouring /t/ and /d/ to be alveolarised.
acquired from his father 25T (73P’s mother, 27C, has 〈axa〉 but follows the polysyllabic condition). Both 20C and 20My appeared to be unconscious of their 〈axa〉 ~ 〈axi〉 alternation as did all other speakers noted with this variable. For 20C’s 〈axa〉 morphophonological conditioning, see p. 760 Figure 4.7.

4.180 (Vxi)

In (Vxi) plurals it is clear from Figure 4.27 that 20Cq’s most prominent variant is 〈exi〉, which seems only slightly, if at all significantly, skewed in favour of the nonpalatal environment. His 〈oxi〉 use is skewed more definitely in the opposite direction following the palatal constraint on back vowels in (Vxi). All words with 〈oxi〉 follow this constraint except two, eala and leithe. The other back vowel variant, 〈uxi〉, on the other hand, does not follow the palatal constraint, but rather patterns regarding quality similar to 〈exi〉. 20Cq seems to have a system where [〈uxi〉 << 〈exi〉] pattern together as weighted by-forms only weakly favouring the nonpalatal environment, 〈exi〉 being more frequent. These contrast with less frequent [〈oxi〉] which favours the palatal environment:

range and quality conditioning on (Vxi):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[〈uxi〉 &lt;&lt; 〈exi〉] vs. [〈oxi〉]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nonpalatal (weak)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The analysis of [〈uxi〉 << 〈exi〉] as by-forms is tentative because, if correct, 20C would be one of the few speakers observed with front and back variants functioning together within a subsystem of the (Vxi) class. To extend the analysis to (Vxi), it is tempting to hypothesise that his overall (Vxi) system in the (Vxi) environment is as follows:

range and quality conditioning on (Vxi) in the (Vxi) class:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[〈uxi〉 &lt;&lt; 〈exi〉] vs. [〈oxi〉 ~ 〈axi〉]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nonpalatal (weak)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We can compare Máire’s use (4.168) which also has a front and back variant conditioned together. Cf. 19P (4.173), 30P (4.198).

Figure 4.27 (Vxi), 20Cq

Further indication of the strength of the variant 〈exi〉 in 20C’s use is the plural deoir > 〈dor texi〉: (3 tokens), noted from few other speakers. The analysis and
Figure 4.27 are based on the (Vxi) data which are summarised in Table 4.37. Endings are arranged in descending frequency of occurrence, each lexeme being counted once. Table 4.37 shows that the extensions t’, h and n’ combine with (Vxi) in the vocalic range t’exi:, t’oxi:, huxi:, n’exi:.

Table 4.37 (Vxi) class, 20Cq

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>exi:</th>
<th>uxi:</th>
<th>oxi:</th>
<th>axi:</th>
<th>huxi:</th>
<th>t’oxi:</th>
<th>t’exi:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>éachai</td>
<td>ucháit</td>
<td>ócháit</td>
<td>achi</td>
<td>thúcháit</td>
<td>teacháit</td>
<td>teócháit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>canai</td>
<td>teócháit</td>
<td>n’exi:</td>
<td>n’uxi:</td>
<td>hoxi:</td>
<td>(Vxi:)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>96</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(There is one more word with <oxi> in Table 4.37 than shown in Figure 4.27. This is because leithé (a word in -hV) is not included in Figure 4.27.)

4.181 <uxi>

The total number of <uxi:-) tokens is raised by two rather idiosyncratic forms in 20Cq: that of huxi: infixed to radical -r in Sorcha, and the form glaise > gla:fn’uxi: (both words produced several times). It seems that <uxi:-) is productive in a quantitively qualified sense for 20C, given:

(i) the distributional similarity with obviously productive <exi:-)
(ii) its higher occurrence (14 words in all) than any other variant after <exi:-),
(iii) its use with borrowed bitse > bi’jfuxi:.

Speaker 20C is the only speaker in my sample with clearly productive <uxi:-), the least productive conservative variant intradiagnostically. (He also has very high percentage use of conservative features such as 2sg conditional and subjunctive <ta> (5.43) and <shcu> (5.69), the subjunctive mood (5.396 ff.), and his almost categorical verbal adjective <icha> (cp. 5.229).) Note further that <uxi:-) is in fact used with easna > æsnuuxi:, a lexeme which frequently intradiagnostically takes <oxi:-). In fact, lexical marking for <uxi:-) is also apparent in at least two other words, both of which follow the palatal constraint: gearrchaile > g’ar®xuxi:, and seire > fer’uxi:; Note also srathair > srahxuxi: which is also a member of the back (Vxi:) subclass for other speakers, e.g. 25M. Finally, although not checked proportionately, it is perhaps worth noting that 20C has more uxi:-) in the second than in the first query session, perhaps because 20My, who has little or no uxi:-), was less involved in the second session.

The variant <uxi:-) appears especially productive in contrast with <oxi:-) (8 in all). This <oxi:-) is, as mentioned, constrained by the palatal condition. The only two nouns in <oxi:-) not following this constraint, eala and leithé, are lexically marked for the back variants of (Vxi:) and can be explained diachronically (more closely related to the dental -adh- plural, eala > ealadh > ealúcháit 866Esm) and dialectally (leithé > l’ehwi: l’ehuvi: l’ehuxi: undoubtedly from a precursor l’ehu: leitheadha as currently in IEM §527). Two general principles of use of <uxi:-) are violated by speaker 20Cq:
(i) in the discussion of the relation between the height of (V xi) variants in opposite quality (4.125 ff.), I stated that the back variant seems to have lowered first or more rapidly. A speaker with a lowered main front variant will therefore generally have a lowered main back variant.

(ii) <uxi> generally follows the palatality constraint.

As stated, however, his <oxi> variant does in fact follow the palatality constraint. It is tempting to see in 20C’s use of <uxi> the tell-tale aberrance of a reactionary or archaising usage which has been, as it were, inserted into a previously balanced and typically conditioned system of <exi> vs. <oxi>.

4.182 glaise > glaisniúchái

The plural forms of clais(e) ~ glaise (initial g in points 46–7 only) occur in SIDIII q 630 ‘furrow’ so that the Iorras Aithneach forms and in particular 20C’s gla[ñe]xi: can be compared with the wider dialectal distribution. North and east of Conamara the corresponding lexeme is generally diog. The southern short plural form clasa extends as far north as points 24 and 41. The distribution of long plural endings, (V xi) and (ани) is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plural ending</th>
<th>Point</th>
<th>Note</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>axi:</td>
<td>38</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>raxi:</td>
<td>25, 42 (North Clare and Innis Meáin), 49</td>
<td>± metathesis with s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laxi</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>also variant in GCF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kon/xi</td>
<td>35, 39, 40, 43b (a), 45, 47</td>
<td>also variant in GCF</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All these endings, and others, occur in Iorras Aithneach. Neither the extension n nor <uxi> are found in SIDIII. The model for 20C’s form can be found in other local plurals of glaise, cp. ± r and ± Vxi: in gla[ñ]xi: 46,630, glaisreacha: 869P5, gla[ñ]roxi: 36S and the n extension in glasna: 27Mq; Ros Muc glasgaoi:, glas r’ axi:, glasru:xi:, Lettir Mór glasri:xi: LFRM (s.v. glaise, with most common glascanna in the text and cited examples). (The e: vowel occurs in n’ exi: in 20C’s plural form of ionga i np’ exi: (repeated in query and in conversation.).)

A further note on glaise is fitting here, illustrating, among other things, sociolinguistic accommodation in plural morphology, at least in the query situation but also by implication in conversational style (4.80 ff.). In the first query session 20Cq was first to answer the glaise prompt with his gla[ñe]xi: while 20Myq in a quieter voice started her glas⁵ response but desisted in a short fim Im doubtless not wishing to appear too forceful. I immediately queried her directly to test her resolution: ‘Céard déarthása, a Mhéaraí?’ She responded (with a compromise form) gla[ñe]xi: and, waiting a while, again not to be over-assertive, added nó d’fhéadadh glaskani: a rá froisin with rising, politely suggestive, intonation. Speaker 20C agreed immediately and seemed to prefer the last form. In the second query session 20Myq was first to respond with her glaskani:, whilst on this occasion 20C interrupted his glae⁶ response and immediately echoed gla⁷ glaskani:. I then added, to test 20C’s preference:

-Daointi eile, déarthadh siad ‘glaisniúcháil.’ BóC

20C responded in his humorous and disowning manner:

-Déarthadh, ach nil fhios a’m cén t-údar a n-abraíonn siad é ach an oiread.
830  Plural of nouns

While 20My added:
- Sea, leaganacha cainte. 20My
- Leaganacha cainte. 20C (both Lægonaxa).

Among other things, this would all suggest that 20C is aware of, and sensitive to, the status of his intradialectally obsolete or aberrant <(N)uxi> here, unsurprisingly when it is in alternation with prevalent kaní. Similar convergence and ‘mixed’ forms occur in conversation. This convergence and accommodation exemplify the strikingly broad acceptance by many speakers of variation but also the subtle preferences and intradialectal constraints at work.

Regarding huxi in Sorcha, it may in some way be patterned on his seire > fer huxi. Speaker 20C was in fact apparently slightly confused by the near homophony of Sorcha > sorhuxi: and the plural of seire which he then pronounced as sorhuxi: presumably for *forhuxi:, which would be a regular form (cp. forhuxi: seirteachaidh from 12J who uses very little (Vexi)). Note that he does not produce *hexi: but rather exi: in Sorcha > sorexi:, perhaps because he has no model in his plural repertoire (hexi: was not found in his data). For the ‘spread’ of h here, cp. 20C’s use of haxi: in soldáthraí sulari: > sularhaxi: sularaxi: with the third syllable position of the h extension (an atypical position for h in Iorras Aithneach).

4.183  Examples

Individual words show variation within his (Vexi) range or with other variables as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variants in</th>
<th>word</th>
<th>root / form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>exi: exi: axi:</td>
<td>cleite</td>
<td>kí et -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>exi: huxi: axi:</td>
<td>Sorcha</td>
<td>sor-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>exi: uxi:</td>
<td>gloine, baille</td>
<td>glín’, biuí’-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>exi: uxi:</td>
<td>banais</td>
<td>banf’-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>exi: axi:</td>
<td>ceátra</td>
<td>k’aír-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t exi: t’ axi:</td>
<td>díle</td>
<td>d’ta’-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t exi: t’ axi:</td>
<td>léine</td>
<td>l’aín’-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>exi: t’ exi:</td>
<td>béilí</td>
<td>b’eíl’-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>huxi: uxi: &gt;&gt; axi:</td>
<td>seire</td>
<td>fer’-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uxi: +sync; axi: Òsync</td>
<td>aithinn</td>
<td>Ònuí h- ~ ahaí’-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uxi: axi:</td>
<td>eusa</td>
<td>Òsn-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n’ uxi: kaní:</td>
<td>glaise</td>
<td>glais[N’uxi] glaskaní:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A number of these by-forms are echoes of 20My’s responses.

Words in -Vha have a proportion of 5:1 in <exi> vs. <uxi>:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>&lt;exi&gt;:</th>
<th>aíthe &gt; oíthei; ráithe &gt; róthei;</th>
<th>vs.</th>
<th>&lt;uxi&gt;:</th>
<th>leithe &gt; l’eóthei;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>snáithe &gt; sunóthei; goith(e) &gt; gíthei;</td>
<td>oiche &gt; ihíthei;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some further examples of his (Vexi) forms are given here:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>&lt;exi&gt;:</th>
<th>teanga &gt; t’aengexi; conra &gt; knútrexi; éanga &gt; ængexi; ola &gt; olexi;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>line &gt; l’inn exi:; goile &gt; gel exi:; ionaire &gt; unórexi:; Beairle &gt; b’æril’ exi:, cp. (from conversation) n’æril paraxi: ek a 20C neart Pádraigseach aici.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| <uxi>: | bearna > b’arnuxi: |

The subclass of verbal nouns in the (Vexi) class patterns as other nouns with the same proportion of <exi> to other (Vexi) variants:
Individual speakers  831

-C' + exi:  bualaith, casadh, fiuchadh, pósadh, cp. also scanradh > scanraecháí;
-C' + uxi:  réabadh;
-Cu > uxi:  athrá.

Two of these, bualaecháí and réabúcháí, were produced by 20Cq to illustrate the impermissibility of the use of the plural of these verbal nouns. The implication is that the forms are genuine and productive morphologically in the speaker’s competence, even if very marginal in performance or speaker perception.

The class of nouns in final V show a wider distributional use of the <exi> variant than <uxi>, <uxi> being interpretable as u + axi in this class due to its exclusive use with final radical u:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Radical</th>
<th>&gt; exi:</th>
<th>vs. radical</th>
<th>retained</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>bëll &gt; b'ef exi:</td>
<td>u:</td>
<td>colbha &gt; koluxi:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>taisi &gt; tæfexi:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ia</td>
<td>Ciarraoch &gt; k'airexi:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>giorria &gt; g'urexi:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>condae &gt; kundexi:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>gortá &gt; gortexi:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For 20C’s plurals of agent -i in exi: and ìha, see 4.73, Table 4.3. Given the productivity of 20C’s <exi>, his barraild baler > baleraxi is to be expected.

4.184  20My, Méaraí Mhaidhcil Mhaitiú Úi Mhaoil Chiaráin

<axa> <exi>; <ana>

Like her brother 36S (4.207), Méaraí Mhaidhcil Mhaitiú Úi Mhaoil Chiaráin (20Myq) has a very high proportion of <axa> as opposed to <axi> in polysyllabic roots: 21:2 in the first query session (cf. 4.178). Her <axa> is confined to polysyllabic stems, e.g. fómhar > fuvaraxa; sochraid(e) > soxra'daxa; rarer <axi> here, e.g. cruimeasc > krum'æskaxi; beauric > b'ær'ak axi. Cf. 4.114, Figure 4.9. She has one token of (non-echoed) <ana> in struth > fruhoñá.

4.185  (V:xi)

20Myq shows what may well be the dominant distribution of the (V:xi) variants in the dialect. Her range is <exi> and <oxi>. <exi> being her most prominent variant with equal distribution between the palatal and nonpalatal environment. On the other hand, <oxi> shows palatal conditioning. It occurs in three nonpalatal words, eala, leithe and athrí. The nouns eala and leithe are discussed above in 20C’s description (4.180). The realisation athrí > arhexi: can be taken as an approximation of the quality of the radical V: as is evident in this class of nouns. 20Myq also has <exi> (and echoing 20C, <uxi>) with athrí (cf. 4.24). Other words in final V: take exi:, i.e. giorria and ceannaghaidh. Her range and use, then, can be taken as:

range and quality conditioning  \{<exi>\} vs. \{<oxi>\}  palatal

We can compare the narrower range of 20Myq, as shown in Figure 4.28, with that of other speakers.

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Individual words show variation within her (V:xi) range as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variants in</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>root / form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>exi: oxi:</td>
<td>gloine</td>
<td>glin' -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gine</td>
<td>g'in' -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>buille</td>
<td>bì' -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>exi: t'exi:</td>
<td>bëili</td>
<td>bë/ì/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oxi: axi:</td>
<td>cleite</td>
<td>klët' -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>exi: axi:</td>
<td>Cuirraioch</td>
<td>k'iar-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some of these variants are echoes of 20Cq’s forms.

Words in -VhE have a proportion of 4:2 in <exi:> vs. <oxi>:

<exi>: áithe > ahexi; ráithe > rahexi; snáithe > snaheixi; gaoith(e) > giheixi; including the verbal noun báthadh > baheixi;
<oxi>: leithe > lëheixi; oiche > thoixi.

Speaker 20Myq’s verbal noun use is essentially that of other nouns, i.e. mostly in <exi>. The variant <exi> occurs in 9 out of 10 verbal nouns including míniú > mëni'exi; drochbreathnu > 'droxv'ænheixi. The only verbal noun which has a distinctive verbal noun plural suffix is ordú > aurdiìa. This verbal noun is lexicalised as a common noun and widely used in the plural.

4.186 20T, Teaimín Team Mhacaí ‘ac Con Iomaire  

(V:xi)

Although only 16 tokens in all were noted from Teaimín Team Mhacaí ‘ac Con Iomaire (speaker 20T), he is of interest because of his family connections with his uncle 869P, his father 875T and his brothers 11J and 25M. A tentative description of his constraints may be presented as follows:

range and quality conditioning of (V:xi) \{ [<jaxi:> vs. [<oxi:>]) (also <exi>)

nonpalatal palatal
There is one example of \(<\text{oxi}>\) in *eite > et′ \text{oxi}: et′ \text{oxi}:* not included in my calculations. It has been omitted from Figure 4.29 which displays his variants.

![Figure 4.29 (V:xi), 20T](image)

### 4.187 21Pt, Peait Mháire Veail Uí Dhonnchú

(V:xi)

Peait Mháire Veail Uí Dhonnchú (speaker 21Pt) was queried alone on three separate occasions for his plural forms. The strongest variant by far in 21Ptq is \(<\text{oxi}>\); in all there are 61 tokens of \(<\text{oxi}>\) against 18 other (V:xi) variants. Although some variants are relatively infrequent, 21Pt shows the whole vocalic range of (V:xi). His four tokens of \(<\text{oxi}>\) (athrú > ærha\text{oxi}: leonadh > l′ænæu\text{oxi}:; scännne and scáile) are classified with \(<\text{oxi}>\) here for ease of comparison and display, as they pattern similar to \(<\text{oxi}>\) and alternate with it in three items. The consonant-quality condition seems to be relative for all variants, back vowel variants favouring palatal consonants, front vowels favouring nonpalatal consonants. His range and use, then, can be taken as:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Range and Quality</th>
<th>Conditioning of (V:xi)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(&lt;\text{oxi}&gt;) vs. (&lt;\text{exi}&gt;)</td>
<td>nonpalatal vs. palatal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

His pattern, as illustrated in Figure 4.30, is therefore conservative in its range according to my analysis of (V:xi) developments, but progressive in his use of an open main variant, i.e. \(<\text{oxi}>\), where he is in a large minority group (of V:xi) users. It is possibly significant that in 21Pt’s speech in general his back vowels and schwa are more rounded than usual (cf. 12.1.2). There are speakers, however, with predominant \(<\text{oxi}>\) who do not have this greater than usual rounding, e.g. Máire (16M). His palatality constraint on both back and front variants can be taken as conservative.
Figure 4.30 (V\textit{\`{x}i\textit{\`{e}}}), 21Pt

Words with alternate endings in (V\textit{\`{x}i\textit{\`{e}}}) or other variables are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variants in</th>
<th>Word root / form</th>
<th>Word root</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i\textit{`{x}i}: e\textit{`{x}i}:</td>
<td>ionga</td>
<td>ugg-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e\textit{`{x}i}: e\textit{`{x}i}: a\textit{`{x}i}:</td>
<td>gloine</td>
<td>glin-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o\textit{`{x}i}: o\textit{`{x}i}:</td>
<td>sc\textit{`{a}\textit{n}e}</td>
<td>sk\textit{`{a}n}‘-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o\textit{`{x}i}: o\textit{`{x}i}:</td>
<td>sc\textit{`{a}l}e</td>
<td>sk\textit{`{a}l}‘-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i\textit{`{x}i}: o\textit{`{x}i}:</td>
<td>c\textit{`{e}l}l</td>
<td>k‘e{l}‘-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i\textit{`{x}i}: o\textit{`{x}i}:</td>
<td>a\textit{`{h}r}\textit{`{a}}</td>
<td>a\textit{`{h}r}-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i\textit{`{x}i}: u\textit{`{x}i}:</td>
<td>artha</td>
<td>a\textit{`{h}r}-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e\textit{`{x}i}: o\textit{`{x}i}:</td>
<td>rotha</td>
<td>roh-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e\textit{`{x}i}: a\textit{`{x}i}:</td>
<td>c\textit{`{e}d\textit{`{a}r}a}</td>
<td>k‘\textit{`{a}r}-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u\textit{`{x}i}: o\textit{`{x}i}:</td>
<td>gear\textit{`{r}c\textit{`{a}l}i</td>
<td>e}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t\textit{`{u}\textit{`{x}i}: f\textit{`{o}\textit{`{x}i}:</td>
<td>t\textit{`{u}l}e</td>
<td>t\textit{`{u}l}-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t\textit{`{u}\textit{`{x}i}: f\textit{`{o}\textit{`{x}i}: f\textit{`{\imath}</td>
<td>a}:</td>
<td>li\textit{e}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>infixed o: - radical e:</td>
<td>barriall</td>
<td>bal\textit{`{e}r} &gt; ba\textit{`{d}or\textit{`{a}x}i?: (1), ba\textit{`{d}or\textit{`{a}x}i?: (2-3)\textsuperscript{1}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h\textit{`{u}\textit{`{x}i}: h\textit{`{o}\textit{`{x}i}: a\textit{`{x}i}:</td>
<td>se\textit{e}r</td>
<td>fer‘-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o\textit{`{x}i}: a\textit{`{x}i}:</td>
<td>te\textit{`{a}n\textit{`{a}g}a}</td>
<td>t\textit{`{\imath}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k\textit{`{a}n\textit{`{a}i}: k\textit{`{a}x}i}:</td>
<td>gl\textit{`{a}i\textit{`{s}e}</td>
<td>g\textit{`{l}a\textit{`{s}k\textit{`{a}n}i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o\textit{`{x}i}: a\textit{`{n}i}:</td>
<td>g\textit{`{o}\textit{`{a}ith\textit{`{e}}</td>
<td>g\textit{`{i}\textit{`{h}o\textit{`{x}i}: g\textit{`i}\textit{`{a}n\textit{`{i}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The form \textit{scornach} > \textit{sk\textsc{ornoxi}:} was repeated by 21\textsc{Ptq} five times while searching for a suitable form, and use, of the plural, which was found in \textit{sk\textsc{ornoxi}:}. The latter is most likely his more typical form, independent of the list effect. Similarly, \textit{Bairbre} > \textit{ba\textsc{r}\textsc{e}br\textsc{oxi}:} (1) but more comfortably \textit{ba\textsc{r}\textsc{e}br\textsc{oxi}:} (2-4). These two marginal formations illustrate the series effect of the repetitive query situation, and 21\textsc{Pt}'s use of his most productive (V\textit{\`{x}i\textit{\`{e}}}) suffix in such instances. Borrowings also take \textit{<o\textit{\`{x}i}>}, e.g. \textit{bi\textit{\`{\imath}se} > b\textit{\`{i}\textit{\`{f}oxi}:}, and \textit{<x\textit{\`{x}i}>} \textit{u\textit{\`{x}i}:} as in c\textit{\`{e}l\textit{\`{l}}} above. Nouns in final -\textit{ho} take \textit{<o\textit{\`{x}i}>} (x10), \textit{<\textsc{e}x\textsc{i}>} (x1), e.g.

\textit{breitheamh} > \textit{br\textsc{e}ho\textsc{oxi}:}; \textit{sn\textsc{a}th\textsc{e} > sn\textsc{a}hoxi}:; \textit{r\textsc{a}th\textsc{e} > ru\textsc{hoxi}:};
\textit{rotha > roh\textsc{exi}:}.

\textsuperscript{1} 1–3 = order of production.
\textsuperscript{2} These two plural forms can be best understood in the context of the two by-forms of the singular \textit{g\textsc{h}a g\textit{\`{o\textit{\`{a}ithe}} (\textit{<o\textit{\`{x}i}>}) and \textit{g\textit{\`{i}\textit{\`{g}a\textit{\`{o\textit{\`{a}oth}} (\textit{<\textsc{e}x\textsc{i}>}}.}
So also compound nouns, e.g. *carn aoiligh* > *kárn i'éoxi*.

The class of nouns in final *V* shows both use and approximation (in *céillúchaí*) of the main variant *<oxix i>* and retention and approximation of the radical *V*:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>V: &gt; main (<em>Vxi</em>) variant</th>
<th>vs. retained or approximated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i: &gt; oxi:</td>
<td>béili &gt; b’ u'oxi:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Note agent in -i</td>
<td>gréasai &gt; gr’ esoxi:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u: gortú &gt; gortoxi:</td>
<td>u: uxi:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i: &gt; uxi: céli (as cited above)</td>
<td>i: &gt; i ox1 céli as above</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tanal &gt; tanoxi:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The noun *luai* > *luoxi*: (x5+) is perhaps best analysed as *luai + oxii*.

The extensions *t* and *h* combine with palatal consonant and both *uxi* and *oxi* in:

- *línteóchaí ~ líntiúchaí*;
- *tuilteóchaí ~ tuiltiúchaí*;
- *seirte ~ seirtheóchaí ~ seirtheiúchaí*.

All six verbal nouns in -adh noted take *oxi*: showing *<oxi>* dominance as in other nouns, e.g.

- *báthadh > báthoxi*;
- *gearradh > g’ ærxoxi*;
- *baiste(adh) > baif’ oxii*.

Also noted from conversation (not included in the statistics above):

- *briseadh amach > gá mbeadh beithiúch an a mbeadh briseóchaí amach air *a m’ex br’ ifoxi*;
- *marx er* ‘(skin) eruptions’;
- *filleadh > fílleóchaí (sa treabhsar)*.

Verbal nouns in -ú, as cited: *gortu > gortoxi*, *mínú > m’ in’uxii*.

### 4.188 23B, Béib Mheárágrait Bean Uí Uaithnín

Béib Mheárágrait bean Uí Uaithnín (23B) has the smallest (*Vxi*) class of her age-group in my survey. As mentioned above her husband (12J) has the smallest of his age-group recorded. Speaker 23Bq’s range of variants is, however, more restricted than 12J’s: she shows no back variants and has *<axi>* only in nouns with radical -i. The complete list of tokens recorded from her is as follows:

- *Ca* > *<axi>*  *eala > ælexi:*  *<ælexi>*
- *Ci* > *<axi>*  *iomaire > umraxi:*

Noun in -i: *<axi>* (with deliberate pronunciation):

- *geansaí > g’ æn’isí:*  *<æn’isí:*  *> g’ æn’iáxi:*

### 4.189 25M, Maidhcil Team Mhacaí ’ac Con Iomaire

(VxV)

The variant *<axi>* occurs in two polysyllabic roots in the data: *barriall > barriála* (x3); *anam > anamnáx*, *anamnáx* na maru, *anamnacha*, *anamnacha na marbh*. Note the possible higher register connotation and the pre-consonantal environment of the latter example. All other polysyllables take *<axi>*, e.g. *aimn > æn’ám’áxi:*; *eagliás > ægálaíx*:.

1 Further noted from conversation (not included in the statistics above): borrowing ‘rally’ *raíl > raif’ oxii*.  © Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies 2007
4.190  (V\textit{xi})

Maidhcil Team Mhaca\textasciitilde; 'ac Con Iomaire (25M) has an exceptionally quantitatively 'well balanced' distribution of the front and back variants which are for him \textit{<iExi>\textit{\textit{x}}} and \textit{<oExi>\textit{\textit{x}}} respectively.

range and quality conditioning \text{of (V\textit{xi})} \begin{cases} \text{[<iExi>\textit{\textit{x}}]} & \text{vs.} \text{[<oExi>\textit{\textit{x}}]} \\ \text{palatal} & \text{palatal} \end{cases}

If one compares 25M’s Figure 4.31 with his uncle 869P’s Figure 4.17 above, there is similarity only in so far as both speakers have frequent use of the \textit{<iExi>\textit{\textit{x}}} variant. This high percentage use of \textit{<iExi>\textit{\textit{x}}} has been found mainly in this close-knit clann Mhaca\textasciitilde; group and can be reasonably confidently taken as a network indicator (4.121, Figure 4.12). But 869P and 25M contrast with regard to the actual use of \textit{<iExi>\textit{\textit{x}}} in that 25M has no palatal constraint on the front variant. The most marked contrast is of course the back variant: not only has 25M no \textit{<uExi>\textit{\textit{x}}} which is 869P’s only back variant recorded, but 25M’s \textit{<oExi>\textit{\textit{x}}} is roughly equally as frequent as \textit{<iExi>\textit{\textit{x}}} in contrast with the low yield of 869P’s \textit{<uExi>\textit{\textit{x}}}.

**Figure 4.31 (V\textit{xi}), 25M**

![Figure 4.31](image)

The variant \textit{<eExi>\textit{\textit{x}}} occurs in only three tokens, two of which are recorded with other variants (further below):

\textit{ribe r\textit{oi\textit{\textit{b}}}b\textit{e\textit{\textit{i}}s}} > \textit{rib\textit{\textit{e}x\textit{\textit{i}}} ro\textit{\textit{b}}\textit{e\textit{\textit{e}}}f}.

Phonetically his vowels in (V\textit{xi}) are clear and long, especially in comparison, for example, with Máire. The variable (V\textit{xi}) occurs with four nouns in the V\textit{Ha} sub-class with two tokens of each main variant, e.g.

\textit{b\textit{\textit{a}}\textit{\textit{b}}}\textit{\textit{adh}} > \textit{be\textit{\textit{h}}}\textit{\textit{i}\textit{a}}\textit{\textit{x}}\textit{\textit{i}}; \textit{c\textit{\textit{r}}}\textit{\textit{e}}\textit{\textit{h\textit{a}}}\textit{\textit{adh}} > \textit{kr\'\textit{\textit{a}}\textit{b}a\textit{h}o\textit{x}i}.

(Speaker 25M claimed not to have heard these two tokens in actual use.) My impression is that at least in some words the \textit{<iExi>\textit{\textit{x}}} variant was the more targeted variant of the three variants. For instance, one token was interrupted and repeated in \textit{leide} > \textit{\textit{l}'d\textit{\textit{i}} doublequote\textit{\textit{d}}} \textit{\textit{i}}\textit{\textit{\textit{a}}\textit{\textit{x}i}}: \text{. This is also implied by repeated variants of \textit{c}\textit{u\textit{\textit{is\textit{\textit{e}}}}} in the list below which move from initial \textit{<eExi>\textit{\textit{x}}} to \textit{<iExi>\textit{\textit{x}}}}. Nonetheless, the opposite direction in repeats is not uncommon as seen in \textit{s}\textit{amhr\textit{a}d\textit{h}} below and \textit{cu\textit{\textit{r}}}\textit{\textit{e\textit{\textit{d}}}\textit{adh}} > \textit{ki\textit{\textit{\textit{r}}}i\textit{\textit{\textit{a}}\textit{\textit{e}}}\textit{\textit{\textit{h}}}\textit{\textit{a}}\textit{\textit{xi}}}: (1) \textit{ki\textit{\textit{\textit{r}}}o\textit{\textit{\textit{e}}}\textit{\textit{h}}} (2).

Individual words show variation within his (V\textit{xi}) range (numbers indicate order of production):
Individual speakers 837

Table 4.38 presents a comparison of (V:ix) use between the brothers 869P, 875T, the former’s daughters 04Br and 15W, and 875T’s sons 11J, 20T and 25M. In the table i stands for (V:ix), o for (V:xi), etc.; contrast with 869P’s form in vowel height only, e.g. gearradh <i:ixi> 869P vs. <o:xi> 04Br, is presented in a light outline; distinction on the front–back axis, e.g. gloine <i:ixi> 869P vs. <o:xi> 04Br, is given a heavy outline. Compare also teintéochal (MP) 869P (<cine>, with 25M’s cine > k:in:i:xi; and 25M’s c’t:i:xi: in líne, sínreadh, sloinne and sile. Note further aice > aék’oxi: 25M (not calculated in his percentages).

We can now compare both the overall percentage distinctions within clann Mhacaí, as set out in Figure 4.12 p. 768, as well as the change in real and apparent time of specific lexemes in Table 4.38. Lexically speaking, 15W best resembles 869P in her use of <i:ixi> in fainhne and gloine. The brothers, 11J and 20T in particular, best resemble 869P in having back variants with eite and sine. In fact, 04Br, 15W, 11J and 20T have the closest system to 869P of any of my speakers, apart from 27M (4.196), in that <i:ixi> is their most frequent variant and that the back variant is infrequent. The main contrast with 869P for all speakers of the following generation, except 15W, is in the height of their back variant <o:xi:>.
Table 4.38 Words with (V\textsuperscript{xi}) in clann Mhacaí 'ac Con Iomaire, 1869–1925

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>869P</th>
<th>875T</th>
<th>04Br</th>
<th>11J</th>
<th>15W</th>
<th>20T</th>
<th>25M</th>
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<tr>
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<td>w</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

4.192 Extensions

Table 4.39 summarises 25M's extensional use.

Table 4.39 Extensions, 25M

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>naxi:</th>
<th>raxi:</th>
<th>naxi:</th>
<th>raxi:</th>
<th>axi:</th>
<th>traxi:</th>
<th>taxi:</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ainm</td>
<td>eiris &gt; orf\textsuperscript{-}r</td>
<td>freámh</td>
<td>eiris &gt; orf\textsuperscript{-}r</td>
<td>staírnm</td>
<td>ginn &gt; g\textsuperscript{-}trr</td>
<td>scolí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anam</td>
<td>carraig</td>
<td>splanc</td>
<td>maír\textsuperscript{3}</td>
<td>scalp &gt; skalp-</td>
<td>draíne</td>
<td>sléin</td>
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<td>ionga</td>
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<td>blaoisc</td>
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<td>slat</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Note further two forms produced while the speaker searched for an acceptable plural: béitl\textsuperscript{1} > b\textsuperscript{-}éit\textsuperscript{1} | traxi:; téadl\textsuperscript{1} > t\textsuperscript{-}iéadl\textsuperscript{1}.

4.193 25Mn, Máire Nic Ghiolla Bháin

Máire Nic Ghiolla Bháin (25Mn) seems to have lost some vernacular forms in the plural because of her long residence outside the Gaeltacht and her very high literacy level in Irish. In particular, her high number of both \textsuperscript{a}axa and \textsuperscript{a}a\text{as well as

1\textsuperscript{1} iongaitochaidh 869P, iom\textsuperscript{2} exi 04Br, iom\textsuperscript{2} exi 15W, ingne\textsuperscript{2} ochaidh 25M.
2\textsuperscript{2} Brothers 11J, 20T and 25M have the more common glaise > glaiscannaí for 869P's glaischotch â glaisreachta.
3\textsuperscript{3} iomarachaidh 869P, iomarachaidh 11J, iomaróchaidh 25M; but iomtraíochaidh 04Br, 15W, 20T, as well as iomairí 15W.
4\textsuperscript{4} 25Mq claims not to have heard his mar\textsuperscript{4} ag\textsuperscript{4} ar\textsuperscript{4} axi used, nor is the word likely to be used in the plural in his opinion.
Individual speakers

her very frequent use of the short i: plural, will not be analysed within the present work. Her (Vxi) and extensional forms, perhaps, reflect the local use of Loch Con Aortha. Her forms are of interest especially in her relatively conservative use in (Vxi), perhaps resembling the use of 852Sb, her grandfather.

4.194 (Vxi)

As can be seen from Figure 4.32, the main variant for 25Mn is <i:xi:>, including with verbal nouns in -á, e.g. athrú > arhíaxi:. The two other variants are very limited in distribution. The variant <e:xi: occurs (in the form e:axi) as a variant of <i:xi: in:

iomaire > umre:i: (1) umri:xi: (2, 3); conra > kun:ri:xi: (1) kun:re:xi:.

The variant <oxi:> seems lexically marked for a small set of nouns, most of which have final palatal consonant:
sine, leithe, bitse, eite; and gloine > glin: oxi: - glin: i:xi:.

Note her artha > arhíaxi: arhíaxa.

Figure 4.32 (Vxi), 25Mn

4.195 Extensions and other plurals

Table 4.40 Extensions, 25Mn

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ta</th>
<th>aaxi/a</th>
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<td>freámh</td>
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<td>tead</td>
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<td>stíl</td>
<td>craobh</td>
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<td>nead &gt; n'æd-</td>
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<td>comhrá</td>
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<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>srón</td>
</tr>
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<td>b</td>
<td>tille</td>
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<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>slíne</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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840  Plural of nouns

**Masculine -ach > -igh ~ -achaí**

- Domhnach, ronnach, gliomach, coileach;
- aCh: ronnach, sionnach.

**Other plurals**

- hi: seire feÁr > fer hi:
- iÁ: geanÁa, gorÁa, leadÁa, cruinniÁa, cÁillÁi, grÁasÁa, coisiÁ.
- uÁ: teach > tÁehuÁ, leithe > tÁehuÁ.
- u: reithe > rohuÁ also rehuÁ, stressed re-, although found in other dialects, is perhaps a spelling pronunciation.

Note the plural form TomÁs > tumAÉx: given by 25Mn as an example of non-use of the plural of personal names.

### 4.196  27M, Máirtín Bheairtle Chanráí

(MÁx:)

Máirtín Chonráí (27M) has a high yield in the (VÁx:), class, with very little <aÁ:>, realisation. His main variant is <iÁ:>. It may be significant that he has very frequent i: plurals where other speakers would have more (VÁx:), particularly (VÁx:), e.g. i: in buille, úchta, leidhce, grÁinne, lata, creideamh, cÁfra, eala, bibe, carn aoligh, etc.; note also colbha > koliÁ. This high -i production reduces the number of (VÁx:) tokens for sufficient numerical analysis of this variable. As mentioned above (4.191, discussion of Table 4.38), 27M and the clann Mhacaí network have the highest proportion of <iÁ:>, use of all speakers in my field survey. Speaker 27M’s overall usage is clear from Figure 4.33. He resembles 869P in his main variant and in his infrequent use of the back variant.

**Figure 4.33 (VÁx:), 27M**

His second most frequent variant, <exÁ:>, alternates with <iÁ:>, in three out of the five words attested with <exÁ:>: banáis, doigh > dehiÁx: deheÁx:,; dansa. Only snÁithe and cusÁle have non-alternating <exÁ>. His least frequent variant, <uxÁ:>, seems the most lexically marked: the three words attested with this variant being leithe, reithe and loine, the first two in particular frequently marked for the back (VÁx:) variant intradialectally and related to their alternate plurals in ÁwÁ: , etc. Nouns with <iÁ:>, often phonetically <iÁx:>, include:
Individual speakers

ribe, baiste, tórramh, Máire, feire, gearradh, tanai, geimhreadh, conra, giorra.

Note that there is no example of a noun in final i: or ia taking any variant other than <iExi>. Extensions combined with (VExi) are riaxi: in gad > gæadriaxi: gædæni:; and t’iaxi:, e.g. scáinnne > skæxt’iaxi:.

4.197 Extensions

Table 4.41 presents 27M’s extensional use.

Table 4.41 Extensions, etc., 27M

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>rœxi:</th>
<th>œxi:</th>
<th>trœxi:</th>
<th>tœxi:</th>
<th>tœa</th>
<th>t’a</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>frœamh</td>
<td>stœirm</td>
<td>meall</td>
<td>scoil</td>
<td>gleann</td>
<td>Aoine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spreab</td>
<td>eirœs &gt; orf-</td>
<td>speal</td>
<td>ginn &gt; g’i’in’-</td>
<td>stil</td>
<td>cuan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>coirb</td>
<td>cœirg</td>
<td>aill</td>
<td>tine &gt; t’in’-</td>
<td>steán</td>
<td>baile</td>
</tr>
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<td>carriag</td>
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<td>cuath</td>
<td>cœulaith</td>
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<td>baile</td>
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<td>lœine</td>
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<td>ribe</td>
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<td>teile</td>
<td>pœian</td>
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</table>

Aspects of the lingual shift prominent in the townlands of Coill Sáile and Loch Con Aortha, for example in the speech of 34M, are very marginal in 27M’s case, noted consonantly only in Stœifœn fœifœn fœifœn. Vocalically 27M has a tendency to pronounce final unstressed i: as œi: ~ œi:, not nearly as marked or regularly as 34M, so that his plurals frequently show alternations as in:

scoil > skœltœxi: skœltœxa’; Cœurœlœch > k’œriaœxi: k’œriaœxa’.

4.198 30P, Peaidí Phádraig Mheidhc Úi Mhoail Chiaráin

(Vœxi)

It is clear from Figure 4.34 containing Peaidí Phádraig Mheidhc Úi Mhoail Chiaráin’s data (30P) that <œxi:> is his main variant with no obvious consonant-quality conditioning. His second most frequent realisation is <œxi:> occurring mostly in the nonpalatal environment. The (Vœxi) and (Vœxi) systems for 30P can be characterised as follows:

range and quality conditioning
of (Vœxi) forms

<œxi:> vs. [œxi:]
nonpalatal

range and quality conditioning
of (Vœxi) class

<œxi: > <œxi: > vs. [œxi:]
nonpalatal

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The only <i>iaxi</i> example occurs in the sequence (baft<a> oath</a> prompt BóC):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{baft} & \text{ tw} \ldots \text{baft} & \text{ tw} \ldots \text{baft} & \text{ iaxi} \ldots \text{baft} & \text{ iaxi}; \\
\text{baistiodh} & \ldots \text{baistioch} & \ldots \text{baistioch}.
\end{align*}
\]

(It is hard to know whether -iodh can be taken as genuine 2 Conjugation here, or a confusion with -i plural in query.)

His <i>oaxi</i> plurals include gréasai > gr' esoxii; leatha > l' ahoxxi'; cogadh > kogoxii; with infixing in barrall baler > baloraxi.

The variant <i>eaxi</i> is found in iomaire > umrexii unrexii; Ciarratöch k' iarexxx > k' iarexxi; ribe (conversation and query), tráthnóma, cara ‘friend’, bonn (conversation and query), pósadh, damsa, gearradh.

Note the slip of the tongue in searching for a plural form for Moinice, as happened similarly in the instance from 20Cq (4.20), with second syllable position of extension V: in the sequence:

\[
\text{Moinice} > \text{min'} o', \text{min'} \text{ a}, \ldots \text{min'} \text{ ak'} i; \ldots \text{min'} \text{ ak'} \text{ axi}.
\]

4.199 Extensions

This speaker has a relatively high use of the r, t and tr extensions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 4.42 Extensions, 30P</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>raxi:</td>
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</table>

4.200 34M, Michael Kelly

(Veib)

Figure 4.35 shows a summary of Michael Kelly’s data (speaker 34M). He has a fair proportion of (Veib) realisation. His main variant is <i>eaxi</i>, occurring in equal proportions in both palatal and nonpalatal environments in his data. Next in frequency is <i>iaxi</i>, the back variant <i>oaxi</i> being least frequent.
Speaker 34M’s realisation of the front variants has most often two distinct vocalic elements, a long vowel followed by schwa: \(\text{iex} \gg \text{iex} \) and \(\text{ex} \gg \text{ex} \). He has the greatest proportion of these trisyllabic realisations of all my speakers. In discussing 34M’s realisations, the following four traits, part of the lingual shift of certain speakers in the Coill Sáile–Loch Con Aortha area, are of relevance:

(a) final, prepausa, unstressed \(i\) is regularly realised as \(\text{ar}’\),
(b) palatalised velars are often realised as palatals or alveo-palatals,
(c) \(r\) very often realised as uvular \(\text{X}\),
(d) \(\text{x}\) generally realised as uvular \(\text{X}\).

Cp. 27M (4.196) above and 43Mp (4.213) below.

With these phonetic points in mind a sample of his plurals is given here.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variant</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Word</th>
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<td>(&lt;\text{exi}&gt;)\</td>
<td>geansa</td>
<td>(\text{g’} \text{e} \text{nx} \text{s} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>(\text{b} \text{e} \text{l} )</td>
<td>(\text{b} \text{e} \text{l} \text{e} \text{x} \text{ar} )</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\text{C}’)</td>
<td>(\text{bonn} )</td>
<td>(\text{b} \text{u} \text{e} \text{x} \text{ar} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\text{C}’)</td>
<td>(\text{t} \text{o} \text{r} \text{u} \text{m} \text{h} )</td>
<td>(\text{t} \text{o} \text{r} \text{e} \text{x} \text{ar} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(&lt;\text{CV}&gt;)\</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\text{C}’)</td>
<td>(\text{t} \text{o} \text{r} \text{u} \text{m} \text{h} )</td>
<td>(\text{t} \text{o} \text{r} \text{e} \text{x} \text{ar} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\text{C}’)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note the sandhi effect of nonpausa position in:
\(\text{gine} \gg \text{g’ i} \text{n’ exar}’\), \(\text{g’ i} \text{n’ exi} : \text{bi} : \text{gineachal bui}\).

### 4.201 Extensions and other plurals

This speaker shows frequent use of the \(r\) and \(t\) extensions. Other plurals worth noting are: \(\text{teach} \gg \text{t’ihawor}’\); \(\text{dealg} \gg \text{d’el’d’axar}’\) (perhaps \(\text{d’el’d’axar}’\)); \(\text{rócam} \gg \text{rockams}\); \(\text{e} \text{n} \gg \text{kruni} : \text{krunar}’\) with a doubtful singular \(\text{kruna}\).
Table 4.43 Extensions, 34M

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>radxi:</th>
<th>aXi:</th>
<th>traxi:</th>
<th>taxi:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fód &gt; fodó</td>
<td>stóirm</td>
<td>scoil</td>
<td>stáil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>déas</td>
<td>coírb</td>
<td>gún &gt; g’áin</td>
<td>báile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nead</td>
<td>carraíg</td>
<td>slein</td>
<td>rón</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fréamh</td>
<td></td>
<td>meall</td>
<td>slat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>crúbh</td>
<td></td>
<td>speal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.202 35E, Eidí Bheairtle Ó Con Fhaola
(Vxí)

Eidí Bheairtle Ó Con Fhaola (speaker 35E) shows a typical proportion of (Vxí) realisation in comparison with <oxi> in this class. As shown in Figure 4.36, his main variant is <oxi> where the palatal condition may be significant but not strongly so.

Figure 4.36 (Vxí), 35E

Nouns with radical i: and iɔ in second syllable position are not included in Figure 4.36 as they all retain the i: quality having the <oxi> variant realisation:

geansaí > g’áinxi; béill, Ciarraíoch, Corcaíoch, giorria.

The four nouns in -C or -a with <oxi> are:
bonn, pósadh, ruainne, cine.

The last word was initially produced as K’ín’oxi but reiterated with more satisfaction as k’in’ixi. This is one of the few nouns that shows alternation in 35E.

Others with alternation have oxi: ~ aXi:
baiste and perhaps fuinneamh.

Verbal nouns in -ú take both <oxi>, cruinniú, and oxi:; athrú; also i: in socru. (In a separate recording also vastú (< i bhfastú) > wastlixi: 35E.) The variant <oxi> occurs in gearradh, bearradh. The extension t combines with oxi: in the familiar
tele > t’ext’oxi; sloinne > slintoxi;
and in less common:
caladh > karlixi: [x2] ~ kállí.

Third syllable position occurs in iomaire > umaroxi.
4.203  Extensions

As can be seen in Table 4.44, extensions are very common in 35E’s usage.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>naXi:</th>
<th>axi:</th>
<th>taXi:</th>
<th>taxi:</th>
<th>traxi:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>anam</td>
<td>anam</td>
<td>nead &gt; n’aeíd</td>
<td>caílth</td>
<td>ál</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maithm</td>
<td>stóirm</td>
<td>tead</td>
<td>stail &gt; staíl</td>
<td>giall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt; miann’-</td>
<td>tolách</td>
<td>scláip &gt; skáilp-</td>
<td>słoinne &gt; -t’ò-</td>
<td>aíl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ainm</td>
<td>carraigh</td>
<td>teile &gt; -t’ò-</td>
<td>speál</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta</td>
<td>ta</td>
<td>seas &gt; fafraul-</td>
<td>caladh &gt; -to-</td>
<td>meall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cuan</td>
<td>slinn &gt; f’ún-</td>
<td>splan</td>
<td>tine &gt; f’ín-</td>
<td>sleán</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stíl</td>
<td>dán</td>
<td>freamh</td>
<td>traein &gt; tren-</td>
<td>sail &gt; saíl-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seol</td>
<td>srón</td>
<td>fód &gt; foíd-</td>
<td>draein &gt; dren-t-</td>
<td>slat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dál</td>
<td>srián</td>
<td>gad</td>
<td>sínedh</td>
<td>scoil &gt; skol-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sleán</td>
<td>pían</td>
<td>craobh</td>
<td>ginn &gt; g’ún-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luan</td>
<td>fál (~ fáil)</td>
<td>sop</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scéal</td>
<td>néal</td>
<td>stéig</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gleann</td>
<td>Domhnach</td>
<td>léas &gt; l’ésr-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>leac</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ta</th>
<th>té</th>
<th>réasa</th>
<th>anti:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gró</td>
<td>croí</td>
<td>tráthnóta</td>
<td>oíche</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taoille1</td>
<td>rón</td>
<td>aonach</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tú</td>
<td>claimhe</td>
<td>lát &gt; lunti:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tua</td>
<td>dáile</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ró</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other plurals

-ò: ruacan > ruain’ a; námhaid > navd’ a; muileann > mis’ a.
-ani: spaíl, fuaigh, straínc.
-axi: Satharn > sahornaixí; Céadaoin, Déardaoin, Aoine.
-í: slán > slumaini; slumáixí; slumíit.
-ói: reithe > rohawi.
-úi: teach > t’iúit.

4.204  36M, Marcas Mhaidhc Teamannáí Úi Cheannabháin

Marcas Mhaidhc Teamannáí Úi Cheannabháin’s material (speaker 36M) is limited; he is a background informant on 04F’s tape-recorded plural questionnaire. He shows frequent use of both <axi> and <oxi> variants in the (V:xi) variable. He also has <axa> which seems to be involved in the serial effect in the recorded data. His initial <axa> token occurs in the disyllabic stem suileidil > síd’udaxa, and following plurals, even though interspersed with axi: from 04F and by general conversation, contain axa with mostly monosyllabic bases: léas > l’ésraxa; blogam > blobamaxa; scoileadh > skol’táxax; seire > fer’axa. Other plurals from him include: dorú dorú > drif’a doranta. Note the palatalising (-C’) plurals offered in bonnbhuaidh bunul > buanul’; blogam > blog’am’ blobamaxa; ruacan rokam > rokam’.

1 Also tuailí.
4.205 36P, Pádraig Team Phaits Uí Cheannabháin

Phaits Uí Cheannabháin (speaker 36P) seldom uses <ex> but all four tokens noted are in tetrasyllables: stoirmecha, Aifreannacha, mårailleacha, blogamacha.

(V ex)

Speaker 36P shows a robust (V ex) class. As is clear from Figure 4.37, his major variant in this class is <exi> (as with the majority of speakers). Both of his main variants <exi> and <oxi> are weakly constrained by the quality condition:

range and quality conditioning of (V exi) \{
  \begin{align*}
  \text{<exi>} & \quad \text{vs.} \quad \text{<oxi>}
  \\
  \text{nonpalatal} & \quad \text{palatal}
  
  \end{align*}
\}

The variant <axi> occurs in béilí > b'el'ixi, and clá > klihxí: (cp. klihxí: 25Mnq). Both can be interpreted as instances of retention of stem -V:. The latter may well be attributed to the direct elicitation situation; the nearest form heard from conversation intradialectally being klihxí. Queried about klohxí, the commonest form in the western half of Iorras Aithneach, the speaker claimed it was the best form.

The variant <axi> occurs in only two tokens: aithinn > a'xhixi; doigh > dhoaxi; both containing stressed nonhigh radical vowels.

The list of nouns with <oxi> is:

  sine, leithe, glaise > glafaxi: conra, sprid neanta, deaide, teile > teilteocháí, lascadh, scoileadh, lointhe, buille, slossen, baile > baileócháí ~ baile, cuireadh, seire, pinse, ríte reaite > ríte reaitécháí ~ ríte reaitéacháí.

Also in borrowings (below).

Nouns in radical -V: show a tendency for approximation of the radical vowel:

- u: > exi: oxi: cruíne > krix'axi: krix'oxi: socrí > sokrexí: gortú > gortexi:

- i: > axi in béilí and clá as described above;

- i: -ia > axi: (including personal nouns): taná, geansaí, giorria, coisi, saothrái, gréasá, leadaí.
Nouns in -íoch have e: in singular and plural alike: Ciarraíoch k'íarex > k’íarexi:]. Corcaíoch korkex > korkexi:. So also scéabhaitoicht sklaúwest. (Vxi:) occurs with borrowings:

<exi:] with ‘Conroy’ kaónri:] > kaónrexi:;
<oxi:] with ‘wheelbarrow’ > tìf] b'æróxi:] ; bitse > b’ifóxi:.

4.206 Extensions

36Pq has the pattern raxi:] >> axi: ; taxi:] >> traxi:]. (Type 2a speaker in Table 4.7, p. 743.)

Table 4.45 Extensions, 36Pq

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>raxi:</th>
<th>axi:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gad</td>
<td>splanca</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leuc</td>
<td>skalp-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ned</td>
<td>stoím</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teol</td>
<td>coirb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ainm1</td>
<td>anam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>freáinh</td>
<td>orfr-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eiris &gt; orfr-</td>
<td>spreab - spreabannad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>carraig</td>
<td>slat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>traxi:</th>
<th>taxi:</th>
<th>ta</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gidil</td>
<td>cuálath</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meall</td>
<td>léine</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lata</td>
<td>t’íxt’è-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dl</td>
<td>tellel &gt; t’eíot’-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cine k’íx a</td>
<td>sceil</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baile &gt; bart’o-</td>
<td>gleann</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scoil</td>
<td>srian</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>line</td>
<td>speal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>drein</td>
<td>ginn &gt; g’aenta</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a</th>
<th>a</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>rón</td>
<td>gró</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gaoith</td>
<td>uín tuílna &gt; uxt’a ~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baile</td>
<td>srón</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>crá</td>
<td>barr2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cuan</td>
<td>glúin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>súil ribe &gt; súilte ribe</td>
<td>sian</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other plurals include ceárta > k’aertánxí:] ; cno kru > kruháni:] ; gabha > gaiv’s ó gáuni:] . Cp. ramallae > ramalreáxi:] ; ramalreáxi:] ; perhaps influenced by ballaer (balliarr).

4.207 36S, Seán Mhaidhcil Mhaitiú Ó Maoil Chiaráin

Seán Mhaidhcil Mhaitiú Ó Maoil Chiaráin’s (36S) plural use corresponds to his sister’s, 20My (4.184 ff.), in at least two points:

(i) almost categorical application of the polysyllabic constraint in <axa> use,
(ii) <axi:] as the major variant in the (Vxi:) class.

<axa>

Speaker 36S’s data contain in total 14 words with <axa>: 11 of these are polysyllabic roots, e.g. carraig, bildeáil, cliamhain, Aifreann; of the 3 monosyllabic roots, 2 alternate with (Vxi:), in the case of easna with axi:; and, in the case of Corcaíoch with laxi:; the only other monosyllabic form is a word which has optional syncope in the dialect so that it is in fact potentially disyllabic, i.e. paidr > padr’axa. Note that all three have consonant clusters before the plural ending.

1 aèn amr’axi: aèn amr’axi:] ; cp. his syncope in fómhar > fufraxi:.
2 Given without hesitation or doubt. This is the only attestation.
The variants <exi> and <exi> are in almost complementary distribution. Only 3 polysyllabic roots in his data take <axi>; in two words there is alternation with (Vxi), alternation with exi: in iomaire and with raxi: in seas > friaxi: (1) friaxi: (2); the only other polysyllabic stem with axi: is krum'aeask criúimeasc which is phonotactically marked in having a clear (short) vowel in the final syllable (similar to a syllable with secondary stress).

4.208 (Vxi)

Speaker 36S has frequent realisation of (Vxi) variants. Words which take (Vxi) are typical members of this class, e.g. cleite, leide, gráinne, iomaire, banais, ribe, gloine, eala, sine, etc. The most striking aspect of 36S’s use, seen in Figure 4.38, is that all 44 of his words in (Vxi) are realised with <exi> only (with the exception of words in iax in the stem, Ciarraíoch and Corcaíoch, which have iaxi: and exi: and are not included in Figure 4.38). No instances of <exi> or any other variant, apart from <exi>, were noted. Words in final i: ia and u regularly take <exi>, e.g. tanai > fanexi:; giorria, béilí, céiltí, colbha kolu: > kolexi (the last cited being doubtful in actual performance). Note also the third syllable position typical in iomaire > umarexi.

Figure 4.38 (Vxi), 36S

4.209 Extensions

Table 4.46 presents 36S’s extensional use.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>raxi:/a</th>
<th>axi:/a</th>
<th>traxi:/a</th>
<th>taxi:/a</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>blaois</td>
<td>cis</td>
<td>mairg</td>
<td>draein</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>carraig</td>
<td>stéig &gt; f't eg' r-</td>
<td>craobh</td>
<td>traerl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ainm</td>
<td>spreab</td>
<td>aínn</td>
<td>pian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fréanah</td>
<td>gad &gt; gad-</td>
<td>stóirm</td>
<td>teile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seas &gt; fr(f)</td>
<td>sop &gt; sop-</td>
<td>anam</td>
<td>line</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glaise &gt; glafr-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>meall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>~ glaskani</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tine &gt; t i' i'X-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.210 37J, Janaí Mháirtín Learáí ’ac Dhonncha

<oxɔ>
The variant <oxɔ> occurs along with <anɔ> initially in the elicitation session of Janaí Mháirtín Learáí ’ac Dhonncha (speaker 37J) but these forms are soon dropped for <oɔxi> and <anɔi>, more common in the dialect. Later on in the session, however, <oxɔ> occurs in the polysyllabic stems seas > fœsrœlœ (x3) and coiscéim > kifjm eg oxɔ indicating a weak (lexically motivated or perhaps attributable to the clear vowel in the second syllable) polysyllabic constraint on <oxɔ>.

(Vɔxi):
As can be seen in Figure 4.39, 37J has a high realisation of the (Vɔxi) class. He has practically only one variant: <oxɔi>. There is one token of <oxi> in snáithe > snœhoÉxi (1) snœhœoÉxi (2). The only example of <iExi>, Ciarraíoch > k’iarœxi, is not included in the chart and is taken as an instance of retention of the radical vowel.

Figure 4.39 (Vɔxi), 37J

Nouns attested include common (Vɔxi) members such as:
bonn, banais, iomaíre > umroÉxi; gloine, eala, cogadh, reithe, gránne, féithe, snáithe, srathair > fœroÉxi; fœhræxo; fœhræxo; fœhræxo; fœhræxo. car naolith.

Verbal nouns:
gearradh, scanradh, pósadh, sineadh, seanradh (plural not used in speech 37Jq), bàthadh.

Nouns in -Cɛ not so commonly members of this class are:
culaith > koltoÉxi; masla, tuile > til œxi; baile > baœt œxi;

gaothe > gœhoÉxi: (plural not heard in speech 37Jq): tine > t’œfœt œxi. Note also glai > glœhoÉxi; ciumhais > k’œœxœi; fœmhar > fœœvarœxi (unless the o heard here is attributable to allophonic rounding or backing and raising of /s/ beside r).

Nouns in -V: as a rule take <œxi>:

-í  céili, geansaí > gr’æn’œxi; tanaí,
agent  -í in saothrait, coisí > koœ〇xi (1) koœ (2);
gréasaí > gr’esœxi but preferred gr’esœha;

-ul  colbhæ,
verbal  socræ.
850  Plural of nouns

Agent -í > -í, -óchaí and -íthe; also in cliamhain > klóVirginia, a relatively rare form. Note the combination or confusion of the (Vxíi) and iha endings in the uncertain form:

comrádaí > kumrohádi kumrohádi:

Alternation with <oxi> is relatively infrequent, it occurs in:

*lan* na (given as the probable singular, with comment 'is dóichí') >

laoxi' (1) laoxi' (2-3); scainne > skoxi' axi; scaineadh > skoxt' axi: (1) skoxt' axi: (2-3).

4.211  Extensions

Table 4.47 shows this speaker's high use of the r, t and tr extensions.

Table 4.47 Extensions, 37J

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>naxi</th>
<th>axi:</th>
<th>raxi:</th>
<th>taxi:</th>
<th>troxi:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>anam</td>
<td>tolach</td>
<td>nead &gt; n'áed'raxi</td>
<td>slóinne &gt; -f oc-</td>
<td>giall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aimm</td>
<td>stóirm</td>
<td>scalp &gt; skalp'-</td>
<td>teile &gt; -f oc-</td>
<td>sleán</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>craobh</td>
<td>carraig</td>
<td>leac</td>
<td>culaith &gt; -lo-</td>
<td>meall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>déas</td>
<td>léas &gt; l' esr-</td>
<td>tine &gt; f isf-</td>
<td>aill</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>creig</td>
<td>leac</td>
<td>dráin &gt; dren't-</td>
<td>stail &gt; starl-</td>
<td>speal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta</td>
<td>ta</td>
<td>spáin</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glúin</td>
<td>dán</td>
<td>seas &gt; fæsrulaxa</td>
<td>slat &gt; racháï</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stól</td>
<td>srón</td>
<td>gud</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>seol</td>
<td>srian</td>
<td>lea</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sceal</td>
<td>pian</td>
<td>gró</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gleann</td>
<td>fál</td>
<td>rón</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néal</td>
<td>aonach</td>
<td>díle</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.212  43M, Máirín Brown

(Vxíi):

Speaker 43M’s main variant is <oxi> (4.123, Figure 4.14). She has elat > klohaXi: in contrast with her mother’s klo(h)axi: M.

4.213  43Mp, Maidhcil Píth Teaimín Uí Mháille

(Vxíi)

Maidhcil Píth Teaimín Uí Mháille (43Mp) has a high realisation of (Vxíi) in this class. Of his 33 words queried in this class all are realised as <oxi> apart from 2 instances of axi: in ceárt and easna (others take í, e.g. lata, cófra). His data are displayed in Figure 4.40 for ease of comparison with other speakers. The typical (Vxíi) nouns are members of his class (taking <oxi>):

iodhain > umoxi'; bonn, banats, sine, tanai, colbha, tórramh, leatha, athrú, gortú, creideamh, Corcaíoch, Ciarróch, giorria, sprig neanta, súil ribe.

Note also aimm > æn'amo'oxi' with third syllable position (actually permitted, independently, by Máire, 4.170). Also Bairbre > barb'r oxí without the epen-
thetic vowel (i.e. with synchronic syncope or perhaps influenced by spelling and even English 'Barbara').

Speaker 43Mp has the most productive use of infixed (VÉxÉ) of all speakers in this survey. For the three words in question, barriall, timpiste and bonnbhualadh, see 4.26. These three words all have singular forms with potentially long vowels in second syllable position intradiectally. Other nouns with V: in second syllable position and nouns with -a- in this position do not infix, e.g. 
nóiméad > num’edaxiÉ; snáthaid > snachadaxiÉ; Moinice > Moiniceachai;
tolach > tolaxaÉ.

Speaker 43Mp has the alternation of final unstressed iÉ with EÉr! and of x with Ë; both traits noted most regularly in speaker 34M (4.200) and to a lesser extent (concerning the Ër! realisation) in 27M (4.196). Surface forms as follows occur:
bara > baroxiÉ; tanai > tanoxiÉ; bonn > banoxéÉ; banais > banoxéÉ;
aithinn > æxhoxoÉ.

4.214 Extensions and other plurals

Table 4.48 presents 43Mp’s extensional use.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>raxi:</th>
<th>axi:</th>
<th>traxi:</th>
<th>taxi:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>féd &gt; foÉdÉ</td>
<td>stoirmÉ</td>
<td>scol &gt; skolÉ</td>
<td>dileÉ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spreadÉ</td>
<td>blaoscÉ</td>
<td>giall</td>
<td>taileÉ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glaise &gt; glaÉfrÉ</td>
<td>anamÉ</td>
<td>ginn &gt; g ÉxÉ trÉ</td>
<td>?É</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ainn &gt; æniÉmÉ</td>
<td>carraigÉ</td>
<td>meallÉ</td>
<td>lineÉ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other plurals include:
- Ér: bruacha, soilse, leicne, dréible dr'ibÉaÉ;
- iÉ: iongaiÉ, guaillÉ, fúinÉ, lataiÉ, gumnaiÉ, cÉfrÉi korhiÉ, reithÉ;
- Éa: cuanÉ, stÉsinÉ, seolÉ, spealÉ, aonachÉ;
- ÉaÉ: gruaÉ, thÉ, drÉ;
- ÉiÉ: ÆlÉ;
- Éach > iÉ: ronnachÉ > runiÉ; gliomachÉ > giÉumiÉ.
4.215  51P, Pádraigín Bairéad

\((VxV) \rightarrow <\text{axa}> \sim <\text{axi}>\)

In Pádraigín Bairéad's material (speaker 51P) the variant \(<\text{axa}>\) is conditioned by syllable count; all 5 words with \(<\text{axa}>\) are polysyllabic stems, a further 4 polysyllables occur with \(<\text{axi}>\). There is a striking application of the constraint in alternate repetitions and accommodations in the query session (1–9 = order of occurrence) in:

\(\text{céilí} > \text{k'e'íxa} (1), \text{k'e'íxi} (2) 29N, \text{his mother}, \text{k'e'íixa} (3), \text{k'e'íxì} (4–5), \text{k'e'íisaxa} (6) \text{BóC}, \text{k'e'íisaxa} (7–9), \text{k'e'íis} \text{k'e'íis}.\)

In conversation \(<\text{axa}>\) was observed with polysyllables only, including the borrowing \text{aranj} > \text{ara'ndaxa}.

4.216  \((Vxi)\)

Speaker 51P shows a limited number of \((Vxi)\) class words. His main variant is \(<\text{oxi}>\); in the query session two of his three \(<\text{exi}>\) tokens are echoes of 29N’s responses, and one of his \(<\text{oxi}>\) tokens is an echo of 29N’s \(<\text{exi}>\). As can be seen in Figure 4.41, his \((Vxi)\) class is comparatively speaking greatly diminished and marginal (cf. 4.124).

**Figure 4.41 (Vxi), 51P**

His total number of examples are as follows, \(<\text{iexi}>\) (x1); \(<\text{exi}>\) (x3); \(<\text{oxi}>\) (x5):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{iexi} \sim \text{axi} & : \text{cruinne} \\
\text{exi} & : \text{báthadh} \text{echoed from 29Nq} \\
\text{exi} \sim \text{exi} & : \text{ribe} \text{echoed from 29Nq} \\
\text{oxi} \sim \text{exi} \sim \text{oxi} & : \text{buinne} \\
\text{oxi} & : \text{gloine}, \text{bitse}, \text{ionga} > \text{ipn'oxi} : (x2), \text{ipgn'oxi} : (x1) \\
\text{oxi} \sim \text{axi} & : \text{banais}
\end{align*}
\]

Note his form \text{barriall} \text{bàlaxr} \rightarrow \text{bàlaraxi} : (x3); also his -V: plurals: \text{gréasáí} > \text{gre'asàxì}, \text{tanàí} > \text{tanachàí}, \text{giorrià} > \text{gu'ràxì}.

4.217  Extensions and other plurals

As shown in Table 4.49, 51P has very little -r use, but quite a high number of -t forms. Note also \text{gotha} > \text{gohàxì} : (goitíd \text{BóC}), \text{gof'axì}.
Individual speakers

Table 4.49 Extensions, 51Pq

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>raíx/</th>
<th>aíx/</th>
<th>xáx/</th>
<th>trix/</th>
<th>taxí/</th>
<th>t’axí/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mig sneáíta</td>
<td>mig sneáíta</td>
<td>tolah</td>
<td>scoil</td>
<td>ailí</td>
<td>léine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leac</td>
<td>carraig</td>
<td>caladh</td>
<td>sail</td>
<td>sáilt-</td>
<td>taillé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spread</td>
<td>anam</td>
<td>gad</td>
<td>ginn</td>
<td>cuireadh</td>
<td>cuireadh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scalp ska’lp-</td>
<td>sAÉlt-</td>
<td></td>
<td>draein</td>
<td>díle</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>slat</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>telé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>giall</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other plurals

Speaker 51P has a plural variant of teach used by very few others. His forms are:

\[
teach > \text{tíhaxi} \quad \text{(query and conversation)}, \quad \text{tílawi} \quad \text{(conversation)}, \quad \text{tífuxi} \quad \text{(query)}.
\]

The last form was noted in query only and occurred following tíhaxi: from another speaker.

His high use of -(e)acháí has been demonstrated in Table 4.49. Speaker 51Pq has, further, relatively high -t’-a use, i.e. in ró > róite and tlú > tlúit’-a ~ tlúaní. His form from conversation is striking: pól (‘pole’) > poit’-a. This apparently strong use of -t’-a is of relevance for the spread of -t’-a in some younger speakers, e.g. 75Cq (4.226). In response to sneá 51Pq offered with some doubt fSûnt’-a; also doubtful was sile > fil’ha. Note his plural of (punann > punán > punónxí). Finally, note his gabha gau > g’áivx’-a [sic] (x2) both singular and plural articulated without any hesitation.

4.218 64M, Marcas Sheáinín Sheáin Mhicil Ó Gaora

Marcas Sheáinín Sheáin Mhicil Ó Gaora (speaker 64M) is the youngest speaker I have noted in conversation with frequent use of the (Vxí) class and I therefore recorded a plural query session with him. The results of 64Mq do indeed show extensive (Vxí) tokens, more so than many speakers much older than him, e.g. 12J, 19P, 23B. As illustrated in Figure 4.42, 64M has noteworthy use also with regard to his predominant variant, which is overwhelmingly <axí> (‘acháí’), with <uxí> (‘úacháí’) and <exí> occurring much less commonly and <uxí> least often. 64M has the typical word membership and syllable condition in this class. As for the palatal constraint the distribution is so skewed towards <axí> that not enough tokens of the other variants are produced to show any conditioning. 64Mq is quite consistent in his use in that only a few words show variation between variants of (Vxí) or between (Vxí) and axí. The few nouns that follow the (Vxí) class environment but which take axí: include bearna which is not in this class for many speakers.

---

1 tiut’a tiut’axí: tiut’axí.
2 kurt’axí: kír’axí.
3 Also díle, echoing 20Pá and 29N.
Some of his examples are listed here:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Environment</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Word</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-C'V</td>
<td>gine &gt;</td>
<td>g'm'nxìí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ribe &gt;</td>
<td>rib'axìí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bitse &gt;</td>
<td>b'ìf'axìí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>carn aoiligh &gt;</td>
<td>kòr niìòxìí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-C'V</td>
<td>tòrramh &gt;</td>
<td>torhaxìí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tráthnóina &gt;</td>
<td>tròmunhaxìí (21)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ syncope</td>
<td>ionaire &gt;</td>
<td>umraxìí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>final -C</td>
<td>typial</td>
<td>bunaxìí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>atypical</td>
<td>g'm'nxìí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>scliní &gt;</td>
<td>skliq'axìí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n'Vxìí:</td>
<td>iòna &gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>VN -ádhlmh</td>
<td>pòsaxìí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gearradh &gt;</td>
<td>g'æròxìí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>VN -í</td>
<td>aòrhaxìí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>leasí &gt;</td>
<td>l'òesaxìí</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Alternants

| axìí: uxií: | snáithe |
| axìí: axiií: | banais |

It is pertinent to note here that 64M has some reduction and centralisation of un-stressed long vowels outside the (Vxìí) class, e.g. barriall bàler (almost bàler) > báleraxìí, with more careful articulation singular bàlìar. So also Ciarraioch k'íarux > k'íaruxìí. He also has reduced personal pronoun forms (6.18 ff.).

4.219 Extensions and other plurals

The high use of the tr extension is the most striking feature of 64M’s extension patterning, set out in Table 4.50 (cf. 4.94, Figure 4.1).
Individual speakers 855

Table 4.50 Extensions, 64M

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ta</th>
<th>aXi:</th>
<th>rAXi:</th>
<th>trAXi:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gleann</td>
<td>blaosc</td>
<td>nead</td>
<td>scoil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pian</td>
<td>carratgar</td>
<td>tead</td>
<td>giall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cuan</td>
<td>al</td>
<td>skalp &gt; skalp-</td>
<td>scoileadh &gt; skol-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>anam</td>
<td>slám</td>
<td>culaith</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>spreab</td>
<td>plump</td>
<td>caladh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>lota</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

f a

gro

crol

tra

dile

seol

fi:

rása

Other plurals
Agent í in saothráí singular = plural.
droim > dramaxi: (x2 with certainty); Bairbre barriabra > barriabaxi:; margadh > marraxi:; crí krohi > krohi:; rócan ruakam > ruakams; teach > tfiowí (1), tfiúwi (2).

4.220 66N, Nóra Janaí Clogherty

Variants of (Vxì:) were not produced by 66Nq in a short questionnaire on this class, nor has it been heard from her conversation. The nouns sine, gloine, tórramh, glaise, gine all take <axi>. She claimed, in fact, not to use any (Vxì:) variant.

4.221 71D, Dónall Pheait Chóil Ó Uaithnín

(Vxì):
There is limited use of (Vxì) variants in Dónall Pheait Chóil Ó Uaithnín’s material (speaker 71D); <oxì> would seem to be more common in nonpalatal position, (Vxì) in palatal position, but the amount of examples are too small for any definite conclusions. As illustrated in Figure 4.43, <uxì: is 71D’s main variant, realised consistently as oxì oxì:. The only example of <uxì:> occurs in retention of -ú in gortú > gortuxì:.

1 baľaxì (1).
Other plurals

The ending -a shows no significant spread in comparison with some other speakers of his age (e.g. baile > baít a; sínéal > sínt a; clainhe > klaéite a). The extension r occurs in fód > foír; glaise > glair; t in culaithe > kaltaithe.

Note riúcan singular rucúin (?) > rók-arr a; drioball > dr’ub-l’a; banais > ba’neta; craobh > krífa ? (1) kríva (2–3). Also tobar > tobar’; -annai in piocadh, ginn.

4.222 73P, Pádraig Thaidhg Ó Maoil Chiaráin

(Vxi) → <a> <a>

Pádraig Thaidhg Ó Maoil Chiaráin (speaker 73P) is the youngest person in my survey with a large proportion of <a> and <an>. The realisation <an> is probably a ‘genuinely’ intradilectal form for him although when queried about it he was unsure. It occurs at least seven times in a query session (73Pq). The variant <a> has been heard in his conversation with cohorts (where no-one seemed to take notice of his use of <a>), e.g. monosyllabic méar in the following exchange with his sister:

- ... véd ... na méaracha t’e, ... da v’éaracha 73P
  ... bhi ... na méaracha te (predicative adjective), ... do mhéarachasa
- ... méaracha 72C ... méarachaid
- ... méarachaid. 73P ... méarachaid.

His <a> use is quantitively conditioned by the polysyllabic constraint; 14% (11 out of 79) of monosyllables in 73Pq have <a>, whereas 45% (7 out of 16) of polysyllables have <a>. His usage is set out for the sake of comparison with older speakers in 4.112, Figure 4.8. Note his tokens of <í> below.

(Vxi) is a very frequent variable in 73Pq. It occurs not only in many polysyllables which have optional -í ~ -achaid intradilectally, but also in environments where it is not heard from older speakers:

- replacing -ale in ganbhain > gavan’axi:; pèist > péisteacha;
- replacing -i in tairne > tairnearchaid; máistreás > máistreásachaid;
- replacing -C plural in robar > robarachaid, so also traictar, portán, ardán;
- optionally alternating with preferred í in agent nouns in -éara: saidchléara > saikléerachaid: feilméara > feilm’erachaid:.

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Individual speakers 857

Speaker 69S, brother of 73P, has similarly frequent axi:, e.g. amhrán, traictar, saidhcléara, and portán (also plural portáin), as well as tiúraist (all noted with axi: in 69S’s conversation). See also -teacháí in 73P’s extensions below (4.224).

4.223 (V:xi:)

Speaker 73P’s (V:xi:) class has only a small set of words in -V or -h:
<iExE> in cruinne > krín’iExa
<exi:> in glaí > ghlohexi:
<iuxi:> in iomaire > umarxi umaroxi; sine; gloine; ionga > ungoxi ungoxi
<uuxi:> in sine > fín’uxi.

Figure 4.44 (V:xi:), 73P

In terms of environment, the back variants follow the palatal constraint in only three out of five instances. One can contrast his diminished (V:xi:) membership seen in Figure 4.44 with the large number of <axi:> and <axa> he produced and with the larger class of most older speakers. Words in final -i take <iExE> in geansaí > g!ÍònsiExE and <iExa> in béilí > b’ed’ixa; tanaí > tanixa; all three can be taken as examples of -iÉExEþþ.

4.224 Extensions and other plurals

There is little evidence of the r extension, e.g. spreab > spreabacháí. The t extension, on the other hand, is very frequent in the form t`axi: in intradilectally common béilí > béalteacháí; filleadh > f`it`axi:; line > linteacháí; tine > tinteacháí; tuile > tuilteachá; but also in forms heard from 73Pq only in cuireadh > kurt`axi: kir`axi:; baill > bát`axi:; ola > of`axi:; rón > rúnt`axi: also produced but doubted for ruainnín which has preferred plural in the diminutive only, i.e. ruainní:.

Other plurals:
múr > múrannaí (as his sister 72C); srón > srónt`ó.

4.225 74N, Nóirín Mhaidhcil Uí Cheannabháin

Nóirín Mhaidhcil Mháire an Ghabha Ní Cheannabháin (speaker 74Nq), sister of Céitíona (speaker 75C) and cousin of Neain (76N) below, shows great change from the traditional dialect. Spread of t`ó in scáile > skéit`ó; stail > stór`ó; speal > sp`éit`ó sp`éit`ó. Also spread of t`ó droim > dramt`ó. (V:xi:) is
Plural of nouns

retained as <oÉxiÉ> in at least one word iomaire > umroÉxiÉ. Note also rócan > roÉk-n !E and iÉ in slat > slaÉtiÉþþ.

4.226 75C, Caitríona Mhaidhcil Uí Cheannabháin

Caitríona Mhaidhcil Mháire an Ghabha Ní Cheannabháin (speaker 75C) has less aberrant forms than 76N, but much change of classes is evident, as well as spread in use of some endings. The variable (Vxii) is lost completely in her material, (Vxii) words generally taking axii: but also anii: and iÉ. The ending t'Éa shows some increase. Depletion in vocabulary is evident in her not recognising the words fréamh, ginn, ál and cliamhain. Like many young speakers the commonest of words can cause uncertainty, e.g. clai > klaian > klaí > klaíhaxi. As the last example shows, 76N believed but was unable to tell with certainty whether she genuinely uses ania and axa in conversation. Phonetically she also has frequent χ for ch but not as frequently as 76N. Speaker 36N, who is 76N's mother, has similar nontraditional clai > klaí > klaîon36Nq, both of which are unusual for her generation.

Plurals in t'Éa
There is wider use of -t'Éa in comparison with traditional speakers:

- t'Éa retained in cuan, seol, stóil, gleann, srian;
- other traditional t extension ending replaced in speal > spre É t'Éa;
- not common in traditional cliabh > kléxt'Éa;
- not traditional in gabháil > golÉt'Éa golÉani;
- clai; scalep > skælp'Éa skælp ÉanÉ;
- uncertain production in untraditional droim > drimest'Éa ? dramÉi;
- slinn > Él'ÉinÉt'Éa?

4.227 Extensions and other plurals; -iÉha , -C'

As presented in Table 4.51, speaker 75C shows high proportional use of both r and tr extensions, with some spread in their use.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>raxi:</th>
<th>axi:</th>
<th>traxi:</th>
<th>traxi:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tÉad</td>
<td>carraig</td>
<td>giail</td>
<td>aill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leac</td>
<td>tolach</td>
<td>meall</td>
<td>stóil stóla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nead</td>
<td>straînc ~ -anna</td>
<td>féile</td>
<td>garla &gt; galtraxi:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>splanc</td>
<td></td>
<td>blaoasc</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naxi:</td>
<td></td>
<td>traÉin &gt; tren'Étr-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anam</td>
<td></td>
<td>draÉin &gt; dren'Étr-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aimh</td>
<td></td>
<td>léine fÉn'Éa &gt; fÉstr'É-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The ending iÉha is used with agent nouns in -iÉ: ceannai, grÉasaí, also in geansaí and ranaí (rarely used with iÉha by traditional speakers), also in the uncertain creideamh > krÉdÉiÉha. Palatalisation (-C') in dealg > dÉfÉag' and in the uncertain form slat > slaÉt'. Note leiceann > lÉekÉa.
4.228 76N, Neain Neain Jó Dic Ní Cheannabháin

Neain Neain Jó Dic Ní Cheannabháin (76N) displays quite major changes in her plural forms from the traditional dialect. Some forms are probably due to the direct elicitation format but the overall view of depletion and renovation is nonetheless clearly evident. Variants of (V:ã) are not found. Two endings, t'ã and iã, have spread dramatically. Many plurals are not known and she is uncertain of many others. Influence from written forms is evident in some lexemes, e.g. garla > galar'; Nollaig nolag > nolag âgh'. She has frequent X realisation of ch.

**Plurals in t'ã ta**

The two endings t'ã and ta, the palatal variant in particular, have wide application at variance with traditional speech (? = speaker uncertain of plural form, ?? = speaker very uncertain):

- t'ã traditional in pian, néal, but not very common in traditional dialect in gliall, meall.
- ta traditional in gró > groot a; tine > tiñt a; srón, rón;
  traditional ta replaced by t'ã in sleán > júnt a; seol > jont a; aonach > jint a;
  t'ã replaces other traditional t extension endings in lái > lait a; scoil > skool t a; slin > júnt a;
  speal > sp'æl-t' a; stail > jact a;
  aberrant (from the standpoint of traditional speech) in aithinn > aheãt a;
  clai, crauch; fáithne > fánt a; gahain (gaunt' interrogator) > gaunts a; scaulp > skælp a; sop > sop t a sept a;
  uncertain production in traditional tulf > tult a;
  uncertain production in innovative fóid > fóid-t' a; sian > jint a; tórramh > tort a (?).

With 76N's clai > kliat a in query we can compare her brother's conversation:

træsna na glainti ... na kloha Xi 79Jg trasna na gclatontai ... na clothachai.

4.229 Plurals in -iã; Other plurals

Plural ending iã is used with agent nouns in -i: scláchai, gréasáí, also in geansaí (rarely actually used with iã by traditional speakers). In new contexts, however, iã also occurs:

obair > aibr'ìã; Peaidí, pósadh, global > g'ublíã; combairle; also in uncertainly produced freamh > pf'ëiãh (??); gine, iomaire > umriãh, stoirm, aonach > intiãh; magairle > magadiãh.

Other plurals

coismeig > kof'me'gãrih; easna > æsknãxi; teach > t'ãh; suilleil > si'l'ęãrih. Note spig neanta > sp'í'x'ãntogaxh'. Also ruacan > roknãh.

Plurals of the following words are not known: cuisle, tobar, culaithe, lanna (the speaker claims that scálaí is her corresponding word, clearly a loan translation).

4.230 Other younger people's plurals

Speaker 78U has bëil > bëilthe, iasc > mórán iaisc [sic]. Speaker 86Nq clai > claite (?), clatocaih. In her recorded conversation, speaker 78Rb used ballat for
Plural of nouns

what are referred to in traditional dialect as) *clothachá*í (plural of *clái*). This seems to be one solution to the ‘problem’ of traditional *clothachá*í (a rather opaque form which resembles plural *clocháit* ‘stones’, the usual building material for *clothachá*í ‘fences’ in Conamara). Speaker 66N has *clái > klaíni* (in conversation). Cp. *clái 75C* and her mother 36N, 76N and her brother 79Jg, and 86N above; also 52Jq (4.77). Speaker 79S has notable innovation in the use of -i: *bóthar > bothair*, *cochair > oxair* i., as well as *snáthaid > snáthad* i (79S all).

The rise in the use of -t e-te in younger speakers is astonishing (4.215, 4.225 ff.). Highly common endings -annaí and -achaí, which are traditional productive endings with borrowings, in contrast with unproductive -te, would be expected to outst all or most of the other plural allomorphs in a simplification or revamping of plural formation. There is of course a tendency to expand the range of -annaí and -achaí, e.g. -achaí in leabhar > l’auarháxi from speaker 69S and instances from his brother 73P (4.222). The only reason for the expansion of -t e that I can suggest is that -t e is phonetically the closest native analogue to English plural ‘s’. Both -t e and ‘s’ are, wholly or partly, alveolar, the alveo-palatal t having a small degree of friction in its release therefore resembles ‘s’ in both place and manner of articulation. Young speakers, bilingual from a young age, may be showing morphological integration here. It is, however, striking that the oldest speaker I have noticed with use of ‘young people’s’ -t e, i.e. speaker 51P (4.215), has in fact limited competence in English. He is nonetheless commonly exposed to English (borrowings) with plural ‘s’. In fact he has an innovative -t e plural with ‘pole’, i.e. *pod-t a 51P* (which is more traditionally *pods, podáin*). Cp. *stíanta, plump tá* 52Jq (4.41)

### 4.231 Nouns with more than one plural

Nouns with more than one plural are listed in this section. Alternants such as *áno / aní* and *axa / axi*, and many simplex *á / i* are not included in this list. Some nouns which have been noted with only one plural form are also included here in order to give a more complete listing of plural nouns for the dialect. Only very few of those forms which are doubtful are presented here, such forms are generally discussed under the individual speakers. Forms heard in query from speakers born after 1970, which are distinctively untraditional, are not included. Conventional spellings of some lexemes are given in parenthesis; the variable (*Vxi*) is used to denote any of the variants <oxi>, <uxi>, <uxi>, etc.:

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<th>Plural</th>
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<td>abhaíann</td>
<td>auñ</td>
<td>aivñ</td>
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<td>acláinn</td>
<td>axañ</td>
<td>axañ</td>
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<tr>
<td>afrac (ambarc)</td>
<td>afrak</td>
<td>axañ</td>
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<td>agaitt</td>
<td>agaít</td>
<td>axñit</td>
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<td>aice</td>
<td>akñ</td>
<td>axñit</td>
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<tr>
<td>aicearra</td>
<td>akñago</td>
<td>axñi</td>
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</table>

1 For more feminine nouns in -óg, see 4.87; masculine words in -ach, see p. 738 Table 4.5, p. 789 Table 4.19 and p. 793 Table 4.21; for more personal nouns in -i, see p. 723, Table 4.2. Cf. ‘Irregular Plurals’ (4.74). For verbal nouns, see p. 817 Table 4.31, p. 819 Table 4.33. For -eára > -eáraí, etc., see 73P (4.222). For phrasal and double-stress nouns, see 4.32 ff. For some plurals permitted by Máire, see 4.168, Table 4.29.

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lexeme</th>
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<th>Plural</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Afreann</td>
<td>afer 'an</td>
<td>afer' axi, afer' anaxi:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aighre</td>
<td>air 'a</td>
<td>-i: S, -axi: S, -Vxi:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aill</td>
<td>ox'</td>
<td>olintxi: M, olintxi: ailltreachai 87ST1, olint' axi: Mperl</td>
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<tr>
<td>ainsir</td>
<td>amorf'</td>
<td>-axi: 18J</td>
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<tr>
<td>ainm</td>
<td>an' am'</td>
<td>-m' axi., -mn' axi., -mr' axi., -m'oxi., amn' oxaxa 29Cq, amn' oxaxi: 36Pq</td>
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<td>angal</td>
<td>anggal, anggal'i, angal'</td>
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<td>aisir</td>
<td>ait' or'</td>
<td>-axi., e.g. 01C6220</td>
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<td>ox</td>
<td>ox' axi., ox' roxi., ox't axi: 01PDO, 13JdLC</td>
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<td>aithe</td>
<td>oxh</td>
<td>oxhaxi, oxhVxi:</td>
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<td>altinn(e)</td>
<td>altan altan' a</td>
<td>altan' axi: 32J</td>
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<tr>
<td>al</td>
<td>od</td>
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<td>am</td>
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<td>orun</td>
<td>-'i regularly, -'axi: S (type of slip of the tongue), -oxi: 69S, 86R (in 1993, aged 7)</td>
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<td>angkord (or'-rd')</td>
<td>angkord' axi 894Cs</td>
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<td>antar antar' a</td>
<td>antar' axi 18J</td>
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<td>antan' axi: 32J</td>
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<td>iw</td>
<td>iw' and iwa 46.471, aobhai</td>
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<td>in' a</td>
<td>in' axi., in Vxi., ixt a</td>
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<td>aonach</td>
<td>inax</td>
<td>inaxi, insto, inti, inti: 52J</td>
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<td>ard</td>
<td>ord</td>
<td>aird' 66N, aird' ani: 66N, 6rd' ani: 69S, 6rdaxi: 79M1, cp. place-name an ard' An Aird (Thoir / Thiar) &gt; na hAird' aní: Na hAirdheann</td>
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<td>arha</td>
<td>arhi: arhaxi, arhVxi: arVxi:</td>
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<td>arhia, arhuic, arhaxi: arhVxi:</td>
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<td>askali</td>
<td>askali: askalaxi: M, askalaxi: M, askal' axi, asalaxi:</td>
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<td>ahorgan</td>
<td>ahorgan axi: arh' axi:</td>
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<td>baka, baki:, bakaxi:</td>
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<td>baksonli:</td>
<td>baksalaxi, baksulaxi:</td>
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<td>baft'</td>
<td>baft' a, baft' axi: baftVxi:</td>
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<td>barisl bair</td>
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<td>bastard</td>
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### Plural of nouns

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<td>b'án</td>
<td>mrec: b'ánaxí:</td>
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<tr>
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<td>b'órna</td>
<td>-i, -axi, -Vxi:</td>
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<td>belf: iaxi: belf: Vxi: belf: ixi: 12Jq, b'ef: t 25Mq, b'ef: iha 25Mq, b're: t tr: axi: 30Pq, b'ef: traxi: 30Pq</td>
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<td>ar bhocht na sráide ABg4.199, boichte Dé</td>
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<td>br'ak</td>
<td>-aní: 19P 'fish', br' i:</td>
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<td>br'i: ã</td>
<td>br'i: M, br'i: axi: br'i: Vxi:</td>
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<td>bro</td>
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<td>bruaxa M, bruaxi, bruaxani: M, bruaxit’ P, 29C</td>
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<td>bruth</td>
<td>bru</td>
<td>-hani: Brutha móra Clad6</td>
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<td>bua</td>
<td>na buaxa (MP’04B na buacha,</td>
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<td>bua (traditional bua)</td>
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<td>-hana 73Pq, buana 73Pq</td>
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<td>bualtrax</td>
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<td>buine</td>
<td>-i: -axi: -Vxi:</td>
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<td>bulk</td>
<td>bulk’ Mq, bulkní: Sq</td>
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<td>bun</td>
<td>-ani: bunexi 19B (Doire an Locháin)</td>
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<td>kaul’</td>
<td>-ani: kauloxi: kaultraxi: 36Mq</td>
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<td>kabal</td>
<td>-i: SM -s S</td>
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<td>kal’</td>
<td>ga xa leab br: a 889Pn dhe chaillocha breá, cf. gearrchaile</td>
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<td>kigó</td>
<td>kigidi: kigadaxi: kig’adi: 32J, kigodi: 32J</td>
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<td>kír’i: kír’i:</td>
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<td>kapol</td>
<td>kapat’, kapl’i: kapi’i: kapi’i:</td>
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<td>karo</td>
<td>karo: i: Mq, -Vxi:</td>
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<td>karad’</td>
<td>le hanam a gcaradait gaoil RBÉ2, lena chéad dá ... ABg4.103, càirde gaoil Mq, càirde, caraidhealach (gaoil) 21Ptq, karexi: 30Pq</td>
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<td>k’ed: Sq, k’eta: k’edraxi: Sq, x’ed’raxi: 01J (9, 109)</td>
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<td>k’iñ: k’ana</td>
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<td>ceannaghaidh</td>
<td>k’ani</td>
<td>k’ani: 11C, k’aniha S, k’anVxi:</td>
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<td>ceannai</td>
<td>k’ani</td>
<td>k’ani: k’an: k’aniha: k’anVxi:</td>
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<td>ceannochall</td>
<td>k’en’oxoxa’</td>
<td>-ill 875T1, singular = plural k’oxoxa’ 11Ct</td>
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<tr>
<td>ceannfoirt [sic]</td>
<td>k’unfirt</td>
<td>k’unfirt’ M, k’uunfirt’axi: S (also Mperm), cinn-phoir Shasas 894C9 (by local poet Seán ‘a Guaírím)</td>
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<tr>
<td>ceantar</td>
<td>k’auntar</td>
<td>-r’ -axi: -axi: k antraxi:</td>
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<td>ceirta</td>
<td>k’uirta</td>
<td>-ri’i M, -rioxi, -rtVxi, -rtonaxi: 36Pq</td>
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<td>ceithreacht</td>
<td>k’araxa</td>
<td>k’araxodi: k’araxi: 32J, k’aharoxi:</td>
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<td>céil</td>
<td>ke’f’i</td>
<td>ke’f’axi: ke’f’axi: ke’f’axi: ke’f’axi: k’ef’axi: k’ef’axi: k’ef’axi: k’ef’axi:</td>
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<td>ke’orfl’i’</td>
<td>-i: -axi: -axi: 32J</td>
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<td>Ciarratagach</td>
<td>k’iarax</td>
<td>-ri: -ri: -ri: -ri: -ri: -ri: -ri: -ri: Mq, -ri: Mq</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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### Plural of nouns

**Lexeme** | **Singular** | **Plural**
--- | --- | ---
coine | k'ín'ə | k'ín'ə, k'ín'əxi, k'ín'Vəxi, k'ín'əxi: 20Myq, k'ín'əxi:; k'ín'əxi:

cis | k'iʃ | -ani: generally, k'iʃəxi: 12Jq, k'iʃəxi: 36Sq

ciseog | k'iʃəg | -i: generally, -əxi: 13Jdt

ciumhais | k'uf | -ani:, -əxi: 37Jq

cladhaire | klair ə | -i, klair'əxi: P, cladhairéocháí

clai | kla | kloha, kliha: 36Pq, klaia: 25Mnq, klaia: 60M, klaia: 01P, klaia: 76Nq, klaia: 79Jg

claimhe (claintmh) klav ə | klav'i, klav't, klav't'i, klav Vəxi, cp. claithe 852S (indicating klaʃ'ə)

claise cf. glaise | klafə | klaskaní: 20A

clann | klən | clanna Gaël, klana – klana bw présente en 150 clanna Banatse, nontraditional ga l'or klən'ə 78B go leor cloine 'many families'

clanna | klənə | klana: S

clár | klər | klær, klurarxi, klurə, klurha. Note na clárathá 869P2 (perhaps a unique example in RBÉ of weakening of intervocalic -ch-, or a mixed plural from clárachá – clártha)

cleas | kləs | klif, klac'əni: M, P, klif'əni: S (4.80), cleasa láth, cleis

cleite | klətə | klif t, klif'əxi, klif'əxi: 60Mq

cleith | klət | klif oxaxi, M, klif'eni: M, klif'haná: klif'ená, klif'ex'wəi, sg klif'ənhə 73Pq

cliabh | klifəv | klif ev, klif'əf t ə 04Fq (unsure), klif'ev t ə 20Aq, 25Mnq, klif'ev t'axi: 64Mq, klif'əvá, klif'ivánì: 45B, 60Mq

cliamhain | klif'əvənə | klif'ivónə, klif'av'ıhα, klif'avni: SM, klavoxi: S, cleamhachá 864MABg, chliamhanachá 866ESc

cloch | kləks | klox, kloxi, kloxi: P

cloigean | kleg'ən | kleg'əni: generally, including 899ESemr, also cloicht; cármáin ga geloiginn (run)Semr90, 155; Sc74.18

cluaid | kləd' | -ani: S, -əxa -ani: ə 73Pq

cnaimh | kruv' | kruvə, kruvi: kruvəni:

cneadh | krət'd | -ani: 21Pq, -iʃ (VN), krət'ə 12Jq

cneadh (cneá) | kr'i | creicheacha 852S (in note in ll.129), kr'ıhaxi: kr'ëhaxi: ... kr'əhaxi: (Smbb)04B, cp. 'morfəhaxi: (Smbb)04B mórcheicheachá

~ lórga(n) kru lórga 36P > kru: lórgan 36Pq

cno (cnó) | kru | knó' > krunhán 46.649; krunh: krunh:; also sg krunh 43Mp > krunh: 43Mp, sg (doubtful for 34Mq) kuná' > kruna: / kunar' 34Mq

cot(i)s | koʃ ~ koʃ | kosə, kosə: kosani: [?] M 'handles'
coch | kox (~ ko S) | koxəni: P, kohəni: S

cogadh | ko'ʃə | ko'ʃəxi, ko'ʃəxi: 01J, ko'ʃəVəxi:

coilceach | kol ox | kol 'ə, kol 'i: kol axi:
coirb | kor ab' | kor ab' axi: kor ab'oxi:
coirdeal | kauv'el | ʃ, -ŋ 892MARN, -iŋ 892MARN

coisí | koʃi | koʃi: koʃi: koʃi: koʃi'kə, koʃi: koʃi'vəxi: koʃi'əxi:
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<td>kiún' eg'</td>
<td>-a, -á, -n aí</td>
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<td>coláiste</td>
<td>kulef't a</td>
<td>-í; most often, -á aí: S, 43M</td>
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<tr>
<td>colbha</td>
<td>kolu:</td>
<td>kolu:, kolvxi:, koli: S, kolaxi: 45B, kolu&quot;aí: 12Jq, kolaxi: 52Jq, koli:a, kolog: 01P</td>
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<td>comhairle</td>
<td>kurn': a</td>
<td>kurn.'í, kurn.'aí, kurn.'Vxi:</td>
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<td>comharsa</td>
<td>kurt' a</td>
<td>kurt'an 04B, S kurt'an S, kurt'í 71D</td>
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<td>comhla</td>
<td>kuilh</td>
<td>-li:, -laxi:, -lVxi:, cíthannai 894C, lhaní: M, -lí: 12Jq, comhlaínneachat 26Pcq</td>
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<td>comhluadar</td>
<td>kuilodar</td>
<td>kuilodar' 18J, kuilodaraxi: 07C</td>
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<td>comhrá</td>
<td>kore:</td>
<td>kore: Mq, korrVxi:, korr'tí ]; korr't a 25Mq, korr't aí 60Mq (cp. VN comhráit 64M)</td>
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<td>compás</td>
<td>kumpas</td>
<td>-aí: 01J, kumpas' 01C626</td>
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<td>comraidal</td>
<td>kumradí:</td>
<td>kumradí:, kumradí:a, kumradaxi:</td>
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<td>condae</td>
<td>kunde:</td>
<td>kundeaxi:, kundaxi:, kundeit:, -éhi:, na cùndaidhe 869P, -ha 73Pq</td>
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<td>confairt</td>
<td>kunfart'</td>
<td>sg = pl, -aí: SM</td>
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<td>conra (conra)</td>
<td>kunra</td>
<td>kunri:, kunrxi:, kunrxvi:</td>
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<td>cor</td>
<td>kor</td>
<td>cora FFG.6, -aí: S, -áni: 56B</td>
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<td>kor'</td>
<td>-í: SM, -aí: S, koraxí:, koran' 46 s.v., caranach Clad123</td>
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<td>corc</td>
<td>kork</td>
<td>kork' 01J and 21Pt (as buoys), korki: 06C [x2]</td>
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<td>(as buoys), korkani: M (in bottles)</td>
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<td>Corcaíoch</td>
<td>korkaxi:</td>
<td>korkaxi:, korkaxi:Vxi:</td>
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<td>coróin</td>
<td>krun'</td>
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<td>costas</td>
<td>kostas</td>
<td>kostasaxi: S, kostaí: Sq</td>
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<td>krair</td>
<td>krairaxi:, krairaxi:</td>
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<td>crann</td>
<td>krán</td>
<td>kriáí', kriáí'tí (? kriáí'tí: S, cf. 4.77)</td>
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<td>craobh</td>
<td>kriv</td>
<td>-vxi:, -vraxi:, -váni: Mq</td>
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<td>créadair</td>
<td>kr' edur</td>
<td>-r', vocative -r' aí: 10B, -r'rí: SM</td>
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<td>creideamh</td>
<td>kr' ed'a</td>
<td>-í:, -aí:, Vxí:, -áni: Mq</td>
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<td>kr' eg'</td>
<td>-áni:, -aí:, kr' aga</td>
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<td>criathrach</td>
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<td>kr' iarha, kr' iarhí, kr' iarhaxi:</td>
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<td>Cristaí</td>
<td>kr' istí</td>
<td>kr' istí'tí: 04B</td>
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<td>cró</td>
<td>kro:</td>
<td>krof a (snáithide) Mq, kroaíi: (láí, etc.) S</td>
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<tr>
<td>croí</td>
<td>kri:</td>
<td>-áni:, -áni:, -iha:, -íta:, -ítaí:, -íhaí 73Pq</td>
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<td>krim'ask</td>
<td>krim'afk M, krim'askxi:, kruim'asaxi:, Mq, kruim'afk'Mq</td>
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<tr>
<td>crú</td>
<td>kru:</td>
<td>Mp 57, 45B, kriha 46.181, kriha 26P, criúthi [x2] FFG s.v. corcalann 2, kreghi: Mp 57, kroíi: kruia 892M2130, criúthe [x1] 892MARN, krihi: 12Jq, krihiha 892M, 05Mq, kri't 04F, 12Jq; sg kroha &gt; krohi: 64Mq</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| crúib | krub' | kruba, krub'áni:, kruibáni: |
| crúinne | kris' a | kris'axi:, kris'Vxi:, kriáí't aí: 52Jq |
| cruinniú | kris' u: | kriáí'ha, kriáí'i: Mq, kriáí'axi:, kriáí'Vxi: |
| cú | ku: | ku'í, kuáni: (e.g. 60Mq), kuáni: S, kuáí a Mq, kuáchí: 60Mq, kuáchí / kúi 896PZCP, kín'896PZCP, kín' Mcq ... gadhair 869P3 |

1 See discussion above (4.147) dealing with 869P.
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<td>cuan</td>
<td>kun</td>
<td>kunta, kunnti, kuxť a, kuntaxi: 60Mq</td>
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<td>cuid</td>
<td>kid'</td>
<td>kid' ani: S, codanna 894C2</td>
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<td>cult</td>
<td>kut'</td>
<td>-axi: M, -r'axi: M, -ani: M</td>
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<td>cutreadh</td>
<td>kir' a</td>
<td>-i, -axi, kir' Vxii, kirt' axi:</td>
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<td>d'ína:, d'ínaVxii:, d'íntaxi: Mq, d'ínta Mq, d'inti: Mq</td>
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<td>'d aeradad'</td>
<td>'d aeradagdid 03V, 'd aeradagdid' 21Ptq, 27Mdperm, 'd aer did 27Mdq</td>
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<td>d'esaxi: Mperm, 60Mq, d'esraxi:, d'esfraxi: M, d'esraxa d'es'axi d'esfraxi 894Cs, d'esfraxi: 35Eq. cp. déasa (in gen pl) 894C</td>
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<td>deitreadh</td>
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<td>d'er' axi: S, d'er'uxi: S</td>
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<td>d'ora, d'orxi, d'orhi, d'oraxi, d'orVxii, d'orVxii:</td>
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<td>d'íax', d'íax' i, d'íax' axi:, d'íax' Vxii, d'íax' i: fuvar' 25Mq díli fómhair, d'íax' axi:, d'íax' axi: 60Mq, d'i'd axi: 60Mq</td>
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<td>dinnéar</td>
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<td>-r' 11ClArn, -axi: S, 60Mq</td>
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<td>d'ié'tsx</td>
<td>-i, -i'hxoxi: M</td>
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<td>d'io'</td>
<td>diogannaí (but the plural is to be avoided) 21Ptq</td>
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<td>dlaoi</td>
<td>dli</td>
<td>dli: 25M, dli: 894C</td>
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<td>d'it' a SM, d'ivani: S</td>
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<td>doxtur</td>
<td>doxtur: 06C, M, 21Pt</td>
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<td>doigh</td>
<td>do'</td>
<td>doxi:, dohoxi:, dehoxi:, dahoxi:, dohoxi:, dehoxi:, dehexi:, dobuxi:</td>
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<td>dörse (interj)</td>
<td>dorfa</td>
<td>-axi: M</td>
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<td>Dombhach</td>
<td>dunax</td>
<td>dunax:, dunaxi:, dunax</td>
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<td>doras</td>
<td>doras'</td>
<td>doras' Mq, dorasani: in: a doras fin' xa hard f e dorasani: el a 56N, (nil) an doras sin chomh hard le dorasannaí eile</td>
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<td>dorna</td>
<td>daurna</td>
<td>daurn i: M, daurni:, daurnoxi: 56Bq</td>
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<td>dornán</td>
<td>duáin</td>
<td>-n' generally (-axi: M, but M⊥perm)</td>
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<td>dorá</td>
<td>du: dru</td>
<td>-uf, doranta 36Mq, druif 46.1116, doruf 896P, dir i' 27Mq, doránti, dorái, druái, druá, druán: 60Mq, druá</td>
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<td>dren'</td>
<td>drentaxi, drentaxi, dren' taxi, dren' axi: 56Bq, dren aní: 06S</td>
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<td>dr' iba', dr' ibh', dr' ibh', dr' i'bl'</td>
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<td>drama, dramani: 01J, drim' aní, dramaxi:</td>
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<td>-ani: [2] 25M, drunta [?] P (similar to tonn)</td>
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<td>dual</td>
<td>dual</td>
<td>duali 869P2, dualani 01C6037</td>
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<td>duáin</td>
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<td>div' nuil</td>
<td>div' aí, div' eltaxi: Mperm, cf. meall</td>
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<td>duí</td>
<td>duíaxi: S, -Vxi:</td>
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<td>ax</td>
<td>axri: 11Ct, axani: 892M, ARN (x5), eacha Sc.193.22; each luachra: axri: luaxr, axa luaxr P, axani: luaxr 43M</td>
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<td>axtra</td>
<td>axtri: (Smbb)04B eachtraí</td>
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<td>edan</td>
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<td>ali: loaxi: alVxi: alt 52Jq, a' traxi: 60Mq</td>
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869PRBÉ

feire: f’e’er ‘a | f’er axi:, f’er Vxi: |
feire glnm-: f’er’a g’l’i’n’t | -axi: 11C, -i: M |
feas: f’ef | -ani: S |
féithe: f’e’hə | f’ehaxi: S, f’e’axi: 05M, SM, f’ehVxi:: f’e: > f’e’f a 04Eq |
feoil: f’o’d | f’o’baní: SM, 52J |
fua: f’i’a | f’i:ani: 869PZCP, SM, f’i:annai 869P2 |
fiach dubh: f’i:ax duw | f’i:ya yuva M, f’i:xani: duva M |
fiach (plural): f’i:axa | f’i:axa generally, i bhfiachai i ... na fiachai ar fad ABg4.197,... na fiachai iochta ABg4.198 |
Fiann: f’i:an | -ta:, -ti:, -a:, -aw-, -uw-, -w- |
fiche: f’i:x(ə) | f’i:xd, f’i:xd’i:, f’i:xd’ad’ a St3b, f’i:xd’ad’i: S, f’i:xd’edi: 32J, f’i:xd’ed’ axi: 32J |
figiúr: f’i’gu ur | -axi: M |
file: f’i’l’ə, f’i’l’i: | f’i’l’ə, f’i’l’i:, f’i’l’t’ha:, f’i’l’axi:, f’i’l’exi: |
fileadh: f’i’n’ə | -axi: b’oga M ‘folds’, fillid Cladi209, f’i:l’d Vxi:, f’ix’t’ axi: |
fion: f’i:n | -ani: M |
focal: fokal | -f’, fokla, e.g. 892MARN (x3), fokl:, focala |
ños: fodd | fodd’, fodd’ə, fodd’axi:, fodd’axi:, fodd’axi:, foddr’axi:, foddr’axi:, foddr’axi:, foddaxi, foddaxi: |
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fóisear: fo:for | -s 32J |
folt: futl | futl’ M |
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form: forama | -məxa Pq, -məxi: P |
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freagra: fr’ægəra | -ri: M, -rəxi: M |
fréamh: fr’æv | fr’ævəxi:, fr’æwərxι:, S, fr’æmər’axi: S |
froigh (fraigh): fro | frohaxi: |
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fuinneamh: fix’ə | fix’i:, fix’axi:, fix’Vxi: |
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### Plural of nouns

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| luaid | luaid | luaid |-
| Luán | Luán | Luán |-
| lúb | lúb | lúb |-
| lucht | lucht | lucht |-
| lugach | lugach | lugach |-
| luibh | luibh | luibh |-
| mada | mada | mada |-

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| marthainn   | marhaw'  | marthainn se'o 'RBÉ2 |
| mása        | musa     | -f' Mq |
| masla       | masla    | -i: S, -Vxi: |
| mòthaire    | muhař'   | muhař axi; mecr' axi: |
| meacan      | m'ækkan(') | -kna, meacaineacha 20Cq. (-k-n' ə 20Myq) |
| meall       | m'ól     | m'ól SM, anax' 25M ina mhealla, ina mealla bána FFG, m'alaní: S, m'clóní: |
| meandar     | m'an' dår | -Mq |
| mèir        | m'ər'    | -əx: generally, but méara DT92 |
| meirfean    | m'ər'əf'ən | -axi: M |
| meitheal    | m'ehəl   | -f' M, -axi: St |
| mí          | m'i:     | m'ianí: M, m'isə 57P, m'it' i: 52C, m'ianti: 66N |
| mianach     | m'i:nax  | m'ien:xí: 21J |
| mias        | m'ias    | -ə, -i:, -əni: |
| mite        | m'i:t̪ə | -t̪'ə, -t̪'i: |
| mínii        | m'i:n u: | m'i:n' u::, m'i:n' axi:; m'i:n' u:xi: |
| miol        | m'i:lal  | m'i:lal (in réinte, mite; beithi: bheagá bhéildearg na faarage ... ) |
| mion, mionach | m'un, m'unax | m'unaxi:; m'unhaxi:; m'unexi:; m'unoxi: |
| mionna      | m'una    | -i: M, m'ini: m'ti:na 869PZCP, mionna móra 889P (cp. mionn) |
| mionspráin | m'in'spráun | -n', mionsprádhaugh 876J4798 -əni: |
| mioraítte   | m'irəulətə | -axi:, -i: |
| món         | mun'     | mun' tə 869PZCP |
| mordar      | mordar   | mule mordar, mule mordars, mule mordair |
| muc         | muk      | muka, muki: 01J |
| muileann    | mif'ən   | mif'ən SM, mif'ən S, -əxi: S, mif'ənə 35Eq |
| muileata    | mif'sta | -i: S |
| muithaille  | muh'ət'ə | -i:, -əx:; e.g. mile' in i: 46,287, muh'ət' i: SM, muh'ət' axi: SM, muh'ət' axi: 3Mq, muh'əx' axi: 36Nq |
## Plural of Nouns

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### Nouns with more than one plural

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## Plural of Nouns

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5 Verbs

Tenses

5.1 General

For definition and exemplification of the overall tense system of Modern Irish the reader should refer to standard works of reference such as Graiméar Gaeilge na mBráithre Críostai (GGBC, Ó hAnluain 1960 and Modern Irish (Ó Siadhail 1989) with which our dialect agrees substantially. There are four tenses: present, future, past, past habitual; and three moods: imperative, conditional (also termed secondary future), and subjunctive (present and past). In the verb bí there is an additional tense: the habitual present (bíonn). From the point of view of segmental morphology, a rigid distinction between tense and mood will not be maintained here and all finite subsystems can be treated as tenses. Some general remarks with examples are found in sections 5.2–5.12 on certain noteworthy facets of tense usage.

5.2 Imperative

The imperative is often used in a conditional (or subjunctive) construction, e.g. bíodh meaning ‘(even) if it be’ or bíodh nó ná bíodh meaning ‘whether it be or not’. E.g.

Chaith sé an méarthóg, agus bhuail an mhúrduach ar a mala. ... Bíodh tada le déanamh aige leis nó ná bíodh, an fear a chaithe an chloch níor chuir sé ceann na bliana isteach beo. 876JDT5:
Bí an taobh a bhí fúithi ... lofa ... , agus bí an leicean ... lofa, agus bíodh tad’ eile ná ná bíodh, Ach nuair a dháisigh sí ... 852SbTS142.

An example of the 2sg (including a nonpersonal form in Echo (5.97) function) in conditional use is:

nuair a ghotas tú suas un Comaoineach, bí ag goil un Comaoineach ná ná bíodh, má theigheann tú suas, cuire sé, cuide dhen luaithreadh ar do bhaithis.

The imperative can add concessive force, i.e. ‘even if.’ We can compare the following two examples from the same tale run where the imperative in one corresponds to the less marked usage of the conditional with dhá in the other:

SaÉxt maÉl !E kuþSû !AÉn !gA®m !e®d !iÉþS “A )É

The usage accounts perhaps for most 1sg imperative forms, e.g. feicim nó ná feicim ‘whether I see / saw or not’. The construction was used in queries to elicit
imperative forms, including imperative Echo forms which otherwise are only rarely heard in speech. Cf. the CAITH class for some query results (5.124 ff.). There is a noteworthy impersonal example in:

Is leithne an bun atá faoi ná cuirtear an dá chathaoir sin, as cionn a chéile.

894Cs ‘Its base is broader than (if) those two chairs (were put) one on top of the other’.

In concessive contexts where the imperative of bí is appropriate, the phrase may be verbless, e.g.

Sa chaile theach, feaimili ann ná as. 32.Jst

‘in every house, (whether there is) a family in it or not’.

### 5.3 Present

The conjunction *shula* ‘before’ when followed by bí generally takes the future tense or habitual present when used with future reference. The occurrence of the simple present of bí (bhfuil) after shula (or one of its by-forms) is rare:

-Ach anois, a deir sé, shul á bhfuil mé a’ ghl a’ scaradh leat, ar aon bhealach ná tabhair aon ghéilleadh do chomhrá má! 866.ESemr64;

... d’intá sul a wíl a mór an 11C ... déanta sála bhfuil an mór ann ‘done before the shower’.

In these examples, *shula bhfuil* may indicate a greater degree of certainty that the import of the verb will occur in the (near) future than use of the future or sub-junctive usually implies. The simple present can have a different function: ‘before (the present time that)’, e.g.

*bhí an dá Bhúrcach eile ar an gcaoi chéanna, sin i bhfhad shula xul a bhfuil cuimre a bith a’msa air ach go gcuala mé caint orthub. 892.M1291.*

There is an unusual use of the present tense in *is beag nach maraítí* é 875.T1.335, which occurs in a sequence of past habitual verbs describing actions which took place habitually in the past, where the historical present function would appear unlikely. Perhaps it is a speaker or transcription error for past habitual *maraítí* (maraíthe). Perhaps the present tense form of the copula caused confusion, *ba bheag nach maraítí* would show greater congruity.

### 5.4 Habitual present

Note the difference of usage shown by the habitual present progressive (*bhíonn* + *ag* + verbal noun) and the simple present in this conversation:

- *mín da wúhar* a kha gúni: M
  An *míbbhíonn* do mhadhair ag caiteamh i gcónaí?
  ‘Does your mother still smoke?’

- *b’in* BóC *Bíonn.*

- *gahan tahar* ‘derei, baon a gúni: sa té: M
  An *gcaiteamhna* t’athair ‘Dairybawn’ i gcónaí sa tae?
  ‘Does your father still use / put Dairybawn in his tea?’

There is an instance of the progressive with habitual present verb bí in a context, meaning ‘why aren’t you eating?’, where the simple present is more common:

-Tuige nach *mbíonn* tú ag íthe? adeir an rí leis a’ gCeannai Fionn. DT17

The habitual present here corresponds to the imperative progressive *bí ag íthe* and has similar future progressive force which one could paraphrase as ‘why don’t you get on with eating’.
5.5 Past

The past is often used with present reference relating a statement to a state that was ‘always’ so, i.e. a gnomic use of the preterite. E.g. *B’ílaim an fear é* referring to a person still alive, but no longer active, or *Ba dona an píce é sin*, said of a pitchfork still in good condition but that was always awkward to use.

The past, of *bí*, is often used in explanations. For instance, the idiomatic expression

\[ \text{hi} \leftarrow \text{há: \ gá \ wil' \ uw \ eg' \ a \ fin'} \ S \text{ shíltheá go bhfial ubh aige sin} \]

was explained as:

\[ \text{n'i: \ ra \ tu \ d' \ in \ en \ ti\vr' \ as} S \text{ ní raibh tú ag déanamh aon tsuainmheas.} \]

The saying *ó chaith tú an choinneal caith an t-orlach* was explained in:

\[ \text{dhú mbeithéas ag fanacht anois le tada agus déarthaind mé ba mhaith leat ghoil go Carna nó tá sé suas ar an am agus go raibh sé le bheith ann is ní raibh sé ag tíocht agus e [filler] — bhí deifir or ort éaradhadh duine eicint eile a bhí in íneacht leat 'Tóig t'am, ó chaith tú an choinneal caith an t-orlach.'} \]

Cp. the use of the past as conditional and a similar usage in Roscommon English discussed by P. L. Henry (1957) §68. An example of use of the modal past in translating the English conditional occurs in:

\[ \text{Bhí sé ní b'fhearr dhuit imeacht. 46.885 'it would be better ...'.} \]

There is an example of the past with past habitual or conditional meaning in an explanation:

\[ \text{tá sí i dtainneas an pháiste,' níor dhúirt siad 'tá sí i dtrioblód an pháiste.' S 'she is in child illness' (i.e. 'she is in labour') they never would have said 'she is in child trouble' or '... they never used to say ...' or '... they wouldn't say ...'.} \]

The past with \{le + verbal noun\} has a type of future meaning in the following example:

\[ \text{ro tsá l'e \ yol' \ eg' \ an \ æfr' \ on \ a \ vrain M an raibh tusa le ghoil ag an Aifreann, a Bhraidhean? 'were l are you intending to go to Mass (tomorrow), Brian?'} \]

5.6 Past habitual

The past habitual of a ‘verbum sentiendi’ may have a modal of ability function, e.g.  

\[ \text{Bhí aithne ag mo sheanmháthair air, CHÚIMHRÍOT sí air. S '... she could remember him' or '... she remembered him'.} \]

The past habitual can be used in a modal narrative function (other examples in de Bhaldraithe: 1980a; Hartmann et. al. 1996: 93–4; cf. Ó Curnáin 1999: 148, 154).

There are quite a few examples of this usage from 869P4–5, e.g.

\[ \text{THAGACH fear siúil i dieach wair ... 869P4.} \]

Also from 03V, 11C and 12S, e.g.

\[ \text{Bhíodh saoart amn wair amhanáin agus shéan sé an Eaglais, 03V;} \]

\[ \text{Bhuel anis, scéal eile, níl mé criochnaithe fós! THÉIDIS hed'if geadh eile ansin ag iascach go Gaillimh, ag iascach scudáin agus tháinig an aimsir go dona. 11C;} \]
This usage is reasonably rare and has been mainly noted by me in the speech of 11C, 12S and his brother 25S, and 37M, and in recordings of 18J and 35E. A rare example of its sustained use, alternating with the conditional in this function, was recorded with consecutive go in a slightly corrupt tale run from 895M:

Here aige seems only to confuse the meaning and can be ignored for clearer sense of the sentence, although the phrase dhe lèim ar dic aige is common and appropriate in other contexts where one character joins another aboard ship.
ag iarraidh seacht gcéad ... uaidh sin amach. Go DTEADH sé thriothub mar a ghothadh seabhac thri éanachál nó préachán dubh thri cheara. Go NDEAN-ADH sé carnán dhá láimha, ...

Speaker 19B (East Cois Fharrage, Doire an Locháin, married in Mainis) also has this usage:

**Bhiodh** beirt ... casadh ar a chéile ... . **Bhinn** héin lá ar an trá ... bhi seanchapall ag tarraint fheamainne 19B.

**Younger speakers**

Past habitual suffixes are often replaced by the corresponding conditional terminations. It seems that only some younger speakers use the traditional past habitual usage in 2 Conjugation verbs, e.g. d’aírín, thairnínn, thairníodh, thastaíodh. The past habitual may be best retained in irregular verbs, e.g. bhiodh dur ... théadh dur 76Mt (< bí, teighre), d’abraíot sé 78Rb (< abair).

### 5.7 Future

The future is often used as an imperative. The context is often specifically future, e.g.

*Chomh luath agus bhéas laogh aici inséocha tá domsa [é]. Ná tabhair cead don laogh ... 852S3.*

There is similarly imperative force in the coordinated negative future of:


866E.

which corresponds to the imperative in other versions of the same story:

‘Seo anois leabhar ’uit,’ a deir sé, ‘γ ná hoscaíl go ceánn seacht mbliana é,’

866E OEC 211 (221).

In the CAITH class questionnaire (5.124, 5.129) speaker 36Sq alternated between imperative forms and future forms in translating the imperative of the verb *maith*, but not with the other CAITH class verbs. Examples were interpolated with non-imperative forms; the imperative examples are given here in order of occurrence:

*beata fíth iad baidh síbse iad, beag íf iad báigise iad; súag i: e sáigí é; ma yum ev maith dhom é, maha tu yum e maithidh duh dom é, maha fíb yum maithidh sib dhom; skrahaug i: scrathaigh 36Sq.*

The future is often used as habitual present (cf. Mhac an Fhailigh 1948; A. Ó Corráin 1992: 12–4). The context in the following example is that of a postman who had been working over the previous two years:

*s postula f e t e ar ym f d aul t e ar a fostelas fe nax na im o: M is postáthaidh sé leitir dhom is deabhal leitir a phostáthas sé nach n-imoidh.*

With ‘verba sentiendi’ the future may have a present or modal meaning, e.g.

*rud ín i: b oga b id’ax n i: ean ax ga v ek a tu iad M ruidini beaga bideach nil ann ach go bhfeicthidh tú iad.*

The most common use of the verb *féad* is this future with present or future meaning, e.g. *féadthaidh tu imeacht ‘you can go’*. The slip of the tongue in *ní fheidhinn* 9a i: ... M ní ’fheidhinn Jai ci ... (for ní féidhíonn) is probably due to the frequency of the future form.
5.8 Conditional

There is a common use of the conditional as ‘might’, e.g.

-\textit{féin if a véif fe} S Cén aois a bheadh sé?
  ‘What age might he have been?’ or ‘What age would he be?’

-\textit{et if faiv 18Bm ‘Eighty five’}

There is also a meaning of ‘in order to be’, in:

\textit{Cé mhéad vót a bheadh a’d nuair a bheidhe aici? ‘What might be wrong with it?’ or ‘What (are you saying) about the shoes?’

Similarly, in the meaning ‘in order to be’ in:

\textit{An raibh? ‘How many votes do you need to get elected?’}

The conditional often occurs as a past habitual, its use and meaning often being parallel to the use of the future for the habitual present, e.g. (in describing \textit{caraíocht} of long ago in a tale run)

\textit{wuEl had’ if ... \textit{wuEl had’ if ... ga n’ernadar ... 11Ct bhualthidís ... bhualthidís ... go ndearnadar.}

This example would parallel a habitual present action being described by a sequence of future ... future ... present, e.g. \textit{buailthidh siad ... buailthidh siad ... go ndéanann siad.} There is an example of the conditional with past habitual force, followed shortly after in the conversation by the past habitual form, in:

\textit{a’if a gin’od’ if na b’chi: ... xin’id’ if na b’chi: san iho 33P aít a gochneoidís na beithí ... choinnidís na beithí san oíche.

For many of the younger generation, however, any such parallel with the progressive future is irrelevant as the conditional forms may completely replace the past habitual (cf. 5.6), e.g.

\textit{nu’v’ex fe og’v’ex fe ... v’ex ... 66N Nuair a bheadh sé óg, bheadh sé ... bheadh ... ‘when he was young ...’}

5.9 Subjunctive

Subjunctive use can be adequately described within syntactic terms of preceding conjunctions (but cf. \textit{shula bhfuil}, 5.3).

**Present subjunctive**

In optative following go, nár, e.g.

\textit{fo wá: | nár xolí: tu n’el S Oíche mhaith, nár chodlaí tú néal!}

Conjunctions which concur with the present subjunctive are:

\textit{ach a: go raibh sé féin agus an inion le pósadh ach a dtíge sí. \textit{866ESe128.39;}
ax a wó: m’e gr’im ort Mq ach a bhfaighe mé greim ort;
ax a d’uka / d’áega / d’ugá ... Mq ach a dtíogoith [fut] / dreaga / dtioga ... go:
rus ga m’élf: na [slip] náin iad ‘ek’ud 03S i risocht is go mbeiteá i ndan iad a fhiceáil.
cáide: kod’ a d’áega fiod cáide dreaga siad?
mara: mara d’áega hein’ M mara dreaga héin.
5.10 Other instances

Given attested \{féach a^N + past subjunctive\} one would expect that \textit{féach a^N} would also occur with the present subjunctive. There is an instance of cataphoric a^N followed by present subjunctive, immediately preceding temporal \textit{go}, in a traditional prayer:

\begin{verbatim}
Altú leat, a Rí na ríthe, [... ] ar shon a bhfaigheamuid bás.
Agus ar shon a bhfaigheamuid go bhfaigheamuid bás. !05M.
\end{verbatim}

There is also an instance following \textit{dhá} (< dhe + cataphoric a^N) in an instructive tale:

\begin{verbatim}
Agus mar sin, a dhúine úaig, atá i dtús do shaoil, mo chomhairle dhuit, chuile lá gá n-éirí ort, bí ag baint cloch as do bhearna! 35E1.
\end{verbatim}

The conditional subordinating phrase \textit{cuir i gcás go gcás nach} may be followed by the present and past subjunctive, particularly if preceded in the utterance by a subjunctive form:

\begin{verbatim}
t'uké m'é ... ã kir' ã gas nax d'úka / d'æga Mq
tiochtaidh mé ... ach cur i gcás nach dtiochtaidh / dteaga;
gà d'æga' ... kir' ã gas nax d'æga' Mq
dhá dteagainn ... cur i gcás nach dteagainn;
marà d'æga / d'ua ... (ax) kir' ã gas nax d'æga / d'ægar' Mq
marà dteaga / dtuaga ... (ach) cur i gcás nach dteaga / dteagar.
\end{verbatim}

The positive \textit{cuir i gcás go} seems not to allow subjunctive as much as the negative:

\begin{verbatim}
kir' ã gas gà d'æga / d'ægar' Mq cur i gcás go dteaga / dteagar,
but *cuir i gcás go dteagainn MØperm.
\end{verbatim}

Compare unhistoric and ambiguous subjunctive use in Echo contexts (5.12) and innovative prohibitive use of the past subjunctive impersonal form (5.111 C).

5.11 Compound tenses

The normal compound tenses occur in the dialect as described, for example, in GGBG §339–42 (§§14.10–13). One use of the \textit{thar éis} perfect is worthy of note here: \textit{thar éis} is often used with a \textit{bheith} + VN, e.g.

\begin{verbatim}
nax wil' m'è hef ã v'è g' iha mò jù'èr 14M
nach bhfuil mé thor éis a bheith ag ithe mo dhinnénár!
\end{verbatim}
Prepositional phrases can qualify verbal noun phrases without being integrated into the aspectual system:

*ar bhuille* ‘about to’ in *er wiû* ‘v e re: M (tá sé) ar bhuille a bheith réidh;
*le linn* ‘about to’ in *v et fî* ‘f e l’în’ *brê* Mq bheadh sí le linn breith;

*cp. ar thí ‘intend to’, in a traditional tale, e.g. -Rud a bith fhreadhas mise a dhíona ar an rí sin, a dáirt an Grábaire, tá mé ar thí é dhíona.*

5.12 **Tenses in Echo function**

The tense of the verb in Echo function is generally the same as the main verb (for Echo forms and usage, see 5.97 ff.). Verbs which Echo imperative verbs can, as expected, be imperative but also present, future or present subjunctive. Examples here are from Máire in response to query (MqEcho) unless otherwise indicated:

(a) imperative ... IMPERATIVE (Echo):

```
saował mid’ ... nu nax saسألox SqEcho, PqEcho

sábháladh muid ... nó nach sábháladh.
```

*Cp. k àenim’ e nu nax K’àenim’ e ceannaím é nó nach ceannaím é.*

(b) imperative ... PRESENT (Echo):

```
f èk’æm’ ... nu nax f èk’æn feicim ... nó nach feiceann.
```

(c) imperative ... FUTURE (Echo):

```
lùba mid’ e nu nax lùba muid é nó nach lábthaídh;

tríailomid’ e nu nax tríail’trá ailamuid é nó nach trá dthaidh;

k aenim ... nu nax g àenó ceannaím ... nó nach gceannóidh.
```

(d) imperative ... PRESENT SUBJUNCTIVE (Echo):

```
baol’dàj e nu nò: baol a baolaidís é nó nà baile;

sàolawámad’ ... nu nax saycal sábhálamuid ... nó nach sábhála;

fàga mid’ a f ìx ... nu nò fàga fága muid an teach ... nó ná fága.
```

It is clear from these examples that, when Echoing nonpersonal imperatives and (especially) the personal 1pl imperative, there is formal ambiguity of the Echo form between the subjunctive and imperative. There is further ambiguity between imperative, present indicative, and present subjunctive in the personal 1sg Echo use. For example:

```
sábháladh ... nó nach sábháladh (imperative or past subjunctive);

sábhálamuid ... nó nach sábhála (imperative or present subjunctive);

ceannaím ... nó nach ceannaím (imperative or present indicative or present subjunctive).
```

The subjunctive is of course regular following nò mara, as in:

```
sàolawámad’ ... nu: mara saycal sábhálamuid ... nó mara sábhála.
```

5.13 **Person and number**

There are three persons and two numbers in the dialect. The nonpersonal form of the verb is used with subject pronouns. There are three verbs which have alternate nonpersonal present forms without the suffix (irregular *abair* and *clois*, and otherwise regular *meas*) as well as irregular *bí* which has a general present *tá* without the nonpersonal ending and a consuetudinal present *bíonn* with the ending. Some examples of less commonly described usage are presented in this section.
2 singular
The reference of interrogative meastú (< an meas tú) can be nonspecific, e.g.
Bhuil a dhaoiní uaisle, MEASTÚ cé mb‘fhéarr lib scéal fada bho ná scéal ghearr gairid? 11C.
The 2sg can be used for impersonal ‘one’. This holds for pronominals as well as verb forms. For example, 2sg possessive usage in:
go ma asan’ [if el’ a’ ox an’ fin’ ox da naprun but’ a M
dhá mba aranj] [< orange] eile a bheadh ansin bheadh do naprun báite (said by Máire (describing an easy-to-peel orange) when speaking to a male but referring to a kitchen apron, generally worn by females);
2sg prepositional pronoun in:
d’a ul bha’s ka’r er X ax b’or l’ao Y
deabhal blas caile ar X ach b’fhéarr LEAT Y.

1 plural
The 1pl can be used for 1sg with a slight impersonal generalised meaning:
agus aois mhór A’INN ortha agus MUIDE ag giurán 10B
‘I am far older than her and still I complain’.
uar’ a’k’est’ el’ a vrain, nor’ a’ v’eis mid’ N’ís [uar understood]
uair eicint eile, a Bhraidhean, nuair a bheadheas MUID níos [fhearr]
‘[you will come again] some other time ... when I am better’;
ol’ha tu brin’ te: o b a’na l’iu’ hu ek’ad 23C òlthaídh tì braon tae ó
b’annamh LINN thú a fheiceáil (speaker living alone in his house);
Ní chaiteann MUID í ach nuair atá MUID ag goil in áit áirithid M (of garment or jewellery);
Tá sí [pregnant woman] ag breathú [= breathnú] go breá anis — ó! Mhaigh-dean nuair a bhí MUIDE mar sin ní raibh móran caoi ORAINE M;
-N’f’fi’ s’éen’ax l’ao Níl sí in éineacht leat?
-N’f’ f’ed’or’ l’iu’ e v’e s’éen’ax l’iu’ a guini: 52Cr
Ní féidir LINN í bhfeith in éineacht LINN i gcóiní.
Cp. f’ek’amid’ s’iri’t’ u’ a vrain 20C PEICTHEAMUID aríst thú, a Bhraidhean (speaker alone in the house at the time).
An example of the 1pl for impersonal ‘people’ (where the speaker is not included or only vaguely so) is:
Tá cuid A’INN is ní dheachaigh MUID amach go Cárna héin 52Cr
‘there are people who ...’ or ‘some of us have not even ...’.

2 plural
The 2pl imperative meaning sometimes takes the singular form. Cp. goille (5.329). The 2pl can be used with 2sg function with an impersonalised and disparaging connotation. Cf. 14 sib.

3 plural
The 3pl occurs in disparaging use meaning ‘the likes of him / her, etc.,’ in:
Sin é an chaoi a mbíonn SIAD sin M (the exact words were not recorded here) in reference to one person only.
5.14 Nonpersonal and absent ‘given’ pronoun

A subject pronoun, particularly in coordinate and subordinate clauses, can be omitted when already ‘given’, e.g.

1sg

Ach ansin aríst bhi mé in aiféala nar òuir leis go ngothainn soir in éanacht leis.

S.

n’ir uir’ mé teada ... v’i aef el oram ana jia nar uir’ t’il a’ i’cha M Nior dhaírt mé tada ... bhi aiféala orm ina dhiaidh sin nar dhaírt taisleadh leithi.

(Bhí mé lucaid Dé Sathrainn) nar òainic aniar. 64M.

1sg ... choinnigh muid ... ’gus fuair mé cláirín beag a urlár an bháid, scoilt mé an clár leis an scian, ’gus, bhi róipín a’m, agus, chuair mé splaidhis ar an geleith aríst. ’Gus nuair a bhi an splaidhis curtha ar an geleith a’m, d’ardaigh seol, ’gus a haghaídt ar an Leath-Mháis, agus, nuair, a chuairgh sí an seoil, ní raibh taisin [í] Londain bhi’ chombh luath leithi, gos’ thuí fharraige, go dhúinic sí go Béal an Leath-Mháis. ’Gus nuair a bhi sínim g-, ag, sin (sinn?) ag Ceann Másta, thóig seol eile potal bhi ansin. ’Gus chuair aríst i mBéal an Leath-Mháis iad, ar an domhain. Bhuel thóigisteach na tráineannaí, aríst, agus ná thóigiste béin, sé an chaoi raibheadar an uair sin, lán le ballaigh bheaga agus le trais eisc bheag nar raibh maith a bith iontub, ach ag tabhairtrí trioblódh an domhain orainn, á nglanadh astub. Tháinig anastos an an chaitheadh aríst, agus nuair a tháinig is d’fhéist t, ní raibh sé i ndean, a ghóill amach ar cheann na cèibheach aríst, ní gur caitheadh, ocht ná naóid dhe laethantaí réis an am sin. 892M.

3m ... chuairgh sé ar an taobh ó thuaidh, agus chuair sé a chloch mhuráite i dtrí, agus thug amach a chlórd, agus thug a aghadh suas, ar Dhu-, ar an Dún, go ndeachaigh sé, agus thosaigh ag baint píosa dhe, ó orlach go horlach, ’gus bhi sé leithi aríst, go raibh sí — chuair sé i bhfarraige t. 06C.

3f ... agus nuair a bhreathaigh sé choiriúse choiriúse mada móir, cà a bhi ann, ag sgiú isteach an dorais, tháinig anuas agus duiscil sé a béal agus rug sí ar an mbanbh ina béal, agus amach leithi an dorais. 11Ctn.

1pl

Bhuel, leag muid a sé bhuille ortha i gCaitheadh ’ Bhdáid agus thug a haghaídt amach, agus bhi ar nús an fhaolaitheán ag faire farraighí, go ndeachaigh muid sa gceann síar dhe na potal. 892M (13.7. lines 6–8);

... Bhuel chuairgh muid a chodladh, a deir sé, bhi muid trom toirseach. ’Gus ar maidin nuair a d’eirigh, ’gus chuairgh amach, dheamhán gráinne dhen arbarb, dhe na stucá na dhen chruch, nar raibh goldhithe. 892M2088;

n’i kas dux’ e nax n’axa ser’ S ní cáis daimh e nach ndeachaigh soin ‘we are fortunate not to have gone east’.

3pl agus iad faoi dheifir ... , sin é an uair a bheidh aithmhéala ortha nár druine an scoileadh mallaththe roimhe sin. Clad1275.

This use is less prominent in younger speakers.

5.15 Impersonal

Intransitive impersonal verbs are not uncommon, e.g.

juf’u: suas go d’i: rabart k’i na:di: ... S suíileadh suas go dti ‘Robert Kennedy’ ... ‘someone walked up to R. K. (and shot him)’.

General use of the verb bi (and other intransitive verbs) in the impersonal is limited to a minority of speakers, some of whom use it quite extensively, e.g.

... nax wil:u ... turo gu’ ... v’i’ iar ... kar’ar 79A

... nach bhfuilteadh ... taidh dá ... bhifear ... caithfear ‘people / they are ... it is being ... people / they were ... it must be (done)’.
5.16 Number

The plural verb or pronoun with a singular collective noun in appositional use is obsolescent; it is a feature exclusive to the oldest generations. Examples occur with beirt and triúr (acub / a ’inn) in:

- Chuaadar isteach sa mbráicín, beirt, agus bhí máilín ... 852Sh1.13;
- Chrochadar leo triúr 852Sh1.92, cp. Chrochadar leo go ... 1.1.94 (= d’imíodar leo go ...);
- D’éiríodar triúr de lèim ... Bhí siad triúr marbh ansin. 866Sc36.16, 39;
- d’imíodar t’rur ukub as afark 46.1.36 d’imíodar triúr acub as amhare;
- goha mid ’tr’ur hæn’ e ṝen’æxt [-x ?] agos ... 01P gothaidh muid triúr a’inn in éineacht agus ... gothaidh muid héin ann.

There is also an example in the 1 plural with lán tì:

- Támuid lán tì againn a’ guidhe anocht di. 864Mdt12.

Examples of triúr in apposition with plural pronouns, which are not in subject position of a finite verb, are:

- nì raibh ann ach go raibh sé ceanglaite agam, nuair a bhuaí an fhíarraige an bád agus muid triúr ar an tsead. 866Sc26.7;
- gan aon duine ... a bhan linn, ach muid féin triúr — ina ndilleachtai 866Sc57.7;

Morphology

5.17 Verbal derivation and compound verbs

Verbs were formerly derived from adjectives and nouns by simple category change (or transfer) or by suffixation. The only productive synchronic process is the addition of the -áil suffix. The obsolete strategies found are:

I.a  Change of category, without suffixation, to 1 Conjugation;
I.b  Palatalisation to 1 Conjugation.
II.a Suffixation of 2 Conjugation stem -igh;
II.b Palatalisation and suffixation of 2 Conjugation stem -igh;
II.c Suffixation of 2 Conjugation stem -igh with stem extension (and in some cases palatalisation, also one case of depalatalisation).

There are also less transparent derivations, e.g. maru: marbh (adjective) > mara maraigh 2 Conjugation. Cp. crioch (now obsolescent or obsolete) > criochaigh 2 Conjugation. Derivations may become semantically obscure, e.g. leas ‘benefit’ (noun) > leasaigh ‘fertilise’.

5.18 I.a–b First Conjugation

La First Conjugation (zero suffixation)

Examples: adjective mall > verb mall (also mallaigh), so also breac > breac, dall > dall, geal > geal; noun lán > lán, sioc > sioc, speal > speal; with loss of final

1 Verbs in the 1 Conjugation add verbal endings directly to the root, whereas 2 Conjugation verbs contain a conjugational stem marker which has three main allomorphs, i.e. a -igh, k -í-, or -ó-.
unstressed schwa in *coca > coc* (see also IIIc, 5.21), *stuca > stuc*. See also the DEARG and CÚL verbal classes (5.167); and ‘Borrowings’ (11.167) for *ghiúmar* and *trust*.

**I.b Optional palatalisation**

Noun *snámh* > verb *snáimh* generally, some younger speakers have verb *snámh*, e.g. 60M, 66N. Adjective *liath* > verb *liath*, vadj *liath* a generally, but *liath* a ~ *l’et* a *le grean* liate ~ léite le gráin (5.179) where láite < léith.

Noun *tríall* > verb *triail* ~ *trial* ‘journey, head (for)’: present subjunctive *mairg* a *tríail* ort and in explaining this expression *gur* *tríail* tú ...

There are remnants of this formation in the root *coisc* (with regular palatal coda *postxoSk*, vadj *koSk* *iÉt*; VN *koSk* *E*).

Cp. the root *searg* (1 and 2 Conjugation, 5.168) which has a less common by-form *seirg* (vadj *Ser* *E*).

**II.19 II.a–c Second Conjugation -igh**

Examples: adjectives *bocht* > *bochtaigh*; *ceart* > *ceartaigh* caol > *caolaigh*; *dorcha* > *dorchaigh* (pst Sc268); *ísleal* > *ísleagh*; nouns *caint* > *caintaigh*; *dath* > *dathaigh*; *fáinne* > *fáinnigh* (pst Sc272); *loxt* lucht > *loxtE* luchtaigh; *mion* > *mionaigh*; *siÉhEr* saothar > *siÉrhE* saothraigh. Cp. *adjective gágaíthe*.

Adjective *farfó* *fairsinn* > *forfó* *fairsnigh*, the more traditional stem (resembling the comparative, *nís* *forfó* *níos fairsne*), VN *forfó* *u*; but also unsyncopated *fairsnigh*: *fársnaí* 21P, *fársnaí* 36S, vadj *fársnaí* 20T, VN *fársnaí* 25M.

A few verbs show alternants in both 1 and 2 Conjugations, particularly the CÚL class (5.170).

**II.b (Optional) palatalisation with Second Conjugation -igh**

dávsna *damsa* *damsbha* (noun) > *dávfa* *dæmʃa* *daimhsigh*.

*falh* *falanfh* (adjective) > *fal* M *falmhigh*, with general palatalisation, fut *fálh* ho: >> *falho*: M, VN *fålhu*: generally, also more consistently nonpalatal for 20Mq and her brother 36Sq. e.g. vadj *falhi*: *falhi* 36Sq, VN *fålhu*: 36Sq; also VN *falh* 43M (interpretable as 1 Conjugation).

*fód* (noun) takes -*aigh* with optional palatalisation and optional -*r*:- *řðaigh*, *řðigh*, *řdřigh*:

*fód*- *dæt*: *v e* *foðiha* S *d’fhéadtha* bheithe *fódaíthe*, VN *a* *fódhá* Clad2108;

1 In ... *talhha* gágaíthe le gréin-scolítithe 894C9 (3.84 p. 583 n. 1).
5.20 Suffixation with -aíl; III.a–b

The only productive derivational verbal suffix is 1 Conjugation -aíl (SÁBHÁIL class, 5.135). It is suffixed to:

III.a native roots including older borrowings;
III.b láimh with extension s, ginn with extension t;
III.c roots with alternative 1 and 2 Conjugation inflection (without -aíl);
III.d an ever increasing number of borrowed roots.

III.a Native roots including older borrowings

Derived verbs in -aíl only.

arm, armáil; baóite, baótéidil; bord, bordáil; calm, calmaíl M, 21Pt; corc, corcátail; cóta, cóitáil 01C6296; cruit, cuitéidil FFG19, 20; dorna, dornáil; draoibh, draoiheáil SM; droom, drooméidil S; dusta, dustáil; (faobhar, faobháal 05M, P as VN); fráma, frámaíl; faigh, fheith M; fuightheáil; garda, gardaíl; glas, glasáil; gob, gobáil M (cp. verb gob, common VN gobadh, with basic meaning); lansa, lansáil; laiste, laiséal; leidice, leidiceáil M; marc, marcaíl; margadh, margáil (in é héin a mhargáil é S); masc,
5.21 III.c Verbs in -áil

There are derived verbs which alternate between (nonproductive) verbal derivation and -áil suffixation.

*bealadh* the noun has verbal stems *bealaithe* (e.g. vadj b’aeili) S bealaithe) and *bealáil* (e.g. psthab ga m’aealad’ if 01C6057 go mbealalaidis*).

coca the noun yields the verb *coc* generally but for at least one younger speaker *cocáil* 64Me; there is a separate verb *coc’* ‘calk’ which also has a variant *cocáil* S.

corna > corn(a), cornaigh, cornáil. My general impression is that the VN occurs as *cornadh* and cornáil, and verbal inflection occurs in cornáil. In reply to query, Seán and Máré also permitted 2Conj pres *kaurna coranna* in 1Conj vadj *kaurna cornnaidh*, and 2Conj vadj *kaurna cornaithe*. The phonotactically impermissible final stressed cluster *rn* dictates, for the stem without -áil, that 2sg imperative and nonpersonal past end in -a (i.e. are 2Conj, 5.170). Cf. GCF §189 (final paragraph), and *fairsigh* (5.313).

cúl (noun) > cúl ~ cúlaigh generally, but also VN *cúdál* 60M.

Cp. *ghiúmar* (borrowing) noun and verb, but *ghiúmaráil* is now the more common verb.

lá(i)mh > láimhsigh ~ láimhséal. 27Mdq had -áil in the VN only: é a láimhséal ... láimhsigh ... láimhséoidh ... láimhsíú. 27Mdq. Also VN láimhsíú 06C.

Younger speaker: slaidhis imeáilte cheana héin 73P (< im).


Cp. derived -áil used as verbal noun with ag in progressive aspect, e.g. cacamas, cacamasaíil S; in the echo word *scib sceab*, *scib-sceabhadh* with optional depalatalisation in the verbal noun *goineáil* Mq, *gonáil* 20Cq (< goin). With replacement of the nominal suffix -og in *tornóg*, tornáil S; e.g. ag *tornáil deataí* (Seán’s own understanding of the derivation of tornáil is that it is based on tornóg). There is a separate (synchronically nonderived) verb *tornáil* ‘tack’ (nautical). Cp. cárla, càrdáil.

There are verbs in -áil which are not synchronically derived: robáil, sábháil, spáráil, tráilí. (These are older borrowings without borrowed nominal bases.) There is an example of *tuaireál* in 866Semr84 with aberrant -áil for expected -áil but the palatality of *l* is not always accurate in this folklore transcription (by Liam Mac Coisteala, cf. 5.135), although following a palatal consonant the ending -áil occurs as a verbal noun allomorph, e.g. verb *clois* > VN *cloisteál*.

IIII.b With the (obsolete) stem extensions s, t

láimh, láimhséal (also láimhsigh III.c). Cf. *-st(ve)il* (3.161).

ginn (plural *geannrachaidh*), *geanntáil*. Cf. *geantraigh* (5.179).

5.21 III.c Verbs in -áil with alternants

There are derived verbs which alternate between (nonproductive) verbal derivation and -áil suffixation.
5.22 Nonderived -áil alternant; III.d

There are also nonderived verbs which have an -áil alternant.

fuaigh and fuáil are both full verbs potentially but speakers may well have preferences in various tenses, indicating expansion of fuáil from exclusive use with the verbal noun to use with the future stem and other tenses. The VN is fuáil only. Speakers 894Cs, 899D and 01C have the inflected stem fuó (posthab d’fhuaadh sé, imprs fuaití, cond d’fhuaadh, d’fhuaóidís, vadj fuait) and VN fuáil (ARN). (This shows the same conservative use of -aí confined to the verbal noun of this root found in GCF §§182, 186). Speaker 11C has pst duá, VN fuáil’. 27Mdq has pst dua, fut fuá, vadj fuat a, VN fuatl’. Máire has impv fua M, fut fuála m’e M, vadj fuat a M. Her use of fuála in the future is perhaps an avoidance of the possible choice between fuá and *fua: if inflected like the CRUAIGH subclass (5.171). Speaker 21Ptq has pst duat (also dua, following queried *fuao), fut fuada, cond go: wua: (x2) (following queried go: wua), vadj fuat a. It appears the verbal adjective best retains the older fuáigh inflection. In native-speaker writing (in order): fuáal [gen VN] ... aon fuáil ... fuáile mé [fut] ... fuáile [vadj] BI9.59 (I have normalised from the source spelling fuághail-).

Note: ... go m’in’ fi smugáil’ aí, ká ha max smugáil’ i: P ... go mbionn sí ag smugairléil, ag caiteamh amach smugairli, said by Pádraig (P) with uncertainty in his voice when pronouncing smugáil’ aí giving the impression he was deriving the verb there and then, and, as if not satis-
fied with the verb, he then used the more common periphrasis. Neither Seán nor Máire accept *smugairleáil as a definitely authentic form. In query, Seán initially reacted positively to the form but in his response came around to the periphrastic construction and the commonly used borrowed verb:

- ò S érba smugairleáil.
- d érba ... kaha máx smugairleáil. S Déarthá ... ag caitheamh amach smugairlí a déarthadh muide ... ag spiteáil [< spitéal].

Just as brúáil for common brúigh is influenced by borrowed (and more common) puiseáil and cúláil for common cúl (< aigh) may be influenced by borrowed beaiceáil so it would appear the borrowing spiteáil may trigger and / or undermine a marginal *smugairleáil. Cf. spochailleáil FFG20. A related interaction can be seen in the hesitation between common alternants, older stopadóireacht and more recent seapáil (< 'shop'), in the following passage:

é d éir | ágas á fupa | á japa | á jumpadóar | á glox na rúin | 892M3326 ag déileáil agus ag stopáil, ag seap-, ag stopadóireacht i gCloch na Rón.

(It is worth recalling that these recordings (ARN) show clear avoidance of borrowings.) See also 'Developments' (5.387).

III.d From English

bulc, bulcái; farc, farcái M. See verbal -díl in 'Borrowings' (11.166).

5.23 Verbs with prefixes

Verbal stems with prefixes are rarely inflected. The lexeme f ox fiuch, for example, is a fully inflected verb but 'g il ox gilfiuchadh is used by Máire only as a verbal noun. For example, *gil ox mé iad, *gilox fiuchadh mé iad are not permitted by Máire. Similarly, leáigh is a full verb but díleábh was noted as a noun only, the verbal adjective *díleáite was permitted by Máire but no other inflection; nor has the noun dicchuimhne a corresponding inflected verb (Mq). Cf. sior- in verbal noun progressive use (3.142).

Similarly, seacht- is a productive prefix both with adjectives, verbal adjectives and verbal nouns but not with the inflected verb. Contrast dhá sheachtmbearradh, seachtmbearrtha with bearrthaidh mé thú agus *seachtmbearrthaodh mé thú Mperm. So also buncaithe, buncaitheamh but *bhunchaithe sé go maith é M-Øperm; righearrtha, righearrdadh but ghearr sé é is *righearr sé é MØperm;

Verbs with ath- are, however, found, e.g. athghróig; past athghróig Mperm. The verb athleasaigh is used in verbal noun and verbal adjective forms by Máire, and although she otherwise marks tense on the verb cuir with the verbal noun in periphrasis, cuir athleasú ar, she does permit, for example, past ìth ìth íth Mperm. 

The verb ruadhóigh (rua+dóigh) inflects in all tenses (stress in *rua+dóigh and *rua+dóigh were difficult to distinguish): impv *rua+dóigh, pres *rua+dóigh, pst *rua+dóigh. The verb *mor+bhórrchónaigh has been recorded in both formal and informal narrative in the frequent phrase coordinated with stop, e.g.

Níor stop sé is níor mhórchónaigh sé FFG,
5.24 Auxiliary díon (déan)

The verb díon (standard déan) is used as an auxiliary with the verbal noun, e.g.

Dhíon mé taibhsíú aréir go bhfuair mé airgead ... FFG s.v. taibhsíonn;
Chua' se suas go ndió-, go, go ndionad se an, an euchair a chasadh sa doras. 889Pt;
Diabhal labhairt ar bith a rinne Déirdre leis, agus labhair sé léi. 866E-Sc33.14;
Chuaidh sé isteach ... D’éiriódar ina seasamh agus is beagnach a phlúchadh a rinneadar ... 852ShL1.145;
-B’fhéidir gurb é do mharú a dhéanfadh sé. 864MDT58.

The logical object of the verbal noun can be governed by díon dhe, e.g.

Ní dhearna mise dhi ach i tharrtain síos 03Ct
‘I just pulled her (boat) down’.

Without the verbal noun, in Echo function, díon is also used, but generally quite seldom, e.g.

(Question) Ar chuir tú síos é? (Reply) Rinneas;
‘Agus cuimil thart anois ins gach uile áit duit insa teach an tslaitín,’ a deir Cloigearn Pruis, a deir sé. Agus rinne. 866ESc.

As well as in unmarked contexts, its use has been noted when there is some discourse constraint on a lexical Echo of the main verb. For example, díon may serve to answer two verbs in:

- Ar saolaíobh síoga agus a bhfuairadar bás? 69A
  -Nach — 05M
  -Saolaíobh is (dóich). 69A
- o’ d’árho: 05M -O! dearadh.

Similarly, on one occasion when the meaning of a question and its main verb seemed to be guessed from the context, Séan answered, with some hesitation, ríx as S Rinneas. On another occasion díon seems to have been used to avoid what might have been felt as an awkward borrowing:
Morphophonemics

5.25 Juncture

Juncture is the term used when the general assimilatory, phonotactic and prosodic rules of the dialect are not applied across morphological boundaries. Juncture blocking assimilatory and phonotactic phenomena is discussed concerning Vowels (5.28 ff.), Voice (5.31 ff.), Consonant place (and quality) assimilation (5.35), Consonant quality (5.39): alternation of palatality is most evident in -t- and -f- forms, -t(e) (5.41 ff.), -t(e)ar and -t(a)ft (5.44 ff.), -f- (5.54 ff.).

5.26 Stress

Verbal suffixes are regularly unstressed but may take (primary or secondary) emphatic stress. From the evidence presented below, all personal and impersonal suffixes may be stressed, generally in contrast with nonpersonal suffixes which in the same contexts are accompanied by stressable pronouns. Stress is used generally for emphasis of the verbal ending or the phrase as a whole or some other element in the phrase. Endings that have been noted with stress from speech are:

- 1sg present -ímse;
- 2sg conditional -thá;
- 2pl imperative -ígse;
- 3pl past -dar, -darsan, past habitual -idis, -idissean;
- impersonal past -lodh, conditional -tí.

The co-occurrence of stressed verbal endings with emphatic pronominal clitics is common. Most other endings have been produced or permitted stressed in query by Máire. Stress is possible on the nonpersonal conditional ending -thadh and permissible on nonpersonal present -ann, according to speaker 27Mdq. Poly-syllabic endings are stressed on the final verbal syllable. Schwa, when stressed, sometimes remains unchanged in quality, other times becomes either u or o: -du/or -dar, -tú/or -fear, -tú/or -tear, -box -thadh. For irregular (non-emphatic) stress in verbs such as imigh and oscail, including nax naska't'ax fé 66N nach n-oscaileadh sé, see 1.380.

1sg present -ímse
Secondary stress:

`d'últaim jib' ... d'últaim' d'í 897S diúltaimse dhíb ... diúltaim di.`
Verbs

2sg conditional -thá
In Echo context:
- Oí d’fhéadthá i dhó aríst athuair? P. Mac Dhonncha

2pl imperative -igíse
Primary stress:
for’g i:fa gr’im’ ... S faighíse greim ... ;
skra’eg i:am portx 69s scraithíse an portach.

3pl past -dar(san)
Primary stress:
v’i’dor ~ v’i’dur bhiodar;
v’i’dursan na ra’pobla’ an’s 15W bhiodarsan ina ‘republicans’.
Note the realisation of -dar with secondary stress due to a short stop in the flow of speech:
;v’i’dur t’iáxt ánuas ... M bhiodar ag tíocht anuas ....

3pl past habitual -aidís(sean)
Equal primary stress, in the following example probably due to rhythmic sentence stress:
f:í/íf’d a huga’ d’íf er’ P sliseáil a thugaidís air.
Primary stress, in (contrastive) emphasis:
ega’v’etad’íf M go bhféadhadís! (not prosodically equivalent to
v’etad’íf which has more equal stress on the initial and final syllables);
hog’á d’íf 31D thóigídis’; s’í yoha’d’íf 31D ní ghothaidís;
hoà’d’íf e 77Cq sháaidís é.
| aogs’dabrí’íf’san na r ég ‘xi: er’ | 11C
agus d’abraídísean nar raibh aon chaol air.
Compare use in a recording where Máire had been asked to use 3pl forms in her description:
xahá’d’íf a yof’ ... san ac’d spr’u’god’d’íf Mt2-dis
chaithídis a ghoil san dít a spriogáiddís.

Impersonal: past -íodh and conditional -fí
Speaker 892M commonly adds stresses in emphatic or dramatic use. Added to impersonal -íodh in:
| ‘in’fín er’ v’éhod ak ‘sáivx’ á ... 892M5104
insíodh ar Mhícéál ’ac Suibhne, go ndearna sé an dán sin.
In the following exchange, -fí is stressed in an emphatic response (where the initial consonant was not heard clearly):
- ... b/war’f’í: b(h)áfí.
-’b/war’f’í: b(h)áfí! (speaker 53J’s elder brother).
5.27 Query: other endings under stress

Table 5.1 presents the results of queries about the stressed forms where speakers (mainly Mq, but also 21Ptq and 27Mdq) were asked to produce various emphatic versions of prompted tokens.¹

### Table 5.1 Stressed endings, mainly Mq

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ending</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Mq</th>
<th>Mperm</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nonpers pres</td>
<td>go guireann</td>
<td>naC 'gir’hox [x2]</td>
<td>27Mdq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nonpers cond</td>
<td>nach guirtheadh</td>
<td>1 ‘áenu:</td>
<td>1 ‘áenu:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg cond</td>
<td>cheann(óthá)</td>
<td>1 ‘áenidor</td>
<td>1 ‘áenidor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3pl cond</td>
<td>bheidis</td>
<td>1 ‘v e’d ‘if</td>
<td>1 ‘v e’d ‘if</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1sg cond</td>
<td>d’ólthainn</td>
<td>2 ‘d ‘o’laon</td>
<td>2 ‘d ‘o’laon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1sg pst Echo</td>
<td>d’olás</td>
<td>2 ‘d ‘olas</td>
<td>2 ‘d ‘olas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1sgpst Echo</td>
<td>cheannáios</td>
<td>1 ‘á ‘nís</td>
<td>1 ‘á ‘nís</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg pst Echo</td>
<td>d’oláir</td>
<td>do ‘lair’ ?</td>
<td>do ‘lair’ ?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1sg fut Echo</td>
<td>óthadh</td>
<td>‘ol’hád, ‘ol’hád</td>
<td>‘ol’hád</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1sg fut Echo</td>
<td>ceannód</td>
<td>k ‘á ‘nód</td>
<td>k ‘á ‘nód</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imprs pres</td>
<td>báitear</td>
<td>‘bá ‘or</td>
<td>‘bá ‘or</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ceannaitear</td>
<td>‘k ‘á ‘ni’t ‘ur</td>
<td>21Ptq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imprs fut</td>
<td>báifear</td>
<td>‘bá ‘or</td>
<td>‘bá ‘or</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ceannólifear</td>
<td>‘k ‘á ‘nó: ‘ţ ‘ur</td>
<td>21Ptq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imprs psthab</td>
<td>báití</td>
<td>‘bá ‘ti:</td>
<td>‘bá ‘ti:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Vowels

5.28 Elision of schwa

Coalescence of vowels across morpheme boundaries generally involves loss of schwa, i.e. á > O /d/. This is, however, not always the case, with schwa being retained (mainly in second syllable position in the word), e.g.

imprv -igí:  
krAÉEg í: Sq crAÉEg;  
in SJD.46 there is coalescence in ‘t ‘e ‘íg’i:fe 732. b’íg’i s.v. tá, téig’i s.v. téigim, partial coalescence in s’íg’i: fi:’s 504 and non-coalescence in go’íg’i s.v. téigim;  

pres -im:  
l ‘e:’m ‘r ‘o:ur 46.1032 léim leabhar;  
l ‘le:’m ‘r ‘o:ur 46.1032 léim leabhar;  

pres -ann:  
cén dít a loigheann lai:’on’ sé sin 18J8019;  
bl’iÁn míd’ 46.56 bliónn maid;  

pst-adar:  
xสาว�ar S (regularly) chrAÉEg;  
hiádar f‘is 889P, 11C shuádar sis; note the exchange:  
-váidar an 21Pg Bháidar ann.  
-s dox, víádar an, s dox, v’ái:dar an 892M1211

¹ In some instances the quality of the vowel in the emphatically stressed syllable was perceived as equivalent to, or not substantially different from, the corresponding unstressed version and was therefore transcribed as á. In other instances I heard o, and in others u.
Verbs

Is dóch bhíodar ann ... .
The coalesced *v*ídar is by far more common.

2 Conjugation is regularly *-id*ar but note the weak schwa in *hurní*dar 604 thairíntiodar.

pst -as:

|xριs| Sq chrás.

pst imprs -adh:

|f|r|.fa|w| Mp 77 (= 277), |κρυβ| y m|e| Sq crídh mé.

Even in the third syllable in 2Conj, e.g. *koriáw* 01CARN corraíodh, *n|í|f|á|ri|á|v| f|í|á|ar| e|r* |he|á|d| on| M| ní|or| fh|á|rá|í|odh| s|í|á|r| ar| th|á|da| ann, |cp.| *mur|ri|ú|v* 46 s.v. *hobair*.

For further past impersonal examples, see 5.80 ff., particularly |Table 5.29| and |Table 5.30|.

psthab -adh:

|n|í|h|í|á|f| je| S| n|í| sh|uí|dh| s|é|, |si|á|d| je| 35E| sí|ú|dh| s|é;| y|li|at| f|í|á|d| <<| y|li|t| f|í|á|d| 20M|í| gh|la|odh| s|í|á|d.

prs|b| j -ela:

|l||f|ú| |w|e|t|’|a|n|í|f| |a| d|e|r| f|e| ...| g|á| d|u|g|a| m|í|d|’|a| ...| g|á| d|u|g|a|,| b|rí|x|a| m|e| g|á| s|q| a| n|ó|a| m|e| n’|f|o| w|e| |11C|

-Siúil uait anois, a deir sé, ... go dtiuga mud an ... go dtiuga [speaker retake] bruithé mé agus go ndó mé anseo é; 

*t|u|rá|h|m|e| l’|u|m| e| g*|á| l’|e|á| p|a|rá|k’ |v’|i|k|á|l’ |e|M 

tiá|rá|h|á|í|d|h| mé| li|ó|m |é |g|o| l|é| Pá|d|rá|g| Mh|íc|í|l|é; 

*g|á| l’|u|á|f|e| 20C|q |g|o| l|é|á| s|é; |

[go| n’í|í|m|e| e|] |P| g|o| n|í|[<[n|í|gh]| mé| é;|

|cp.| n|u|g| a| |g|á| m|l|í| |a|n| ‘|k|ó|a|x| |05M|

nó| g|o| mb|lá|o|í|g|h|e| a| c|o|ile|á|ch.| 

pstsh|b|j -inn:

|g|o| n|ó|a|w|’| |a| t|á|x| 11C| g|á| n|d|ó|í|m| a|n| t|e|á|ch;

|g|á| n’|í|á|w| e| 20M|y|q |g|o| n|í|n| [<nígh] é.

pstsh|b|j -adh:

|g|o| s|u|á|f| |f|í| 889P| g|á| s|ú|ó|d| s|í; |

2Conj -igh:

|b|e|ó|í|gh| |w|i|th| p|as| t|h|e|á|í|d|ha’ |(b|h|é|ó|’|a’)| s|é| ...| 866ESemr66| w|r|h|ere| the| tr|an|sk|i|ó|n| |i|m|p|l|ies| a| p|r|o|n|u|n|c|a|t|i|on| *v’|ó|a|.

V|N -|d|h: |κ|r|u|á|v| S| cr|u|á|d|h.

Subjunctive examples can also be interpreted as future stems with loss of *h*. Cf. many examples without *h* in the CAITH class (5.124), e.g. *h*á|ó|d|í|j e |e| 77Csq sháidís é. Indeed it can be argued that many instances of apparent schwa retention may entail other phenomena. For example, vocalic glides can be very prominent between vowels and consonants of opposing quality, and monosyllables can become disyllabic under stress, particularly before pausa (cf. 1.376). Consistent retention of juncture schwa cannot, however, be denied. Particularly striking is the lower degree of juncture in verbal noun *-v* than past impersonal *-av* as illustrated in Table 5.30, p. 955.

5.29 Diphthongs

Centralising diphthongs in vocalic juncture have variable surface realisations:

|ia|a|+|→| i|e| e|g.| b’|í|á|w |M| b|í|á|d|h; |

|ia| e|g.| l|í|á|m| Sq| liá|tha|m, |l’|í|á|sq| Sq |liá|h|as; |

|ia| e|g.| b’|í|á|m |M| b|í|á|d|h, |l’|í|ón| fí|á|d |Mq |liá|th|a|m|n| s|í|á|d; |

|u|a|+|→| u|a|e| e|g.| f|u|á|w 04B| f|á|d|h, |κ|r|u|á|v| S| cr|u|á|d|h; |

|u|e| e|g.| κ|r|u|á|w |M| cr|u|á|d|h; |

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We can compare the variable results of suffixation of \( \text{o} \) in members of the \text{LOBH} class:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{au} & : \quad \text{e.g. } \text{tr'au} \text{ S treabhadh, ga} \text{ M gabhadh;} \\
\text{au} & : \quad \text{e.g. } \text{tr'au} \text{ S treabhadh, ga} \text{ M gabhadh.}
\end{align*}
\]

The 2 Conjugation past habitual and past subjunctive ending is generally \(-\text{iEx} \) (abstractly derivable from \( \text{iEx} + \text{Ex} \)) but definite examples of diphthongal \(-\text{iEx} \) have been noted in: \( \text{N'im'iax 01C and 899D6895–7 n-imíodh.} \)

5.30 Variation of unstressed \( (\text{o}) \) > o: g: a:

Unstressed \( \text{o} \) as a morphological element both in nominal and verbal inflection may be variably realised; in verbal inflection it tends to range between \( \text{o} \) and \( \text{a} \).

Examples of \( \text{a} \), \( \text{a} \) are:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a darr'\text{o} a} & : \quad \text{tu Sq an dtairineoídh tú, ga darr'\text{a}x} \text{ M go dtarainneoinn,} \\
\text{torrafo} & : \quad \text{Mq tocharaiseoídh, diskul' i: 05M d'usclóíít.}
\end{align*}
\]

Generally in the 2 Conjugation \(-\text{of}() \) is more common than \(-\text{ax}() \); in the conditional \(-\text{ox} \) is more common than \(-\text{ax} \) for most if not all speakers. For some speakers, e.g. 19P (P), \( \text{-ax} \) (nonpersonal future) is common. In the impersonal \(-\text{of}'\text{ar} \) \( \text{-of}'\text{ar} \) \( \text{-őifear} \), \( \text{-öffi} \) : \( \text{-őiff} \) are common alternants for speakers SM, P, 43M. Máire sometimes uses \(-\text{ox} \) and \( \text{-ax} \), e.g. \text{d'im'ax d'iméodh.}

When queried, Máire replied \text{d im' ox e ax kosúl' I e a: hen' e M 'd'iméodh' é ach cosúil le 'á' héin é.} Speaker 43M also recognised \( \text{-of}() \) as a genuine variant.

There is a seemingly sporadic example of \( \text{-ax} \) in the 1 Conjugation verb \text{sábháil}, probably due to vowel harmony, in conditional \text{saú俄罗斯 PqEcho sábháthadh.} Only \( \text{-ax} \) has been noted in other instances and it is the only permissible form for Máire: \text{spáiríax Mq spárdálthadh.}

Voice assimilation and dissimilation

5.31 -h- forms

When \( \text{h} \) follows a voiceless consonant it is elided leaving no trace, i.e.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{C-voice} + \text{h} & > \text{C-voice'} , \text{ e.g.} \\
\text{skáip'} + \text{hi} & > \text{skáip i: scáipthe (verbal adjective);} \\
\text{kuox} + \text{ha} & > \text{kuox Je fin' hu: M cuachthaidh sé sin thú (future).}
\end{align*}
\]

Exceptionally \( [\text{hi}] \) + \( \text{h} \) > \( [\text{hli}] \) in 1 Conjugation forms of \text{falmhaigh noted from 43M; contrast her:} \n
\text{VN faitha [fa'hiθa] falmhadh vs. fut fa'lhla [fa'liθa] falmhthaidh.}

Voiced consonants are devoiced by following \( \text{h} \), i.e.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{C-voice} + \text{h} & > \text{C-voice'}, \text{ e.g.}
\end{align*}
\]
Verbs

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{skua} & \ + \ h \ > \ \text{skua}: \text{skuabhaí (vadj)}; \\
\text{sná} & \ + \ h \ > \ \text{sná}: \text{snáimhthidh (fut)}, \text{hná}: \text{snáimhthinn (cond)}.
\end{align*}
\]

The final consonant of verbs ending in \(-v\) may exceptionally remain voiced with loss of \(h\). This was noted in the verb \(\text{snáimh}\), in one future token and a likely conditional token:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nuair a snáimh} \quad & \quad \text{nuair a snáimh[th]eas an bád, tiúrthaidh tú ...} \\
\text{h} & \quad \text{h} \\
\text{E} & \quad \text{E}
\end{align*}
\]

and in the rarely inflected verb \(\text{guibh}\); with regular impv \(\text{git}\), pst \(\text{yiv}\) Sq, fut \(\text{git}\) Sq, but 2sg conditional:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{yiv} & \quad \text{S ghuibh[th]eadh sé an fharrage mhóir;} \\
\text{h} & \quad \text{h} \\
\text{E} & \quad \text{E}
\end{align*}
\]

For the absence of \(h\) in \(\text{úsáid}\), see 5.326; cp. SÁBHÁIL class (5.136).

Speakers 60MMN (father from Cois Fharraige) and 66NAM (mother from An Cheathrú Rua) sometimes retain voicing (partially) before impersonal \(h\), e.g. \(\text{wágh}\) bi; 66N \(\text{bhfáighthaí}\), which 66N also commonly realises as \(\text{wáki}\); also \(\text{dáoghi}\) 60M \(\text{d'fháighthaí}\) (for general western Iorras Aithneach \(\text{wágh}(\text{\textbf{i}})\)). Speaker 44P has impersonal \(f\) in query and conversation but when asked to produce the apparently obsolescent \(h\) variant he proffered, for example, \(\text{togh\textbf{h}ar} 44P\) \(\text{toighearn}\).

5.32  -t- forms

There is an optional rule of stop and labial fricative devoicing before \(t\). The \(t\) can also optionally become voiced. It is sometimes deaspirated without being voiced. There is regular coalescence with dentals. The rule can be formulated as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{C}^{\text{voice}} & > \text{C}^{\text{voice}} /\_t, [d] < t. \quad 1
\end{align*}
\]

All the variants noted are tabulated here.

---

1 It is worth comparing Iorras Aithneach data with GCF and ICF, if only because my presentation, as in other instances, is, in part, based on an effort to investigate the ‘gaps’ in de Bhaldraithe’s description. In GCF p. 70 notes 2, 3 and ICF §145 a partially optional voice dissimilation of \(ct\) and \(gt\) is described. There is no discussion in either monograph of \(pt\) (but it is transcribed as \([pt]\)), e.g. \(\text{skapa}: \text{scapta} GCF p. 70 note 2), nor of \(bt\) (of which I have not noted any transcribed tokens) nor of \(bht\) (but transcribed as \([fd]\), e.g. vadj \(\text{sgla}f\text{do} \text{sglamht(h)\text{a}} GCF §180(ii), imps \text{tr\textbf{h} ofdair} \text{treabhtar} GCF §180 note 4); \(tt\) and \(dt\) are given as \(t\) only.

In summary, the variants noted from de Bhaldraithe’s work are:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{C}^{\text{voice}} & > \text{C}^{\text{voice}} /\_t, [d] < t. \\
\text{Radical} & \\
\text{Voiceless} & \quad \text{ct} & \quad [kt] \quad \text{obligatory GCF p. 70 notes 2, 3} \\
\text{N} & \quad \text{pt} & \quad [pt] \\
\text{t} & \quad [t] \\
\text{Voice} & \quad \text{gt} & \quad [kt] \quad \text{ICF \S145} \\
\text{Radical} & \quad \text{bt} & \quad [t] \\
\text{dt} & \quad [t] \\
\text{bht} & \quad [fd] \\
\end{align*}
\]

The Iorras Aithneach data appear more consistent in comparison, filling in expected variants which are missing in de Bhaldraithe’s pioneering description.
The various morphemes containing t behave differently, quantitatively at least, with regard to assimilation. There are four morphemes in question:

I verbal adjective -tă,

II 2 singular past habitual / past subjunctive -tă,

III impersonal present, imperative (also present subjunctive) -tăr,

IV impersonal past habitual / past subjunctive -tiă.

I With -ta of the verbal adjective, i.e. /_tă, the following realisations of attested ct, pt, tt and bht have been noted:

ct [kt] glaĸt eg a glacta aie, Mpem (in vadj query).
[kd] is common: bakda bacta Mq; mæskda meascta, p’ukda pioca, fiæikda stríaoca, etc., Mpem (in vadj query).


tt [t] only, e.g. t’ ifi’ titthi > titi.

dt [t] only, e.g. get’ gothi.


II With -tă of the 2sg, i.e. /_tă, the following realisations of attested ct, gt, bt and dt were noted, mainly from 20C:

c t [kt] gă v’ ek dar dhá bhfeictá.

gt [gt] gă d’ ig tu’ dhá dtíght (< teara).

bt [bt] (gcs) luþt’ a dhá lúbtá.

[pt] (gcs) luþt’ a dhá lúbtá 21Ptq.

dt [dt] gă go’ tu’ dhá ngóithá.

III With the impersonal in -tăr, i.e. /_tăr, the following variants of attested ct, pt, tt, gt, dt and bht were noted:

ct [kt] tref’ tăr troisctar 8 Mq2, p’uktar piocctar Mq.

[kd] strŏk dar strŏkctar.

pt [pd] skæpp’ a scãiptear Mqsl5.94b.

skæpp’ dar scãiptar 21Ptq.

tt [t] general (but no specific example noted).

[td] t’ itdăr titar, dór’ dórctar, etc., cf. 5.44, 5.47 below.

gt [gt] t’ ig tăr ligtar, t’ ig tăr tigar.

dt [t] gōt ar goidear, cf. 5.44, 5.47 below.
Verbs

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[dt]</td>
<td>trodt  ar  troidtear, fedtar  séidtar  Mq.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[bht]</td>
<td>tr  oft  ar  treabh  tear  12Sperm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[vt]</td>
<td>f'n  ivti: sniomh  tai  [x2]  05M, snaut  ar  snámh  tear  Mq.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

IV With the impersonal in -t(a)i, i.e. /_ti/, the variants from Máire are:

ct [kt] d' ekt  i: d'fheictí, lokt  i: loictí, laskt-  t  i: lasctí.

Máire as a rule does not apply the -ct- here.

pt [pt] not recorded from Máire but my recollection is of forms such as k'aptí: ceaptá.

gt [kd] û  ëk-d  i: leagtí 35E 9226. 

[kd] tukd9iÉ  tugtaí 01C 6422.

[g9] tug 9  tiÉ  tugtaí 899D 6411 (less clearly ARN 6761).

gt9  toÉg  t9iÉ  tóigtaí 01C 6033.

From the examples one can generalise that verbal adjective -ta and 2 singular -tá are often, or perhaps most often, realised as d. There are too few examples to make any definite conclusions as to devoicing frequencies preceding -tá (verbal adjective -ta does not occur following voiced stops) but -tá does coalesce less than -ta (note the noncoalesced dt tokens). The two impersonal suffixes are less frequently realised as d. This avoidance of internal sandhi is a feature of impersonal endings in general which show distinctive juncture phenomena. The impersonal -t(a)i in particular is regularly realised as t. In fact there seems to be a scale of coalescence, with differentiation even within the impersonal ending class; where the verbal adjective (the least ‘verbal’ ending) has greatest coalescence, followed by 2 singular -tá, followed by -tar, and -t(a)i perhaps having least coalescence. The same dichotomy between impersonal endings and other endings is found in the related phenomenon of deaspiration following voiceless continuants (5.34).

5.33 -f- forms

Labial voiced and voiceless fricatives coalesce with a following f, i.e.

-C+fric+labial > ∅ / f/.

E.g. scríobh  fkr'ív + f'ar > fkr'ifar ~ fkr'if'ar (for quality, see 5.54). Rare noncoalescence in query: gi'f'ar  Mq  guibhfear.

An optional rule of devoicing involves the devoicing of stops before f, i.e.

-C+stop+voice > C-voice / f/ (optional).

E.g. fe[f]i: P séidí. Máire regularly retains voicing here, as do most speakers.

Non-assimilation of coronal nasal with labial

Notice that when n and f occur together in impersonal forms, the nasal remains unassimilated as far as place of articulation is concerned, i.e.

bain > banf  i: (not *banf f i) bainfí.
5.34 Deaspiration following \(ch\) and \(s\)

Within morphemes, stops followed by an unstressed vowel have no aspiration and some voicing when preceded by either the voiceless velar fricative or by voiceless sibilants (analysis based on ICF §§135–46), i.e.

\[-xt > [xd\tilde{v}]\]
\[-st, f't > [sd\tilde{v}], [fd\tilde{v}]\]

As noted, this is generally the case where both continuant and stop are contained within morphs, e.g. boxt \(\rightarrow [boxda]\) bochta. Across morpheme boundaries this rule is also often applied, but its application depends on the suffix. Deaspiration is regular with the allomorph of the verbal adjective -\(t\) and with 2 singular -\(tar\); it varies with the impersonal endings -\(tar\) and -\(ti\):

I -\(ta\) [buaxda] buachta, [lasda] lasta. (Contrast Máire’s emphatic pronunciation for Seán who is hard of hearing “fríx | ‘ta M fraoichte.”)

II -\(tu\): ga gasdo dhá gcastá, xroxdor chrochtá, vr'f'da: bhristeá (examples from 20Cq).

III -\(tar\) [f'oxdor muxtár kroz'dor] fiuchtar, múchta, crochtear; with consonant loss [lastar] lasctar.

IV -\(ti\): [muxd'í: buax'tí] múchtí, buachtí; following consonant loss, e.g. [m'æsdtí] measctál.

(All verbal adjective (I) and impersonal (III, IV) examples from M, Mt-\(t\), Mq-\(t\).)

5.35 Consonant place (and quality) assimilation

Homorganic coalescence

When two identical consonants, originally or through assimilation, stand side by side, they are usually realised as a single consonant, e.g. \(d + t > t\) in ged' + t \(\rightarrow\) get \(\tilde{i}\): goíd\(t\) (imprs pshab). For exceptions such as trodt \(\rightarrow\) troidtear, see 5.32. Cf. 5.33.

Palatal place of articulation

Assimilation of palatal place of articulation of the sonorants \(l(')\) and \(n(')\) with palatal \(t\) and of \(f\) with palatal \(n\) is regular, i.e.

\[-l(') + t' > -f't; -n(') + t' > -s't; -f'n' > -f's'\].

This assimilation is, however, not absolutely universal:

\[-l(') + t' \> generally -f't: e.g. bualtí: Mt-\(t\) buailtí, fraíntí: Mt-\(t\) fraudheáiltí; but also bualtí: Mt-\(t\) buailtí, spreáultí: Mt-\(t\) spreáéiltí;\]

\[1\] Recall that clusters agree in quality generally so that, in the present work, only the final consonant of a cluster is marked for palatality (I.IX). For example, the medial clusters of bualtí, bualtí: buailtí; báxtí: báintí; féxtí: fheásáidhí; tóftí: toghte: lúbtí or lúhte: ríftí or ribhte: could be transcribed more explicitly (but less economically) as -\(l't'\), -\(f't'\), -\(s't'\), -\(l's'\), -\(f's'\), -\(l't'\), -\(m't'\), -\(x't'\). Exceptional clusters are \(x't'\), \(r't'\), \(rd'\), \(rv'\), \(rr'\), where only the final consonant in each cluster is palatalised. If both consonants of these exceptional clusters are palatalised, then both are marked as such, e.g. \(x't'\) in is'tar or ishte. All other clusters with opposite palatality are transcribed with a hyphen following the nonpalatalised member, e.g. b-t' with palatalised t' only, or with the mark for palatalisation preceding the nonpalatalised member, e.g. p-t with palatalised p' only.
Verbs

for regular -tú- but also -lú- (as well as -lt-) in the SÁBHÁIL class, see 5.135.

-nú- generally > -nú-, e.g. bantú-[x10] but bantú-[x5] Mt-tí baintí;

-nú- generally > -nú- and perhaps also >> gíntú M gointe.

-lú- in syncope generally > -lú-, e.g. baíntú [x10] but bantú [x5] Mt-

gointe.

Similarly, -rú- is generally depalatalised before tú, i.e. rú+tú > -rtú, e.g.
dúntú d’étai Mq d’eitlídís, the more regular realisation is seen in
dúnta d’eitlíodar.

There are examples of alveolarisation of d’ ú and l’ ll before the palatalised
labial, ú, of the impersonal (cp. ‘Sandhi’ 2.23):

fedú + fú > feftú P séidfr;

kamú + fú > kamfú 20Cq caillfú.

The nonpalatal quality of r before -ñi can be attributed to the depalatalising
effect of the palatalised labial in:

gá gur-fúi M go gcuirftí,

possibly [gur-fúi], although it is difficult to be precise as to the actual place of
articulation of the r.

Alveolar and palatal articulation

In relative present +n+s -nns the n of the present morpheme is alveolarised before
relative s. Following it() the n can in fact be palatalised similar to sandhi (2.22),
e.g.

hain’ s !11C théins, xrin’ s 20Pá chruthaíonns.

Depalatalisation

Palatalised alveolar n is depalatalised before nonpalatal t, e.g. dúin >
dúnta 43M dúintar, bain > bantar 43M baintar (both alternating with more general
dúntar and bantar).

There is a rare example of depalatalisation of -qú + ti > -qtí in t’ígíti: Mq2.11
tígtai (< tuig ‘understand’). Also rare is the first token in the series fesktar
tufddar, tufdar Mqsl5.94b fásctar. Similarly, the partial depalatalisation (to
alveolar articulation) in godtar goidtar alternates with more common gotar.

Palatalised alveolar n is depalatalised before f in n’ét klúntar 892M4310
ní cluinfar. Cp. possible klun-fúi: !(Asp)11C cluinfí. Other consonants remain
palatalised before -far (a less common allomorph than -fær), i.e. -l'f-, -d'f-, -r'f-, -g'f-, -k'f-.

5.36 Syncope

Syncope is regular, although not categorical, in the second syllable of inflected forms of the Second Conjugation AGAIR and AITHIN classes (roots in final sonorants: -f-, -l-, -n-, -r-, -n', -r', cf. 5.164 and 5.166). In kodal codail the d and f coalesce to l in syncope. Any cluster formed through syncope generally agrees in quality with the presyncope initial consonant(s). Without syncope these verbs still generally show quality assimilation although one verb has non-assimilation through nonpalatalisation (cf. eiteal 5.37). Uncommon clusters (in syncope) are dealt with in 5.38.

Examples

(i) Regular syncope and quality assimilation to initial consonant(s):

- aqoř' agair > prsbj agri;
- kangoř' cangail > fut kanglo;  

Exception: tarEñ' tarrainn retains palatal ñ' and, because rn clusters are anomalous, nonpalatal r, e.g. fut tar'ñ', vadj tar'ñha. Regularised to -rn- in pst harna m'ifh (heard from a young girl born c. 1985).

(ii) Nonsyncope with quality assimilation (depalatalisation), noted in tokens of cangail, ceangail, fuagair, imair, oscail, e.g.

SID.46.34 provides the following forms of cangail: n'i: xangloñ' täb'k ...
... n' changlóinn tobac; xangolo: an gcangalá?; xangalóin
... changalióm, where the unsyncopated variants seem to be in phrasal pause position;

SID.46.39 provides two inflected forms of ceangail: pres k'anglli'm mid' ceanglatonn mid; psthab x'anggalid fiad; source 869P2–5 shows syncope in such forms, e.g. cond changlóch (< cangail); cheanglaidís;

a further example of nonsyncope is: k'ángalíx mid' P;

with partial syncope in vadj k'ánggli: suas M ceanglai suas;

eiteal > fut et'añ'fe Mq;
fr 'aestal' freastail > vadj fr 'aestalíha;

fuagar' fuagair > fuagar: m' e: 889P fuagróidh mé;

duagrix a fànan ... duagáid fe ... 11C d'fhuagraíodh an seanfhear ...
... d'fhuaagraíodh sè ...;

duagrox/d ~ duagaro/d 35E d'fhuaagraíd;

... oskali ... deskalox 894Cs ... osciatodh ... d'osclódh.

The final consonant in the unsyncopated form is generally palatal if the final consonant is palatal in the syncopated cluster. Examples were noted in cuimil, imir, tarrainn, e.g.

- cuimil 3pl pst xim'áal'adair M;
- imir psthab imirs d' imrí'tí: iad ... xim'áar'tí: iad 10N;
- tarrainn 2sg cond a darñ'ë tu ... nax darorn'ë: SqEcho, 3pl cond harñ'od'ìf [x3] harñ'od'ìf [x1] 23B;

partial syncope in psthab tar'ñ'ì: M.

Similarly, fairsinnigh and rarely innis (5.166), e.g.
5.37 Nonsyncope

(iii) Nonsyncope with non-assimilation in eiteal (from query only, earlier ar eilltreog now obsolete, replaced by ‘fly’-ail) and oscail:

*eiteal*:

pres et al’en Mq, et el’o Mperm, fut et el’a Mq, also with palatal assimilation fut et al’o fe Mq:

*oscail*:

cond dIskEl [x3] 50N, cf. -kal- 894Cs (5.36) and 66N’s examples further below.

A minority of speakers tend not to syncopate verbs of this kind. Pádraig Ó Nia (01P) is typical of such speakers:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>∅ syncope</th>
<th>+ syncope</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>abair</td>
<td>abro: mid’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fuagair</td>
<td>fuagáirív ... duagáiríw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iomair</td>
<td>iomáire: tu’, VN ag’ umára (all 01P)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Also syncopated by 01P: tarrainn > 3pl psthab harr’id’iʃ, vadj tarr’ia o. This speaker also has epenthesis in (historical) medial clusters containing (mostly) plosives followed by sonorants (‘Epenthesis 2’ 1.35 9 ff.) and similar epenthised or unsyncopated noun plurals, e.g. capall > ka’p’al’ a << ka’p’la 01P caiple.

Speaker 66N depalatalises but does not syncopate ceangail and oscail preceding the innovative 1 Conjugation future impersonal ending in x’aengal-far 66N cheangalfear, uskal-f’ar 66N oscailfear. There is loss of r of the root in her ump-f’ar 66N for traditional tompróifear. She also has 1 Conjugation personal endings without depalatalisation in oscail: àskil’ha 66N oscailthidh, ... nax nàskal’ax ñe ... 66N ... nach n-oscaileadh sé ...

5.38 Clusters

As well as partially assimilated clusters (5.31–5.36), there are some otherwise uncommon consonant clusters which arise in verbal forms. In some cases the cluster is the result of non-assimilation in syncope (whether regular or optional). Clusters containing palatal js are noteworthy:

- r’haf > - r’ h’af: Mq aithrisoideadh
- xaf > - x’ f: tox-f’o 20Cq tochaiseoidh, tox-fíha 20Cq tochaíthe
- xraif > - x’r’ f: toxr-fíha 20Cq tochaíthe
- f’rak’ > - f’r’k’-: kafr-k’ o’ M caisriseoidh
- f’rak’-l’ > - f’r’k’-: kofr-k’tíi: Mq-tí coisrictí

For rare -s-d’, see 5.50.

As mentioned concerning alveolar assimilation (5.35), there is coalescence to tl’ in eiteal: 3pl psthab d’eal’tíd’iʃ 20Cq, more regularly tl’, e.g. 3pl pst d’eal’idar Mq. For -f-d’, -d-t’, -d-t’, etc., see 5.32 and 5.35 above.

Often, the cluster comes about by less regular syncope:
The cluster can also be a result of non-assimilation or non-coalescence at morpheme boundary, particularly before an impersonal suffix:

Due to innovative use of 1 Conjugation inflection with historical 2 Conjugation verbs in:

Another innovative form was noted in:

Cluster simplification is not common; there is, however, loss of k in -sk+t- > -st-:

Note the example of loss of r in the anomalous base cluster -mpr+-f'-> -mp^-f' - in ump^-f' ar 66N for traditional iompróifear (perhaps through haplology with the final r of -fear). In the context of cluster simplification we can compare the common tendency to use η in clusters for more general ηη; this use of η can be interpreted synchronically, for most speakers, as cluster reduction.

Consonant quality

5.39 General

The initial consonants of some verbal morphemes are facultatively palatal or non-palatal. They can be described under a variable rule of the structure (C) → <C'> <C'>. The morphemes are those containing +t- (5.40) and +f- (5.54). The quality assimilation or dissimilation can generally be analysed in terms of contact with the verbal stem. Distant assimilation or harmony is applied by at least one speaker: 20A (Doire Iorrais, -t(e)ar 5.48, -t(a)i 5.53, -f(e)ar 5.56; for his minor variant in h, see 5.61).
5.40  Morphemes in +t- → t ~ t’; I Verbal Adjective -ta/e

There is considerable variation in the quality of the (t) of suffixes in <t> <t’>:

I  verbal adjective -ta -t’a (obsolescent also -të: -t’ë),
II 2 singular past habitual / past subjunctive -të -t’ë,
III impersonal present, imperative, present subjunctive -tar -t’ar,
IV impersonal past habitual / past subjunctive -të -t’ë.

(These suffixes also have allomorphs in h which, of course, add to their complexity. This complexity is best seen in the wide variety of impersonal forms with t ~ h (5.63). For deaspiration, etc., i.e. t f ̣ d d , see 5.32 above.)

The t of II–IV (2sg -t(e)à and impersonal -t(e)ar and -t(a)ì) is usually palatal following vowels’ while it usually agrees in quality with a preceding consonant. Quality agreement is, however, often absent following stems which end in palatalised velars (c and g) and palatalised r (and sometimes other consonants). The most generalised rule can be stated as:

- t follows nonpalatal consonants and palatalised velars (k’, g’),
- t is more prevalent than -t’ following r’,
- t’ follows vowels and palatalised nonvelars (i.e. elsewhere).

The anomalous behaviour of stems in final palatalised velars, k’ and g’, can be ascribed to the phonological ambiguity of these two consonants, i.e. they are at once velar and palatalised. The rule for the palatalised velars taking nonpalatal -t- may be based on place of articulation (+back), rather than phonemic palatal quality, causing selection of phonemically +back -t-. The anomalous behaviour of r’ can be ascribed to the inherent morphophonemic ambiguity of r before t’. This ambiguity is due to the regular nonpalatalisation of r before t’. In simple terms, application of quality agreement of palatal r’ + t’ yields -rt’, a cluster which contradictorily (since it is a result of quality agreement) contains contrasting quality. Re-application of quality agreement on this -rt’- cluster, yields -rt-. This re-application of the agreement rule is the most common alternative taken by speakers, resulting in a cluster with quality agreement. (Cf. 5.40 p. 914 n. 1.) The vocalic conditioning of palatal -rt’- also applies regularly with 2 Conjugation morphs which have the typical shape -it-.

The oldest speakers from whom examples have been collected (869P, 875T, and 894C) observe this three-part rule. They have perhaps slight differentiation between endings regarding r’ — palatal -rt’- being attested with impersonal IV past habitual / past subjunctive -t(a)ì only. In contrast, younger speakers generally have more -rt’- with all endings. Further change is evident in younger speakers’ usage; such speakers (optionally) categorise further palatalised stops along with the palatalised velar stops (by suffixing nonpalatal -t- to them); for example, kr’etar creditar for expected (and older) kr’et’ar creidiear. Speaker 16M (Máire) has changes in the status of other consonants which are qualitatively ambiguous before t, i.e. nonpalatal r and x. With -t(e)ar Máire has expected nonpalatal x > xtar but less often > xf’ar and with -t(a)ì she has x, r > xf’i…, -rt’ë. This example indicates greater differentiation between III -t(e)ar and IV -t(a)ì in younger speakers (as the older system undergoes gradual change). This distinc-
tion is also seen in speaker 43M (Máire’s daughter) whose IV -t(a)í usage resembles the older rule (as far as can be ascertained from her limited number of examples) but whose III -t(e)ar usage has -tar optionally expanding to all environments. (I have heard this expansion of -tar from other speakers of her age-group from the Cois Fharraige area, e.g. glitár glaotar, bìtar bìotar.)

Palatal -t- is regular with the SÁBHÁIL class of verbs, e.g. sAÉwAÉút !iÉsábháiltí (5.135). This can be analysed as direct suffixation to the verbal root, i.e. -l !-t !-.

Given contrasts such as:

- buÉût !Er [only] 12S buailtear vs. sÏÉk !AÉltEr [rare] 12S saiceáltar,
- buEût !iÉ872P buailtí vs. Sl !ÏSAÉltiÉ872P sleaiseáltaí,

it seems that use of nonpalatal -t- can be analysed as suffixation to the verbal stem of the SÁBHÁIL class, i.e. -l !-t !-.

In contrast, the example in Ð !iÉv !ÏòlAÉlÉt !iÉ01Cní bhealáltí can be analysed as suffixation of -t !- to the verbal stem, i.e. -l !-t !-.

I Verbal adjective -ta / -te
The t of I verbal adjective -ta, -te agrees regularly in quality with the final consonant of the verb. Rare exceptions with t !- for expected t have been noted following labial fricatives: sníomh > SÎÉvt !E sníomhte, togh > toft !E M toifte; and l and n in query. There is a small class in -l with regular quality alternation, e.g. siúlta ~ siúilte. See ‘Verbal Adjective’ (5.175).

Morphemes II–IV, which show far greater variation in -t-quality than the verbal adjective, will be described in greater detail in the following sections.

5.41 II 2sg -t(е)á
Although examples of the 2sg past habitual ending in -t(е)á are sparse, it is probable that, in this matter, the suffix resembles the more common 2sg past subjunctive, described below (5.42). Indeed in speaker 20C’s data both endings show no differentiation and are therefore combined in my analysis. In the sampled material from Roinn Bhéaloideas Éireann speaker 894C, for example, has very few 2sg psthab -t(е)á examples, but there is one example from 875T1: bhualteá (cp. thiteá 875T1). Only two of my field informants regularly use this ending: 20C and, to a lesser extent, 21Pt. Examples from 20Cq include:

- hiq !tAÉhÏòrtEn !"So ...thigtá thart anseo,
- doÉltAÉd’óltá,
- vr !iþSd !AÉbhristeá,
- xroxdAòchrochtá,
- lúbtá.

5.42 2sg past subjunctive -t(е)á
The three speakers for whom I have substantial data resemble each other in 2sg past subjunctive -t(е)á. They differ only when -t(е)á follows either vowels or r’. Speaker 20C’s use of -ta following d’ cannot be compared with that of other speakers, owing to lack of examples. Cp. also speaker 852S (5.68).

894Cs, Colm Ó Dubháin, Caladh Fhínse
This speaker has the following pattern:

- -ta follows nonpalatal consonants, the palatalised velar g’, and r’;
- -t’a: follows vowels and palatalised nonvelars, i.e. faigh > go wurt’a: go
Verbs

bhfaightéad, dàin > gə nūxt ə go ndúinteá (and no doubt after palatals);
-hə: also follows vowels, i.e. teighre gə d’echər.

894C, Colm Ó Caoidheáin, Glinsce

The pattern for 894C has been established from his use in song (!894C6, 9) and from a few prose examples (894C6, 9 and 894C2):
-ṭə: follows nonpalatal consonants, palatalised velars (k’ g’) and r’;
-ṭə: follows vowels and palatalised nonvelars (ʃ, ʃ’ and n’ and no doubt palatals l(l), t, d).

Table 5.2 summarises his use with typical verbs and Table 5.3 lists his examples in greater detail.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>-ṭə: -tá</th>
<th>-ṭə: -ṭəd</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nonpalatal</td>
<td>Palatalised (+back)</td>
<td>Palatalised (–back)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td>k’</td>
<td>f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fág</td>
<td>feic</td>
<td>bris</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.3 2sg past subjunctive -ṭ(e)á, main examples, 894C

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>-ṭə: -tá</th>
<th>-ṭə: -ṭəd</th>
<th>Vowel</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>e.g.</td>
<td>fág, tag-</td>
<td>feic (x5+)</td>
<td>stiúil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tag-</td>
<td>894C6, 9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>geall</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>894C6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>894C2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-k</td>
<td>feic (x5+)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-g</td>
<td>lig (x1)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lig</td>
<td>894C6, 9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>894C2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cuir</td>
<td>894C2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>894C2</td>
<td>6, 9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maír</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[x1]</td>
<td>maír:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 5.43 20C, Cóilín Ó Maoil Chiaráin, Mainis

Speaker 20C is my best contemporary source. His system can be implied from the results of a short list of verbs which he cited in the past subjunctive, and a shorter list cited in the past habitual. These are combined and denoted by 20Cq, some further examples from his conversation are denoted by 20C. His system is as follows:

-ṭə: follows nonpalatal consonants and palatalised stops (k’ g’ d’);
-ṭə: follows vowels and palatalised continuants (r’ ʃ’ n’ ʃ’; -ʃf is treated as -ʃ).

Table 5.4 presents 20C(q)’s examples. (The conjunction dhá is not repeated for each verb which it preceded.)

1 It could be argued in the case of éist > eʃf ə that the rule is applied twice, the first part yielding *eʃftə, the second eʃf ə. This would then be comparable with the postulated double application of r’+r > rt > rt, mentioned in 5.40.
Table 5.4 2sg past habitual, past subjunctive -t(e)á and stem final, 20C(q)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nonpalatal</th>
<th>Palatalised (+stop)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>k'</td>
<td>g'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go gasdá, grumta, n'íntá: 20C, nóttá; xroxdá, luptá, doíntá:</td>
<td>go: v'ek'dá'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cas, crom, croch, déan, láb, ól</td>
<td>feic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vowel</td>
<td>Palatalised (–stop)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r'</td>
<td>f(t')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go gartá, n'itá, mat'tá, m'áitá, n'it'á', d'et'á', v'et'á</td>
<td>go gurtá: Perm: m'agartá, w'agartá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>caith, faigh, ith, maith, meáigh, nígh, teighre, b'í</td>
<td>cur (x2)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| One exceptional form was repeated by 20Cq from my query. He permitted and repeated: go gluntar e dhá gcuid(t)á é. (Nonpalatal -ta: here may in fact be an example of a regularly nonpalatal suffix after a nonpalatal stem-final consonant. It is quite possible that cluin (before t) has been reanalysed as *clun as a result of the once common expression a gluin tu an gcuid tú, where n is depalatalised in (original) sandhi. Cp. nonpalatal realisation before f in n'it kluntar 892M4310 ní cluinta, possible klun-f 'í: (Asp)11C cluinfi, 5.35.) Speaker 20C's own form in conversation is go glintá (brother of 21) dhá gcuidteá. Contrast regular go glintá (21J) dhá gcuidteá.

5.44 Impersonal (-t-) and stem final

As stated above (5.40), there is a general tendency for impersonal (-t-) to agree with the preceding root in quality, and to be palatal following vowels. Palatal stops especially, but also r', may trigger the opposite effect and rule application varies between speakers, e.g.

l'ig tar ligtar is most frequent;
seák'áltar S saiédáltar is rare (for Seán and generally);
bual'tar 36N buáiltar implies that 36N may have greater than usual use of tar;
katar 43M caithtar is characteristic of 43M.

There are two impersonal endings, III -t(e)átar and IV -t(a)í, which have t alternating with f. They do not have the same proportion of t and f'. Of the two endings, -t(a)í has the highest f' usage in my sample. It follows that speakers do not necessarily have t or in the same stem-final contexts as f'.

Anomalous examples in the impersonal of treabh (LOBH class), i.e. tr'off'ár 12Sperm, tr'off'í: 12Sperm, may be due to the query context and therefore not 'vernacular', or are perhaps (also) influenced by more regular tr'au'í: , etc. Cp. the rare examples of -ft - in the verbal adjective of togh (5.141) and -vf - in sniomhte (5.40).
5.45 III Imperative, present, present subjunctive \(-t(e)ar\)

The general use of \(-t(e)ar\) is as follows:
- \(\text{-tar}\) follows nonpalatal consonants, i.e. \(-C\text{tar}\), and palatalised velars (\(k ^\prime g ^\prime\));
- \(\text{-tar} \sim \text{-t ar}\) follow \(r ^\prime\) and palatalised stops (probably \(\text{-tar} \gg \text{-t ar}\) with \(r ^\prime\));
- \(\text{-t ar}\) follows vowels and palatalised continuants.

Older speakers tend to avoid \(\text{-tar}\) with palatalised nonvelar consonants. Some younger speakers have a propensity for \(\text{-tar}\) in all environments.

5.46 Individual speakers; 869P – 10B

869P, SID.46; Pádraigín ’ac Con Iomaire, An Coillín

The imperative, present and present subjunctive examples from 869P and SID.46 show the following pattern with regard to quality:
- \(\text{-tar}\) follows nonpalatal consonants, palatalised velars (\(k ^\prime g ^\prime\)) and \(r ^\prime\) (rarely \(\text{-álar}\));
- \(\text{-t ar}\) follows vowels and other palatalised continuants (and no doubt other palatalised stops).

Table 5.5 shows his system with examples.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nonpal’s Depalatalised</th>
<th>Palatalised velars</th>
<th>Vowels</th>
<th>Pal continuants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| \(-r ^\prime \gg -r\)  | \(-k ^\prime\)       | \(-g ^\prime\) | exception stór
tár |
| \(\text{curtar, beítar}\) | \(\text{feictar, f'ik tar}\) | 46 s.v. tchim |  |
The 2 Conjugation -iÉtEr token occurs in a sequence involving a slip of the tongue:

sum É f Él É h Én Ér É f Én É f Én Én É 04B9n

is íomú scéad a hinsiótar faoin bhfear céanna.

Speaker 10B has kurtEr [x3] !10B cuirtar.

5.47 16M, Máire Mhicil Uí Chon Fhaola, Mainis

The extensive data from Máire enables one to examine her patterns in greater detail than any other speaker. In query, on two separate occasions (transcribed on paper slips 5.1994; denoted as Mqs5.94a and Mqs5.94b), Máire was asked to produce the appropriate impersonal forms when prompted with the imperative or the verbal noun. These responses are listed below. (NB d ≠ t here.)

Mqs5.94a (impersonal, various tenses):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>eÉtEr</th>
<th>éistear</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>doÉtEr</td>
<td>dóirttEr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>klÉtEr</td>
<td>clistear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>goÉtEr</td>
<td>goidtEr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brÉtEr</td>
<td>bristear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fÉtEr</td>
<td>fúistear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tÉtEr</td>
<td>tittar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lÉtEr</td>
<td>loisctear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuÉkÉtEr</td>
<td>cúcáltear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koÉkÉtEr</td>
<td>coisrictear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>snÉtEr</td>
<td>snáimhtear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tÉtEr</td>
<td>tigtar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tÉtEr</td>
<td>troidtear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tÉtEr</td>
<td>tréigtar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tÉtEr</td>
<td>tóigtar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tÉtEr</td>
<td>tairgtear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sÉtEr</td>
<td>sloigtear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tÉtEr</td>
<td>séidtar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rÉtEr</td>
<td>ruaigEtEr</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mqs5.94b (impersonal present):

| trÉtEr | trustar |
| tuÉtEr | tomhaistear |
| teÉtEr | toistear |
| tÉtEr | tittar |
| tÉtEr | tachtar |
| trÉtEr | stróictar |
| skÉtEr | skíoctar |
| skÉtEr | scoltear |
| sÉtEr | seóictar |
| pÉtEr | píoctar |
| lÉtEr | loisctear |
| fÉtEr | feistear |
| fÉtEr | fásctar |
| fÉtEr | fáisctar |

To provide further examples, Máire translated a short list of -rÉverbs when prompted by the corresponding English verbs (denoted here by Mq1). In another list (denoted as Mq2, cf. past habitual and past subjunctive 5.52 below, there referred to as Mq-tí), mostly past habitual and past subjunctive impersonal forms were interspersed with 10 present and present subjunctive impersonal forms. From this large set, Máire’s quality patterning can be described as follows:

(i) -tEr follows nonpalatal consonants categorically (except b and x);
(ii) -tEr ~ -tÉr follow palatalised stops (gÉkÉ, fÉkÉ, tÉdÉ, dÉpÉ) and non-palatal b, and x which takes -tEr >> -tÉr (but -tÉr with gÉkÉ noted in query only);
(iii) -tÉr follows vowels and palatalised continuants (rÉ, fÉ, nÉ, vÉ; clusters ftÉ and tftÉ seem to pattern as fÉ, tÉ).1

This distribution can be restated in Table 5.8, the tabular form aiding comparison with other speakers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 5.8 Impersonal -(e)ar and stem final, M(q)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-tEr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nonpalatals</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Cp. 5.40 p. 914 n. 1.
Verbs

Her examples are listed and classified according to (i)–(iii) here. (Numbers represent order of occurrence, e.g. token ‘5’ followed directly ‘4’.)

(i) -tar follows nonpalatal consonants, i.e. -t, -n, -st, -k + -tar in Mq2:
- d: tar 1 déantar, lastar 4, lasktar 5 and in general for lastar,
- lastar lastar, olltar olltar, grantar geartar M;
except for x which, in Mq2, takes -tar (x3), -tar (x2);
- tar: nuxtar 8 múchtar, f oxdar 7 fúchtar, f oxdar 6 fúchtar;
- tar: buxdar buxdar 1bis buachtear, kroxdar 2 crochtear.

(ii) -tar ~ -t -tar (probably -tar >> -t with k ~ g) follow palatalised stops, i.e. g ~ k ~ sk ~
"Ot ~ rt ~ d ~ Òp ~Ô as listed immediately below.
Palatalised stops with -e(ar), M(q):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Cluster</th>
<th>Examples</th>
<th>Cluster</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-d't</td>
<td>-d't</td>
<td>kreidtar creidtar</td>
<td>dt't</td>
<td>trod't ar troidear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-dt</td>
<td>-dt</td>
<td>godtar goidear</td>
<td>t'</td>
<td>got' ar goidear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-dt</td>
<td>-dt</td>
<td>k'red'ar M creidhar</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-t'd</td>
<td>-t'd</td>
<td>dort' dar dóbhar, (t'if dar) tittar</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-t'd</td>
<td>-t'd</td>
<td>titdar tittar</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-g't</td>
<td>-g't</td>
<td>ligtar,</td>
<td>gt'</td>
<td>taer' agtar tairgtear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-g't</td>
<td>-g't</td>
<td>ligtar</td>
<td>tig tar 3 Mq2 tigtar (FGB túig)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-k't</td>
<td>-k't</td>
<td>treftar 8 Mq2 tróisctar</td>
<td>kt'</td>
<td>lofkt' ar loisctear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-k't</td>
<td>-k't</td>
<td>troftar stróictar</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-p'd</td>
<td>-p'd</td>
<td>skæpd'ar scaitpear</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-tar ~ -t -tar also follow b in:</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>luhtar lábhar</td>
<td>bt'</td>
<td>luht' ar lábhear</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(iii) -tar follows vowels and palatalised continuants (r ~ f ~ n ~ v ~; clusters ft' and tf' seem to pattern as fj, fj':
kaft'ar M caitear, similarly, 2 Conjugation -it'ar, e.g. marit'ar M maraithear, baft'ar baitear, buait'ar bailetar; br ift'ar M brisitear; -tar in Mq1: farr'ar e fairtear é, kurt'ar kirt'ar caittear, marit'ar ann mairtear ann, kurt'ar conhaitear; snuft'ar snáimhtear, including the SÁBHÁIL class: sapaft'ar spáráitear but note the rare kukaft'ar cicaitear Mqsl5.94.
Note the surface form fj in fuft'dar one variant of fuft'k'dar fásctar with alternative assimilation in fuskdor.

Table 5.9 summarises Máire’s use and examples. Interesting scales and possible lexical implications can be surmised from the summary Table 5.9. The verb lig, for example, takes consistent -tar but other less common verbs in -q' do not. It must be remembered that less frequent verbs were for the most part requested in direct elicitation and this may have caused a preference for -tar with palatal stops not found in -q' verbs in Máire’s spontaneous conversation. Generally speaking, speaker 43M’s responses to query definitely show a preference for -tar in comparison with her conversation although even in query her fondness for -tar is evident. Máire’s higher use of palatal -ti in comparison with palatal -tar is striking, as is her daughter’s (43M) higher use of -ti in comparison with -tar, albeit in different proportions. (Few -(a)t forms have yet been noted from 43M, one with -ti.)
Table 5.9 -t(e)ar and stem final, examples; M(q)

Consistently -tar:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>k</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>l</th>
<th>r</th>
<th>s</th>
<th>n</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-tar</td>
<td>tr'iktar</td>
<td>puktar</td>
<td>lastar</td>
<td>laśhtar</td>
<td>d'entar</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Consistently -tear:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>r'</th>
<th>f</th>
<th>f'</th>
<th>l'</th>
<th>u'l'</th>
<th>n'</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>-t 2Conj</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-tear</td>
<td>fart ar</td>
<td>kurt ar</td>
<td>kirt ar</td>
<td>maortic</td>
<td>faoert ar</td>
<td>kur 'e'.t ar</td>
<td>mart' ar</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Variable with both -tar and -tear:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>k'</th>
<th>jk'</th>
<th>g'</th>
<th>t'</th>
<th>cp. jk'</th>
<th>cp. jk'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-tar</td>
<td>stroik dar</td>
<td>fuskdar, fusk dar, fuskdar fiaśtar trefk tar</td>
<td>t'ig tar, t'eg tar, t'og tar, t'ig tar</td>
<td>t'itdar, t'itdar (t'it' dar)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-tear</td>
<td>kofrák'ar</td>
<td>lok'tar</td>
<td>taer agl'ar, sligt'ar, ruagl'ar</td>
<td>ef'd'ar, baft'ar, eft'ar</td>
<td>skou'tar</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Too few examples to generalise:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>p'</th>
<th>v</th>
<th>t'</th>
<th>b</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-tar</td>
<td>skaęp'd'ar</td>
<td>snevt'ar</td>
<td>skou'tar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-tear</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.48 20A, Antaine Ó Máille, Doire lorrain

Speaker 20A’s 1 Conjugation use is typical (with some gaps of attestation):
- -tar follows nonpalatal consonants, i.e. skartar scartar; exception: b'íxt'ar bionntear reflecting his more common, and doubtless more acceptable b'ít'ar bitear;
- -tar ~ -t'ar follow r', i.e. kurtar [x4] kurtar [x1] cuirt(e)ar;
- -t'ar follows vowels, i.e. b'ít'ar bitear, t'a'it'ar teightear.

Speaker 20A has a unique pattern (in my sample) of use of -t(e)ar in 2 Conjugation verbs. In his six noted tokens of the present 2 Conjugation, the quality of -(t-e)ar agrees with the preceding consonant or consonant group (more strictly speaking the final consonant in a consonant group, in the case of -rn' - but for variant tenn'itar 20Aq, see further below). His 2 Conjugation thereby follows the (historical) consonantal rule of the 1 Conjugation, i.e. -iit'ar follows roots in non-palatal finals, -it'ar follows roots in palatal finals.
This present tense pattern is also pervasive in 20A’s answers to query but perhaps not as consistent. The possible inconsistency found in query is a token of C’-iÉtEr: tÏòrÐ !iÉt !Er (1) tÏòrÐ !iÉtEr (2) 20Aq tairníotar. His only noted examples following a root-final vowel in the 2 Conjugation were heard in query. They follow the regular postvocalic quality rule of 1 and 2 Conjugation verbs in having V/it+’ar: kruaítear.[x3] 20Aq cruaitear.

Speaker 20Aq applies the equivalent consonant-quality harmony rule in the future impersonal f(’) (5.56), i.e. C’-ofar ~ C’-o’ar ~ V-o’ar.

As far as I am aware, such morphological consonant harmony, which ignores the intervening vowel, has not been reported for any other lect of Irish.1 For -ít ~ -iotaí, see 5.53.

5.49 43M, Máirín de Brún; Others

43M, Máirín de Brún, An Aird Mhóir and Maínis (Máire’s (16M) daughter)

Speaker 43M uses -tar forms in the usual postvocalic and palatal continuant environments. However, she also uses -tEr in these environments. Although data from her are limited, her overall pattern is as follows:

-tar follows nonpalatal consonants;
-tar ~ -tEr follow vowels (including 2 Conjugation) (-t’ar >> -tar) and palatal consonants (including -AÉl !), except û ! which takes -t !Er only.

Table 5.10 presents her recorded examples (initial mutations have been replaced by radical consonants for clarity; examples followed by q were noted in query).

Table 5.10 Impersonal -t(ar)ar and stem final, 43M’s proclivity to -tar

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>-tar</th>
<th>-tar.ar</th>
<th>-tar.ear</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nonpal</td>
<td>x’, V</td>
<td>r’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tugtar</td>
<td>ihtar 2</td>
<td>kurtar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rif ar q</td>
<td>kirt ar q</td>
<td>duncar q</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Compare harmony in labial-initial proclitics exemplified in ba duna ba dona vs. b’a d’as ba deas (Tom Kelly, Baile an Phoill, An Caisleaín Gear); also unstressed initials in Munster following forward stress shift, alternating with assimilated cluster (Ó Sé 1984).

2 In s’i: ihtar irad | s’i: ihtar xor a b’ih irad 43M ni ihtar irad, ni ihtar ar chor ar bith irad.

3 Note the context of this instance with preceding -tar:

- nur’ a xurtar er’ a hív, nur’ a [h]arditar er’ 43M nuair a chuirtar ar a híobh — nuair a hardaitar é.

But many other examples of 2Conj -iÉtEr in conversation show no possibility of list effect, e.g. ... marútar irad 43M ... marútar irad.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>-tar</th>
<th>-tar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-t'ar</td>
<td>-t'ar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bast'ar</td>
<td>n'if'ar kat'ar salid'ar q</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tug</td>
<td>ith, rith</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cuir</td>
<td>dún, bain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glaoigh, medigh, caith,ardaigh, nigh, salaigh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>péinteal</td>
<td>caill</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Variation between mother and daughter was noted in conversation:

- ‘Ní: yuntar, o nuntar 43M Ní dhúintar, an ndúintar?
- ‘Ní: yuxt'ar M Ní dhúintear.

Here Máire reproduced 43M’s lenition (cf. 8.43) but not her -t'ar.

**Speakers with few examples**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>12S</th>
<th>saek'ultar saiceldar, an uncommon form for Seán;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-r' &gt; rt' in dot'ar S doirtar.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14M</td>
<td>-r' &gt; rt in kurtar cuirtar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20C</td>
<td>tog'tar tóigtar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23M</td>
<td>-tar seems quite frequent: kurtar 23M, 23Mq cuirtar, bantar 23M (but bast'ar q) baint(e)ar and note also -ti in kurti: cuirtaí.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36M</td>
<td>nax jusul'ar nach ghiúsul'ar (&lt; use).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**5.50 IV Past habitual, past subjunctive -t(a)/**

The general use of -t(a)/ is as follows:

- -ti follows nonpalatal consonants, i.e. -C/ti/, and palatalised velars (k’ g’);
- -ti ~ -t’i: follow r’ (no tokens recorded of palatalised nonvelar stops);
- -t’i follows vowels and palatalised continuants.

This pattern is very similar to -t(e)ar but the palatal variant has a greater range in -t(a)/. Speakers clearly treat one or more consonants differently to -t(e)ar (frequently r’ but also x and r).

Of the examples of -t(a)/ following g’ from conversation almost all have -g’ti:, e.g.

tog’ti: S tóigtai, l’ig’ti: ligtaí 27M.

We note, however, l’ig’ti: lig’ti 35E9135; following g also rare feg’-t’i: fágti 06C. Most speakers noted, but not all, have both -rti: and -rt’i: following -r’:

- -rti:, e.g. especially often, perhaps, with cuir, e.g. go gurti: 10N dhá gcuirtai, cuirtai 869P, 875T1, 894C, 897P, 899D, 8015, 8159, 11C, 80C3.159; beirtaí 894C, cp. b’erti: S béartaí (<< beir).
- -rt’i:, e.g. kirti: 01C6076, 12S, kurti: 05M, cuirti 869P, 894C.

I have no examples from older speakers of the spread of the nonpalatal variant to position following vowels except for two 2 Conjugation -tii: -totaí tokens:

kirti: f’tæx iad ags caus kiv’iti: ft’i hiod 20Ml

cuirti isteach iad agus coinniotaí istigh iad;

d’ibirti: iod 21C dibriotai iad; as well as 20Aq (5.53).

There are also the interesting oppositions in:

kas-d’i: 35E8298 casti << kasdlí: 35E (e.g. ARN8301) (x2) castaí;

ræk’aul’ti: 897P raiceáltaí, (contrast his assimilation in kurti: cuirtaí);

Ní: v’æl’ul’yi: 01C6059 ní bheal’dtí.
922  Verbs

In the following exchange there is an example of 2 Conjugation -iÉtiÉ from a younger speaker, who was reading from an interview questionnaire; and of the sequence -fítiÉ from an older speaker, perhaps influenced by the preceding -sítiÉ form:

... sua dosiÉtiÉ a toÉg ul a Éi 69A ... sua dtosaíntaí ag tóigeal an Éi?
wel' ... teftíí ... teftíí ... 05M -Bluel ... toistat ... toistat ... .

5.51  Individual speakers

852S, Seán Veail 'ac Con Raio has one example, with regular nonpalatal -taí with nonpalatal stop, i.e. -g > -gtá: dhá bhfáigtá 852S2.

869P–5, SID.46, Pádraigín Mhacaí 'ac Con Iomaire shows typical usage:
-tiÉ follows nonpalatal consonants and palatalised velars (k’ g’),
-tiÉ: >> -fíÉiÉ follow -rÉ,
-tíÉ: follows vowels and palatalised nonvelars.

This system is set out in Table 5.11. It is the same as the system he has for -t(é)ar (Table 5.5) except that his palatal variant -fíÉiÉ is attested (as a less frequent variant) following rÉ.

Table 5.11 Impersonal (-t(a)f), 869P2–5, SID.46

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>-tiÉ: -tai</th>
<th>-fíÉiÉ: -tí</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nonpalatal</td>
<td>Palatal (+back) k’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e.g. glantaí</td>
<td>Ní feictaí</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

875T1, Team Mhacaí 'ac Con Iomaire has, from his three examples, a similar pattern:
-rÉ: > curtaí (x1); -fíÉiÉ: > buailtí (x2).

894C, Colm Ó Caoidheáin has an identical pattern with speaker 869P above, including
-tiÉ: >> -fíÉiÉ: with -rÉ. Table 5.12 displays his examples.

Table 5.12 Impersonal (-t(a)f), items attested and their frequency, 894C

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>-tiÉ: -tai</th>
<th>-fíÉiÉ: -tí</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nonpalatal</td>
<td>Palatal (+back) k’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>regular</td>
<td>feic 894C69</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is, however, an example with a SÁBHÁIL class verb in nonpalatal -tiÉ which may have been transcribed from 894C: dhá sliséaltaí! CABI §499 v. 3 (emended by me from sliséaltaí), cp. 5.40.

01CARN, Colm ‘ac Con Iomaire has a typical system (based on his few examples):
-tiÉ: follows nonpalatal consonants, i.e. tukdí: 6422 tugtaí, and palatalised velars, i.e. toÉg tíí: 6033 tóigtaí;
-t'i: follows r', i.e. kirt'i: 6076 cuírtí (contrasting with present kurtar 6270 cuírtar, as do other speakers);
-t'i: follows vowels and palatalised continuants, i.e. fuaiti: 6048 fuaití, teistí: 6076 toistí.

Note also his n': v'ø̂ːlAÈlEti: 6059 ní bhéalaí (5.135).

04B. Beaittle Ó Con Fhaola has -rt' in go gurt'i: 10tn dhá gcurtí.

5.52 16M, Máire Mhicil Ó Chon Fhaola, Mánis

Tokens were noted from Máire in conversation and from queries. A short list of -r' verbs was translated by Máire from English prompts, represented here by Mq1. A series of impersonal past habitual forms were produced in a taped interview, labelled here Mt-tí, where Máire was asked to produce the form of the verb corresponding to an chaoi a ndéantaí ... also indicated in English to her by ‘how it used to get done.’ For example, with a little practice and reminders from me, she related how butter used to be made when asked Cén chaoi a ndíontaí ... ãosú chaoi a ndíontaí ... also indicated in English to her by ‘how it used to get done.’ For example, with a little practice and reminders from me, she related how butter used to be made when asked Cén chaoi a ndíontaí ... ãosú chaoi a ndíontaí ... also indicated in English to her by ‘how it used to get done.’

These data are the most substantial I have for any individual but they are not comprehensive in that there are no tokens of stem-final t' d' p' or v'. Bearing in mind these gaps, one can determine Máire’s system as:

(i) -t:i follows nonpalatal consonants (k g n) and palatalised velars (k' g') (except in query where -t:i is common with k g n and k' g').
(ii) -t'i: follows vowels, palatalised continuants (l' n' r'), and consonants which do not themselves become palatal in this context (x and r, or -t'i: >> -t:i for r).

When query responses are taken into consideration, there is no environment which has categorical -t:i. Only -t'i has a wider range in query. This may indicate that -t'i: is the less marked variant (and it is perhaps found less commonly in this wider range in conversation). Her examples are categorised in the list below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Numbers indicate order of production.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(i) -t:i follows (a) nonpalatal consonants k g n and (b) palatalised velars k' g' (except (c) in query where -t:i is common with k g n and k' g').</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) nonpalatal consonants:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k in Mt-tí: m'æsdi: (x4) measctí, p' uktí: pioctáí (echoing my form here);</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g in Ms'l: gu we'gí: dhá bhfáigtaí; in Mt-tí: do'gí: (x3) d'fháigtaí, t'gí: (x9) taktuí: (x4) tugtaí;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n in Mt-tí, e.g. d'intí: déantaí, glántí [sic] glantáí, also in Mq2, e.g. d'intí: 20 déantaí.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Verbs

(b) palatalised velars:

k’ in Mt-tí: d’ek tí: (x1) d’fhíeictí;

g’ in Mt-tí: hogh tí: (x1) (and selfcorrected to) togh tí: (x2) t(h)óigítaí, d’ek tí: (x1) d’fhíeictí; in Mq2 > -g’tí: (x2) (3 including -g’tí: 10 tígítaí, l’ig tí: 16 lígtai. One instance of -g’tí: in t’ig tí: 11 tígítaí.

Table 5.13 summarises her use.

Table 5.13 Impersonal (t(a)l) and stem final, M(q)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>-tí- -taí</th>
<th>-tí- -tí</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nonpalatal</td>
<td>Palatal stops (+back)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e.g. d’ugtí</td>
<td>e.g. d’ek tí:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in query also -tí- -tí</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e.g. lag-tí:</td>
<td>e.g. d’ektí:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.53 20A — 43M

20A, Antaine Ó Máille, Doire Iorrais

I have no 2 Conjugation examples in the past habitual form of the verb from 20A’s conversation. He probably uses the conditional form -óifí l-ófáí in this function (mostly or exclusively) in his vernacular. In query, when prompted with
kærnítí: ceannaití from me and only the stem of other verbs, he produced (the order of his responses is retained within each column):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>C’-iá: (x2), C’-iá: (x3)</th>
<th>C’-iá:</th>
<th>V-á:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kærnítí: ceannaití</td>
<td>tærnítí</td>
<td>kruaití</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kærnítí: ceannaití</td>
<td>tairnítí</td>
<td>cruaití</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tósítí:</td>
<td>kriítí</td>
<td>cruinnítí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kærnítí: ceannaití</td>
<td>kriítí</td>
<td>cruinnítí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tosítí:</td>
<td>kriítí</td>
<td>cruinnítí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kærnítí: ceannaití</td>
<td>kriítí</td>
<td>cruinnítí</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These forms are mostly compatible with the consonant-quality harmony rule set out for his present tense forms (5.48) with the exception of the three tokens in C’-iá: This might indicate a greater use of palatal -t’i: than palatal -t’ar, as found in other speakers.

27Cl. Cóilín Ó Loideáin has v’iá: bhítí, g érítí: géaraítí; go gæstí: dhá gcastaí; kurtí: cuirtí.

35E, Eidí Ó Con Fhaola, An Aird Thiar
This speaker’s examples were not noted systematically. He has the greatest use of -t’i: noted in conversation from any speaker, i.e.
- t’i: following r’ kurtí: cuirtí; following r(‘) in laurtí: labhairtí;
following g’ l’iértí: liértí ARN9135;
following g l’aek’dí: leagtí ARN9226, –9; fágtí fug-t’í: ARN9275;
following s kas-dí: castí ARN8298 << kasdi: (e.g. ARN8301) (x2).
Note his regular -ti: elsewhere, e.g. leantaí ARN9302.

43M, Máirín Brown has a higher proportion of t’i: here, as is clear from Table 5.14, than t’ar (Table 5.10). In her limited number of examples:
- ti: follows nonpalatal consonants (l),
- t’i: follows vowels, palatalised continuants (l’ r’).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 5.14 Impersonal (-t(a)i), 43M</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nonpalatal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xurtí: q</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kásdi: q</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ól</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.54 Morpheme in +f- → f ~ f’
The first element in the morpheme of the impersonal future (and secondary future) is f which alternates with f’; in variable notation: (-f-) → <f> <f’>. The most prevalent variant by far is f’, it is categorical for many speakers regardless of the preceding context, i.e. future -f’ar -of’ar, conditional -f’i: -of’i: There are hints that the now obsolescent f was once more common. Evidence on this point transcribed by Liam Mac Coisteala in folklorematerial in Roinn Bhéaloideas Eireann cannot be taken as genuine dialect as his material is very
similar, if not identical, to the standard and to what he uses regularly in his own personal notes and letters, etc. For example, tokens transcribed by Liam Mac Coisteala from speaker 894C include bhfáigfuí, dáiní?í 894C3; 2 Conjugation -eofar, -eofaí 894C2, 3. From 894C’s audio recordings I have noted (eliminating eclipsis): d’Éamhán deánaí, káistéofaí cainteoirí, the latter token conflicting with Mac Coisteala’s material. Significant use of nonpalatal f has been noted from a small minority (5.55 ff.).

Nonpalatal f occurs as a result of coalescence of nonpalatal radical v and palatal -f-. According to the responses from Maire, presented in Table 5.15, roots in nonpalatal -v alternate between -f- and -f‘-, roots in -v take -f‘-; clearly, however, data from spontaneous speech are necessary before any conclusive statement can be made.

Table 5.15 Roots in -v(‘) + (-f-), Mq

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root in -v</th>
<th>→</th>
<th>-f-</th>
<th>~</th>
<th>-f‘-</th>
<th>Root in -v‘</th>
<th>→</th>
<th>-f‘-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>scríobh</td>
<td>jkr‘ífár</td>
<td>jkr‘íf’ar</td>
<td>guibh</td>
<td>giy‘fár</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sníomh</td>
<td>jkr‘ífár</td>
<td>jkr‘íf’ar</td>
<td>snáinm</td>
<td>(snáy‘fár), snáf‘ár</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source Mq5.94.)

Similarly, faigh, with jof- and jeh- future stems, has jofar 46.1017 and jof‘ar, conditional jef‘i; treabhfear has náx dr‘of‘ar ... 11C nach d’treabhfear ... . The qualitative contrast (i.e. C‘ C‘) in juncture of impersonal -f‘- is evident in the regular realisation (for many speakers) in the future impersonal stem of the SÁBHÁIL verbal class. The -lf- cluster is generally -l-f‘-, e.g. saol‘fár sábhálfear, saol‘f-é sábhálfí. There are instances of insertion of either weak or full schwa between the nonpalatal stem and the palatal consonant of the suffix, perhaps in an effort to retain the contrasting consonant qualities, e.g. sáék‘eit‘i: 19P saiceálfi.

The verb tomáin is a member of the SÁBHÁIL class (for many speakers) and Maire shows a vocalic insertion, rare in her overall verbal system but fairly frequently in this environment, between stem and (-f-):

tumánf‘ar (x6(+)) tumánf‘sar tumánf‘ar M tománteoir

(Both consonants are palatal in the cluster in the last example. The variant without schwa insertion therefore has quality agreement in the cluster.) Similarly, in -áf‘- (far less common than -al-f‘-):

 X‘i: v‘éluif‘i: 01C6057–9 ní bhealáltí.

5.55 Minority nonpalatal <f>; 869P — 892M

Five individuals who have minority nonpalatal <f> are described here (869P, 872P, 892M, 20A, 36P) as well some details of other speakers.

869P, SID.46, Pádraigín Mhacaí ’ac Con Iomaire, An Coillín

The tokens noted from SID.46 are presented in Table 5.16. (Words cited refer to entries in the Vocabulary in SID.46.)
Table 5.16 Impersonal f~f, SID.46

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Future -f(e)ar</th>
<th>Conditional -f(a)i</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>f’ar</td>
<td>far</td>
<td>f’i:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-V</td>
<td>bufar 1159</td>
<td>9 aglofar loiseac</td>
<td>bufi 1159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jaigb</td>
<td>jofar 1017</td>
<td>jef*i: 280</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-bh, -mh</td>
<td>jnifar 230</td>
<td>jgiri: 140</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-C</td>
<td>kirfar Mp 193</td>
<td>v’ek f*i: tekim</td>
<td>buaf f*i: bualadh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>f*‘f*ar VIII.9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b’erfar 1017</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-C</td>
<td>posfar Mp 192</td>
<td>ggsf*i: 930</td>
<td>d’iarf*i: deirim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a’d’iarfar deirim</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SID.46, therefore, has nonpalatal f more frequently and in a greater range with -f(a)i than with -f(e)ar. Following vowels f*i: in particular is noteworthy. Otherwise, no clear pattern is discernible. Cp. 869P–5: catbfai [often] 869P2 agreeing with SID.46 but buaifí/869P2 contrasting with SID.46 (and according to standard orthography). I have not noted systematically speaker 869P’s f-impersonal forms from his audio recordings but, in the tokens which I have transcribed, I have palatal f*i: only (disregarding eclipsis):

buail > buafí: (x2), caill > kuaifí: ;

tabhair > t’ur-fí: , cas > kas-fí: (x4);

with one future tense token, which is perhaps palatal:

? náx s’én-f*ar nach ndéanfear.

It is difficult to reconcile the contradictory evidence of SID.46 and speaker 869P’s audio recording, unless Wagner’s other informant or informants are involved. The palatality of unstressed labials, particularly fricatives, is auditorily indistinct and Wagner may have misheard f for f’. He actually states that ‘f and f’ are often hard to distinguish’ (SID! xxiv, second footnote: a statement with which I concur). But it seems unlikely that he would mistranscribe the nonpalatal glide in f*a:, particularly following back vowels. It may be significant that f*a: occurs in the Texts (which are clearly full of mistranscriptions, 1.419) and Vocabulary. Unfortunately, I have noted no example following a vowel in 869P’s recordings.

872P, Peadar Ó Clochartaigh, Mainís

This speaker has fi: with nonpalatalas (ceap, déan, fáig) as well as palatalas (bain, fáisc, feic). He has f*i: with cuir as well as with vowels (caith), including of*i: (daingnigh, tosaigh). Based on these examples, speaker 872P resembles closest speaker 892M (further below).

892M, Mícheál Ó Coirbín, Dumhaigh Ithir

Speaker 892M’s system, which is unique in my sample, is presented with examples in Table 5.17 (numbers refer to 892M). He has f* following vowels, and f elsewhere, including following palatal consonants.
### Table 5.17 Impersonal f ~ f', 892M(ARN)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowel +f'</th>
<th>Consonant +f</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fut</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bu'ar</td>
<td>n'imfor 3628</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n'è klúin'fär 4310</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Cond</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xa'f:i, bu'f:i, laurof'i: 4342</td>
<td>d'ín'i: 2857, b'erf'i: 5515, 1090, f'urf'i: 1295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ga gau'fì (x2) 1253, –5, –60, d'èg'fì: 1401, kr'èd'fì, kir'fì, dèg'fì: 3701, f'ek'fì: 3718</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Verb</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>báigh, caith, labhair (2Conj)</td>
<td>beir (béar-), déan, leag, labhair (tiúr-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>caill, creid, clain, cuir, feic, tòig</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that his -tiː allomorph follows the common rules regarding palatality, e.g. ruag' tiː ruaitait, cuirtait.

#### 5.56 16M — 36P

##### 16M, Máiré Mhicil Ó Con Fhaola, Maínis

Máire has regular -f' - in the impersonal, only a few examples have been noted with -fiː, i.e. ga weag'fì: go bhfáigfai, deag'fìr mix' a'fìg' i d'fháigfai amuigh uilig i, and i'fì: iocfai. These examples follow nonpalatal velars. Even here -f'i is more common for Máire. It is hard to tell whether she also has -fær as a less common alternant in this context, palatal quality being less clearly audible before schwa in -f'ær in contrast with i in -f'ær.

##### 20A, Antaine Ó Máille, Doire Iorrais

Speaker 20Aq has nonpalatal f following nonpalatal root-final consonants and palatal f' following root-final consonants and root-final vowels. This rule applies equally in 1 and 2 Conjugations (20Aq):

- C'f'ar duanf'ar dúnfeair;
- C'-of'ar tosof'ar tosófar, k'æglófar ceanglófar;
- C'-of'ar krín'of'ar crúinneofair;
- V-of'ar kruad'of'ar cruaóifear.

The only exception noted in query involves a cluster with contrasting quality (nonpalatal r followed by palatal s') in a syncopating verb:

- rs'-of'ar tàrrs'-of'ar tairneofar < tarraíinn.

Speaker 20A also applies this harmony rule of consonant quality in -tiː of the impersonal present (5.48) and past habitual (5.53).

##### 27Md, Mary Derrane, Leitir hArd

Speaker 27Md is an example of a speaker whose quality of impersonal (-f-) is very difficult to ascertain. I have noted -of'ar and -al'far (following back vowels) but one may transcribe jef'ar gheifeair from the quality of the vowel before f, even though the quality of the intervocalic f seems quite neutral.

##### 36P, Pádraig Team Phaits Uí Cheannabháin, Coill Sáile

In reply to query, speaker 36P produced nonpalatal <f> exclusively in all environments. On another occasion, however, he was noted by me with palatal <f'> only, i.e. medáifear, milfear, cuirfeair. Further investigation is clearly necessary to determine his usage.
Allomorphy

5.57 Allomorphy in the verbal system

Two main types of allomorphy are distinguished here, although it is not practicable to retain the distinctions in all cases: allomorphy of tense markers and allomorphy of person-related verbal suffixes (personal, nonpersonal and impersonal). The allomorphy brought about by conjugational syncretism is also distinguished: replacement of 2 Conjugation endings -ígí, -sodar, -idis by 1 Conjugation -ígí, -adar, -idis.

Allomorphy of tense markers

5.58 Future personal allomorph h, rarely f

The regular personal future marker (including secondary future) in the 1 Conjugation is h. A rare example of f (in the future of the irregular verb tabhair), is attested in SID.46.305:

\[ ix\acute{\text{i}} \, m\acute{\text{e}}, \, r\acute{\text{e}}d \, a \, \acute{\text{b}}'e, \, \acute{x} \, \acute{\text{ur}}\text{as} \, tu \, \gamma\text{om} \, (alt. \, \acute{\text{r}}\acute{\text{e}}d \, a \, \acute{\text{b}}'\acute{x}' \, \acute{\text{ur}}\text{fas} \, tu \, \gamma\text{om} \, \text{is} \acute{\text{e}}m \, \acute{\text{e}}, \) \, i\acute{\text{h}}\acute{\text{idh}} \, m\acute{\text{e}} \, \acute{\text{rad}} \, a \, \acute{\text{bi}}\acute{\text{th}} \, a \, \acute{\text{th}}\acute{\text{i}}\acute{\text{ur}}\text{has} \, t\acute{\text{u}} \, \acute{\text{dh}}\acute{\text{om}}, \, (alt. \, \acute{\text{rad}} \, a \, \acute{\text{bi}}\acute{\text{th}} \, a \, \acute{\text{th}}\acute{\text{i}}\acute{\text{ur}}\text{fas} \, t\acute{\text{u}} \, \acute{\text{dh}}\acute{\text{om}} \, \text{io}\acute{\text{s}}\acute{\text{aidh}} \, m\acute{\text{e}} \, \acute{\text{e}}). \]

The alternation in position of the greatest degree of friction is noteworthy in this instance; the main friction occurs in word-initial position in the initial token, word-medially in the second: \[ \acute{x} \, \acute{\text{ur}}\text{as} \, ... \, \acute{\text{h}}'\text{urf}-. \] (It is, however, possible that the second token was misheard by Wagner through misperception of the position of the more strident segment; hearing \[ \text{h}'-f \] for what may actually have been \[ \text{x}'-h \].
Cp. Laver 1994: 262–3.) Note that the future stem of sri: sraoth is sri:h >> sri:(h)
M. This verb also has sri:f- in the verbal adjective and verbal noun. One could claim that it has two stems sri:- and sri:w-. It is classified as a minor irregular verb below (5.323). Cp. suidhfinn \[ \text{894C9} \] which is transcribed with an adjoining note ‘pron[ounced] suithinn and suifinn’; there is also the possibility of an f’ realisation being indicated in the spelling suidheach \[ \text{875T1} \]. For the impersonal f ~ h, see immediately below.

Future h can be reduced or lost in all environments except following original voiced nonsonorants which are regularly devoiced through coalescence with h. It is absent most commonly following sonorants, especially in unstressed syllables (e.g. SÁBHÁIL class, 5.135). Individual, network, and other possible conditioning factors regarding the presence or absence of future h have not been investigated. One can compare the analysis of ± h in the root of the CAITH and BRUITH classes (5.124, 5.134), and in the description of ± h beside sonorants in general, which includes future h, denoted as the variable (SONh) in the ‘Historical Phonology’ (1.394 ff.). For rare absence of h in the future stem following v’, attested in snáimh and guibh, see 5.31. The verb úsáid, which has limited usage, can also have the future stem without h (5.326).
Impersonal (-f-) forms

5.59  f(’), ~ h / Ø

In the impersonal future stem in the area of Iorras Aithneach west of Roisín na Mainchóch -h- occurs sporadically in the speech of the older generation. It has been noted only once in SID.46, in the conditional of faigh, against nine f*-forms in the impersonal conditional:

b’ed’ar nan vihi: 46.1017 b’fhéidir nach bhfaightí.

(See Table 5.20 p. 936 for this speaker’s past habitual -thí and other (obsolescent) endings.)

West of Roisín na Mainchóch -f*- is, by now, almost universal. Of the -hiÉ forms Mairé commented:

... wihi: n’ed’axi: el’ ak’wif: a d’erhax mid’a Mq

... ‘bhfaightí’ in áiteacháile eile acú, ‘bhfaighfí’ a déarthadh muide.

Nonetheless, rare examples of -siÉ -sfí occur in this western area. In Mairé’s speech -siÉ is very rare indeed but one example was recorded (out of ca. 160 f and t forms) in kasiÉ: er’ Mt-fas air, with past habitual meaning (possibly to be taken as past habitual form). The only example noted from Pádraig, Mairé’s brother, is:

 go bosí mid’ f e’x’ed’ a ... bos-f’i: ... !P go bpósfí muid le chéile.

The realisation -siÉ -sfí for the far more common -s-f’i: -sfi in West Iorras Aithneach has (at least synchronically) the primarily phonetic motivation of cluster reduction. It can be compared with the absence of /f/ in a small group of adjectives following copula s, e.g. as ar is fearr (9.127, cp. 1.404). The younger speaker 72C (Mainis) has hiÉ in n’i xa:hi: 72C ni chailltí, l’ik’i: 72C lightí (both forms recorded in 1994). She may have acquired this from her partner (and his network) who is from Ceantar na nOileán where hiÉ is the norm. A speaker from Gabhla (North-West Iorras Aithneach) has past habitual iÉkiÉ íocthai. The last and only recorded native speaker from Leitheanach (North-West Iorras Aithneach) has mostly f’ar/f’i: but also conditional grupi: 20Ml gcrupthaí. His father was a native of Loch Con Aortha (North-East Iorras Aithneach), the possible significance of which will become apparent in the following section.

5.60  East Iorras Aithneach; 885Sb — 15Pn

In Roisín na Mainchóch and in townlands further east a minor variant h is found, particularly, in the far east, in Loch Con Aortha and Doire Iorrais. There are speakers in this area who have f(’) only as in West Iorras Aithneach. For example, 01P (Doire Iorrais) has -fear (x5), -fí (x8); past habitual -f-i (x2). Similarly, in their recording 13Jd and 22M (of Loch Con Aoratha and Coill Sáile respectively) together have 9 tokens out of 9 in f’ -f-. In query and conversation, speaker 44P (Loch Con Aoratha, 22M’s son) has -fear, -fí; past habitual -ti. He does, however, acknowledge 1 Conjugation impersonal forms in h as genuine local usage, claiming that h was once the majority usage in the area. He does not permit h (or finds it very doubtful indeed) in the 2 Conjugation, i.e. *-óithear,

1 The asterisk following a consonant indicates both palatal and nonpalatal quality.
2 She also has (in 1994) bohar 72C bóhar and mar sin > mar hin both of which she may have acquired from the speech of Ceantar na nOileáin.
*-*óithí 44Póperm. Speakers from East Iorras Aithneach who have forms in h are listed here.

885SB. Seán Éadbhard Úi Bhriain (Loch Con Aortha) has forms in f, one form in th and one in ch in the three tales published in Ó Duilearga (1962–4; abbreviated as TS):

- future f béarfar 148;
- conditional f béarfaí 152;
- th go bhfuighí 152, similar to Table 5.20 (and discussion);
- ch coinneóchaí 136, perhaps (misheard) for -oíthí.¹

889P. Pádraig Ó Madaín (living in Coill Sáile) was noted with 1 h or f token, 18 f tokens, and 3 t tokens. The t is found in past habitual casail and past subjunctive dhá scuabtaí, go ndíontaí; hi or fí: in go mbainfí. Otherwise conditional and past habitual have f, e.g. bainfí, milfí, go ndionfí, chaithfí, lionfí, casfí, ní haithneoifí; future caithfear.

897P. Peadar Ó Cadhain (Loch Con Aortha) has only a few tokens overall in the impersonal in his material: one future token in hþ, two past habituals with t alternating with hþ, and two conditionals in fÔ. Both h-tokens occur in the common 1 Conjugation verb in vocalic root, caith:

- future h kahár caithear;
- past habitual t ~ h ræk’ut’ti: raiceáiltaí,
  theagadh ... xahí: chaithí boltaí a chuir;
- conditional fÔ bhí faítos ar an athair go leagfaí [-fí, probably non-palatal] an teach,
  cè casfí dhíó.

His neighbour 899P (Loch Con Aortha) also has conditional fÔ: cuirfí 899P.

899D. Mac Dara Ó Loideáin (Roisín na Mainchóch) has past habitual tugtí: ARN6411 and tuí: (perhaps tuí) ARN6422 tug(h)úí.

03V. Veail Ó Donnchú (An Bhánrach Ard) has -hár in future tok’ar 03V tóighearr; similarly in subjunctive position mair dok’ar 03V mair doighearr.

15Pn. Peait Cheoinín (Finis) was noted with regular f but also 1 h token: kir’hár cuirfí.

5.61 20A — 60M

20A. Antaine Ó Máille’s (Doire Iorrais) material was analysed less thoroughly than 889P’s but he was noted (in future, past habitual and conditional) with 4 h tokens (following r and s; two of which are phonetically null, i.e. surface ɸ), 23 fÔ tokens, and 1 f token. The fÔ is found in past habitual bhítí. The tenses occur as follows:

¹ Cf. p. 934, including n. 1.
932  Verbs

future  h  2  kur' har cuíthear, t'urhrur tiúrthar;
f(') 20  buail-, caith- (x3), cas- craith-, cuir-, fhág-, gabh-, glan-, lion-, rucáil-, scáip-, spréigh-; -ó(i)f(ær) (x6).

pstab / cond  h  2  xasi: chasthai, kir' i: cuíthi;
f(') 3  buail-, d'fhág-; -ó(i)f(ær);
t'  1  bhí-.

These data suggest that there may be a greater use of h in the pstab / cond than in the future, i.e. hi: (2/6) >> har (2/22). The allomorphs in h follow stem-final -r (x3) and -s (x1). One aberrant token is unique in my survey:  

| t'urhrur 'k'æd 'fær an'fin' ox | 20A Tiúrhar cead fáis ansin dhó. |

The simplest analysis of this -uÉr is to take it as a rare type of vowel harmony. (Compare, however, the historical long vowels in future -ir (in kaiz'ir caillfidhear) heard from a speaker, born c. 1930, from Cladhnaich, An Cheathrú Rua and xez'ir 59P (Ros Múc); and a lowered by-form in -er in sga gaor' er sula gcaílthear heard from Séan Bán Breanaind (RnG) from Cois Fhbarraigh; also -(h)ur GCF §§168, 189. Compare also the by-form ji: haen'her containing aithnithear (5.63), and 2Conj pres -ir GCF §189 as well as más choimnithear mà xin'ir which I have in my notes on a speaker from Ros an Mhíl.)

21J, Jó Guairim (Roisín na Mainchloch, mother from Loch Con Aortha) was noted in conversation with conditional kur' hi: 21J cuíthi, go wi: 21J go bhfuighthi. In query he produced -f' i: -f' ar -i: -of' i:; and permitted -hi:; He was doubtful regarding -hur and did not permit -ohi:; (note attested -oi: 892M, 5.63).

31D, Dara Ó Flathartaigh (An Aird Mhóir). In the recording labelled 31D1, this speaker has a minority of h forms, following C\textsuperscript{voice} only, in the conditional (and past habitual).

Table 5.18 Impersonal f', t >> h, 31D

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>-tar</th>
<th>-t'í:</th>
<th>-f'í:</th>
<th>-hi:</th>
<th>-f' ar</th>
<th>-i'í:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>With verb in -C</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With verb in -V</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

His two examples containing -hi: follow stem-final -r and -g. They are:

g' urhi: gearrthai (pstab), N'ir ho'k i: (perhaps -gh h-) ní théighthi (cond).

49J, Jósaí Cúg (Aill na Brón, mother from Ros Múc) has considerable influence from

\footnote{1 Contrary to D. Greene (1973: 130), future 1Conj -ohur and 2Conj -urch in GCF §§168, 189 are not reflexes of lengthened -ur but are best explained as lowered forms of -ir and -or; presumably also Donegal -har < -fúthear, as suggested by Wagner (1959: 91). Historical 1Conj -ir and 2Conj -or (the latter attested in East Galway near Galway city, e.g. noted by me in Paráiste an Chaisleán Gheara) undergo parallel lowering to -or in GFC (i.e. -ir > -er > -ar; -er > -ar; cp. 2Conj future stem o' u; 5.30, and 2sg -óthá and -ítheá having reflexes in -óthá, -óthá, -óthá (including -óthá), -íthá, 5.67). We can compare the similar variants and lowering in (Vex) plurals (4.118 ff., especially 4.126). Both the nominal plural and impersonal contexts contain a front and back vocalic range in unstressed position preceding consonants liable to cause lowering (ch, r). It seems unlikely, however, given the isolated nature of t'urhrur, that the high back vowel of -ur is in some way analogous with nominal plural <uex> (the u: in -ur could be related to the labial f in impersonal -far).}
the dialect of Ros Muc. In query he has 1Conj future -f ar ~ -har, conditional -f i: << -hi; 2Conj future -of ar ~ -ohar, conditional -ohi.

60M, Micheál Ó Hoipicín (Maínis, father from Doire an Locháin, East Cois Fharraige) has conditional -hi in:

\[ x u f i : a n ^ \prime f i n ^ \prime \ or t \ as \ do g hi: a n ^ \prime f i n ^ \prime h u \ 60M \]

\[ s h i u i \ h i : a n s i n \ or t \ d e f h ^ \ h g h i : a n s i n \ h i a \]

5.62 66N; Conclusion

66N. Nóra Ní Chlochartaigh (An Aird Mhóir, mother from An Cheathrú Rua) has only f*-forms in the future. The f* is overwhelmingly palatal. In the conditional, on the other hand, -f i: is less frequent than -hi. The traditional 2 Conjugation conditional ending, her least frequent variant, has only -of i:, i.e. not *-ohi:. Table 5.19 presents her examples.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 5.19 Impersonal h ~ f’, etc., 66N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1Conj Examples</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of exx noted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Conjugation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yort-f ar, ump-f ar, (i\n)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i:nj-f ar, x'aenggol-f ar, uskal-f ar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of exx noted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conditional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1Conj Examples</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of exx noted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Conjugation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-hi: 15+, -i: 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of exx noted</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note \(ga\ mr'if i: 66N\) go mbrísthí where a degree of juncture, probably to do with syllabification of f, was heard between the f and the following vowel.

There are too few examples of h variants in my data to interpret any possible conditioning factors. It is noteworthy, however, that hi: seems more productive than har. For example, hi: has been recorded from more speakers than har (hi:,

\[^{1}\] For traditional iompriofear.

\[^{2}\] Use of ‘(+’) indicates that these forms have probably been heard more than the amount shown.
11 speakers, including 4 in West Iorras Aithneach; har, 2 speakers, in East Iorras Aithneach only). Speaker 20A has hi: proportionally more than har. Speaker 21Jq, as pointed out above, also indicated -hi: 21Jperm but -har 21J??perm. Similarly, speaker 66N has both hi: and f’i: but f(“)ar only.

5.63 Impersonal -t- ~ -th- (-f- ~ -th-), and -i ~ -e

West of Roisín na Mainchíoch the impersonal imperative, indicative present, past habitual, and both the present and past subjunctive, have a characteristic <t> constituent. Among some of the oldest speakers, however, a more conservative <h> variant is found:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pres / psb 2 Conj</th>
<th>-iÉhEr</th>
<th>&lt; -ighthear</th>
<th>(current -it(‘)ar)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Psthab / psb 1 Conj</td>
<td>-hi:</td>
<td>&lt; -thí</td>
<td>(current -t(‘)i)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psthab / psb 2 Conj</td>
<td>-tí ~ -iÉhWo</td>
<td>&lt; -ighthí ~ -ighthë</td>
<td>(current -it(‘)í)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Pres / psb -iÉhEr is now seldom heard. The ending -ithí (representing -iÉhi: from RBÉ, noted in only three examples) is now obsolete and -iÉhWo -iÉhë is obsolescent (this -iÉhë is homophonous with verbal adjective -iÉhWo). There is also one noted token of 2 Conjugation -f from 866E, one of the oldest speakers. E.g.

-ithí, -iÉhë, -ití have been noted from 869P–5;
-ithí in sula n-airtíthí iad 866ESc229.31 (cp. nó go geriochtaíthear thá Sc276.14);
-iÉhWo from 880P, 27Cbh, -iÉhë from sOc3.159;
-iÉhWo and -ithí (in a local song, cp. -iÉhë and -iÉhë also in song) from 894C.

There are three further obsolescent forms best classified as <h>-less variants:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Presb 2 Conj</th>
<th>-iÉr</th>
<th>reduced form of -iÉhEr</th>
<th>(current -it(‘)ar)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cond 2 Conj</td>
<td>-oi:</td>
<td>*-ohi:, cp. -ocháth</td>
<td>(current -of i/)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pstsbj 2 Conj</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>(current -it(‘)í)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Loss of <h> is common in other regressive 2 Conjugation endings, e.g. 2sg -oxhó: ~ -ox, etc., (5.65), verbal adjective -iÉhWo ~ -iÉ ~ -i, etc., (5.172 ff., especially 5.181).

In fact, present indicative -iÉhEr has been noted from a traditional narrative in the verb maraigh and from conversation only in the verb abair, i.e.

mu maráthar e 898P
má maráthear é;

(i m in ák’ a habríthean e 25M ní minic a habráithear é;

gar m in ák’ har | a habriáthr ... 25M gur minic a habráithear an focal.

(Speaker 25M is a nephew of 869P (Table 5.20) who has important obsolescent -th- usage, including -iÉhë.) The form is permitted by Máire, commenting:

abríthear a abraíonns maidé ach tá tú i ndan an dá rud a rá.

The forms -iÉhEr, -iÉhWo, -iÉhë, etc., are present in the interjection:

já hën iÉhë 84P; jìr hën hë 14M; i: hën iÉhë SM; i: hën iÉhë SM; i: hën’iÉhë M; n’i: hën’iÉhë S; i: hën’er S; jì: hën’er S.

1 *-ohi: is unattested in Iorras Aithneach. In Ros Muc (directly to the east of Iorras Aithneach), -ohi: is the traditional form (which I heard from speakers born between 1910 and 1920 and younger speakers).
This idiom is not understood literally by any of the speakers quoted here; it seems to be derived from (Ó) Dhi a haitnìthear, following FFG s.v. aithníonn² (84P was not queried). An example of -ithear in the present subjunctive from speaker 866E is:
In the present subjunctive it seems that -ithar is prevalent in speaker 892M (cp. his conditional -oi: directly below); attested in marìthar in:
- ... níl tusa le aon bháis a fháil choicin, a deir sí, go maraithear le gunna thú. ... — ... go maraithear le gunna mé. 892M4471–5.
The endings -ithar ~ -itir are currently heard in the greeting:
go m’ènìthar / m’ènié dir’ go mbeannaíthear duit, etc.

Conditional 2 Conjugation -oi: was noted from 892M only:
Ní: k’è xo: (na) gl’uma wai ARN2500, 2502
né ceannìthí (na) gliomaigh uaidh;
cp. a klìf’ udon a hímr’ oï: o: wad’ an’ ... !(Ascn)04B
an clúiche idan a hímrìthí ó mhaidin ... .
The spelling -óchait, transcribed from some of our oldest speakers (from Loch Con Aortha and Roisín na Mainíchoch), may be best taken to reflect actual -ochi:, as still heard in Ros Muc (p. 934 n. 1; but *-oxi: is a remote possibility, cp. -ochamois, 5.94, and spelling -óchá (e.g. 864M0T60), no doubt for -oха):
níos túisce ná coinneóchait sa gcaithdoir i 852SbTS136;
-Marbhòchaide mé ... -Marbhòchaide mise 864M0T47.
The single example I have of -i in the 2 Conjugation is: dá n-insí aon Sc168.29.

5.64 869P, Pádraig ‘ac Con lomaire
It appears that speaker 869P2–5 (Roinn Bhéaloideas Éireann) has a wide range in this variable: -ith(h)ear, -ith(h)i, -ith(h)e, -ith(h)ea, as set out in Table 5.20, supplemented by SID.46 and 869P where feasible. The totals are given as a very rough guide to frequency; only one token indicates that only one was noted; frequent forms were not all noted.
Speaker 869P occasionally has h in the conditional, e.g. (irregular faigh):
in aith nach bhfuighthí [bfhuiththí] aiche é 869P2;
ì ceanaíth e 46.1017 b’fhéidir nach bhfuighthí.
This means that 869P has *-i: >>> -hi: and *-i: >>> -hí: (although the h variants are confined in the conditional to the verb faigh in my sample).
The transcriptions of -ith(e) from Roinn Bhéaloideas Éireann are corroborated by one published token (SOC), by two tokens of -ihó from audio recordings (880P, 894C) and one from conversation (27Cb, the youngest speaker with this form and neighbour of SOC):
Deasaíthe le fraoch is fiontarnach é, agus caithtí scrathacháth é ... SÓC3.159;
k’ènìtha 880P ceannìtkhe;
nor’ a tuqí: nuas a mad ugas osklih e 894C
nuair a tugtaí ansa an múla agus osclaithe é;
Note that -ithar ~ -ithear and also -ithí are attested for 894C;
pres: ... himrightear 894C9; prsbj: nó go n-athraíthear 894C9; pstsbj Dhá maraithí céad a’ainn 894C9 (in song by 852S).
936  Verbs

Historical -thear is current in the present impersonal of irregular feic. As described in 5.60, east of Carnachtan and h forms are found in the psthab / pstsbj, and in the 1 Conjugation both f and h in the conditional, corresponding to the typical h forms in dialects further east and north of Iorras Aithneach. In the 2 Conjugation conditional no h forms are found.

Table 5.20 Impersonal -t ~ -th- and -t ~ -e, 869P

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Obsolescent &lt;ch&gt; forms</th>
<th>Current &lt;t&gt; forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1Conj</td>
<td>2Conj 2Conj 1Conj 2Conj</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pres</td>
<td>strachlaitheá</td>
<td>miltear regularly, e.g. caithi, glantai ag ithe na gcúirp a maraíthe (marbhacháithi) ná a báithí;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>regularly, e.g. gá bhfáití (faigh) hola yú fí 46.280 gá n-íthe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prsbj</td>
<td>shul á ndaingnítheá</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>regularly, e.g. gá maraíthe (i.e. maraiti) le urachar é. gá guimíthe (= dá guimlighthe) cuide ... gá n-eitíthe an fear mara mbagráith' air.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psthab</td>
<td>a deighthi</td>
<td>regularly, e.g. gá maraíthe (i.e. maraiti) le urachar é. gá guimíthe (= dá guimlighthe) cuide ... gá n-eitíthe an fear mara mbagráith' air.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1 1 3</td>
<td>regularly, e.g. gá maraíthe (i.e. maraiti) le urachar é. gá guimíthe (= dá guimlighthe) cuide ... gá n-eitíthe an fear mara mbagráith' air.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pstsbj</td>
<td>gá maraíthe (i.e. maraiti) le urachar é. gá guimíthe (= dá guimlighthe) cuide ... gá n-eitíthe an fear mara mbagráith' air.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>regularly, e.g. gá maraíthe (i.e. maraiti) le urachar é. gá guimíthe (= dá guimlighthe) cuide ... gá n-eitíthe an fear mara mbagráith' air.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Allomorphy of verbal endings

5.65  2sg psthab, pstsbj, cond -ightheá, -óghthá, -l(h)(e)á

The clear vowel -á of the 2sg (pstsbj, psthab, cond) is consistently realised as a:.

There are, however, examples of ae from one older speaker:

\[ gá m' eá [\text{ná'n ... 894P go mbeithé a i ndan ... ,} \]
\[ gá gin'he dé yóohan' ... 894P dhá gcoineáthedh do dhóthain ... . \]

The following 2sg endings, given in their Early Modern Irish spellings, show variation, generally among speakers born before the 1940s:

- 2 Conjugation past habitual, past subjunctive < -ighthe, -ightheá;
- 2 Conjugation conditional < -éightha, -éighthá;
- 1 Conjugation past habitual, past subjunctive < -l(h)(e)á.

A possible diachronic description of the various realisations noted in the dialect for these endings is given in Table 5.21–Table 5.23 where A represents the oldest paradigm and D the youngest with B and C intermediate. In E synthetic inflection is replaced by analytic use with the nonpersonal, which is regular for many speakers born from the 1960s onwards, as is the encroachment of first conjug-
tion inflection on the second conjugation. In Table 5.21 the distinctive form, with the full detail of its variants within each paradigm, is given. In Table 5.22 only the salient distinctive variables are given. In Table 5.23 speakers are listed according to their most conservative usage in the case of A–C and their most progressive usage in the case of D.

Table 5.21 Diachronic paradigms in (-óthá), (-t(e)á), etc.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i. 2Conj psthab, pstsbj</td>
<td>-iหำ: ~ -óthá</td>
<td>-oหำ: (-oα) ~ -oหำ: ~ -oหำ: ~ -oหำ:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-óthá: ~ -ød</td>
<td>-oหำ: ~ -oหำ: ~ -oหำ: , etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii. 2Conj cond</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iii. 1Conj pstsbj</td>
<td>-t(e)á: ~ -t(h)eá</td>
<td>-t*α: ~ -oหำ:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iv. 1Conj psthab</td>
<td>-t(e)á: ~ -t(h)eá</td>
<td>-t*α: ~ -oหำ:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.22 Salient developments in (-óthá), (-t(e)á), etc.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>(E)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i. 2Conj psthab, pstsbj</td>
<td>-หำ:</td>
<td>-α:</td>
<td>-α:</td>
<td>-α:</td>
<td>-oหำ:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii. 2Conj cond</td>
<td>-όthá:</td>
<td>-α:</td>
<td>-α:</td>
<td>-α:</td>
<td>-oหำ:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iii. 1Conj pstsbj</td>
<td>-t(e)á:</td>
<td>-t*α:</td>
<td>-α:</td>
<td>-α:</td>
<td>-oหำ:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iv. 1Conj psthab</td>
<td>-t(e)á:</td>
<td>-t*α:</td>
<td>(-α) -หำ:</td>
<td>-หำ:</td>
<td>-oหำ:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.23 Conservative use of (-óthá), (-t(e)á), etc.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i. 2Conj psthab, pstsbj</td>
<td>894Cs, 894C, 899D</td>
<td>SID.46 and 869P, 04Br, 10B, 11C, 20C, 20My, 21Pt, 23M, 25M, 29N, 37M, 51P as i. also 886E, 889P, 894Cs, 01C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii. 2Conj cond</td>
<td>852S, SID.46, 894C</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iii. 1Conj pstsbj</td>
<td>as B</td>
<td>869P, 875T, 894Cs, 894C, 04B, 10N, 20C, 20My 20C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iv. 1Conj psthab</td>
<td>as B</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The presentation in the tables above is simplified in various ways in order to show the overall syncretism. From the usage of stage A to stage B, the distinctive
-iá: of the past habitual / past subjunctive is replaced by a general form equivalent to the conditional. From stage B to stage C, the second conjugation becomes less distinguished from the first. From C to D, the distinctive first conjugation past subjunctive -á ending is replaced by a form equivalent to the conditional. These are, however, idealised paradigms. Endings categorical in both A and D are found among the same oldest speakers. Further subdivisions would be possible, for example, between -á: and -á: use. Speakers are classified according to their most conservative common variants, except in Civ where -á: seems to be a minor variant for those speakers who use it, and except in D. It seems that few speakers have categorical usage of one paradigm, so that those placed here in one column tend also to use the paradigm of at least one column to their right. Speaker 894C, for example, uses the whole spectrum from A forms to E-type forms. He is one of only two speakers from whom -á: was noted (a single token in my notes). He regularly uses B forms, but also C and D forms. There is even an E-type example in Bhíodh mise 's m'athair ... 894C9 (cf. 5.89). Many speakers categorised in B in Table 5.23 also use C forms, except -á: in Cii and iii. Similarly, speakers in C use D forms. Some speakers placed in C here very rarely use a B form, e.g. dhá gcluisteá é sin is the only example of Bii found from Seán (12S, in my notes, note the irregular verb clois here). Some speakers who have not been heard using B forms in conversation are aware of and can produce them when queried. For instance, Seán (12S) seems to use only Ci and ii forms both in conversation and in translation, e.g. conditional á g'ána: bo: an gceannóthá bó. When queried, however, about -á:, -á: and -á: in, for example, an gceannóthá bó he produced:

á g'ána: bo:
á g'ána: bo:
á g'ána: bo:

commenting tu: n dá: rud an: S tá an dá: rud ann (which might refer, if dá two is being used precisely, to the mono- and disyllabic variants of the suffix or more likely to the -á:, -á: variants). Note how he proceeded from the form most resembling his vernacular to the most distinctive of the three which is also the most conservative (corresponding to the present-day standard).

Other speakers, however, are effectively confined to either C or D forms. Speaker 23M uses Civ in conversation but translated into Biv, e.g. doil: 23M d'oltá, and, whereas Seán produced both Civ and Biv in translation, Máire produced Civ only and claimed she would not use Biv at all (a claim which is borne out by her conversation where Biv was never observed). In order to convey explicitly 2sg past habitual meaning she uses the periphrastic construction with bí, e.g. for bhualteá fadó mé S, she gave bítheá dho mo bhualadh fadó. A rare example of Bii from Máire, a Cii user, was an Echo form (cf. 5.108 §4). Cp. Civ (5.67). There is a distinction in the 2sg in the verb caith for speaker 889P (only):

pstsbg gá: gá: 889P dhá gcaithéá vs. cond 2sg xahu: chaithéá

for commonly homophonous 2sg pstsbg gá: gahu: (5.124). Although synchronically irregular, the contrast for speaker 889P (Coill Sáile, North-East Iorras Aithneach) can be explained diachronically as (disregarding mutations):

pstsbg kax': +á: > kax': vs. cond kax': +hu: > kahu:.

Membership within each group appears to be fairly implicationally related, within the idealised context noted above. For example, speakers in groups Bi and Bii are also frequently classified in Biii, and also in Biv, etc. In other words, if a speaker
has 2 Conjugation -oÉhAÉ, -acho: etc., he or she is likely to have 1 Conjugation past subjunctive and past habitual -ta:

5.66 Use
The 1 Conjugation 2sg past subjunctive ending -a: (Ciii) is based on analogy with the conditional paradigm. The conditional contains regular h (or, historically, f) in all persons, in contrast with the past subjunctive where historically most persons had no h (or no f):

conditional -hÁÉ : -hÁÉ : etc., :: past subjunctive -aÉ : y : -aÉ : etc.,
y (-hÁÉ ~ -ta:) → -a:.

The same analogy applies for the past habitual. It may be significant that some speakers in my sample who have regular -a: (Ciii) also have regular 2 Conjugation -a: (Ci, Cii), implying conjunctival syncretism is involved in the development of 1 Conjugation -a:, as well as the analogy with the conditional. This apparent implicational link between -a: (Ci, Cii) and -a: (Ciii) will, however, need further research. I may not have taken note of 1 Conjugation -a: from some speakers (who have (Bi, Bii)) because of my own familiarity with -a: (Ciii) in my main informants Seán and Máire. Speaker 20My (and perhaps also speaker 23M) is a clear instance of a speaker who does not use -a: in both conjugations, having common 2 Conjugation -a: (Bi, Bii) but 1 Conjugation -tAÉ: (Biii, noted in déan) and -a: (Ci).

5.67 Examples
Aì
-iha was noted from a recording (in the verb tarrainn):

gá dara:r’hur r’iÉbis iad 8990:6393 go dtairnithéar aríobh iad.
The high front vowel is reduced but can be analysed as /i/ in:
nú gá d [dara:r’ihi:u] nú gá [dugÁr ma:x] an tóix | gá dara:r’ihi:u ma:x à

tóix | 894Cs

ó go dtairnithéa, nó go dtugta amach an lucht, go dtairnithéa amach an lacht.

1 This nonhistorical suffix is found in other dialects, which, it seems, generally lack -fì: -fái as a major variant. In GCF §168, for example, analogical 2sg past subjunctive -æ (without devoicing) is reported as well as an impersonal which I have not found in Iorras Aithneach, i.e. past subjunctive -é (without devoicing) based on the same analogy. Classification of past subjunctive -æ and -é as ‘formally [...] obviously allomorphs of the conditional’ represents a significant analytical error in Ó Buachalla (1985: 14 (note 14), 20–2; also Ó Baoill 2001: 83) concerning the so-called ‘Ø-endings’. Ó Buachalla has precipitately subsumed these regressive past subjunctive and past habitual suffixes under the conditional paradigm. The conditional endings tend to replace both the past subjunctive and past habitual endings. In contrast, neither the past subjunctive nor the past habitual replaces the conditional. The paradigmatic alternation, therefore, operates in one direction only. The conditional and the other two forms are not allomorphs of the same morpheme. All three may, however, be described as members of the same diamorph. It is in fact in the past subjunctive and past habitual, not in the conditional and future, that conclusive evidence for Ø-endings is found in all suffixes, both personal and impersonal, through the analogical elision of h or t (or both) which I have described. As mentioned, the regressive status of past subjunctive and past habitual suffixes results in a general decrease in the use of Ø-endings. The second main tenet of Ó Buachalla’s paper, the possible analogical base of historical -th- for future Ø-endings traditionally spelt with -f-, is, however, not affected by my interpretation of Ø-endings. I would argue, nonetheless, that a combination of other factors, including phonetic weakening of f (cf. Ó Seáin 1990, Ó Baoill 2001: 85), reanalysis of -p- < -bp- as -b-h- (Gleasure 1968: 85–6) and the overlap of reflexes of historical f and th, may also have been involved (Ó Curnáin 2001: 177–8).
Verbs

This speaker, 894Cs, also has subjunctive (function) Bi and conditional Bi -oh(ə)/hə. The spelling -iθhə, representing -iθhə, was noted once in prose folklore transcription: ghá n-abruítheá 894C9.

Rarer -iθhə:

dá gcuimhniθhə air sin ... dhá gcuimreóθhə ar an ... 852Sts133;
... gceannaitheáθ 894C2/3.

This spelling may represent -iθhə (resembling -iθhə) or -iθhə or it may be an error, in some instances, for -iθhə by omission of the accent.

Aií -ótha

In RBÉ sources -ótha may well often stand for -oθ, e.g. 852S4 -ótha (x2); 875T1 -ótha (x7).

Cp. -ótha 894C (x1) (i.e. specially marked as short) representing either oθ, oθ or oθ.

Bi, ii -oθ:

gu: n’im oθ: 46.1048 dhá n-imeoθhá.
dáρoθ 46.389 [sic] d’aíreóθhá, the same verb and person are found in go n-aíreóθhá 869P5.

Bi, ii -ó, representing -oθ:

gá dtogr(θ)há héin é 869P2, cp. ní ourd(θ)há (< ordaigh), the brackets indicate silent letters here, therefore representing -oθ:.

-ó [x1] 894C representing -oθ.

Bi, ii -oθ /__V

go: nabhroh op ... 15W dhá n-abróθhá 'up ... '.

Table 5.24 (achə) → -oθ, -oθ, -oθ, etc.; various speakers

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Speaker</th>
<th>achə</th>
<th>oθ</th>
<th>oθ</th>
<th>oθ</th>
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</tbody>
</table>

The range of phonetic variation from Aií, Bi, ii -oθ, -oθ, -oθ to Ci, ii -oθ is exemplified in Table 5.24. It may be that some of these forms derive from -iθhə (with medial θ, i.e. -oθ) and possibly even -iθhə / -θ, (in final θ). They can be classified synchronically as one variable, here indicated by (oθ).
Allomorphy

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<tr>
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Bi, ii -a:ha:

Pstsb: ga marr’aha 894P dhá maróthá, g’ognahor 11C go gcornóthá, g’dr’umahor 20Cq dhá dtrionóthá, go x’injaha: 20Cq dhá n-inseothá, x’im’aha 51P (chulá) n-imseothá.

Recall the realisation in -a:ha:

Pstsb: dhá gcoinneothá do dhóthain ...

Bii -a:ha:

d’im’aha 894P d’imeothá, fáin’ak ... nádúuha yo 11C fainic ... an amhdóthá dhó, n’im’aha 11C1244 a n-aithneothá; darrn’iha er’ a bòs’rá nax n’im’aha 20My d’aithneothá ar an bpáistír nach n-aithneothá?; n’i solchhó [x2]

37M ní chodlóthá; ní a’r’aha 04Br ní aireothá; ní xu’r’aha 23M ní chuimhneothá.

Bi -a:ha:

Cp. d’m’aha r’i:ft 21Pt d’imeothá aríst.

Bi -a:ha:

harr’ihc [x2] 889P thaireothá;

Pstsb: ga: n’im’aha 05M dhá n-imseothá;

Bi -a:ha:

dar’’aha 31D d’aireothá.

Bi -a:ha/##V

g’a f’ag’no 20Cq dhá seachnóthá é.

Bi -a:ha/##V
dar’a 23M (shortly followed by dar’a í: 23M) d’aireothá l.

It is worth noting that when checked against the recording played at reduced speed, my initial transcription ‘b’r’e’ g’á’’énúh’ e 11C b’fideir go gceannóthá e had to be revised to b’r’e’ g’á’’énúh’ e. Other examples of -a:ha/##V given here and transcribed from speech may also be less than accurate.

Contrast -a:ha/##V, for most speakers in B:

- g’a g’’énohor n wo 20Cq dhá gceannóthá an bhó;

Bi -a:ha/##V

n’i: xir’a hec’fin 31D ní chuimhneothá é sin.

Bi -a:oa (no examples from my notes to hand)

Bi -a:oa:

n’i: a’r’oa xo mor ... dar’a sort skelto 20MI ní aireothá chomh múr ... d’aireothá sorte skelto.

Bi -a or -ao:

Verbs

Biv -t*: 2sg Past habitual, for examples, see 20C (5.41), and 894C’s list (5.68).

Ci -α: 

-α:
yα: mέɾe finax 46.145 dhá mará sionnach.

Ci -α: 

v' r' anu: 46 s.v. breathnuigh; gαngαl: 46.34 an gcangalá?

α' imr α, klαf ο 04B/. an imreá chuiче.

xiv α: 899P choinneá.

Ni xiwr α: 23M ní chaithmheá.

Similarly, also Ci, Cii -α/_, e.g. N'í waru: e M ní mhará é.

Ciii -α: 

gu' dugα: M dhá dtugá.

Civ -α: 2sg Past habitual.

h'gα: 51P theagá. Unambiguous examples of 2sg past habitual -α: are rare in my notes. Almost all examples of -α: noted in the 2sg past habitual follow a liquid consonant and could be taken as tokens of the fairly prevalent loss of h, most often following sonorants, i.e. underlying -hu:. In a query session, however, with up to fifteen definitely possible surface h forms mostly beside sonorants, all were realised with h by Mairé (MqEcho93) except the 2sg past habitual in xi' in ... α gir αo chairión ... an gcuidtseá? Two other examples from deliberate queries (where Mairé is unlikely to drop h in 2sg conditional forms) are do' dafa: Mq94 d'ólá é féadó and wual α: gúin ... Mq94 bhuailtheá i gcónaí ... : Compare bhuailtheá Sq > bhítheá due mo bhualadh Mq (5.65) where bhítheá is more clearly past habitual than wual α: (interpretable as 2sg conditional bhuailthead).

5.68 Individual speakers; 852S — 11C

I deal individually below with those speakers whose overall system, including, where possible, 2sg -t(h)α, can be adequately described. Speaker 899DARN has too few examples for any definite conclusions, but the examples from him indicate a conservative pattern: pstsbj 2Conj -iÉhα: (1/1), pstsbj 1Conj -t !α (faigh, bain; 3/3). Although network implications have not been systematically investigated, one can see family links between users of -α/ -α: (and -oh(α) in clann Mhacaí):

Clann Mhacaí 'ac Con Iomaire: father 869P and daughters 04Br and 15W; uncle 869P and nephew 25M;

Clann Mhaidhcil Mhaitiú Uí Mhaoil Chiaráin: sister 20My and brother 23M;

Mairé an Ghabha Uí Cheannabháin and family: 05M, her son 37M, daughter 29N and grandson 51P (son of 29N, his father, 20Pá, also has -oh(α); speaker 51P is the youngest speaker with this variant (also the youngest speaker I know with Civ -α:); (for a similar coincidence of conservative usage between 37M and nephew 51P, see 5.135 SÁBHÁIL class; 51P also has Civ -i:).

852S, Seán 'ac Con Raioi

Aii -iθá: 852S4 (x2).

Aii -t(e)á, -thá: This speaker has -t-forms following consonants and -th-forms following vowels:

| -t(e)á | fn, g, c_ | gd ... ndiantá 4 | dueteá 4 | dá bhfictéá 5 |
| -thá | N_ | gd ... mbeitheá 4 | maiththeá 4 | dteightheá |
The single relevant token in his recording, *gá n’im *852Stn dhá ndéantá, concurs with the manuscript evidence in Roinn Bhéaloideas Éireann.

869P2–5, SID.46, Pádraigín Mhacaf ’ac Con Iomaíre

Bi -o.ha: *gá n’im o.ha: 1048 dhá n-imeothá.
Bii -oha: *daráro 389 d’aireothá.

Cp. 869P’s daughter *gá nábroh op ... 15W dhá n-abróthá ‘up ... ‘.

Bii -ta: *gá doghta: 949; *gá doghta: s.v. bheirim; go dochtá 869P4; Gá dtógtá 869P2. These examples are confined to verbal stems in -g.

-ha: *gá v’ek’ a: s.v. tchin; Gá bhfeictheá 869P2; *gá m’é: IL.3c, cp. *gá n’é: 734; Gá d’fhá: or *gá doghta: 949.

Biv -ha: bhítheá ’rá 869P4.
Cii -a: *n: 145.
Cii -a: *v r’ anhu: s.v. breathnuigh.

894C, Colm Ó Caoidheáin

Examples are taken mostly from songs (!894C6 and 9) and some prose.

Ai -theá: (x1), in prose, representing -iÁhÁ: *ghá n-abruítheá 9.

Aii -thÁhÁ: -ochÁhÁ [x2] and -ochÁ [x1] 894C2/3.

-thÁ: -dÁ (x1), representing ouÁ:.

Aiii -th(e)Á: with mbeithed (only form of bí), bhfeictheÁ (x6), n-locthÁ, suilthÁ (only prose example);

-t(e)Á: all other verbs including feic (x4) and suilÁ, i.e. -t(e)Á >> -th(e)Á for 894C:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>-t(e)Á</th>
<th>-thÁ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total for 894C6, 9</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total for 894C6, 9 and 894C2</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Aiv -t(e)Á: (no prose examples) lóntÁ, d’fháighteÁ, níteÁ (< déan).

-th(e)Á: e.g. in the irregular verb bí: bhítheÁ (x2).

Bi, ii -ochÁ: (x1) (i.e. specially marked as short) representing oÁhÁ or oÁhÁ or oÁhÁ.

11C, Cóilín Mháirtín Sheáinín Uí Chúláin

Bi <aha>: ná: *gá gaurnaÁhÁ ARN1241 nó go gcomóthÁ

Bii <aha>: *m’ásdú ’g’ánuhÁ wem’ g’ meas tú an gceannóthÁ uaim é?

-b’re: *go ’g’ánuhÁ e b’fhéidir go gceannóthÁ é.

It seems that 11C has consistent 2 Conjugation <aha>.

5.69 20C, Cóilín Ó Maol Chiaráin

Bi, ii <aha>: this is by far 20C’s most common form, realised as:

[aha, arÁhÁ, aÁhÁ, arÁhÁ, aÁhÁ, [ahÁ]] preceding vowels,
[thrÁ] also occurs, taken here tentatively as tokens of oÁhÁ:

*gá dárÁhÁ 20Cq dhá dtairneothá.

With 2 Conjugation verbs in -fÁ and -rÁ there are, however, also examples of -tÁ(fÁ):

20Cq: *gá nuskarÁt a: dhÁ n-oscalteÁ;
20Cperm: *gá nuskarÁt a: dhÁ n-oscalteÁ, *gángÁt a: gcanáilteÁ, *gángÁt a: bhÐngáilteÁ.

His initial tokens for the last three were in <aha>: *gá maghÁrÁhÁ [sic],

1Excluding mbeithed. See also 5.42.
Verbs

944

gan glaór, wugráór. Note that *da darrást a 20C perm dá dharrainteá was not permitted (contrast go darrást a 25M dhá dharrainteá).

Biii, iv -t*a: >>> -he: speakers 20C and 21Pí have the greatest proportion of -t*use of my informants. For examples see Table 5.4 p. 915.

-hú: Only the irregular verbs, bí, cluin, and teighre, have been noted with -th(e) environment in Diii: go darrást mé, ... glin he, and conditional root form ... gohú: The form given is the only realisation noted for trí from 20C; for cluin, go glántu was permitted; and for teighre, go d'éf a was noted. An example of variation in his speech occurs in:

gu gohú: suas an as bó war l'um go níntú e 20C
dhá ngabhthá suas ann, is bá mhaith liom dhá ndéantá é.

Biv -t*a: In the irregular verb bí, when one contrasts go(m) mé or (often) dhá mbéitheá (Biii) with trí a (32) bhíteá (Biv), the highest environment for -t*a realisations, i.e. Biv, might be taken as the most conservative (or archaising) part of 20C's -t*system.

(E) -ox: An Eii-type form occurred in the query situation in one token of 2 Conjugation conditional -ox tu 20Cq.

For speaker 36S's more frequent use of <a> than <a> in Echo contexts and his possible haplographic use of <a> with the verb an' ha aithnigh, see 5.108 §4.

5.70   2pl imperative -i ~ -igi

In the 2 plural imperative both -i and -aig'i are common allomorphs, e.g.

go > goi: goig'i: gabhái, gabhaigí;
dó: > dói: doig'i: dói, doigí;
l'íg > l'íg'i: l'íg aig'i: ligí, ligigí;
bagér > bagrí: bagraig'i: bagrái, bagraígí.

In queries aimed at obtaining 2pl imperative forms, -aig'i is the only form or prevalent form given by the vast majority of informants, including Seán, Múire, Pádraig, and 31M, even though they commonly use -i in conversation. When reminded of (or tutored regarding) the -i allomorph, however, they willingly give both allomorphs. (For rare 2 Conjugation -ig'i, see 5.72, 5.73 (Table 5.26) and 5.85.) The database of 2pl tokens is unfortunately too small for us to draw any definite conclusions about quantitative use of the variants, or distinctions between speakers. There are, however, phonological and morphological factors involved here, and probable lexical conditioning as well as serial effects. Some conditioning factors have been detected but others such as rhythmic conditioning remain unanalysed. A strong facultative phonological condition is the dissimilatory effect of roots in final velar stops (-g and -k). These generally take -i. A hiatus-filling function seems to be the cause of the preference for -aig'i: following radical vowels. Conjugational conditioning is evident in the 2 Conjugation which favours -aig'i. The monosyllabic variant -i is clearly less distinctive in the 2 Conjugation than in the 1 Conjugation, e.g. 2sg 'kèn e ceannaigh > 2pl 'kèn+a(a)g'i. I have noted only five tokens of the shorter -i ending in the 2 Conjugation (out of seventeen overall tokens). Two of these -i forms occur with syncopating verbs. Given the evidence for 2sg imperative in -i in the dialect, these 2sg and 2pl forms would be homophonous except in syncopating verbs. For example, nonsyncopating 'iontaigh (before é, i, iad in East Iorras Aithneach) can be uáthi: (2sg and 2pl, e.g. 2pl iúntaí 869P, 5.72), but syncopating bagair (in the same context) contrasts
in bagar’ (2sg) and bagrí: (2pl, e.g. 16M below). There may therefore have been or may still be a greater prevalence of 2pl imperative -iÉ in 2 Conjugation synchronizing verbs. For possible lexical conditioning, see the high proportion of kir’i: cuiri tokens in Máire’s usage (Table 5.27).

### 5.71 Individual speakers; 864M

Maidhcí ’ac Dhonncha’s (864M) published examples give an idea of the variation involved in -iÉ 

*IOMRAIGÍ amach ... ’ ABg140.

‘TUGAIDH amach é ach ná HIMTHIGÍ as bruach na farraige chor ar bith leis, ach BIDHIgI ag iomramh anonn is anall ..., ach TÉIGHIDH síos is suas ... . ... ach ná TÉIGHIDH ar an domhain leis. ABg139.

‘Ná BAÇAIDH leis an mbeirt fhearr seo níos mó,’ adeir sé, ‘ach BÍgI ag aireachas ar dhroichead Láimnigh agus an chéad fhearr a thionchar an droiched TÉIGHIGÍ roimhe, TUGAL lib é agus DÉANAIDH Lord Mayor dhe. ABg233.


From these examples the following pattern can be tentatively established for 864M:

(a) -í only is found following 1Conj velar stops (-g, -c, (x2));
(b) -í is optional in the 1Conj after consonants (1/3) (in context following vowels the evidence is partially ambiguous: the spelling téighidh (x2) is most likely to be equated with téighigí (x1), cp. bí(dhi)gí (x3));
(c) -ígÍ occurs in the 1Conj following consonants and vowels;
(d) -ígÍ only is found in the 2Conj ((x2) iomraigí, imthigí).

This speaker’s son, however, has two examples of 2Conj -í:

5.72 869P, Pádraig ’ac Con Iomaire

869P, Table 5.25 presents examples of 2pl imperative from SID.46 and 869P2–5.

#### Table 5.25 2pl imperative -iÉ, -aig’iÉ , -ig’iÉ; SID.46, 869P2–5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>-í (iÉ) (iÉ) (x11)</th>
<th>-aig’iÉ (iÉg’iÉ) (iÉg’iÉ) (x17)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-k, -q (x6)</td>
<td>1Conj (x3), 2Conj (x2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1Conj, -g (x4), -V</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total in SID.46:</td>
<td>iÉ 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2Conj (x3)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>or togi: 313</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>egós t’ig’iÉ k’iÉ: 504</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tégíg’s ‘ar’ È: 1007</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>or togi or t’fagi 949</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tóigí É: 313</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toigí Éfè: 313</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t’urigí: 313</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s’ig’iÉ: fè’s: 504</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t’eígí É: fè:732</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tagíg: 949</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b’ig’ É s.v. tó</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>téigí É s.v. tóigí</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gogí É s.v. tóigí</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ná: mórig iÉ fíp’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘hen: 148</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in’fig É 1146</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>or abríg É s.v.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deirim</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iÉg: (x1), 2Conj</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abríg É s.v. rádh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Verbs

From these examples one can conclude for SID.46 and 869P as follows:
(a) -iÉ occurs mostly after velar stops (6/10) but also in the 2 Conjugation (2/6);
(b) -Eg !iÉ occurs in most environments, including after g, and in 1 and 2 Conjugations;
(c) -Eg !iÉ only is found after vowels (x9);
(d) -iÉg !iÉ is a rare alternant in the 2 Conjugation (1/6).

Given these results, the interpretation of SID.46 in M. Ó Murchú (1984: Map 4) must be emended by adding -iÉ (symbolised by ∆) to ‘the predominant -Ig !iÉ type’ (symbolised by 0). That is to say, one should read 0′ ∆ for point 46 (0′ pt 46 in Map 4 seems to be a misprint for 0′). The rather high yield of -Eg !iÉ in SID.46, including following velar stops (4/10), may be due to the strong tendency in elicitation, noticed by me with other speakers, to favour this very ending. The short -iÉ variant does not occur in SID.46 in the 1 Conjugation outside of the velar context but it does in RBÉ material, perhaps indicating more vernacular use (in RBÉ) in contrast with elicitation (in SID.46).

5.73 892M — 12S

892M, Micheál Ó Coirbín’s examples, presented in Table 5.26, are based on Airneán II p. 30.

Table 5.26 2pl imperative, 892MARN

These examples show the following pattern for 892MARN:
(a) -iÉ is most common following velar stops (6/7) and other consonants in the 1 Conjugation (4/5);
(b) -Eg !iÉ is the only variant following vowels (2/2); it also occurs following consonants including velar stops;
(c) both -Eg !iÉ and -iÉg !iÉ occur in the 2 Conjugation.

1 Occurs in teigl ... ná bainí liomsa ... 869P3.
2 In quotation.
3 Occurs in ‘Teigl thriothub ... agus iúnta aríst ... ’ 869P4.
4 I interpret the short vowel l of 2 Conjugation examples in SID.46 such as móríga as /a/ (rather than /A/), as in 1 Conjugation fúrkí 46.313.
Beairstle Ó Con Fhaola has an example of {-ag} following a velar: tugag’i: 04B3s tugaigí.

Seán Ó Cúláin has the following examples:

-Imrigi anis air sin tá sé ard;
Ná cuirí an bealach sin e, a deir sí. Iompai — cuir an bhínn un an bhóthair;
Cuírí caoi ... :

cf’-ag’i: l’un (...) t’áni’ max wem’ an’if
Éistigí lom. (...) Teannait amach uaim anois!

The contrast between -ag’i: and -i: in the final two tokens cited might suggest that the shorter allomorph -i: is more likely to be selected with longer verbal phrases, i.e. (both phrases = 4 syllables)

\{éist + -ag’i: + le\} vs. \{teann + -i: + amach + ó\}.

### 5.74 16M, Máire Mhicil Úi Chon Fhaola

Table 5.27 classifies examples noted directly from Máire’s conversation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>-ag’i: with -i:</th>
<th>1Conj with -i:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tugi: kuna gá vrain</td>
<td>odi: bríin’i té: olait braoinín tae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tugait cúnaimh dho Bhraideachean</td>
<td>kir’i: físh fí’i a òtos d’ib’ hein’ kir’i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nor: fugi: raéd e ná fáigh ro-fhada é</td>
<td>físh’tíl’a je cuirí sios taisleadh teóst d’ibh hein, cuirí sios taisleadh dhe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nu’í: i: ori: hein’ tæda</td>
<td>kir’i: sus er’ cuirí sás [sauce] air</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ná lígí oraibh hein tada</td>
<td>t’a an cail fhuchta is dionait tae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ná bucaí le Máire Mhicil anois</td>
<td>buail: i: bohar an’i:bfuaill bóthar anois</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l’i: i: , tugi:, fugi: below</td>
<td>ihi: , kir’i: below</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1Conj with -ag’i:</th>
<th>2Conj with -ag’i:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>glanaig: i: fíb’i max (x2)</td>
<td>ax br’áehag: i: n obair’ a tu er’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glanaigí lib amach</td>
<td>ach breathaigí an obair atá air</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gohaig: i: max ghabhaigí amach</td>
<td>tairnigí: i: te: d’ i p en’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>goig: i: nuas ghabhaigí anuas</td>
<td>tairnigí tae díbh hein</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iorag: i: e iarraiigí é</td>
<td>cp. gúl: agí i: below</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nu: b’íg: i: , nu: g’aelag: i:</td>
<td>2Conj with -i:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ná bígí ... ná gealllaigí</td>
<td>bagri’i ora</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kir’ag’i: , jussaig’i: , skuitalag’i: below</td>
<td>bagrait uirthí</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mixed examples

| nor: í: i: orí: hen tæda díus f’i iarhaig: i: ... nor: í: i: orí: hen tæda |
|----------------|---------------|
| ná lígí oraibh hein tada, ’just’ fiathraigí ... ná lígí oraibh hein tada |
| kr’íaxnag: i: n: íf e, tugi:, ihi: l’ug e | críochnaigí anois é, tugart — tìth uiligu é |

Table 5.27 2pl imperative, -i:, -igí: M

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1Conj with -ag’i:</th>
<th>2Conj with -ag’i:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gúl: agí</td>
<td>bagri’i ora</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gúl: agí</td>
<td>bagrait uirthí</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
For Máire therefore we can conclude the following:
(a) -i is the only variant following velar stops (8/8);
(b) -i also occurs with about half of the other 1Conj verbs in final consonants, rarely in 2Conj (1/5);
(c) -ag i: is the main 2Conj ending and occurs (3/3) following vowels in 1Conj and with about half 1Conj verbs in final consonants (except velar stops);
(d) -ag i: is found with verbs in -áil (2/2).

Some lexical conditioning is likely given the high proportion of kir i: cuiri tokens (6/7). In fact the single token of kir ag i: given above may well be an example of the series effect, goil ag i: ... kir ag i:, followed immediately by more common kir i: (cp. the tokens of oili and olaq i:, the latter following goig i: gabhaigi). (It would be interesting to know if goille (sg) goilligi (pl) patterns like 2Conj verbs, with the apparent preference of -ig for -t.¹ Far more tokens of the 2pl imperative of verbs in -áil would be necessary to check whether there is any avoidance of imperative -álaí, given the homophony with the form -álaí as an agentive ending, e.g. bacsálaí, as well as the comparative degree of adjectives in -álach, e.g. spárdála.)

5.75 3pl past (-adar); (1) -dar
The 3pl past ending -adar is regularly realised as -dar postvocically, e.g. glaoigh > yldar ghlaoadar. Postconsonantally, -dar is found in two main contexts: (1) with choinic, tháinig; (2) following mostly continuants.

(1) -dar -dar is a reduced optional allomorph of -adar -adar, lexically conditioned by the disyllabic stems hun ak’ tháinig and xin ak’ choinic (past of irregular teara and feic respectively). In fact hun ak’ dar (also hun ag’ dar) and xin ak’ dar are by far more common than hun ak’ adar and xin ak’ adar. Sometimes further reduction occurs, e.g. hunj dar 11Ct tháinigeadar. When -adar follows radical -d, there are instances of syllable elision, in haplology:

| jaramadar | 04B | !19J | !19S dhearmadadar (Asc, three speakers);
| d’fhéadadar generally d’edadar, but also:
| xa skufent af d’ edar e | 892M chomh scáfánta is d’fhéadadar é.

Retention of a is regular in monosyllabic roots, e.g. wa’ft adar hezn 04B1 bhaisteadar héin. Haplology can be analytically distinguished from syncope (type (2) immediately below) in that the former does not result in consonant clusters.

In the 2 Conjugation AGAIR class there are examples from 894C of -iodar, -adar, and -dar:

tarrain: tharnaiodar 894C2, tharrain’dur 894C2;
innis: d’ineadar 894C3;
| cp. labhair: labhradar 894C2; tóg: thóigdar 894C9.

This speaker has been noted only with -iodar in other 2 Conjugation verbs, so that -adar and -dar in the AGAIR class, if correctly transcribed by the folklore collector Liam Mac Coisteala, may be interpreted as conservative 1 Conjugation flection.

¹ Compare my daughter Muireann’s response aged 2.4 to Goille, a Mhuireann BóC: Goilleod. (2Conj fut 1sg Echo).
5.76 (2)–(6) -dar

(2) -dar is a phonetically conditioned optional allomorph (of -adar) which occurs following resonants and, less frequently, following other continuants and homorganic stops, rarely other consonants.

A single speaker may have all allomorphs (and even more for younger speakers, e.g. 43M):

11Ct: 2Conj -idar; 1Conj -adar; -dar. e.g. hún’ak’dar >> hún’ak’adar, húng’dar tháinigeadar.

Various clusters are attested:

-ídar hriúdadar 11Ct thraíáladar, hain’ídadar S shuidheáladar, jéldar [fricative l] S ghealladar, xao’dar1 S chailleadar, skaldar M scalladar;
-ídor fuaíd’idar 869P4, jóridar S ghearradar
-ídor ríndar [three syllables] 04B1 ríneadar, n’éórndar 11Ct ndearnadar, hündar SM theannadar, wán’dar S bhaíneadar;
-xídor xúxódar [x2] M bhuachadar;
-q’dar cp. thóigdar 894C9.

(See further, Seán (5.148) and Máire (5.149), GEARR class.)

Other contexts where surface -dar occurs in traditional speech are:

(3) In the BRUITH class -x’adar, e.g. rix’adar 11Ct ritheadar, is less common than -iúdar, e.g.

vrudar brhutheadar Mq, rudar ritheadar S, Mq,
d’idar d’iteadar Mq, n’ir idar S níor itheadar.

(4) In the CAITH class h-less variants are common in the 3pl past (-adar), e.g.

xhádár ~ xhár chaitheadar.

One interpretation of these forms in the BRUITH and CAITH classes is ‘stem’#dar. In this context the high frequency of the lengthened variant before -adar in the GEARR class is worth noting. The form jóradar, for example, can be interpreted as showing a higher degree of morphological ‘juncture’ than jóradar (both ghearradar). The short vowel variant, the stem jór- in this instance, is confined to the context preceding vowel-initial suffixes; whereas the long vowel variant, stem jór(-), is obligatory in word final position. Cf. 5.144 below.

Two further contexts for surface -dar are:

(5) The specific 2 Conjugation ending -idar can be replaced by -adar (5.86). The latter when suffixed to the main category of 2 Conjugation verbs can be interpreted as ‘stem’#dar, e.g.

kri’n a cruinnigh > 3pl past xrix’adar (= xrix’ə+dar) chruiinneadar.

(6) In traditional speech the variant -dar occurs rarely (mostly in hesitant speech), added to the nonpersonal verb outside the past tense (generally with the verb bí).

Past habitual examples:

v’ix, dar gu sæk’ul’ P bhíodh, -dar dhá saiceáil;

1 With a beat for the syncopated syllable.
2 With a delay in voicing of the dental stop, indicating -t-.
Verbs

vi ádhar frosin’ a taim féin’ vi ádhar diúna ... St1a
bhióth, -ádhar froisín an t-am sin bhióth daoine ...

(I have no notated examples in the conditional but I recall hearing bheadh(,d)dar in traditional speech.)

Note the slip of the tongue where deir siad was confused with past d’insíodar:

d’orfídar a fúil do: ... d’ínsídar ... 04B d’insíodar an scéal dó.

5.77 Individual older speakers

From the following list one can tabulate the occurrences of -adar and -dar for a small sample of older speakers:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Speaker</th>
<th>ñént</th>
<th>ñént</th>
<th>Other verbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SID.46</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>869P2–5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>15+</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>870B1–2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>894C6, 9prose</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>894C2, 3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>875T</td>
<td>1+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>04B</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This information, with further detail from speaker 04B, is summarised in Table 5.28, from which it is clear that -dar is commonest for the oldest speakers with the past verbs tháinic and choinic (often transcribed in folklore material as choiinic).

Table 5.28 <-adar> vs. <dar> with tháinic, choinic; older speakers

This -dar, an allomorph of -adar, may become generalised with the nonpersonal form to all tenses, or pronominalised, for the younger generation. For the use of -adar, and -dar and for developments of this original past marker into a subject postverbal pronoun, see 5.399 ff.

With suffixed emphatic clitics there is a tendency to use analytic fiadsan siadsan in preference to synthetic -dorsan. This is noticeable, for example, in:

... xasadar | xas fiadsan e’ ef M chasadar, chas siadsan ar ais.

5.78 3pl past habitual, conditional, past subjunctive -idis

The form -adíf’ was heard from one speaker only, 27Cb (An Aird Thiar). Speaker 27Cb has facultative -adíf’ in prevocalic position (for general -adíf’). His overall use of -adíf’ and -adíf’ cannot be ascertained from our two hour conversation but he has frequent hugadíf’ er’ thugáidist air in contrast with prevocalic -adíf’ in other phrases. Prevocalic position is of relevance in the only...
other example of use of -ad i[f]t apart from speaker 27Cb: this occurs in higher register from 04B (An Aird Thiar): gos b’id i[f]t an (run)04B agus bidist ann.

In the speech of the older generation the synthetic ending -(i)dís seems to have a marginal degree of independence. The form -d i[f] sometimes occurs, rarely -ad i[f], mostly in hesitent speech, added to the nonpersonal form of the verb bhí, more rarely other verbs. Examples are:

conditional: ge, m’o xad if j31D dhá, mbeadhaidís;
  cp. v’ex,d i[f] ... 77C with this speaker’s regular v’ed i[f] and his less frequent but regular (in innovative use) v’edar.

past habitual: minic a bh-, bh- bhiodh, -aidís ag iarraidh a bheith gá ndionamh ... 872Pt;
  b’fhéidir go mbíodh, -aidís deireanach ... 872Pt;
  v’ix [?,] d’i[f] a kin’a [ ... 03C bhiodh, -dís ag coinneáil;
  v’id i[f] v’id dí[f] o tarront ... S bhídís, bhídís, bhiodhdís ag tarraint ... ;
  v’idx dí[f] gol fíar ana gül St bhiodhdís ag goil siar ina gcúl;
  v’idx dí[f] gol’, haidab St bhiodhdís ag goil, (go) hAllbain;
  nuar’ a v’ix’ fír’ d’minti akab | v’er a | d’i[f] er’ an olann |
  ^gás hosid i[f] du: sp’táinò | 894Cs

nuair a bhíodh sin déantaí acub, bheireadh, -dís ar an olann, agus thosaídis dá spionadh.

This usage is unacceptable for Máire:
  -E Ð !eÉrhAÉ v’idx dí[f] BóC An ndéarthá ‘bhíodhdís’?

The variant -d i[f] has also been noted following the 2sg conditional in an elicitation context where Máire was attempting to produce impersonal forms (5.52):

  x’ur, x’urh, d’i[f] l’o’hab M’t-thírthá, thiurthá, -dís leothub.

Examples have been noted of -dís added as an inflectional pronominal element or (clitic) pronoun to the nonpersonal verb from speaker 64M in elicitation of the CAITH class verbs (where he was asked not to use pronominal siad and prompted with synthetic forms in -idís), e.g. huchadh i[f] 64Mq sháithheadh-dis, but regular xahad i[f] 64Mq chaithdís, hurhad i[f] 64Mt thiurthaidís. The form in -x’d i[f] seems to be a mixed or confused form based on the traditional dialect inflection -idís presented in the prompts and other young people’s (e.g. 64M’s younger brother, 72N) usage of the nonpersonal with dar, e.g. huchax dar 72N sháithheadh dar.

5.79 Nonpersonal -o -i:, -idh (1Conj) and -igh (2Conj)

The historical endings in -idh and -igh which mark the nonpersonal 1 Conjugation future and present subjunctive, and 2 Conjugation general stem (imperative and past), and also the past in some irregular verbs, occur generally as -o, but can be realised as -i: in the oldest generation, now obsolete, and in sandhi still current in Coill Sáile, Loch Con Aortha and Doire Iorrais (townlands furthest east in Iorras Aithneach). The obsolete usage in West Iorras Aithneach appears to have been optional and, as far as can be made out, quite sporadic; in the eastern area, however, it follows a clear morphosyntactically conditioned sandhi rule. There -o
becomes -i: preceding the nonsubject pronouns é, í, iad: → -i /é, í, iad (cf. 'Sandhi' 2.63).

Seán Veail 'ac Con Raoi (852S) is the only speaker with a significant amount of transcribed verbal -í and recorded -i: for historical -idh and -igh. It occurs in his material both before vowels and with subject pronoun, in the 1 Conjugation present subjunctive and the 2 Conjugation past. Examples of his -a ~ -í are:

1 Conjugation present subjunctive -í, -idh:

subject pronoun: go dtitidh sí; is gearr go gcluinidh siad ceol ... tuigfe siad é 852S2; cp. 2Conj go marbhai sé;

before a vowel: go lobhaidh an stropa ... go dtitidh sí 852S2;

but often -ela: ... is go bhfeice ... ; go [time] deagá siad; mara bhfágha [bhfaighe] siad 852S2.

2 Conjugation past (-a >> -í):

subject pronoun: Thosa sí ... Thosaighit sí ... . Thosaí sí 852S4;

but mostly -ela: d’iarra sé 852S4 (i.e. d’fhíathraigh sé);

before a vowel: ... a rinní an phéist ... go ndeárná si ... : Bhreathnai achtulé chéadán. The prevocalic instance of rinni concurs with his recording:

agas vi' an' hí a xif a' x án à ku: éir' | 852S agus bhreathnaigh achtulé cheann acú air;

but also: gá ndeárná aon fhéar 852S4.

Note imperative -a: Téire abhaile; Tearra chugam 852S4.

SID.46 provides two tokens of probable -i: with subject pronoun in the future, both as alternative forms:

gh' Íha (or gh' fo ... gh efi) tu: 46 (s.v. gheibhim) geithidh tú with -i: in the last token in the list, perhaps the last alternating in certain lists being the most stressed, conservative, or deliberate or from the speaker’s higher register. Note, however, that gh' fo is the only form given with a stress mark; gh' efi may even be a misprint for *gh' ef' i which could be interpreted as */gh' ef' a/;

sí: (or síhr) mé fias 46 (s.v. suidhim) suithidh mé síos. Here, also, -í: occurs in the last token, again perhaps the most stressed, conservative, deliberate or high-register form. On the other hand, hn: here may represent long schwa due to elicitation.

Otherwise in SID.46 the realisations of this variable seem to depend on the quality of surrounding consonants, the vowel ranging between the typical values for schwa: with i, r, é, a in palatal environments and o in neutral environments. There is a definite example from the higher register in:

kín’i: da hua’ asna d' rifaxi: 46.972
coinnigh do thóin as na driseachait, cf. ‘Higher Register’ (10.23).

Speaker 869P2–5 has three examples of -rí sí / sé in prose. The first two tokens are in a ‘semi-run’ in a tale:

d’éirí sí san aer, d’éirí sé ’na sheouc, d’airí sí taobh 869P2.

These may in fact be errors by the folklore collector in writing the accents but one can compare 04B’s single token in éirigh below and others in 2.65.

Speaker 870B1–2 yields -ela only (apart from one present subjunctive higher-register example of go dtugaí), e.g. réiti an inion 870B2.
Speaker 875T has only one noted example; 2 Conjugation past with pronoun: *cér chónaí sé 8751.

Speaker 04B: *nuair a d’aíréich sé ... The form *d’aíréich sé, also in other speakers, e.g. 11C, can be interpreted as a high allophone of *a.

5.80 Past impersonal -uÉ ~ -Ew -adh

In the past impersonal 1 Conjugation the suffix -uÉ alternates with -Ew; in the 2 Conjugation both these allomorphs can be suffixed to the 2 Conjugational stem yielding the main variants -iuÉ and -iÉw. Following radical consonants, -uÉ: only occurs. One young speaker, 77C, is exceptional in having -av as a minor by-form postconsonantally, e.g.

- g'arÉ: ~ g'arav, m'álav 77Cq gearradh, mealladh.

Following radical vowels -(ó)v is his main variant in the CAITH class:

báitheadh (ó), craitheadh, sáitheadh é, scraitheadh.

In the 2 Conjugation he has -iuÉ ~ -iÉw.

Following radical vowels and conjugational -i-, speakers vary as to their (quantitative) preferences. Three main types of speakers can be classified:

(i) phonologically conditioned: -av is the main postvocalic variant, i.e.

- Cu: vs. -VVw (>> -VVu);

(ii) morphologically conditioned: -av is the main 2Conj variant, i.e.

1Conj -VVu: vs. 2Conj -iÉw (>> -iÉu);

(iii) morphological syncretism: -av is the only variant, i.e.

- Cu, -VVu, 2Conj -iÉw.

It seems, given speakers’ age profiles, that speaker types may correspond to a three-stage diachronic development from (i) to (iii). There is evidence to suggest that type (i) speakers make a further phonological distinction within the class of long vocoids, in that back vowels take a higher proportion of -uÉ. This may be a result of dissimilation in the environment most similar to w. It may be that syllabic -uÉ (and -av) are more prominent following the back vowel, while coalesced -w (a back glide) may be contrastive enough following front vowels. This phonological bias for -iÉw in (i) could easily be (re)interpreted as conjugational, as in (ii).

Note that the glide between vowels following -uÉ is sometimes as prominent as that in -iÉw, etc., e.g.

- n'í: uar É we ni bhfuaireadh é;

- ar ret É u É: ~ ar ret É u É we ar réiteadh é?

In fact phonetic variants of final uÉ and (ó)w can sometimes be difficult to distinguish (but not generally so).

5.81 Individual speakers; 852S — 11C

852S, Seán Veail 'ac Con Raoi, the oldest speaker recorded with 1Conj -adh, has kasu: casadh, and two tokens of dou: dóidh (before vowels) in his short recording.
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869P in SID.46, Pádraigín 'ac Con Iomaire. The few examples noted from SID.46 show (as well as -u following radical 1Conj consonants, e.g. der u. 12 doireadh, regular in Iorras Aithneach) the following type (i) pattern:

1Conj in -VV -u: following or, au in dou 1.59 dóth, goun: ag ... 1014 gabhadh an ... ,
-aw following i in f r iaw Mp 77 (= 277) friodh;

2Conj -iÉuÉ in mri É vív 1160, muri É v 1.59, muri É v (s.v. hobair) maraidh.

04Br and 15W (daughters of speaker 869P) have 2Conj -iÉuÉ (x6) >> -iÉuÉ (x1).

892MARN, Maidhcil Ó Coirbín. From his examples he can be classified as type (ii) (but mixed).

1Conj in -VV -u: following or, au in bliú orámsa 1735 blao dh ornsa, bliú or e 2063 blao dh air, dvo.u ... d'or ... 2006 dódh;
-aw following i in mà blao dh héin bhlí' y h'en 1735;

2Conj -iÉw regularly, e.g. tarð i'v ... laur i'v 2503 tairíodh ... labhraíodh;
- iÉuÉ hainmíodh é, marlu É [x2] 4485 maraidh.

892Mg, Michael Keany, was noted with 2Conj -iÉuÉ in: tóigeadh to É uÉ as an bpoll ansin aríst é is traiomaidh é. trum É uÉ e –þþ.

From these few examples 04B is hard to categorise according to our three types. He may represent a fourth type, of high variation (between types (i) and (ii)).

10Bq, Beib Bean Uí Chúláin shows 1Conj -V: with -u (x3); 2 Conjugation -iÉw, i.e. type (ii).

11C, Cóilín Ó Cúláin has 1Conj -V: with -u in fr i'au: friodh, gliau: ARN1430, -4 glao dh; very frequent 2Conj -iÉv, e.g. d i'bra' iÉv, but also -iÉuÉ in d i'bra' iÉuÉ dibríodh, ret iÉuÉ: ARN4097 réitíodh. His usage can be characterised as type (ii) >>> (iii).

5.82  16M — 43M

16M, Máire (M(q)) shows a marked preference for -aw following -VV (long vowels and diphthongs), both radical (i.e. 1Conj -VV) and conjugational (i.e. 2Conj -iÉ). In summary, she has a type (i) contrast -Cu: vs. -VVw >> -VVw. Her forms are presented in Table 5.29 according to vowel quality and realisation of the variable. (Source: Mq.94; examples from conversation are marked M.) It is evident from Table 5.29 that stressed nonlow front vowels i: and e: most frequently take -v, while most other vowels alternate between all three variants -v, -aw and -u. Diphthongs in general show preference for syllabic endings -aw or -u. The overall minor variant in postvocalic position, -u, is prevalent following back vowels (resembling SID.46’s material).
Table 5.29 Impersonal past -adh following long vocoids, Mq

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowel</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>-v</th>
<th>-óv</th>
<th>-ú</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i:</td>
<td>blígh</td>
<td>ar blíiv an wo: an bhó</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>faigh</td>
<td>ar frív e</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>glaoigh</td>
<td>ar glív er x’ú an ar Sheán</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>líg</td>
<td>ar l’ív an li: an lao</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nígh</td>
<td>ar x’ív do xlog’ an M do chloigeann</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>snoigh</td>
<td>ar sníw e</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>suigh</td>
<td>ar síw fis ... síos</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2Conj</td>
<td>ardaigh</td>
<td>ar herdidiu saas e saas é</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ceannaigh</td>
<td>ar k’aemiw a wo: an bhó</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fiathraigh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>labhair</td>
<td>ar l’ev a taefr’ an an tAifreann</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>spreigh</td>
<td>ar spr’év a ... an</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>téigh</td>
<td>ar t’év, a ... an</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o:</td>
<td>cráigh</td>
<td>ar króv e</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>leáigh</td>
<td>ar l’ev an fik’ in’ an sicín</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>meáigh</td>
<td>ar muv a wo: an bhó</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sáigh</td>
<td>ar sav an fær an fear</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dóigh</td>
<td>ar doiv e</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2Conj)</td>
<td>beoigh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bruigh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u:</td>
<td>gníthaigh</td>
<td>ar gníuv</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sáigh</td>
<td>ar sav an ...</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cruagh</td>
<td>ar krúav a x’e e inné é</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fuáigh</td>
<td>ar fuáav a f’edax an t-éadach</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>luáigh</td>
<td>ar luáav,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>togh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>treabh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ai</td>
<td>loigh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Finally, note the variation in the verb sáigh in the following exchange:
-... sáigh M, -... sáuv M, -sáuv P, -... sáuv e, M.

Table 5.30 contrasts the syllabic terminations in -óv or -ú of the impersonal ending with the nonsyllabic ending of the verbal noun in -v.

Table 5.30 Impersonal past -óv, -ú: vs. verbal noun -v

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Impersonal -óv, -ú:</th>
<th>vs.</th>
<th>Verbal noun v/w</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M:</td>
<td>cruáigh kruáuv m’é Mq</td>
<td>vs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cp. sáigh sáuv e Mq</td>
<td>with</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S:</td>
<td>cruáigh kruáuv m’é Sq</td>
<td>vs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sáigh sáuv e [x2] Sq, sáuv [x1] Sq</td>
<td>vs.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The verbal noun suffix, however, may also be syllabic, e.g. beoigh VN b’óuv [b’óuv] M; some verbs even have VN -ú: ~ -óv, e.g. cruáigh VN kruáuv kruáuv.
Verbs

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kruån kruåw. Overall, however, it is clear from Table 5.30 that the greater coalescence of the verbal noun corresponds to its greater degree of lexification. This greater degree of verbal noun lexification is evident in other verbal classes, e.g. the GEARR class (5.142).

19Pq, Máire’s (16M) brother, also has type (i) usage: 1Conj -VV with -v -w; 2Conj -iW.

26Pq shows type (ii) usage: 1Conj -V with -u (x5); 2Conj -iW (x4).

29Cq (based on 7 tokens), 26P’s sister, also has type (ii) 1Conj -V; 2Conj + iW, also w in CRUAIGH class kruån e cruadh é.

43M, daughter of 16M, shows frequent type (iii) in conversation and query, e.g. bligh, glaoigh, ngh > bI iur giur n’iur 43Mq, but sometimes type (ii) 2Conj iW.

5.83 Present relative -Ens -anns and future relative -Es -as

In secondary sources historical and standard suffix -as is attested in the present relative but these can hardly be taken as completely reliable attestations, particularly given that in audio recordings -anns only has been noted. The present relative is, however, hard to come by in the oldest (narrative-centred) recordings. Examples of -as in transcribed material are particularly common with bI:

852S
a ghnídheas muid ... a ghnídheanns na ...

866E (-ns >> -s), bI: is é a bhios a’ teagabháil ... Semr84, also bhionns Semr74;

other verb: nuair a thigeas muid 866ESc57.13.

869P2–5 (-ns >> -s): nuair a bhíos 869P5.

894C (-ns >> -s), bI: bhios muid !894C9, bhios lán !894C9;

other verb: insíos amach 894C9.

As stated, there are fully reliable data for relative -ans -anns only, e.g. bI in SID.46 has -ans only (in contrast with 869P2–5), e.g.

v’In’s fiad 827 bhionns siad, v’Ins na’ xola 837 bhionns ina chodladh.

Relative verb (in -s) with pronoun in f-

In the majority of cases where the direct relative is followed by a pronoun in f-, only the f- of the pronoun is heard. This can be explained as the elision of underlying relative -s through normal sandhi rules. On the other hand, there may be lexification of the s-less verb before pronominal f-.

The sequence -s f-, however, does sometimes occur in the relative verb:

kourur’ a v’ins fiad ig’ im’axt 46.827
corruair a bhionns siad ag imeacht;

a véfje ... a véis fi fin’ 894Cs bheidheas sé ... bheidheas sé sin;

d’aul le’ar’ a fostelasfe ... M deabhal leitir a phostalas sé ... ;

er’ wun da xof’ ukas fi fin’ M ar bhonn do chois a thiochtas sé sin;

f’ac a véis fíb’ blían’ a: nolok’ fo 23M

1 This point is made by S. Ó Murchú (1989: 25). Cp. GCF §198 p. 70 n. 1, regularly f only, e.g. a xir in’ fe a chaiteanns sé. There is no sandhi note regarding future -s sé in GCF p. 71 but examples of both retention and coalescence occur: GCF §524 n. 3 véf je bheas sé, §534(c) war’af fih’ mhairfeas sibh, véf je bheas sí, véf fiad re: bheas siad réidh, hogroc fe thogróis sé; ICF §248 ner’a xafe nuair a chaitefeas sé (as well as nuair a chas sé).
**Fearr a bheidheas sib bliain ón Nollaig seo!**  
(Note the examples in *sib*, *siad* and *sé sin.*

Máire was queried as to her conscious production and pronounced the following in reasonably slow speech:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{k'én} & \text{ | uar'} & \text{ | á} & \text{ | x'uká | fe} & \text{Mq cén uair a thiochtaidh sé?} \\
\text{k'erd} & \text{ | ólan' | fe} & \text{Mq céard a ólann sé?}
\end{align*}
\]

at an even slower rate:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{k'e:} & \text{ | á uar'} & \text{ | ár} & \text{ | hukás fiad} & \text{Mq cé an uair a' thiochtais siad?} \\
\text{k'e} & \text{ | on uar'} & \text{ | á x'ukás fe} & \text{Mq cé an uair a thiochta sé?} \\
\ldots & \text{ukás fe} & \text{ | ... im' o: fe} & \text{ | ... im oz fe} & \text{ | ... Mq} \\
\text{fhághas sé?} & \text{ ... imeidh sé?} & \text{ ... imeos sé?} \\
\text{k'erd} & \text{ | ólans fe} & \text{Mq céard a ólanns sé?}
\end{align*}
\]

An interesting contrast has been noted in speaker 869P2–5’s material in the future between 3sg sé / sí and 3pl siad. The verb preceding 3pl siad has high retention of relative -s. In the future relative verb with sé and sí both -a sé ~ -as sé were noted, whereas with siad, only -s siad (or overwhelmingly, 8+ examples) was noted. In the present both -mn sé ~ -mns sé occur, the -mn sé type being perhaps the most frequent; in the plural -mn siad is more frequent than -mns siad. In summary, as evidenced from the future forms, siad seems more independent with less coalescence and sé / sí more ‘clitic’ (the 3sg pronouns are indeed more often reduced than the 3pl and have been, from a diachronic point of view, a longer period in clitic position). In the present tense, cluster simplification would explain the general preference for -nn sé:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sé l sé</td>
<td>-nn sé &gt;&gt;? -mns sé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>siad</td>
<td>-nn siad &gt;&gt; -nns siad (-a siad) &lt;&lt;&lt; -as siad</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(This analysis is based on notes regrettably taken unsystematically, regarding this feature, from RBÉ transcriptions. Whether this pattern can be corroborated from recordings of 869P or of other speakers remains to be investigated. The single example noted from SID.46, \[sic\]-xk -x, bhíonns siad, might, however, support speculation concerning the more independent status of siad).

In some instances before tú it can be difficult to know whether relative future s is morphologically absent or phonetically weakened (to h) or elided (1.130). I have noted it absent, for example, in:

\[
\text{faÉds waòr !hE tu} \text{ “r !iÉþSt !} \quad \text{03V fad is mhairthea(s) tú aríst.}
\]

There is an example of -an in relative syntax before tú in:

\[
\ldots \text{ agus dhá leith dionta a'd direach de, mar theiceann tú} \text{ | mac exk'an tu:} \\
\text{[sic -xk'] na siúinéaraí tá molta go maith dhíonamh anis. 01P}.
\]

## 5.84 Conjugational syncretism

In traditional dialect all disyllabic 2 Conjugation personal endings, formed by the 2 Conjugation stem (-iÉ-) and personal suffix, are in the process of being replaced, or have been replaced, by the corresponding disyllabic 1 Conjugation endings,

---

1 This áe', for regular relative á a, is most likely a spelling pronunciation, rare for Máire.
Verbs

e.g. 3pl past -idar > -adar. The other process of syncretism to the monosyllabic 1 Conjugation ending is shown above in the change of the 2sg -acha, etc., to -a. For the loss of past impersonal 2 Conjugation -iów -iódh, completed only in the youngest speakers, see ‘Developments’ (5.415, cp. 5.418). Cp. verbal adjective 2 Conjugation marker -iha > -i: (5.181 ff.).

5.85 2pl imperative -igí

The specific 2 Conjugation 2pl imperative ending -igí: -igí is now obsolete. Only two examples were noted:

- abriágí: 46 (s.v. rádh) abraigt; kinn ‘igí: 892M cuimhnígti.

Speaker 894Cs has 2 Conjugation 2sg subjunctive -iÉhAÉþþ and both 894Cs and 11C have regular 2 Conjugation 3pl -iÉd!iÉþS and -iÉdEr, but these two speakers have imperative -agí: only, e.g.

- maraigí: 894Cs maraigí (only one token noted),
- abraigtí: [x3] 11C abraigtí.

Similarly, Máire has -agí: only. Her 2 Conjugation 3pl past (habitual) i-forms in ceannraití contrast with 2pl imperative -agí: produced in the order given here:

- x’arní’díf e, x’áena iád e, x’taídágar, k’arágí: e M.

The more advanced syncretism in the 2pl to -agí: -igí (if -igí: -igi was in fact once the dominant 2 Conjugation suffix in the dialect) in comparison with the 3pl endings may be related to the existence of the 2pl imperative allomorph -i: (5.70).

5.86 3pl -iodar (pst), -idis (psthab, etc.)

Past -iodar ~ -adar

The development of 2 Conjugation -iodar to 1 Conjugation -adar can be discussed under the general topic of the variable (-adar) (5.399 ff.). The oldest persons in my material who have tokens of -adar in the 2 Conjugation are speakers 866Sc and 869P3.

866E: Éamann a Búrc has regular 2 Conjugation -iodar. In the tale Eochair Mac Rí in Éirinn (Semr), for example, all 23 synthetic 2 Conjugation verbs have -iodar in the 3pl past. In another tale, however, two instances of 2 Conjugation -adar do occur, possibly through serial effect with 1 Conjugation verbs, in the following close succession of 3pl forms:

- fuairedar ... chuireadar ... cheangladar ... cheangladar ... d’fhágadar ... gabhadar

- tháinigeadar ... Dúirt siad ... go ndearna siad é — gur cheanglaíodar ...

866Sc140.3–9 (both tokens of cheangladar are spelt cheanngladar in the source).

Cp. -adar in some AGAIR class verbs in 894C (5.75).

869P2–5, Pádraig ’ac Con Iomaire yields one example of -adar in the 2 Conjugation. It is found in a passage with other tokens of -adar. The numbers indicate the order of occurrence in what are considered to be two separate discourse units:

- d’fhionadar ... ’rudar ... ’chruinneadar ... ’chuaadar ... ’dáradar ... 869P3.479.

892Mg: regular -iodar in the 2 Conjugation, e.g. d’airiodar, d’imiodar, cheanglaiodar.

897P: d’aireadar, thairiodar, bhialatodar.

11C: regular 2 Conjugation -idar and -id’éf.

10Bq: in query 2 Conjugation -idar in coinnigh, maraigh, imigh, triomaigh, but -adar in fhiathraigh (produced uncertainly as if the speaker noticed the conjunctual anomaly: ’d’iar hadar); d’iar(h)adara yo 10B d’fhiathradar dhó is also heard in her conversation.
16M. Máire uses -adar in 2 Conjugation verbs quite frequently in conversation, e.g. in one short discourse:

- d’iarhadar (x3) d’fhíathradar; xín’idar (x1) choinníodar;

In another discourse:

- rodar ... d’im’adar ogas x’áenadar ... d’im’adar ... M
- raibheadar ... d’imeadar agus cheannadar ... d’imeadar ...

In query or translating contexts Mq consistently uses -idar, in contrast with her variable conversational use.

21J. Jó Guairim has been noted in the 2 Conjugation very frequently with -adar only; it is likely to be categorical, or nearly categorical for him in conversation. In query he produced (in close succession):

- mharaidar ... thanadar ... choinneadar ... mharadar 21Jq.

23Ms. Micheál Ó Clochartaigh has:

- thanadar héin ... [and in close sequence] d’isliodar ... d’ardaíodar ... d’isliodar ...
- d’aireadar 23Mst.

These examples suggest that common 2 Conjugation verbs, such as airigh and tosaigh, may have a greater tendency to take -adar.

25M. Micheál ‘ac Con Lomaire has regular 2 Conjugation -íodar. One token of 2 Conjugation -adar was noted in possible serial effect:

- agus d’fhíathraigh, d’fhíathradar dhe, dhen sean-Lo chrannach, ...

Cp. d’fhíathradar 21B. 16M above, perhaps influenced by iarr (> d’iarradar) which is similar in meaning.

77C: xorídar chorráiodar, daqhídar d’athradar, qr’áhídar bhreathnadar.

Past habitual, past subjunctive (also imperative) -ídís ~ -ídís

899D. ARN: d’abraídís, thosaídís 6626.
01C. ARN: thairnídís 6369.
11C: regular -ídí f.

21Jq: mharáidís, choinnidís ~ choinnídís (offered as alternant), ní cheannóidís. It may be that speaker 21J has greater retention of 2Conj -ídís than -íodar.

Synthetic and analytic

5.87 General

The diachronic process of synthetic verbal inflection giving way to analytic inflection has occurred to various degrees in all Gaelic dialects. In traditional Iorras Aithneach dialect the 1sg -im (imperative and present), -inn (past habitual, past subjunctive and conditional), the 2sg -á (conditional, past habitual and past subjunctive) are generally synthetic although analytic inflection also occurs. This analytic inflection (replacing -im, -inn, -á) is found most often in contexts echoing other analytic forms, as well as with emphatic pronouns, and, in the present, with the relative verb. Analytic forms are also more common in my informants’ writing (e.g. in letters) than in their speech. Major causes of analytic inflection in

1 Based on the analytic forms presented below, McCloskey and Hale (1984: 491–2, 530–1), McCloskey (1986: 252, 256) and McCloskey (1990: 204) will need to be qualified. Cp. Doyle (2003: 81 n. 10) who unfortunately adds a certain degree of terminological confusion to the topic. For example, reflexive féin is termed an enclitic (iarclaonán p. 84) and emphatic and non-emphatic pronouns are termed stressed and unstressed respectively (neamháiceanta p. 74 ff.), the so-called unstressed pronouns being also termed enclitic (p. 80) and there is mention of a stressed ‘unstressed’ pronoun in example (104) B (p. 86) as well stressed ‘unstressed’ verbs (pp. 73, 86).
writing are, I suggest, the shorter word length and less demanding spelling used in analytic forms. There is obsolete synthetic inflection of the 1pl -amar (past; 2Conj -igheamar), and -amaois (conditional; 2Conj -ochamaois, past habitual, past subjunctive and imperative). The 1pl pronoun muid is sometimes suffixed as a 1pl inflection.

Some speakers are of course more progressive than others in this regard. It is interesting that women in particular have been noted to have this propensity towards analytic inflection (also in use of 3 plura siad, 5.404). Sisters 04Br and 15W both show apparently greater analytic use in 1sg and 2sg than their contemporaries. This is perhaps a feature of their tendency towards simplification seen elsewhere in the verb, or has come about perhaps through English influence (during their long sojourns in the United States) or perhaps through a combination of both factors. E.g. 1sg psthab bhíodh mé héin ... 04Br, nuair ’iodh mé ag goil ’n na scoile 15W;

1sg cond D’aibródh mise. 15W;

2sg cond ’ Bhfuil fhios a’d, nuair bheadh tú ag cuir ... 15W.

Another older woman, speaker 23B, has an example (recorded in 1997) in unmarked usage, which I interpret as being a result of influence from younger speakers, perhaps her children:

wel ‘á pax tu ... 23B Bhuel cheapadh tú ... .

Examples of analytic reflexive use in the 1sg are:

réitíonn mé héin is níonn mé héin 52P

A typical example of variation from a younger speaker in the same section of discourse is:

sheasthadh tú sa sneachta gá gcloistheadh tú í. Tá mise ag rá leat go sea-, sheasthadh, sheasthá sa sneachta ag éisteach leithi. 64M.

Table 5.31 displays the synthetic and analytic forms of the 1sg present, 1sg conditional and past habitual (abbreviated as ‘cond/hb’ in the table) as well as the 2sg conditional from a recording of a relatively conservative younger female speaker, Caitlín Ní Mhaoil Chiaráin (72C, Maínís).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1sg pres</th>
<th>1sg cond/hb</th>
<th>2sg cond</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>non-emphatic</td>
<td>stressed</td>
<td>non-emphatic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>synthetic</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>analytic</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Synthetic inflection is dominant overall but in emphatic contexts (stressed mé and mise and emphatic tusa) analytic use seems to be usual. The two non-emphatic analytic examples are:

ná ek an m’ e | 72C ní fheiceann mé, v’ix tu 72C bhíodh tú.

The form bhíodh tú of the verb bí is significant here. In a separate recording, 72C has two analytic instances out of eight 2sg conditional tokens. Both analytic

---

1 It would be worthwhile to investigate whether there is a quantitative distinction between specific and nonspecific 2sg use. Recall the instance of variation in nonspecific use cited above [1]: sheasthadh tú ... sheasthá 64M. At least one discourse marker (i.e. nonspecific) is regularly synthetic: mar a
tokens contain bí, an apparent ‘leader’ in analytic innovation (cp. tá mé, bionn mé, in the following section):
mí ox tu: 72C mbeadh tú (x2).

5.88 1sg present -im

Phonetically the sequence -amí m’e() occurs and could be taken as straightforward regular sandhi realisation of analytic -on + m’e(). That another interpretation is possible, i.e. of synthetic inflection with pronoun -omí m’e:, is clear from some written forms in -m mé, e.g.
fám [faimh] mé rudai ... 16Mlt, nach duigim mé 68Klt.
The 1sg present is generally synthetic for the older generation. That is apart from two irregular verbs:

bí:  simple present tá mé (synthetic taim being used in Echo contexts),
habitual present bionn mé is rapidly replacing him;

abair:  quative a deir: older a d’er’amfa a deirimse (e.g. 892M1735, regularly 889P) and a d’er’am’p ën’ a deirim héin (e.g. 892M) is giving way to a d’er’ m’fá a deir mise (e.g. regularly 19P) and a d’er’ m’e héin’ a deir mé héin (e.g. regularly 16M). Still more progressive usage has the past tense a díirt mé / mise / mé héin.

Examples of analytic inflection for 1sg -im from older speakers may be classified in the three main contexts noted earlier: (i) echoing other analytic forms, (ii) with the relative verb1 and (iii) with emphatic pronouns. Examples are presented here.

(i) Echoing synthetic forms elsewhere in the discourse, cp. 56B in:
- An éiríonn tú moch anis a Bhaba? 47P
- He? An éiríonn me moch? 56B.

(ii) In direct relative, e.g.
- nax gír’ an tu: ... Nach gcuireann tú ... .
- west m’it a xír’ ans m’e er’ M ‘Westmeath’ a chuireanns mé aír.
- d’imam’ ... fe: húgans m’e l’um 20A déanaim ... sé a thuganns mé liom.
Cp. relative bí in:
N’ii: smokolam’ ax nor’ v’ins m’e im’i: a’t’ a’k’iiss’ 18Bm
ní smócálim [< smoke] ach nuair a bhionnns mé imi aít eicínt.

(iii) With emphatic subject pronoun, e.g.
mar clúinneann mise klin’ám m’ifá an ‘Free School’ á thabhairt ortha sin 892M3528;

déarthá. On the other hand, compare nonspecific: cheapthá – cheapthadh tú 64M. See Cameron (1993: 323–8) for a distinction between specific and nonspecific tú in Spanish subject pronoun use. Nonspecific tú is favoured in analytic use in the San Juan dialect (Puerto Rico). This variety has higher overall analytic verbal use of subject pronouns than the Madrid dialect (Spain), which in contrast favours specific tú in analytic use. Therefore nonspecific tú occurs more often than specific tú in San Juan but specific tú occurs more often than nonspecific tú in Madrid. Cp. 5.92(iv), (v).

1 In Munster the lack of relative inflection coincides with prevalent synthetic use. This contrasts with prevalent relative use and more analytic inflection found elsewhere. Clearly, synthetic inflection limits the possibility for relative use in contrast with analytic use. The relationship between relative and analytic inflection seems to be reciprocal. My examples from Iorras Aithneach indicate that relative use can promote analytic development.
Verbs

... go n-íoctar é. -Má íocann mise é, deix sé, an bhfuil sé ceart? ... nó go n-íoctaí é. -Má íocann mise é, deir sé, an bhfuil sé ceart? ...

\[11C\]

With phonetic reduction and coalescence the synthetic form can be very similar to its analytic counterpart with emphatic clitic -se, e.g.

... xir !E m` !SE

Combination of (i) and (iii):

-dorin tu e 47P An dtóraíonn tú é?

-n`i horin | d`e:ru: ra: nax dori: [sic] m`i f e M

Ní thóraíonn, d`fheadhtha a rá nach dtóraíonn mise é.

Combination of (ii) and (iii), e.g.

his so fæst`æx a xin`ins m`i f er` 12J

thios sa seanteach a chuimhnióinns mise air;

a xir`ans m`i f an 23B a chuireanns mise ann;

a d`erans m`i f a 23B a déaranns mise.

Cp. -ans m`i f a [x2] 66N -anns mise.

Other occurrences are noted here under (iv) and (v).

(iv) No obvious contextual conditioning, e.g.

du`f i m`e ... a du`f`æx sa t`it`æm` a ma xol`a 87

du`si`nn mé ... ag dúiseacht is ag túim i mo chodladh.

Cp. taest`in [-m`?] m`e so ma`f a Pt tast`aionn mé sa mbaile. The common corresponding verbal noun construction also has the pronoun: tú mé ag taisíl sa mbaile.

(v) In writing, e.g. fám [faighim] mé rudaí ... 16Ml, and compare an instance from the younger generation: nach dtuigim mé 68Kt.

5.89 1sg past habitual -inn

Examples of analytic use from the older generation are given here.

(iii) With emphatic pronoun, here in conjunction with agus:

Bhíodh mise `s m`athair ... 894C9.

(iv) No obvious contextual conditioning:

Bhíodh me ` rá leithi M.

Note the irregular verb bí in both examples.

5.90 1sg conditional -inn

Examples of analytic use from the older generation can be classified in two main contexts.

(i) Echoing analytic forms elsewhere in the discourse:

-Aririgh tú a riamh ... ?

-k`er dær`ox m`e S Céard d`aireodh mé?

Perhaps the following example belongs here:
'Níl mise sáthach maith dhot' inghin,' a deir Seán, 'is fear bocht mé, níl aon mhaoín agam. Ní fheilfeadh mé di.' 876J ABg95–6.

This may be related to the example of tastaíonn mé given above (5.88).

(iii) With emphatic subject pronouns, e.g.

'Se婴儿ge bihchéáadh mise an áit a bhfuil mé féin a fhágaíl.' 875T LL 182;

fin’ e * dérthax ‘m’íf ‘um ar brí M

sin é a d’éarthadh mise ar chuma ar bith.

Cp. Seán in contrastive emphasis in:

-k’éq xi skam.tox ‘m’íf i: BóC Cén chaoi a scannróidh mise i?

-k’éq xi skam.tox ‘m’íf i: S Cén chaoi a scannróidh mise i?

There are furthermore three minor contexts.

(iv) No obvious contextual conditioning:

Níl aon mhaoíth intí sin ach ag întseacht dom céard a dtíothadh M.

(v) In writing:

béidir go bhfeicfeach mé ...

16Mlt.

(vi) In query and/or translation, often the analytic English model has a similar effect to Irish analytic models (as in (i)), e.g. -ox ‘m’re often 66Nq.

Combination of (i) and (iii) in:

d’érthax kid’ a go na díin’i e ‘ax ‘x’ir jérthax ‘m’íf e 23Bq

Déarthadh cuide dhe na daoín’ é ach ní dhéarthadh mise é.

5.91 2sg imperative Ø, -adh

Note the analytic example with emphatic pronoun in a local song:

Bíodh tusa i do choineal is beidh mise i m’fhéileacín !(Abtm)11C.

5.92 2sg conditional, past habitual, past subjunctive -á

Seán permits analytic forms here although none have been recorded from his conversation:

-An ndéarthá ‘Gá mbeadh tú ag goil go Cárna ...’ in áit ‘Gá mbeitheá ...’?

BóC

‘Gá mbeadh tú goil go Cárna.’ Sea, tá sé ceart S.

Examples of analytic use from the older generation are classified here.

(iii) With emphatic pronoun, e.g. M:

mar a yohax tusa max M85 mar a ghabhthadh tusa amach;

go dríadax tusa l’íf iad M dhá dtráfáladh tusa leis iad;

k’er da’brox tsa [sic] [x2] M Céard d’abródh tusa?

Younger speakers: -ax tusa 66N often.

(iv) No obvious contextual conditioning, e.g. (unless, perhaps, due to bi and/or nonspecific tú):

Thug Deara dhom é, tá sé — gá mbeadh tú ’ glanadh cárr ... tá se haind-eáilte M.

(v) In writing, e.g.

go mbeadh tú i ndan, gá bhfuigheach tú é, Da ringálach tú (all 16Mlt);

gá diagtha ... gá dtagadh tú 43Mlt.

Six examples were noted in Cladl (author born 1891), all in nonspecific function:

bheadh tú 14, 92, 235, 238, dá mbeadh tú 40 (bi x5), ní aireóchadh tú 14.

(vi) In query, translating: -ox tür 20Cq; psthab d’aiax du ... 66N d’éadh tú.

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5.93 1pl past -amar

1pl past synthetic -amar is a recessive optional ending for some speakers of the oldest generation.

852Sb has 1pl past -amar more frequently than analytic muid in 852Sh.t.t.:  
-amar: Bhíomar 29; chualamar ... bhíomar 2: ‘... ar fhágamar baile ar ócáid ar chualamar go raibh ...’ 125; ‘... ar fhágamar baile ...’ 126;  
muid: d’airigh muid 8.

864M has more tokens of -amar than analytic muid in the 1pl past in ABg and t.t.:  
‘A, ’se croíodh an chult a chuireamar ann,’ 864M.t.t.166;  
fuaramar, ghabhamar, chuireamar, rabhamar. Chuireamar, dhuisigheamar, bhí muid, nach rabh muid féin ar fagháil, bhíomar 864MABg310–1.

866E has rare -amar:  
’sna bairillí a d’fhágamar ina ndisaidh aréir.’ 866ESC229.

869P has been noted, in all, with four tokens of -amar. One from ABg:  
chuamar ag tabhairt an turais 869PABg339–40.1  
In 869P2–5 only two tokens of -amar were noted, one in a quotation in a story, ‘... a chuaí’ama mar’ 869P4.537, and the other in an unmarked lower-register account:  
chuamar gá dtarraint, 869P4.491.  
Elsewhere he has analytic muid. The only emphatic form of -amar recorded phonetically from Lios Athneach comes from SID.46:  ní fhaca muid (or ní fhacamairne) 46.401  
(One would expect the phonetic realisation of the cluster to be *-ar’s). The second form, ní fhaca muid, is not emphatic.) For 869P’s more common muid usage, transcribed both synthetically and analytically, see 5.95 below.

881J has -amar in agus roinneamar rí arfháin le chéile an talthamh nuair a cailleadh é 881J.

889P has -amar (1/1) in agus dúramar l é: x’éf’ a 889P agus dúramar le chéile. He is the youngest speaker noted with vernacular -amar.

Other old speakers have regular muid in the past, including 875T (869P’s brother):  
Sheol muid ABg348, muid [x3] ABg349, also ABg350 (all 875T).  
So also 894C2, 6, 9 who has only muid in prose and most often in verse.

There is an example of what may be a mixed form in:  
xahE mid in na k‘e..ag’s ... xé mid ... 899P  
chaithe muid dhínn na ceaigs ... chaithe muid ... 
Unless it be some kind of slip of the tongue, the form xahE mid can be analysed as halfway between historical chaitheamar and chaithe muid. Cp. equivalent xahE mid (sns)899P (10.62).

5.94 1pl cond, psthab, pstsbj, impv -amaois

Synthetic 1pl conditional, past habitual, past subjunctive, and imperative forms occur alongside analytic forms in the folklore anthologies collected by Seán Mac

1 Mahon (1993: 86) notes the examples from speaker 864M in ABg but fails to mention the single example from 869P.
Giollarnáth, Loinnir Mac Leabhair (LL) and Annála Beaga ó Iorrus Aithneach (ABg). The spellings might be taken to represent synthetic 1 Conjugation -ōmif, conditional -hamif and 2 Conjugation conditional -ōmif. The spelling -mís indicating palatal m may be normalised spelling rather than dialectal. Given evidence from other Connacht and Conamara lects and from higher-register analytic -feadh muis, -ódh muis(t) (10.63) in our dialect, the endings -ōmif, -hamif and -ōmif, -ōx mif are also possible interpretations of the spellings in secondary sources. (Forms of m(u)id spelt synthetically are not considered here.)

852Sb has both synthetic and analytic forms in 852SbLL:
Ná bádhamaois 14, ‘Mar atámuid bímis,’ adeir an mac, Cod. 121;
d’fhéadfamaois 8, go mbhéimís 13;
‘... ar fhágamar baile dá bhfághamaois [bhfaigh-] triúr mac Rí an hOrbhuaidhe
go drugamaois ar cuairt chun ár riogacht’ féin iad go ceann lá agus seacht
mblain go dtéighimís an fhad [chéadna] do’n Orbhuaidh arís.’ [sic] 126,
ct. an Orbhuaidh 139;
b(h)eadh muid 5, 8, 15, go gcúrfeadh muid 9.

864M has synthetic forms in 864MABg:
Bhímís ag baint feamainne 309; Bhímís dá dóghadh ar an oileán 310,
Chuireamaois, dhíolamaois 312;
go gcodlóchamaois 311.

880M has five out of five synthetic forms in 880MABg:
Bhímís 309, 310, go gcodlóchamaois 311, chuireamaois 312, dhíolamaois 312.
He is the youngest speaker noted with (vernacular) -mís l -maois.

Other speakers have analytic usage, e.g. 869P (5.95):
le fáithiós nach dtiocfadh muid ann arís choídhchin 869PABg343.
Also 875T, brother of 869P: thugadh muid 875TABg349. So also 894C2, 6, 9 who
has only -dh/-ch muid in prose and most often in verse.

5.95 1pl muid
The realisations of the 1pl pronoun subject marker muid vary within a range
between a suffixed verbal ending and an independent subject pronoun, i.e. -mad’,
-mid’, muid’. The independent pronoun usage seems to be the commonest. The
suffixed realisation has been noted in the imperative, future, past and in the
present subjunctive.

Imperative and future
Speaker 20C uses the future form with inflected -muid in the 1pl imperative
function, e.g.
k’anglómuid’ e, d’ir’omad’ e, othamad’ e 20C (sbj query)
ceanglómuid é, direomuid é, óthamuid é!
As independent pronoun in future, muid is regular, e.g.
go g’áno muid 31Msbjq go gceannadh muid.

Past
muid is clitic and reduced in;
han’ak ma’ d ner’ 27Cl tháinigmuid anoir.

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Present subjunctive
maradríamid 04B maradríeámuid;
gha maal ammid 31M sbiq go mbuaileamuid.

Commonly as independent pronoun, e.g.
go n-imri muid 866E Smr76, mara dtriéige muid 866E Smr78.
Examples of both synthetic and analytic inflection of muid found in SID.46 are presented in Table 5.32. In SID.46 it can be seen that all imperatives are synthetic (3/3), roughly half of future forms are synthetic (4/7), while there are few synthetic past forms (3/17+) and only analytic present and conditionals.

Table 5.32 Synthetic and analytic 1pl muid, SID.46

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Synthetic</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
<th>Future</th>
<th>Past</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-mid</td>
<td>-amid (1Conj)</td>
<td>-oamid (2Conj)</td>
<td>-mid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>732</td>
<td>858</td>
<td>271</td>
<td>731</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s.v. ólaim</td>
<td>-hmímid' 449 (vs. Mp 137)</td>
<td>328</td>
<td>jãxamid' 731</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s.v. tá</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'odamid' 737</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Analytic</th>
<th>Future</th>
<th>Past</th>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Conditional</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-á mid</td>
<td>-amid</td>
<td>midíe</td>
<td>-mn mid</td>
<td>-xmímid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-am     Mp 137</td>
<td>603</td>
<td>303, 604, 1005, s.v. tagaim, etc.</td>
<td>e.g. 39, 43, 330, tú: midí 1020</td>
<td>501, 585, 733</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>129</td>
<td>v Tí: midí 57</td>
<td>rix a (or rix an)</td>
<td>midí e 173</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>14+</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.96 Individual speakers summarised

Table 5.33 summarises the evidence of some of our oldest speakers, born in the nineteenth century, regarding their use (in narrative) of both obsolete synthetic and progressive analytic inflection.

Table 5.33 Synthetic 1pl -amaois, -amar; analytic -adh mé / tú; 1852–94

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>852Sb</th>
<th>864M</th>
<th>869P</th>
<th>875T</th>
<th>876J</th>
<th>880M</th>
<th>Clad1</th>
<th>894C</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-amaois</td>
<td>- muid</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>muid</td>
<td>muid</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>muid</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-amar</td>
<td>&gt;&gt; muid</td>
<td>&gt;&gt; muid</td>
<td>muid</td>
<td>muid</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-adh mé</td>
<td></td>
<td>rare</td>
<td>rare</td>
<td>rare</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-adh tú</td>
<td></td>
<td>rare</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From 5.93 and 5.94 it appears that 1pl -amaois declined or was lost earlier than 1pl -amar. There are more instances of -amar and the youngest speaker heard with -amar (889P) was born nine years after the youngest speaker with -amaois (880M). One can contrast the most common pattern of the corresponding 3pl endings -ídís >> -ídar (5.400).

1 Author born in 1891.
Echo forms

5.97 General

The Echo forms of the verb are configurationally conditioned synthetic forms which correspond to analytic forms used in the unmarked environment. Echo forms are used in most contexts where the complement is already ‘given’ and is left empty in the particular phrase. When the complement is present in the phrase, the analytic form with the pronoun must be used (for exceptions, see 5.98 below). For the vast majority of speakers their use of Echo forms is facultative and Echo forms can be substituted by the nonpersonal verb form without a pronoun. For example, for ‘I saw him, I did’ one can say:

Choinic mé é, choiniceas (Echo), or
Choinic mé é, choinic (nonpersonal).

In the example, analytic choinic mé is obligatory with a complement and choiniceas and choinic alternate in the complementless ‘Echo’ position. Analytic choinic mé is also used in Echo position but then with extra stress on mé and added emphatic meaning. In appropriate relative contexts the relative form of the verb functions as the nonpersonal, e.g.

Feicthidh mé thú agus nuair a feicthead (Echo), beidh ..., or
Feicthidh mé thú agus nuair a feictheas (relative), beidh ...

The specific Echo usage has been variously termed in the literature Response Form, Echo-form, Antwortform, Answer Form, Foirm Mhacallach, Foirm Fhreagartha, etc. The syntactic process is termed Small Clause Ellipsis by McCloskey (1991: 273). Although its use is perhaps found most often in answers, it occurs in other contexts, as in the example above, and hence my preference for the term Echo form. (I indicate this specific verbal usage with upper-case Echo; lower-case echo indicates more general repetition of a preceding linguistic item.)

These forms are found in both the 1 and 2sg past, future, and present subjunctive of all verbs, and also in the 1 and 2sg of the nonhabitual present of the verb bí. A 2sg present form in all verbs is now obsolete.

It can be noted here that fhios in Echo contexts is generally retained cliticised to its verb bí, in all ‘persons’, e.g.

tus eg’ e: tus Tá fhios aige é, tá fhios, not *Tá fhios aige é, tá.

The only exception I have noted is from a young speaker:

-An bhfuil fhios a’d ... ? BóC -Tá. 75C.

Sometimes a verbal noun is ‘Echoed’, e.g.

- ... Caithfear go maidin.
-Á! ní fháthad, a deir sé. 11C;

- ... caithe tú bheith ag imeacht anois.
-Í chaitheas, a deir sé ...

- ... Caithfear go maidin...
-Í bhéidheadh, a deir sé ... 11C5554–7.

The impersonal leagadh is used in Echo position corresponding to preceding caithfear ... a leagan in:

-Caithfear, a deir sé, píosa dhi [referring to cáirt] a leagan, a deir Cearráidh, agus i dhíritiú. Mar bhead sé an-diúcair, a deir sé, ceann a chuir ar an teach [referring to cáirt] i ngeall air nach bhfuil sé ceannógach, scvaeráilte amach déireach. Leagadh. Agus thúis sé amach agus dhírigh céart i agus bhíodar ag obair. 11C.
Verbs

The actual question can be implied from the indirect speech and the response in:

*Dúirt sé leis a’ máta a ghul sa crann agus breathn ú uaidh féachaint an bhfeicfeadh sé rud ar bith a raibh cosúlacht aige le talamh.*

*Ní fhacas, ar seisean [i.e. an máta].* -Ach ... 875P716.

Verbs in Echo form sometimes occur without having an exact equivalent verb preceding them but where such a verb can be surmised from the context, e.g.

*go dtáinig se go dtige áit a raibh cáirt álaimn gá dionamh, agus d’iarr sé obair ar an bhfear a bhí i mbun na hoibre. Agus — ‘Tiúrthadh,’ a deir se. ‘Bhfuí tú i do shaor cloiche mhaith?’ a deir se. 11C; Chua’ sí ag dionamh braon tae — -Ní ólthad, a Mháire, a deir sé, ach óltha’ mé deoch an uisce. 05M.*

So also with *fhios* in:

-Ach meastú, a deir an mac is sine, an mbeadh a’ dothair a’d céard a leigheasthadh é?

-Ó! tá fhios, a deir sí, go rímhaith. 11C;

-An bhfuil aon mheabhair a’dsa, a deir sí, an claí a rinne tú ina leithide seo dh’áit ar do chuid taladhanna?

-Ó! tá fhios, a deir sé, go maith. 11C2684.

For related examples of extension of *bhi*, see 5.99.1

The complete (1 Conjugation) Echo paradigm is:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg</th>
<th>past</th>
<th>future</th>
<th>pres sbj</th>
<th>pres2</th>
<th>nonhab pres</th>
<th>bí</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-as</td>
<td>-had</td>
<td>-ad</td>
<td>-am</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-af</td>
<td>-ar’</td>
<td>-har’</td>
<td>-haf</td>
<td>-ar’</td>
<td>-ar’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The syncretism in the 2sg is noteworthy, showing the 2sg Echo almost as one category with diminished relevance of tense (cf. Table 5.35 p. 976). This tendency to syncretism is also evidenced in the advanced loss of conjugational distinctions in Echo endings, e.g. 43M’s common 2Conj past -as -as (5.105). There can perhaps be an added dimension of politeness or show of interest in the use of the Echo form as against the nonpersonal. This added ‘commitment’ is heard in the high-low-high intonation which co-occurs with the Echo form in these examples:

-xua mít e ... BóC Chuaigh mé ...
- a N’áxar’ M An ndeachair?
- ... xua máít e ... BóC ... chuala mé ...
- a gualar’ M An gcualar?

Similarly, 2sg Echo forms are very commonly used, often with high-low-high intonation and fondling voice quality, in speech addressed to young children.

5.98 ‘Echo’ forms with complements

The *cé mar* syntagm allows for ‘Echo’ forms; this is particularly common with *tair* in the phrase *Cé mar tair?* and may occur with other verbs, e.g.

---

1 These examples represent exceptions to the general rule of ‘surface anaphor’ described by McCloskey (1991: 274).

2 Obsolete; for examples, see speaker 894C (5.104). Also one token of habitual present of *bí*: ... go mbeidh mise agat, a deir sé ... -Bluel tá sé sin ceart, a deir an dochtair, má bhír ach mura mbeidh, a deir sé, beidh an diobháil ann. 866ESc201.36.
Allomorphy

An Echo form can be followed by *sin* used adverbially, e.g.

\[ \text{nor hæga tu ... nor hægar fin'} \text{ Mq nár theaga tú ... nár theagair sin!} \]

‘May you not come ... not indeed’

1sg past and future forms classified as ‘Echo’ forms occur rarely, and only from secondary sources, with a complement. This is the diachronically older use, these forms being originally used as unmarked synthetic inflections. Such forms are therefore listed twice in the verbal paradigm, both under A, indicating the oldest usage, and under the Echo paradigm.

1sg past:

\[ \text{Níor chualas [1sg] gur rugthas ariamh ina dhiaidh sin air.} \]

The examples from speaker 869P TIA may well be a stylistic device related to higher-register use given their discourse position at the beginning of a personal account.

\[ \text{Thugas turas na Cruaiche faoi dhó. Chuaadh ar mhót ar go Cathair na Mart, agus shiubhlas an bealach uaidh sin. ... chuaidh mé ... ;} \]

and again very close to the end of the anecdote:

\[ \text{Choiniceas daoine a chuaidh suas anuas cosnochtaithe. ... 869P TIA468–9.} \]

On a different occasion an account of his pilgrimage to *Tobar Rí an Domhnaigh* (near Louisburgh in South-West Co. Mayo) was audio-recorded from speaker 869P but the recording has only analytic 1sg and 1pl. This would suggest that the transcriber may actually have supplied the synthetic forms.

1sg future (or present subjunctive), intransitive:

\[ \text{Ní ghabhfad níos fuide faitíos báisteach 11C, in de Bhaldraithe (1980b: 119);} \]

‘Tabhair do lámh,’ a deir an seanfhear, ‘a mhic go bhfeicfead an bhfuil tú cru.'

A clear example of transcriber error (through duplication) is evidenced in:

\[ \text{-Ní ghabhfad, a deir sé, gabhfad chun an bhaile mhóir arís. 866ESc178.} \]

This sentence in 866E’s audio recording, from which the published tale was transcribed, actually contains an analytic form with complement:

\[ \text{-Ní ghabhthad, a deir sé, gabhthaidh mé un an, un an bhaile mhóir arist. 866ESc(178).} \]

Otherwise, when a complement follows an Echo form the subject pronoun is added, with or without a preceding pause, e.g. (without pause)

\[ \text{-Ar chuala tú, a deir sé, aon chaint ar Chailleach na Luibhe ariamh?} \]

\[ \text{-Muíse m’anan go gcuilas, a deir sé seo, go minic mé caint ar Chailleach na Luibhe. 11C2649–50;} \]

with pause:

\[ \text{-Ach d’huioghlaim tú go leor pàidreachal uaiti? Pádraig Ó Catháin (RnG) \}

-\[ \text{Baidhe deaid d’huioghlaimios, [pause] mè go leor acub uaithi. 05M.} \]

---

1 McCloskey (1991: 280) does not discuss either special Echo forms or these mixed instances where, in McCloskey’s terms, the Small Clause is appended to the phrase containing the Echo form. Two other examples of this appended type (‘athsmaoineamh’) are given in GCF §164. Cpr. Arméin II p. 23 §62 (example 4541–2 is not fully relevant), p. 94 §17.0. There is also Echo use following *cuide dhá* in: *Ní dhearna mé an oiread goirtí ariamh ná cuide dhá rinnìos; Deabhail a fhios agam ná cuide dhá bhfuil fiocs FFG20 s.v. cuad 11. A significant property has not been sufficiently addressed by previous discussions (cp. Doyle 2003: 85–7): optional synthetic forms are generally Echoed by an analytic
5.99 Use of *bí* widened from the strictly Echo context

A use of *nuair a bhí* and *má bhí héin* extends from the strictly Echo context or Small Clause Ellipsis, e.g.

- *- tabhchair isteach annis mé, a deir sé, ... Thug, -gadar isteach é agus, ar ndóigh rinne sé héin agus a bhean an dochtúracht air, ab fhéadfadh a bhiodar i ndan, agus *nuair a bhí d’imigh sé agus é bhuailte*. 892M4027;

Choineadh mé an corrán briste acu in bhfoisteacht leatrhoigh d’uit do lámh, agus taid ag gearradh na feamainne leis. Agus chuairt mé ag obair leis, agus *má bhí héin ní raibh mé i ndan aon fhéamagainn a ghearradh leis, ní raibh aon cheachtadh a’imh*. 01P:

Agus an fhad a bhí sé go dona ar an leaba, céard a rinne sé ach súi faoi, agus tosaí ag cumadh an amhrán. Agus *má bhí héin ba bhreid an t-aimhrán é*. 11C5078–9.

There is an instance of *má bhí héin*, from speaker 01P, in context following the verb *bí* + *fhios*, which in strict Echo use would be Echoed by *má bhí fhios héin*; the absence of *fhios* in the example indicates that this extended use of *nuair a bhí* is in fact (optionally) independent of Echo formation.

A tag-like use of *bhí*, used where no lexical verb can be Echoed, is characteristic of speaker 03C, e.g.

*dí* má *fhéidir* go híne *éir*; *dí* má *n* *tahar* *mídra*, *ví*; *féidir*; *k’* *né* *n’* *a* *féidir* fe *wai* *fin* *’* *r* *á* *max*, *ví*; *ax* *ví*; *orom* *’* *br’* *é* *d* *’* *into* *yo* 03Ct

*d’imigh sé* soirt go Huingéaraí, *d’imigh*, an *tAthair* Mhuoir, *bhí*, *féidir* cé *ndeachaigh sé* uaidh sin amach, *bhí*, *ach* *bhí* amhrán *breá* déanta dhó.

5.100 Conservative and progressive usage

For the sake of simplicity one can classify usage of the Echo form as part of two idealised competing tendencies, conservative A and progressive B:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{A} & \quad \text{B} \\
\text{(i)} & \text{obligatory synthetic} \\
\text{(ii)} & \text{special Echo} \\
\text{(iii)} & \text{nonpersonal} \\
\end{align*}
\]

This classification denotes that in A, in the Echo context, one uses:

(i) synthetic forms that are generally categorically synthetic,
(ii) special Echo forms,
(iii) nonpersonal forms elsewhere, i.e. in analytic and optionally synthetic forms.

In B, in the Echo context, one uses the nonpersonal ending, except in the imper-sonal verb which remains synthetic.

Examples of the two systems are:

A = Conservative

(i) obligatory synthetic: *Buailim é nach MBUAILE?*
(ii) special Echo: *Buailthidh tú é nach MBUAILETHIR?*
(iii) analytic and optional synthetic: *Bhuailtidh é nach MBUAILEADH?*

verb, i.e. Bi(i) (in 5.100), in direct contrast with the special synthetic Echo use for analytic non-Echo forms, i.e. A(ii) (in 5.100).
B = Progressive, nonpersonal

(i) Buailim é nach MBUAILEANN?
(ii) Buailthidh tú é nach MBUAILTHIDH?
(iii) Buailidís é nach MBUAILEADH?

As stated earlier, most speakers who use Echo forms, i.e. system A(ii), do so facultatively. That is to say, they use B(ii) also. Speakers can differ with regard to their use according to person and tense. For example:

speaker 11C has been noted (by de Bhaldraithe 1980b, cited above, 5.98) using 1sg past with a complement, he uses Echo 1sg past optionally, i.e. he uses two systems (perhaps three, if the cited use with complement is actual vernacular): optional A(ii) and optional B(ii) (and perhaps a pre-A system very rarely);

on the other hand, speaker 894C is the only speaker for whom a 2sg present Echo form (apart from tâ) was noted (albeit in quotation in a story); speaker 12S has mostly nonpersonal -an in 1sg Echo contexts, so that he has more progressive B(ii) usage as well as conservative A(iii) usage.

5.101 Examples

A(i) (obligatory synthetic); 2sg conditional:

-hjúráv ʹ p is a t'baak er' wút S Thúirthtainn piosa tobac ar bhuit.
-x ūrha: 25S Thúrtha.

A(ii)

1sg pres b'i:

-ʹ Níl tú pósta? a deir sí. -Nílim, a deir sé.11C;
-ʹ O t'ú teagthaíthe ... -M’anam go bhfuilim 11C.

B(ii) Examples of non-use of special Echo form:

1sg past: a wakka m' e ... go wakka 04B5 an bhfaca mé ... ? ... go bhfaca.
... féachaint an aircoinn tada. Nior airigh, agus ní fhacas. Ansin nuair nar airdos ... 892M2090–2.

1sg future: a skratha m’ e ... nu nax skratha Mq an sraithidh mé ... nó nach sraithidh?

A probable example of the serial effect in the realisation (i.e. A(ii)) vs. nonrealisation (i.e. B(ii)) of the Echo form occurs in Máire’s responses in the GEARR class questionnaire (5.149 below) where, within close succession, eleven 1sg past Echo forms were given. Following a reasonably long interval a non-Echo form, yait’ gholt, was produced and only after the pattern Ar hbris tú? Bhriseas was reinforced by me did Máire then offer specific Echo yait’ as. Many similar instances occurred in query with other speakers (e.g. Sq, 31Mq).

A(iii) (nonpersonal forms)

Where no Echo form is available the nonpersonal is used without the subject pronoun, e.g. 3sg past:

-sтроk’ax’ a garí er’ f'ínta portar’ ed’ar fe S
’Sróitíthin an garráí ar phionta pörtir,’ a deir sé.
-‐durt’ 25S Dúirt.
-‐durt’ S Dúirt.

As stated above, optional synthetic endings are Echoed almost exclusively by the nonpersonal. Hence the past 3pl -adar has not been generally noted in the Echo position, -adar being used for special emphasis. Seán bears this out in query:
5.102 Exceptions

The main exception to this generalisation (i.e. A(iii)) is found in the imperative mood, in the 1, 2sg and 1, 2pl. The imperative has both synthetic forms and a nonpersonal in -ax (rare, in traditional dialect especially, outside the 3sg and 1, 2, 3 plural). In 1sg imperative Echo contexts, in query both the synthetic -am' form as well as the nonpersonal -ax occur; however, the nonpersonal present tense ending -an also occurs (as if Echoing present tense 1sg -am'). Similarly, in 1pl Echo contexts in query both the ending -a and the nonpersonal -ax occur, but -hə also occurs (the nonpersonal future ending, as if imperative -ə were a reduced form of the future). An example from conversation of the nonpersonal Echoing the 2sg (in impersonal function) occurs in:

\[
\text{nuair a ghotas tú suas un Comaoineach, bí ag goil un Comaoineach nó ná bíodh, má theigheann tú suas, ... 0SM.}
\]

The nonpersonal, when queried as to its permissibility in Echo context with the 2sg, was found to have more of a third person reference. In the 2sg:

\[
\text{buail é nó ná buail! is used, and (from query)}
\]

\[
\text{buailadh tú é nó ná buailadh, but not}
\]

\[
*\text{buail é, buailadh!}
\]

In a translation exercise for the singular with adverbial sin, Máire permitted:

\[
\text{tabhair dhon bhó é, tabhair sin and déan é, déan sin, Mperm}
\]

(she was, however, unhappy with \text{buail i, buail sin}). In the 2pl Máire produced:

\[
\text{nu' bua'lag i e nu' bua'lag i: Mq ná buailigí é, ná buailigí!}
\]

and did not permit incorrect:

\[
*\text{nu' bua'lag i e nu' bua'lag ax M0perm *ná buailigí é, ná buailadh!}
\]

Also:

\[
\text{buail'ag i e nu' nu' buail'ag i: Mq buailigí é ná buailigí}
\]

was produced, but interestingly:

\[
\text{buail'ag i e nu' nu' buail'ag x Mperm buailigí é ná buailadh}
\]

was permitted as correct. Also note:

\[
\text{buailigí é, buailigí sin, and déanaigí é, déanaigí sin, and}
\]

\[
\text{déaná é, déaná sin. (all Mq).}
\]

Similar to the ‘mixing’ of tenses in the Echo position of the 1sg imperative in particular is the use, in query, of ‘properly’ present indicative -am' ~ -an in the first person present subjunctive, as well as the specific Echo form -ad, e.g.

\[
\text{déan (in Echo context): mara N'ina'd, but also}
\]

\[
\text{(in Echo context): mara N'ina'm ~ mara N'ina'n Mq.}
\]

So also in 2sg:

\[
\text{déan (in Echo context): mara N'ina'r but also mara N'ina'n Mq.}
\]

\[1\] Cp. P. Breathnach (1986: 284) for Maigh Cuilinn where there are examples of thugadar (sin) in Echo context. The text is based on an audio recording so that the precise stress and intonation could be investigated.
5.103 Impersonal

A lesser exception involves the impersonal verb. This is, of course, an obligatory synthetic form and is generally Echoed with the synthetic ending. Specific impersonal forms which are, however, not common in a given speaker’s usage may be avoided in the Echo context. For example, Máire, in reply to past and future impersonal forms of *bí* (which she has claimed in reply to query not to use and which were not recorded in her own usage), used the nonpersonal or third plural. To the question *... rof* in actual conversation Máire completely avoided answering but when queried later by me, when speaker 79S was no longer present, she offered *v’i’dor*, *v’i’iod* Mq bhíodar, bhí siad. Similarly, to the future question:

- *-e m’ei’ar* ag obair* á* Máire tooidar ag obair amáireach?,

she offered

- *b’e, b’e fid*, *b’ei* Mq beidh siad, beidh,

the last being the certain form.

Other tenses, used by Máire in her own conversation, take the impersonal form:

- *-e m’it’ar* kir’* a* Máire tooidar:* An mbítear ag cuir isteach an bhá?

As do all regular verbs:

- *-e gat’ar* v*’eh* un Máire tooidair:* An gcait ear a bheith ann?

- *-kar’ar* M Caitear.

There are instances of the use of *féidir* in Echo contexts with *féad*:

- *-ní féad* Máire tooidar:* A* feoil a bi’ i che Dé hAoine. 66N

- *-ní féidir* M;

- *-Gá bhféadadh duine ... BóC-

- *-Gá bh féidir. 12J.*

5.104 Individual speakers and usage; 852S — 12S

852S, Seán ‘ac Con Raoi

Note 2sg present non-Echo form, now regular in Iorr as Aithneach: má ghnídeann 852S5.

A(ii) (2 Conj) 2sg past: má mharbhas 852S1.

869P, SID.46

A(ii) pres 2sg -ir, s.v. tá

pst 1sg -as, 387, 399, s.v. tchim

2sg -is, s.v. cluinim

-fir, s.v. tá

fut 1sg -thad, 729, s.v. thim.

892M, Maidhchil Ó Coirbín

B(i) pres 1sg -an. *-An gcúimnionn tú, ... ? -Cuimnionn go maith, ... ARN4037–8.

A(ii) pres 2sg *bí* -ir, -Nílir, ... ARN4041.

894C, Colm Ó Caoidheáin

A(ii) pres 2sg *bí* -ir, marab fhualir

with má: -ir (x3) (interestingly, final g in all three roots):

- ná tréig nó má threigir, ... nár thóige tú ... má thóigrir ... go doigie tú ... 894C9

‘... seinnra thóirt dhom pein ... ’ ‘Tírad,’ aduaírt a’ boc mór. ‘Well, má thugair ’s go dhiúraír [fut],’ adeir sé 894C2
974 Verbs

pст 2sg -ais, nior chualais 894C6
fут 2sg -ir, thiocair 894C6, go dtíűair 894C2
prsbj 2sg cp. go ndíonair 894C9.

899N, Nioclás Ó Curraoin
1sg pst -as noted in six tokens out of a total of twelve, i.e. 50% 1sg past Echo use A(ii).
2sg fut -d (2/3).

04B, Beairtle Ó Con Fhaola
1sg pst, generally Echo form where applicable, however, at least one token of nonpersonal use, i.e. B(ii); cf. example B(ii) above (5.101).

11C, Cóilín Ó Cúláin
Note the example of nonpersonal 2sg present subjunctive (i.e. B(ii)), for Echo A(ii) -ír (the present subjunctive now progressively replaced by the future nonpersonal):
-Hea, a deir sé, uscail an bosca sin ar an bpointe, a deir sé, ní mara n-uscail tá do chuirse thart. 11C2257.

12S, Seán Ó Cúláin
B(i) pres 1sg -on
A(i), B(i) cond 2sg -(b)e: -bax/-ex.
A(ii) pst 1sg-ax 1Conj, -as, -is 2Conj
2sg -af, -ar 1Conj, -if 2Conj
fут 2sg -har 1Conj, -or 2Conj
prsbj 2sg -if 2Conj permitted.

Some of Seán’s examples are:
pst 1sg -d’ausa tu: o’ s: D’fhéabhsaigh tú ó inné (...)
-o: d’ausis S Ó’í d’fhéabhsaós.
2sg -s’ir’ iorho tu d’i M Níor fhiafraigh tú dó?
-s’ir’ iorhas S Níor fhiafrais.
-waska tu an ax iad fín’ S An bhfaca tú ann ach iad sin?
-x: akas M Ní fhucas -x: i: akar’ S Ní fhucarái? and
-hug’ mh’if’o madh as Thug mise madh as. -dugaf’ S An duagais?
n’ana tu: n wo: ar n’aeinif S cheannaigh tú an bhó ar cheannais?
... ar odaf’ - odar’ Sq ar ólais - ólair?
cond 2sg xirh’ a: din’ a b’i ser’ ag’ eif’ axt l’æt xirh’ a: S
chuirtheadh duine ar bith soir ag éisteacht leat, chuirtheadh!
prsbj 2sg nor’ air’ i: tu nor’ air’ if’ 12Sperm nár éirt tú nár éirí!

5.105 16M — 43M

16M, Máire Mhicil Úi Chon Fhaola
A(iii) pres 2sg bi-är’
pst 2sg -af, -är’ 1Conj, -if, -ir’ 2Conj
fут 2sg -har’ 1Conj, -or’ 2Conj
prsbj 2sg -är’ 1Conj.

Examples from Máire are:
pres 2sg Nil tú i ndan iad sin a mheainijeáil, nílir M.
pst 2sg -xin’ sk’ Choinic -s wakar’ M An bhfacarái?
-as a guhair’ M Ach an gcualair? a guhair’ M An gcualair? a n’æxar’
M An ndeachair? ar odar’ Mq ar ólair?

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### 5.106 Summary

The continuity and change in this subsystem through the generations, based on an unfortunately small number of speakers, is summarised in Table 5.34 for the 1sg and Table 5.35 for the 2sg. The development of *-as* in the 2Conj past is evident in the first singular. In the second person singular *-ir* spreads to the past. Further research is of course desirable to investigate the details of intergenerational change, both qualitatively, quantitatively and, for example, possible network conditioning. We can trace past tense 2sg *-ir* in 15W’s and 43M’s usage back to variants in their parents’ usage, speaker 869P (SID.46) for 15W, and 12S (Seán) and 16M (Máire) for 43M. Furthermore, the realisation or nonrealisation of Echo forms has yet to be investigated from a discourse and syntactical point of view. Syntactically ‘lighter’ constructions apparently favour Echo form realisation in contrast with ‘heavier’ constructions. For example, the Echo form is more likely in *má choiniceas* than in *má choiniceas is go bhfacas*. Similarly, A(ii) use seems more likely in *má choiniceas* than in *má choiniceas héin*.

#### Table 5.34 Speakers’ endings in 1sg Echo

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Speaker</th>
<th>present</th>
<th>past</th>
<th>future</th>
<th>pres subj</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>852S</td>
<td>-ann</td>
<td>1Conj</td>
<td>2Conj</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>869P</td>
<td>-ann</td>
<td>-as</td>
<td>-los</td>
<td>-d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>892M</td>
<td>-im ~ -ann</td>
<td>-as</td>
<td>-as ~ -los</td>
<td>-d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12S</td>
<td>-im</td>
<td>-as</td>
<td>-as</td>
<td>-d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16M</td>
<td>-as</td>
<td>-as</td>
<td>-as</td>
<td>-d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43M</td>
<td>-as</td>
<td>-as</td>
<td>-as</td>
<td>-d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73P</td>
<td>-as</td>
<td>-as</td>
<td>-as</td>
<td>-d</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Verbs

Table 5.35 Speakers’ endings in 2sg Echo

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Speaker</th>
<th>pres mi</th>
<th>pres bi</th>
<th>past</th>
<th>future</th>
<th>pres subj</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>852S</td>
<td>-ann</td>
<td>-ir</td>
<td>-is -is -ir -is</td>
<td>1Conj</td>
<td>2Conj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SID.46</td>
<td>-ir</td>
<td>-is</td>
<td>-is -ir</td>
<td>-ir</td>
<td>-ir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>869P</td>
<td>-ir</td>
<td>-is</td>
<td>-is -ir</td>
<td>-ir</td>
<td>-ir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>892M</td>
<td>-ir</td>
<td>-ir</td>
<td>-is -ir</td>
<td>-ir</td>
<td>-ir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>894C</td>
<td>-ir -ann -ir</td>
<td>-ir</td>
<td>-is -ir</td>
<td>-ir</td>
<td>-ir !</td>
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<td>-ir</td>
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<td>-ir</td>
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<td>-ir</td>
<td>-ir</td>
<td>-ir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12S</td>
<td>-ann only -ir</td>
<td>-ir</td>
<td>-is -ir</td>
<td>-is</td>
<td>-ir -dir</td>
</tr>
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<td>-is</td>
<td>-ir</td>
<td>-ir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16M</td>
<td>-ann only -ir</td>
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<td>-is -ir</td>
<td>-is</td>
<td>-ir -dir</td>
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<tr>
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<td>-ir</td>
<td>-ir</td>
<td>-ir</td>
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<td>-ir</td>
<td>-ir</td>
<td>-ir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43M</td>
<td>-ann only -ir</td>
<td>-ir</td>
<td>-ir</td>
<td>-ir</td>
<td>-ir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73P</td>
<td>-ir</td>
<td>-ir</td>
<td>-ir</td>
<td>-ir</td>
<td>-ir</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.107 Quantitative: 10Bq — 36Sq

A small step in both the qualitative and quantitative directions was attempted with one of the oldest speakers of my acquaintance (in 1994) who was willing and able to answer innocuous questions about herself and myself. In order to measure her proportional use of Echo (A(i–ii)) vs. non-Echo (B(i–ii)) forms, a series of questions was asked of Béib Bean Uí Chúláin, speaker 10B, with a maximum of 27 separate questions, where she was asked to respond negatively or positively. (Clearly, this was an artificial setting which no doubt affected Echo use.) The list was used on two separate occasions, denoted in Table 5.36 as Q.1 and Q.2. A few examples were noted from a recording (10B1) and directly from her conversation. Her responses are categorised according to whether she used A(i–ii) forms (+ E = + Echo), or B(i–ii) forms (– E = – Echo). (1sg pres refers to the regular verb, i.e. -im vs. -ann.)

From the summarised total to the right of Table 5.36 one can see that 10B(q) has:

1. Overall less Echo use in the first person than in the second.
2. No Echo usage (i.e. B(i–ii) usage) in 1sg pst, fut and pres, and 2sg pst.
3. About half the tokens in 2sg fut are Echo forms, i.e. -r is the most frequent specific Echo form.
4. Most frequent Echo use with A(i) 1sg -inn and 2sg -á.

Table 5.36 Facultative Echo use, 10Bq

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Q.1</th>
<th>Q.2</th>
<th>Conversation</th>
<th>10B1</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>+E</td>
<td>-E</td>
<td>+E</td>
<td>-E</td>
<td>+E</td>
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<tr>
<td>1sg</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fut</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pres</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
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<td>12</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 With complement.
It is difficult to know whether it is significant that conditional 1sg -inn and 2sg -á have exclusive Echo use, in contrast with past habitual 1sg -inn and 2sg -á which both have facultative Echo use.

Table 5.37 presents the (potential) use of specific Echo forms by speaker 14M transcribed from one recording. She has greater Echo use than speaker 10B shows in her sample.

**Table 5.37 Facultative Echo use, 14M**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Conversation</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>+ E – E</td>
<td>+ E – E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1sg</td>
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<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pst 5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fut 4</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg</td>
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<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pst 9</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Her greater incidence of Echo forms in the 1sg future than in the 1sg past is similar to 899N’s (1sg future -ad 2/3, 1sg past -as 6/12 tokens counted; 5.104). Similarly, the future tense has the highest incidence of Echo forms in 10B’s material, in her case the 2sg.

Table 5.38 presents the results of query where speaker 36Sq translated sentences containing 55 potential Echo tokens (as well as 1 token from conversation). Table 5.38 shows that the Echo-specific endings (i.e. A(ii)) are quite defunct for 36Sq (in translation). Present and imperative 1sg -im are Echoed by -ann and -adh respectively (i.e. B(i) use). Use of A(i) endings is general in 1sg and 2sg conditional. Past habitual 1sg and 2sg have more B(i) usage than the conditional, similar to 10Bq’s use in Table 5.36. In two instances of past habitual context, the verbs have the conditional ending -ódh and in two other instances the verb is bí (B(i) bhíodh, mbíodh).

**Table 5.38 Facultative Echo use, 36Sq**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Conversation</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>+ E – E</td>
<td>+ E – E</td>
<td>+ E – E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1sg</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pst 7</td>
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<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fut 1</td>
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<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg</td>
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<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Pres 6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Impv 2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Cond 3</td>
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<td>3</td>
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<td>Psthab 1</td>
<td>2 (3)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
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<td>26</td>
<td></td>
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</table>
### 5.108 Comparable phonological cases

Apart from the special Echo verbal endings, Echo position (in comparison with non-Echo position) tends to have what can best be described as longer, phonetically, even phonologically, unreduced forms, primarily due to its relatively stronger stress often before pause:

1. Endings tend to be syllabic.
2. There is sometimes lack of syncope.
3. There is frequent retention of h.
4. The longer variant of the 2sg (a dh) variable occurs occasionally.

#### 1. Endings tend to be syllabic, e.g. following a long vowel in:

- **krud‘if m‘e nu na kruax** [x2] Sq cráidis mé nó ná cráidh; 
- **kruax** Sq chrás.

#### 2. Examples of the unsyncopated form:

- a dar‘a tu ... nax dar‘a: SqEcho 
  an dtairneoidh tú ... nach dtarainneoidh?

#### 3. h tends to be retained.

1. The only tokens of h noted in the SÁBHÁIL class from Máire occur in this position:

   - **muþSE wàmEm d !eÉtAÉ rAÉ gE driÉAÉlhEd – ... gE dri ÉAÉlEd – M**
   - Muise a mh’anam d’fhéadthá a rá go dtroiálthad! ... go dtraíálthad!

   Similarly, the number of other examples noted of -AÉlh- is skewed towards Echo forms:

   - **m’isalhEd 14M miosálthad; a driaulh‘ar’ 37M an dtraídlhair?**

2. In the CAITH class there are many examples of:

   a) **∅** in the form in the unmarked position alternating with h of the Echo environment, e.g.

   - **kEt je e nu na: ko’báx** Sq (x2) cáitheadh sé é nó ná cáitheadh.

   b) **∅** in the form in the unmarked position alternating with h of the Echo environment, e.g.

   - **IÉot je nu na’ i’iobhax | Mq liathadh sé nó nach liathadh;**
   - **sro’d je e nu na’ srohax ax n’i’ hrohà m’if e Mq**
   - Sroicheadadh sé é nó ná sroicheadh ach ní shroichtheadh mise é;
   - -a goan‘ je e Sq An gcáitheann sé é? -ka’hàn Sq Cáitheann.
Cp. also -ar xrae tu e Sq Ar craith tú é? -xrahos Sq Craithneas.

(c) h in the form in the unmarked position alternating with h of the Echo environment, e.g.

- korad i f e nu: no kohax Sq cáithidís é nó ná cáithheadh;
- krahefe e nu: no kraha Sq craithheadh sé é nó ná craithheadh;
- srobx fæn e nu: no sroha Sq sroicheadh Seáin é nó ná sroicheadh.

There are of course many examples which do not have a contrasting form in Echo position.

(d) h in both forms are attested:

- krahef e nu: no kraha Sq craithheadh sé é nó ná craithheadh;
- mahax nu: nu mahax SMq maitheadh nó ná maitheadh;
- skrahad i f e nu: no skrahax 69Ssq scraitheadhís nó ná scraitheadh.

(e) Loss of h in both forms:

- bol fe nu: no box 77Cq báithheadh sé nó ná báithheadh.

There are counterexamples with the exact opposite pattern:

(f) h in the unmarked form corresponds to  in the Echo position:

- moh: srohan' fæn e nu: mara sroa Sq
  má sroicheann [sic, cp. 9.24] Seáin é nó mara sroichthidh;
- bolat fe nu: no box ... 77Cq báithheadh sé nó ná báithheadh ...

4. The long <ahe> variant of the (ahe) variable (2Conj 2sg cond, etc., 5.65) has been noted in its longer form for some speakers in Echo position only, e.g.

- dokia: ... nax naskle'æu | MqEcho d’osclá ... nach n-osclóthá.

This token represents the only example of <ahe> recorded from Máire who has otherwise only <a>; similar examples showing the same pattern have been noted from Pádraig (Máire’s brother). This is an instructive example of how a minor variant might have easily been missed by me from Máire’s repertoire. Cp. pre-pausal verbal adjective <ihe> (5.191 ff.).

The opposite tendency, i.e. h elision in Echo contexts, is found in the (ahe) variable, similar to the pattern mentioned in §3(ii)f above. Speaker 36S, in 14 tokens counted from translation query (cf. Table 5.38) and conversation, has more <a> than <ahe> in Echo contexts but the opposite proportion in non-Echo contexts:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Echo</th>
<th>non-Echo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt;ahe&gt;</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;&lt; &lt;a&gt;</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt;&gt; &lt;ahe&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt;&gt; &lt;a&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The single token of non-Echo <a>, perhaps haplologic following radical h, is Echoed by <a>:

... na'n he ... da'n hua 36S(trans) ... n-aithneá ... Mháirtín? D’aithneá.

His most common pattern is illustrated in (36S(trans)):

- a X eloh: ... Nî: eda an éalóthá ... ní éalá;
- a vr' aegraha: m' e: ... Nî: r' aegra: an bhfreagróthá mé ... ní fhreagrá.
Regular verb inflection

5.109 Presentation; Conjugations

Given the wide range of variation found within the verbal paradigm of Iorras Aithneach speakers, an attempt is made to show the most obvious diachronic and generational distinctions by classifying older endings under A, down through B and C, and so on, to what is judged here to be the latest usage. It is not meant, however, to imply any serial correspondence between the various tenses, Echo forms or Conjugations, i.e. A in the imperative is not to be understood to be synchronically equivalent to A in the past, etc., nor is A in the unmarked paradigm to be taken as equivalent to A in the Echo paradigm, neither is A in the 1 Conjugation equivalent to A in the 2 Conjugation. The series should not be taken as strictly generational; in some cases younger speakers may use ‘older’ paradigms than some of their elders. Similarly, speakers may use endings from more than one series.

Nonpersonal forms are given in the 3sg position in the paradigms, when a form identical to the 3sg appears in other persons it is to be taken to indicate analytic inflection, i.e. the nonpersonal followed by the appropriate personal pronoun. In the 1sg imperative -Em' ~ -Ex indicates, with the verb cuir for example, that kir -Em cuirim alternates with kir -Ex m -iÉ cuireadh mé. For quality allomorphy of suffixes (-t- and -f-), see 5.39 ff. In the following paradigms I write, for example, simply -tEr (impersonal) to stand for -tEr ~ -t -iÉr. For important verbal sandhi, see 2.58 ff.

First and Second Conjugation

The personal endings for the First and Second Conjugations are basically the same. The 1 Conjugation adds endings directly to the root. The 2 Conjugation differs from the 1 Conjugation in having a pervasive stem vowel to which personal endings are suffixed. The 2 Conjugation stem vowel is generally iÉ, a word finally (2sg imperative, nonpersonal past; this a can also be i in certain sandhi positions) and oÉ (also a, 5.30) in the future stem. Clearly, the a which follows the verbal root and precedes the consonant of the personal ending in the 1 Conjugation, e.g. a in -an, -ad’iÉf, can be analysed either as part of the personal suffix or as a stem element. Conjugational syncretism, e.g. 2Conj 3pl -id’iÉf > -ad’iÉf, or 1Conj -an > -in, is not indicated except where such use is pervasive, i.e. in the case of 2pl imperative -iq’i É > -aq’i É and in Echo endings. There are instances of the use of future stem oÉ in a regular i context: impersonal past habitual and past subjunctive -ot’i É being a blend of -it’i É (pshtub, pstsub) and -of’i É (cond).
5.110  Imperative

First Conjugation

A

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg</th>
<th>pl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 (-h)am</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

B

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg</th>
<th>pl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 -am' ~ -ax</td>
<td>1 -amid' ~ -a mid' ~ -ax</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 -ø ~ -ax</td>
<td>2 -i: ~ -ag'i: ~ -ax</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 -ax</td>
<td>3 -ad'isf ~ -ax</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

C

Imprs -tar

5.111  Remarks

Examples of 1pl are:

1 Conjugation:  tofə mid' i: 11C Toise muid i!
Verbs

2 Conjugation:  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>imí mid’</th>
<th></th>
<th>imí muid!</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
|‘eli mid’|f ehan ‘nán’ hox mid’|eò| 892M

Éalaí muid féachaint an n-aithneodh muid é!

Future forms are often used in 1pl imperative function. 1 Conjugation stems in the 1pl imperative in final voiceless consonants are identical to future forms. A form such as go mid’ 11C can be imperative gabha muid or alternatively, through loss of hEþþ, a future gabhthaidh muid.

Example of 3sg:

-Ach, a deir sé, ná tarlaíod sé dhíb níos mú! ARN9394.

The 1pl ending -om occurs in fágam nach, although it may perhaps (synchronically) be attributable to sandhi depalatalisation for fágaim nach, in:

An sprae atá ’teacht anis, ... beidh sé leáite istich i, i gceathrú uaire.

Fágam nach fúgam nár bhfuil aon mhaith ann. 01P ‘... that shows (me) that it is no good’.

The following is an apparent example of 1pl -ham, perhaps misheard:

a n bok

Cp. 1pl impv teanam (irregular teara, 5.291).

C

Impersonal -tí: and -iÉt í: have been recorded from speaker 43M only, with imperative meaning:

nu kluftí: webf e 43M ná cloístí uailse é!

nu kíníÉt í: ori é 43Mq ná coinnílí oraibh é!

In traditional dialect, this ending (-íÉt í:) is past habitual / past subjunctive (which is replaced by the conditional in more progressive usage, including in 43M’s speech; for subjunctive depletion, see 5.393 ff.). An ending, otherwise in danger of becoming redundant, (since it is replaced by the conditional) seems to have been transferred from the subjunctive to the prohibitive (negative imperative) which of course has inherent subjunctive-like modality. This transfer is presumably from the past subjunctive rather than past habitual. It implies that, although the past subjunctive is strictly speaking syntactically conditioned (and not modal), its conditioning in subordination by mara and dhá afford it the modal value for its analogical prohibitive function. It may even be significant that go: dhá ‘if’ and nu: ná ‘not’ are phonetically similar. It is impossible to tell without further examples whether there is any association between these forms and 2pl referents (2 person plural, which occurs in both recorded examples, also has -i: endings both in the personal imperative, and in the prepositional pronouns (the 2pl prepositional pronoun ending has spread in the Scottish Gaelic verb)). Cf. the example of innovative use of -tí: in the conditional (5.119).

Given minor present and present subjunctive impersonal -iÉtar, one would also expect imperative -iÉtar but I have no examples from my notes.
5.112 Present

First Conjugation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>rel -as</td>
<td>sg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 -a;m</td>
<td>1 -an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 -an</td>
<td>2 -an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 -an</td>
<td>3 -an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rel -ans (-n’s)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imprs -tar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg</td>
<td>pl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 -an &gt;&gt; A</td>
<td>3 ~ -andar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>D</th>
<th>E</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg</td>
<td>pl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1, 2, 3 ~ -i:n</td>
<td>1, 2, 3 ~ -i:n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>? Imprs -ar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>E</th>
<th>Echo A</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg</td>
<td>2 -ir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Echo B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 -an (~ -a;m’)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Second Conjugation

The stem vowel is i, the only variance from the 1 Conjugation endings occurs in the obsolescent impersonal -iḥar.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Imprs -iḥar</td>
<td>sg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 -i:m</td>
<td>1 -i:n (~ -i:mid’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 -i:n</td>
<td>2 -i:n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 -i:n</td>
<td>3 -i:n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rel -ins (-in’s)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imprs -it’ar &gt;&gt; -ktar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg</th>
<th>pl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>3 -iÉndEr</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg</th>
<th>pl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>1, 2, 3 ~ -án</td>
<td>1, 2, 3 ~ -án</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Echo B

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 -iÉn (~ -iÉm’)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.113 Remarks

For -n+s > -n’s in the relative, see 5.35.

D Impersonal -ar

Speaker 60M’s speech is mixed (his father comes from Doire an Locháin, one and a half miles west of Na Forbacha in East Cois Pharraige). He generally uses -tar; however, -ar was recorded once from him (in Echo position):

\[ \text{g‘ar tar} \text{ din’á g‘ar} \text{ar} \text{60M geartar dui} \text{ne gearrar} \]

or the ending was perhaps phonetically [á] = /á/, cp. GCF §168 fut imprs -húar, -(h)ár, (f’)ár.

5.114 Past

First Conjugation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg</th>
<th>pl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>1 ~ -as</td>
<td>1 ~ -ámár, emphatic -ámár’n’a (for expected *-ámár’n’a, 5.93)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg</th>
<th>pl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>1 -Ø</td>
<td>1 -Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 -Ø</td>
<td>2 -Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 -Ø</td>
<td>3 -dár ~ -dá ~ -Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Imprs -u, -v</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Second Conjugation

The stem vowel is i, except for -á in the nonpersonal with monosyllabic and syncopating roots; unsyncopated roots have nonpersonal -Ø.
Regular verb inflection 985

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg</th>
<th>pl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 -ə</td>
<td>1 -ə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 -ə</td>
<td>2 -ə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 -ə</td>
<td>3 -iːdər ~ -ə</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Imprs -iːw ~ (-iːv), ~ iːw

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First Conjugation</th>
<th>Second Conjugation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg</td>
<td>sg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 -as</td>
<td>1 -iːs ~ -as</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 -aʃ ~ -aɾ</td>
<td>2 -iːʃ ~ -iːɾ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Echo

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First Conjugation</th>
<th>Second Conjugation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg</td>
<td>sg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 -as</td>
<td>1 -iːs ~ -as</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 -aʃ ~ -aɾ</td>
<td>2 -iːʃ ~ -iːɾ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 5.115 Past habitual

#### First Conjugation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 -amaois</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 -ən</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 -əʍ ~ -əʪ:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 -əx</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Imprs West IA -iː (~ hiː)
East IA ~ hiː

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>C</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 -ə</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>D</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 -ʪ:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>E</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1, 2 -əx &gt;&gt; B</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Second Conjugation

The stem is -iː.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Imprs -iːhí ~ -iːhə</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Verbs

B

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg</th>
<th>pl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-i{acute}x'</td>
<td>1 -i{x}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-i{circumflex}x -i{breve}ha -t{acute}a, etc., -i{x}</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-i{x}</td>
<td>3 -i{breve}d{breve}if ~ -i{x}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Imprs -i{tilde}t'i >> -i{tilde}iti (- -ot'i)

C

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1, 2</td>
<td>-i{x} &gt;&gt; B</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.116 Remarks

A For discussion of 1pl -amaois, see 5.94.
B 2sg -i{breve} and D -th-, see 5.65. 2Conj -te{acute}a noted in conversation in go darax't'a: 25M dhá dtarrainteá. See also 20C, Table 5.4 p. 915.
C 2sg - ot-, see 5.67 under Civ.

B Impersonal 2 Conjugation -ot'í, also with lowered stem vowel -ot'í, is a rare mixed form combining correct past habitual -(i)t'i and conditional -o(t'í), e.g. (in past habitual context)

Gá mbeadh tada feicthíthe ag an duine bheadh amuigh, gá, us-, ag an ám sin, nuair a d'usclóití disklat'i: an doras dhóibh, thitidís isteach ann. 05M;

Goifí ... gheifí ... cuirfí ... gheithidís ... tiúr ... gheithidís ... tairneoití

Also attested in past subjunctive context: ga giv'ot'i 56B dhá gcotneoití.

5.117 Future

First Conjugation

A

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-f{acute}d</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

rel -f{tilde}s

B

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg</th>
<th>pl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1, 2, 3</td>
<td>-ha</td>
<td>1 -ha (-hamid')</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

rel -has

Imprs West IA -f'ar ~ -far

East IA ~ -har

A 1sg -f{acute}d in de Bhaldraithe (1980b) no doubt representing -had:

Ní ghabhfad níos fuide faitíos báisteach 11C.

For -f{tilde}s, see 5.58.
Second Conjugation

The stem is -őː-.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg</th>
<th>pl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1, 2, 3 -őː</td>
<td>1 -őː (-őːmid̂)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rel -ős</td>
<td>2, 3 -őː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imprs -őf ēr ~ -őf ēr</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Echo

First Conjugation                      Second Conjugation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 -haled</td>
<td>1 -őd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 -hær ~ -haf</td>
<td>2 -őr ~ -őf</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.118 Conditional

First Conjugation

A

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg</th>
<th>pl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 (-finn)</td>
<td>-famaois</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

B

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg</th>
<th>pl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 -hæn̂</td>
<td>-hæx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 -hæː</td>
<td>-hæx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 -hæx</td>
<td>3 -hædǐf (-hædĩf) ~ -hæx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imprs West IA -f iː: ~ -fiː: (~ -fiː:)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imprs East IA ~ -hĩː:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

C

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Imprs ~ -tiː:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

D

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg</th>
<th>pl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1, 2 ~ -hæx &gt;&gt; B</td>
<td>3 ~ -hæxdaːr</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

E

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 -hĩn̂</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Second Conjugation

The verbal stem is őː; less often ăː.

A

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>pl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Imprs -őchaí</td>
<td>1 -ő(cha)maois</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Verbs

988

First Conjugation

5.119 Remarks

For 1sg -finn, see -h- in suigh of BLIGH class (5.138).
For the various 2sg forms, see 5.65.
3pl -hadif was noted in d'eerhodif 34M déarthaidís (13.22, line 57). I recall hearing other instances of 3pl -dif in 34M’s speech. The nonpalatal d may be attributable to influence from 3pl past -dar or to an aspect of the lingual shift involving palatals (1.407–408) or to a combination of both factors. If his use of -dif is systematic, with further analysis one might find, for example, past habitual *-Edif, 2Conj conditional *-odiEdif.
C Impersonal -ti: was heard from a male speaker from Roisín na Mainchíoch who I estimate was born in the early 1940s. It occurs in my notes as:
gA gurt, kroxt m, dhá gcuirtí, crochtí mé.
It seems the conditional use of the properly subjunctive crochtí was brought about through the serial effect of the preceding historical subjunctive dhá gcuartí. Cf. limited spread of -ti: to prohibitive use in this age-group (5.111). Cp. 5.392.
For D 1sg -hín, see speaker 60M (5.413).
Impersonal: for -si: < -sfi west of Roisín na Mainchíoch, see 5.59.

Second Conjugation

C Impersonal -f'i: (of 1Conj) in a rare example:
fiarrf'i: Str88, Mtr88, ~ f'iarhodi: Str88, f'iarho: Str88, Mq88,
d'iarho: M fiathróifí, d'fiathróifí.
There seems to be a particular propensity to use 1 Conjugation 3pl past -adar with fiathraigh. For example, noted in conversation from Máire: d'iarhodar [x3] M but sin' tadar M choinniodar in the same discourse. This may be related to the confusion of this verb with iarr, which sometimes occurs (5.311).
5.120 Present subjunctive

First Conjugation

\[
\begin{array}{c|c}
\text{sg} & \text{pl} \\
1, 2, 3 -a & 1, 2, 3 -a \\
\text{Imps} -\text{tar} & \\
\end{array}
\]

Second Conjugation

The verbal stem is iÉþþ.

\[
\begin{array}{c|c}
\text{Imprs} -i\text{h}E \sim -i\text{r} & \\
\end{array}
\]

Second Conjugation

\[
\begin{array}{c|c}
\text{sg} & \text{pl} \\
1 -i -i\text{md} \sim -i\text{m} & 2, 3 -i -i\text{md} \\
\text{Imps} -i\text{t} \text{ar} >> -i\text{t}E & \\
\end{array}
\]

Echo

\[
\begin{array}{c|c}
\text{First Conjugation} & \text{Second Conjugation} \\
\text{sg} & \text{sg} \\
1 -\text{id} (\sim -\text{id} -\text{m} \sim -\text{id} -\text{n}) & 1 -i\text{d} (\sim -i\text{id} -\text{m} \sim -i\text{id} -\text{n}) \\
2 -\text{er} \sim -\text{af} (\sim -\text{an}) & 2 -\text{er} \sim -\text{af} (\sim -\text{an}) \\
\end{array}
\]

5.121 Remarks

Examples of 2sg Echo are:

mé a ligean isteach ... nó mara ligir, beidh mé strumptha 875T1.1176;
má iompaíonn tú ... ach mara n-iompaír tá mise agus ... 866ESc133.34.

Note the unusual loss of the i: ending between homorganics in the example:

mara nu: fe: fi: m’e ... mara nu: fi: fe: fi: m’e 869P

mara ndúas sé sin mé ... mara ndúas sé sin mé.

(The second token is not a selfcorrection or repair.) This haplology resembles the regular loss of schwa between homorganic consonants in sandhi (2.4).

5.122 Past subjunctive

First Conjugation

\[
\begin{array}{c|c}
\text{sg} & \text{pl} \\
1 -\text{an} & 1 -\text{an} \\
2 -\text{a}: \sim -\text{a}: -\text{a} & 2 -\text{a}: \sim -\text{a}: -\text{a} \\
3 -\text{ax} & 3 -\text{ax} \\
\text{Imps West IA} -\text{ti} : (\sim -\text{hi}) & \\
\text{East IA} \sim -\text{hi} : & \\
\end{array}
\]
Verbs

Note 2sg ǧa: ǧa:x: 889P dhlá gcraitheá for common ǧa: ǧaha: (5.65, 5.124). In query, Máire has consistent -ha: following vocalic stems, e.g. ǧa: ǧ’iha:, ǧa: mťiha: Mq dhlá nítheá, dhlá mblitheá. She does, however, permit -a: in this context, e.g. ǧa: ǧ’i: Mperm dhlá ní(th)eá.

Second Conjugation
The verbal stem is i:.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg</th>
<th>pl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-i:x’</td>
<td>-i:x’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-i:ha: ~ -o:ha: ~ -o:ha: ~ -a:ha:</td>
<td>-i:x’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| ~ -a:ha: ~ -a:ha: ~ -a:~ -a: | 3 -i:d’i:’f ~ -i:x  
| -i:x (~ -i:x) |            |
| Imprs -i’ti:’ >> -i’ti: (~ -o’t’i:) |            |

For less common -i:x, see 5.29. Impersonal -o’ti: is a mixed form (5.116) attested in:

... ǧa gỉx’ô’ti: ka’n:’ i ef 56B ... dhlá gcraitheá caint leis.

Verbal classes

5.123 First Conjugation verbal classes

Many verbs show no alternation in the verbal stem and require no further description. Examples of such verbs are given in the ‘List of Regular Verbs’ (5.235). First Conjugation verbs which have (relatively minor) alternations can be classified according to the morphophonology of their root vowel or stem vowel, or of their final consonant(s) or of both vowel and consonant. There are six such alternating classes of verbs in the 1 Conjugation, each of which is designated by a common member. Alternations in both the CAITH and BRUITH classes are generally phonetically and rhythmically conditioned. The other four classes have more morphological conditioning (to varying degrees).

(i) The CAITH class has variable prevocalic radical -h.
(ii) The BRUITH class has alternating radical final -∅, -h, and -x’.
(iii) The SÁBHÁIL class has variable quality in the final consonant of the stem, e.g. -l ~ -l:, before verbal suffixes; also noteworthy variation in future h.
(iv) The BLIGH class has variable root-final vowels: i ~ i:, o ~ ai.
(v) The LOBH class has alternating stem-final -ow -aw, -o(h) and -au -o:, marginally -auw, -of-.
(vi) The GEARR class has variable length in the root vocoid, e.g. a ~ a:.

5.124 CAITH class

In this class a root-final h may occur before vowels. There is much variation but phonological, morphological and lexical conditioning are evident. Following short vowels, h appears most consistently, verbs with radical ‘final’ short vowels
being redundantly members of this class. After long vocoids (VV) h appears least consistently. It is realised seldom before -adar, often in Echo contexts and most often before the past impersonal and the verbal noun suffixes. Of the verbs with root vowel in a, the h occurs most often with cáith, less often with báigh and least with sáigh. The verb sáigh is in fact not a member of this class for most speakers. Table 5.39 lists verbs in this class according to their root vowel. (For related verbs, see the BRUITH (5.134) and CRUTHAIGH (5.163) classes below, cp. also V(V)+h in the 1 Conjugation future stem in general.)

A 2sg past subjunctive in -x a was noted in go: gax a 889P (Coil Sáile) dhá gcraithed for common go: gaha. This speaker has regular 2sg conditional xaha: chaithed, future kaha caithidh, VN kaha caitheamh (all 889P). It seems that his use of -x' is confined to 2sg (subjunctive) -x a (and not that his CAITH verbs are members of the BRUITH class).

Table 5.39 The CAITH class

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Short vowel</th>
<th>Long vowel</th>
<th>Diphthong</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>braich</td>
<td>sceith</td>
<td>sroich</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>braith</td>
<td>teith FGB</td>
<td>gabh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>caith</td>
<td>(teichid DIL)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>craith</td>
<td>leith</td>
<td>maith</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scraith</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other verbs which diachronically might be expected to belong to this class are in fact not members, e.g. tri: troith FGB (traethaid DIL) > troigh (e.g. pres triin troinne). Verbs that belong here may also be inflected in the 2 Conjugation, i.e. luath and teith which are described in 5.170 CÚL class. Verbs in the BLIGH class form a redundant subset of this class when their short vowel variant is followed across word boundary by another vowel, e.g. sni(h) snoigh, imperative snih e M snaigh é. A minority of speakers, most blatantly represented by 66N, tend to augment this CAITH class from other classes, particularly the BLIGH class. Speaker 11C was noted with one token of stem l'éh leigh which otherwise has stem l'e:.

A questionnaire was used to obtain much of the data on the usage of individual speakers described in the following sections. The ‘raw’ questionnaire results are given for each speaker first followed by a short analytic section. Examples noted from speakers other than those queried will be listed first.

5.125 Speakers 869P2–5 and SID.46, 899D, 04B, 11C, 18J

Examples which were noted, more or less at random, from some older speakers are listed here. A realisation of h is assigned a value of 1, its absence 0.

869P2–5 and SID.46, Padraigín Mhacaint’ac Con Iomaire

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>form</th>
<th>pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>báigh</td>
<td>1 pst imprs</td>
<td>báith: 46.1158 báitheadh naomhobar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sáigh</td>
<td>1 3pl psthab</td>
<td>sáidís (sháithidís) 5 (pronunciation indicated in brackets)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1, 0 VN</td>
<td>í sháith a síos 2, gá shá. 4, a shá 4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
992 Verbs

Cp. sáthadh FFG s.v. sánn1.

899D, Mac Dara Ó Loideáin

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{caith:} & 0 \quad 3\text{pl pst} \\
\text{n ír xadar a wad er' farag' ean uar'} & \text{ARN6219}
\end{array}
\]

n ír chaitheadar i bhfadh ar farraige aon uair

01S, Seán Ó Gaora (in song)

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{liath:} & 0 \quad \text{subjunctive} \\
\text{go liat 'n aois mo cheann} & \text{301S CABI §70(a) v. 8}
\end{array}
\]

04B, Beartligh Beag Ó Con Fhaoila

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{báigh:} & 1 \quad \text{VN} \\
\text{gEn bAÉhE} & \text{gEn bAÉhE}
\end{array}
\]

3g cond

caith: 1 3pl pst xahadar an iho fis’ (run) chaitheadar an oíche sin

11C, Cóilín Mháirtín Sheáinín Ó Cúláin

This speaker seems to have higher incidence of h than most speakers; particularly noteworthy is his token of léigh in this class, not heard from any other speaker.

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{báigh:} & 2 \quad \text{pst before i} \\
\text{a 'wu hi' | ... a 'wu hi' |} & \text{ARN3505–6 a bhaigh i}
\end{array}
\]

3 3pl pst

wechadar ì e d'or e (run) bháitheadar le deora é;

gar wechadar [x2] ARN4255 gur bháitheadar

1 impres pst

bhu: e báithheadh é

1 VN

gE mEcha' gE mbáthadh

caith: 1 3pl pst xahadar an iho fis’ (run) chaitheadar an oíche sin

1, 0 3g cond

xahot fe, xef fe, n gweol fe

chaitheadh sé, go gcaitheadh sé

0 2pl impv

-imprés pst

-kEg i: ft'ax sa t'ín' e: d'Er' fa | kahu: ft'æ x-Caithigí

 smoked sa tine é, a deir sé. Caitheadh isticach sa tine é.

léigh: 1 nonpers pst

nar leigh a taibh' p'ardar kánwe' ... ARN4383

nar léigh an tAthair Peadar Canbae ...

18J, Jó Pheadair Uí Laidhe

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{caith:} & 0 \quad 3\text{pl pst} \\
\text{cp. leathaigh:} & 1 \quad \text{nonpers pst}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{gAr t'ah' sn' t'ax a'max xa'mor'} & \text{ARN8860}
\end{array}
\]

gur leathainn an teacht amach chomh mór.

The latter example is taken to be leathainn, related to leath and leathnaigh. The meaning is ‘widen’ and contrasts in this context with an-chaol, caolaigh ARN8848, –68. A form with nasal vowel ÚnhE leathnaigh would then be related to ÚnhE leathnaigh as brún na breathnaigh. On the other hand, the nasalisation of the verb and the an form of the article may be due to emphatic use; alternatively the nasalisation could be simply allophonic for this speaker. Cp. vadj ÚnhE 20Pá.

5.126 12S, Seán Chúlán

The results of Seán’s CATH class questionnaire are given in Table 5.40. ‘S’ (in contrast with ‘Sq’) indicates examples from conversation.

(There is aberrant lack of lenition in some examples of sroich following má and ní, probably due to the emphasis on the verbal form (and the initial sr- cluster), cf. Lenition (9.24).) Forms with 2 Conjugation stem were produced (the first token was repeated in 1 Conjugation as given above):

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{impv nonpers nó ná} & \text{srohix jum Seán e nu na srohix} \\
\text{3pl impv nó ná} & \text{sroadh e nu na srohix}
\end{array}
\]

Cp. 25M’s 2Conj teith (5.170). For u: in suath (cp. vadj su’t a Sq), see 1.27.
### Table 5.40 CAITH class, Sq

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>impv /ₐ</th>
<th>impv /ₐ</th>
<th>impv /ₐ</th>
<th>pres</th>
<th>q</th>
<th>&gt; Echo</th>
<th>3sg impv</th>
<th>&gt; Echo</th>
<th>3pl impv</th>
<th>3pl</th>
<th>3pl pst</th>
<th>imps pst</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>báigh</td>
<td>bu: e, bu: u: ben' S</td>
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<td>ps:hab/cond</td>
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<td>a guan tumes e</td>
<td>kuhán</td>
<td>ku: f e e nu:</td>
<td>ku: b:ox nu:</td>
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<td>sáigh</td>
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<td>nu kuhax</td>
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<td>liath</td>
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<td>a suan' fe e</td>
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<td>kra:ham</td>
<td>súil' a lo: e</td>
<td>kra:ham</td>
<td>kra: fe e nu:</td>
<td>nu krahax</td>
<td>kra:fe e nu:</td>
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<td>sro: hæd</td>
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### Verb | presbj | 2pl impv | 2sg cond | 1sg ps:hab/cond | 1sg pst Echo | fut | VN
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<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>báigh</td>
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<td>a gu:u e</td>
<td>xu: hax , i: xu:an f: e:</td>
<td>n: i xu: hax m: if e</td>
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<td>hax:</td>
<td>go ma hu:</td>
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<td>hax:</td>
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<td>su:ag i: e</td>
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<td>-h: S</td>
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<td>gc græ hax' d'aul deahbal e</td>
<td>kra:ag i: e</td>
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<td>e: xrah</td>
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<tr>
<td>sroích</td>
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<td>sro:ag i: f: e (x2) sro:ha'g i: f: a,</td>
<td></td>
<td>h: ohas</td>
<td>n: i sro: ha m: if e</td>
<td>gc r: ho:ha</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5.127 16M, Máire Chúlán

The results of Máire’s questionnaire are presented in Table 5.41 (Mq). Tokens from conversation are indicated by a following ‘M’. Her usage in baigh (which I recall from her conversation) is: present báan >>> báhan and past impersonal báhu: >> báu. 3sg pres báhan fe in mar | báhan fe n tuairír M mar báitheann sé an t-urlár, is exceptional for Máire; she was perhaps about to use the future as habitual present; báhan fe Mperm is, however, permitted by her and báhan is found in Echo position in Mq.

Further examples from Seán and Máire, in conversation, not included in my calculations, are:

-ka nur e jin M Caithidh Nóra é a dhéanamh.
-\(\text{\textasciitilde v'}\): xah\(\text{\textasciitilde}\) lox doil 52Cr Ní chaithidh lucht deil.
-\(\text{\textasciitilde v'}\): xaha M Ní chaithidh; also:
  ka\(\text{\textasciitilde}\)n M caitheann, xadar M chaiteadar, xør\(\text{\textasciitilde}\)fe S chaiteadh sé,
  kær\(\text{\textasciitilde}\)l\(\text{\textasciitilde}\)s a xær\(\text{\textasciitilde}\)an\(\text{\textasciitilde}\)fe M Cearails a chaiteanns sé,
  xah\(\text{\textasciitilde}\)fe nax wif is ... M chaiteadh sé nach bhfuil a fhios ... .

Also, Máire’s brother: ka\(\text{\textasciitilde}\) tu ... P caithidh tú.
Table 5.41 CAITH class, Mq

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>impv / _e</th>
<th>impv / _a</th>
<th>impv / V</th>
<th>pres</th>
<th>q</th>
<th>&gt; Echo</th>
<th>3sg impv</th>
<th>&gt; Echo</th>
<th>3pl impv</th>
<th>3pl pasth/cond</th>
<th>3pl pst</th>
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<td>be: iad, be: e</td>
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<td>be: fe na kif na cuil</td>
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<td>su: a</td>
<td>su: son tumors iad nu</td>
<td>su: son</td>
<td>su: fe m e nu</td>
<td>su: son</td>
<td>su: fe e nu</td>
<td>su: kuhax</td>
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<tr>
<td>eath</td>
<td>ka he M</td>
<td>ko uar ...</td>
<td>ka hi:jal òs e (h')</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>kra he M</td>
<td>kra a max</td>
<td>kra iask ... iasc</td>
<td>kra:ham</td>
<td>a grahan tumors e</td>
<td>kra:ham</td>
<td>kra:st fe e nu</td>
<td>kra:ham</td>
<td>kra:ham</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maith</td>
<td>maon fe, maham'</td>
<td>maon fon dum Seán dome</td>
<td>maham</td>
<td>ma'nt fe yum e nu</td>
<td>maham</td>
<td>ma'nt fe yum e nu</td>
<td>maham</td>
<td>ma'nt fe yum e nu</td>
<td>maham</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scrath</td>
<td>skra he</td>
<td>skra: iaxtar a fort a loch a r an porth aigh</td>
<td>skra:en' fe</td>
<td>skra:en' fe on portax an portach</td>
<td>skra:han</td>
<td>skra:ent fe e ...</td>
<td>skra:han</td>
<td>skra:han</td>
<td>skra:han</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>srath</td>
<td>sren jiad træsma trasna, gruni: i geómais,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verb</td>
<td>impřs pst</td>
<td>prsbj</td>
<td>2pl impv</td>
<td>2sg cond</td>
<td>1sg psíhab</td>
<td>1sg Echo pst</td>
<td>fut</td>
<td>&gt; Echo</td>
<td>VN</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>----</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>báigh</td>
<td>bAÉhE</td>
<td>bAÉEg</td>
<td>(x2)</td>
<td>bAÉiÉ</td>
<td>wAÉhEs</td>
<td>hEÉn</td>
<td>wAÉhEÐ</td>
<td>hEÉn</td>
<td>wAÉhEd</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cáith</td>
<td>kAÉhE</td>
<td>û !iE</td>
<td>û !iEhE</td>
<td>û !iEhE m !iþSE û !iEhE</td>
<td>û !iEhE m !iþS/c143</td>
<td>û !iEhE</td>
<td>û !iEhE</td>
<td>û !iEhE</td>
<td>û !iEhE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sáigh</td>
<td>sAÉhE</td>
<td>sAÉEg</td>
<td>sAÉiÉ</td>
<td>sAÉhE</td>
<td>sAÉhEd</td>
<td>sAÉhEd</td>
<td>sAÉhEd</td>
<td>sAÉhEd</td>
<td>sAÉhEd</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liath</td>
<td>gAÉhE</td>
<td>gAÉhEd</td>
<td>gAÉhEd</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>gAÉhEd</td>
<td>gAÉhEd</td>
<td>gAÉhEd</td>
<td>gAÉhEd</td>
<td>gAÉhEd</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suanú</td>
<td>û !iE</td>
<td>û !iEhE m !iþSE û !iEhE</td>
<td>û !iEhE</td>
<td>û !iEhE</td>
<td>û !iEhE</td>
<td>û !iEhE</td>
<td>û !iEhE</td>
<td>û !iEhE</td>
<td>û !iEhE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>braith</td>
<td>brahÉ</td>
<td>brahÉg</td>
<td>brahÉg</td>
<td>brahÉg</td>
<td>brahÉg</td>
<td>brahÉg</td>
<td>brahÉg</td>
<td>brahÉg</td>
<td>brahÉg</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>craith</td>
<td>xrahÉ</td>
<td>xrahÉg</td>
<td>xrahÉg</td>
<td>xrahÉg</td>
<td>xrahÉg</td>
<td>xrahÉg</td>
<td>xrahÉg</td>
<td>xrahÉg</td>
<td>xrahÉg</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maith</td>
<td>mrahÉ</td>
<td>mrahÉg</td>
<td>mrahÉg</td>
<td>mrahÉg</td>
<td>mrahÉg</td>
<td>mrahÉg</td>
<td>mrahÉg</td>
<td>mrahÉg</td>
<td>mrahÉg</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>craith</td>
<td>skrahÉ</td>
<td>skrahÉg</td>
<td>skrahÉg</td>
<td>skrahÉg</td>
<td>skrahÉg</td>
<td>skrahÉg</td>
<td>skrahÉg</td>
<td>skrahÉg</td>
<td>skrahÉg</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>craith</td>
<td>x hrohÉ m i f e</td>
<td>x hrohÉ m i f e</td>
<td>x hrohÉ m i f e</td>
<td>x hrohÉ m i f e</td>
<td>x hrohÉ m i f e</td>
<td>x hrohÉ m i f e</td>
<td>x hrohÉ m i f e</td>
<td>x hrohÉ m i f e</td>
<td>x hrohÉ m i f e</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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5.128  20C, Cóilín Ó Maoil Chiaráin

Table 5.42 presents the results of a query of the verb caith in 20C’s speech.

Table 5.42 caith, 20Cq

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>3sg pres</th>
<th>3sg cond</th>
<th>3pl cond</th>
<th>3pl pst</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>caith</td>
<td>kahEn</td>
<td>xahEtþþ¢</td>
<td>xahEdEr</td>
<td>xahEd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prsjb (opt)</td>
<td>1sg psthab</td>
<td>VN</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go gahE</td>
<td>xahax</td>
<td>o xahax</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.129  36S, Seán Ó Maoil Chiaráin

Table 5.43 presents the results of 36Sq’s questionnaire.

Table 5.43 CAITH class, 36Sq

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>impv /_é</th>
<th>impv /_</th>
<th>impv _V</th>
<th>pres</th>
<th>3sg impv</th>
<th>&gt; Echo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sáigh</td>
<td>sa: e, se: e nu: no sa: as</td>
<td>sot fn: se:ex sot e nu</td>
<td>xahax,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maith</td>
<td>ma ha xud p'æeki: yac a</td>
<td>mahan</td>
<td>mahax nu</td>
<td>no mahax</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Speaker 29Cq (sister of 36S), has a higher rate of h realisation, perhaps influenced by her greater literacy. She has h in all possible contexts for báigh except 3pl pst xahEdEr (x3); sáigh has no h. Her tokens were not used in my calculations.

5.130  64M, Marcas Ó Gaora

Table 5.44 shows 64Mq’s questionnaire results.

1 The latter seemed to be preferred by 36Sq.
2 sáigh has radical h in the verbal noun only for 36Sq, although even this form may have been influenced by the preceding future form and may be se: in conversation.
Table 5.44 CAITH, 64Mq

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>impv /_e</th>
<th>3sg pres</th>
<th>cond q</th>
<th>3pl psthab</th>
<th>3pl pst</th>
<th>impres pst</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sáigh</td>
<td>su: á</td>
<td>són jë</td>
<td>húdar</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>caith</td>
<td>ka he</td>
<td>kahán jë</td>
<td>gahac tu e</td>
<td>xahad iñ</td>
<td>xádar</td>
<td>kahau:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2pl impv</td>
<td>3sg cond</td>
<td>fut</td>
<td>VN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sáigh</td>
<td>suag i: á</td>
<td>húhac fë,</td>
<td>húhac’d iñ</td>
<td></td>
<td>s: u</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>caith</td>
<td>kaeag i:</td>
<td>xahat fë</td>
<td>kaha, kaha m ë</td>
<td>kaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other CAITH types from 64M:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>future</th>
<th>conditional</th>
<th>conditional -t f-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>caith</td>
<td>ka m’ë</td>
<td>xahax</td>
<td>kat fà ... , xat fë ... , gahad fì ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cp. teighe &lt; gabh</td>
<td>go tu</td>
<td>yohand ...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is not surprising that his spontaneous conversation shows more reduction than his questionnaire responses.

5.131 69S, Seán Ó Maoil Chiaráin

Table 5.45 presents the results of 69S’s questionnaire.

Table 5.45 CAITH class, 69Sq

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>impv /_e</th>
<th>impv /_o</th>
<th>impv _V</th>
<th>pres</th>
<th>3sg impv</th>
<th>&gt; Echo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>báigh</td>
<td>bu: “ë</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sáigh</td>
<td>su: e</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scraith</td>
<td>skráë c</td>
<td>skráh ha portax</td>
<td>skráë jol e</td>
<td>skráhán</td>
<td>skráhát fë: e</td>
<td>nu skráhax</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.132 77C, Colm Ó Cathasaigh

Table 5.46 gives the results of 77C’s questionnaire.
Regular verb inflection

5.133 Analysis

Attestations of other verbs are: braich, VN go vra'ha 20Mlt dhá bhraicheadh; and sceith, pres fe'chan sceitheann, VN fe'cha sceitheadh. The verb sáigh is a member of this verbal class for only two speakers in my sample: 869P and 36Sq. For 869P there is evidence for h in verbal inflection and in the verbal noun, for 36Sq only in the verbal noun. As can be seen from 12S’s usage, liath shows no h tokens (VN l'ixan), suath only in the verbal noun. It is only the verbal noun which distinguishes some of these verbs from those without lexical h (‘non-CAITH’ class). They are otherwise declined just as cráigh(). Table 5.47 and traoith (Table 5.48).

### Table 5.47 Non-CAITH class: cráigh; Sq, Mq

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sq</th>
<th>Mq</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>impv / _iad</td>
<td>nu kru: iad</td>
<td>nu kru: iad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg pres</td>
<td>a gru: fe hu</td>
<td>a gru: tumus m' e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg pres Echo response</td>
<td>xi xru</td>
<td>xi xru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3pl impv nó ná</td>
<td>kru: i f m' e nu na kró: (x2)</td>
<td>kru: i f m' e nu na kró: (x2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3pl pst</td>
<td>xru:dar m' e (x2)</td>
<td>xru:dar m' e (x2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pst impvs</td>
<td>kru:uy m' e</td>
<td>kru:uy m' e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl impv</td>
<td>na kró:gi: m' i:i:</td>
<td>kru:gi: i: iad, kru:gi:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg psthab</td>
<td>xru:hu: m' e</td>
<td>xru:hu: m' e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1sg Echo response</td>
<td>xru:as</td>
<td>xru:as</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VN</td>
<td>ga ma xru:w</td>
<td>ga ma xru:w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vadj</td>
<td>kru: i a</td>
<td>kru: i a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 5.48 Non-CAITH class: traoith; Mq, M and S

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Mq</th>
<th>Mq</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3sg pst</td>
<td>hri: ft: S</td>
<td>hri: ft: S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3pl pst</td>
<td>hridar - hri:dar Mq</td>
<td>hridar - hri:dar Mq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg pres</td>
<td>tir: ft: S often</td>
<td>tir: ft: S often</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1sg presb / fut</td>
<td>ga dri: m' e Mq (x2), ga dri:ha m' e SM</td>
<td>ga dri: m' e Mq (x2), ga dri:ha m' e SM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vadj</td>
<td>trit: a SM</td>
<td>trit: a SM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VN</td>
<td>triv SM</td>
<td>triv SM</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In order to compare between both verbs and speakers and to quantify their usage, a pronunciation with h was given the value 1, weak h the value 0.5, and absence of h the value 0. Since sáigh is a very marginal member of this class, it is not included in the calculations, nor are specifically future and secondary future forms which contain the (optionally elided) tense marker h (unless otherwise stated). When these values are calculated, and even from direct perusal of the data in the tables above, many features regarding the presence or absence of h in the CAITH class become apparent.

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From a phonological perspective, as mentioned in the introduction to this class, short radical vowels are more often followed by h than long radical vocoids. Table 5.49 presents the detailed scale of h realisation according to radical vowel.

Table 5.49 CAITH class, h realisation and preceding vocoid

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Radical in</th>
<th>a</th>
<th>o</th>
<th>ø</th>
<th>ia/ua</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All Tokens</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% h</td>
<td>72%</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sq’s tokens</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14.5</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sq’s % h</td>
<td>77%</td>
<td>63%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mq’s tokens</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mq’s % h</td>
<td>59%</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From this scale it seems that vowel height is also a contributory factor to absence of h, both in long and short vocoids. Regarding sandhi of h preceding vowels (linking h), the results show that clitic pronouns (h 11/19) and schwa (h 4/9) are relatively strong h environments in contrast with independent vowel-initial words where Ø is preferred (h 0/7). (Cf. ‘Sandhi’ 2.41, especially Table 2.1.) Máire’s (Mq) generally lower yield than overall may be due at least partially to her more ‘unmonitored’ or relaxed colloquial production in the query situation. In contrast, Seán (Sq, Máire’s husband) is the oldest speaker in my CAITH questionnaire sample and, as in most if not all linguistic features, his usage, with higher h realisation in this instance, appears more conservative than Máire’s.

The other factors which are not purely phonological in character can best be described as morphophonological in that both a given verbal ending and the verb’s position in the sentence generally have a bearing on h realisation. Máire’s (Mq) results are the greatest in number and they seem to correspond to the overall pattern, with at least one slight exception: younger speakers tend to use historical future and conditional forms in the present subjunctive, past habitual, etc. It is clear from Máire’s (Mq) graph that three types of environment can be distinguished:

- h-dominant: -im, VN, and Echo contexts -ann, -adh and -as;
- h = Ø roughly equally: -a, -inn, -idis;
- Ø-dominant: -ann, -igi, -adar, -adh.

It is understandable that Echo positions should be conservative, h-dominant contexts. They are frequently phrasal intonationally or carry a phrasal accent and so, as noted above (5.108 §3(ii)), the second token in each of the following is less likely to be reduced:

- Caitheann sé é, caitheann;
- Caitheadh sé é nó nó caitheadh;
- Chaith mé é, chaitheas.

Figure 5.1 presents Mq’s h realisation in each separate morphophonological environment.

It is clear from Máire’s (Mq) graph that three types of environment can be distinguished:
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h-dominant: -im, VN, and Echo contexts -ann, -adh and -as;
h ~ Ø roughly equally: -a, -inn, -idis;
Ø-dominant: -ann, -igí, -adar, -adh.

It is understandable that Echo positions should be conservative, h-dominant contexts. They are frequently phrasal intonationally or carry a phrasal accent and so, as noted above (5.108 §3(ii)), the second token in each of the following is less likely to be reduced:

Caitheann sé é, caitheann;
Caitheadh sé é nó ná caitheadh;
Chaith mé é, chaithreas.

Figure 5.1 CAITH class, morphophonology of h realisation, Mq

Given the importance of syntactic position, it must be remembered that more detail could be discovered by further controlling for this variable. For example, verbal nouns were queried in various syntactic positions and it is probable that, had this position been controlled, a similar pattern of reduced unstressed vs. unreduced final stressed verbal nouns would be found.

One can compare this CAITH class morphophonological scale with Mq’s GEARR class scale (cf. 5.149). The serial effect on the GEARR class and the more phonetic nature of the CAITH class will explain the contrast in the position of 1sg past Echo -as. Whether the difference in the disyllabic series of verbal endings, with reference to the position of 2pl impv -igí, is significant for Mq, and if so, why, is more difficult to explain:

CAITH class h -idis >> -igí (>>) -adar
GEARR class short vowel -igí >> -idis >> -adar

In fact the scaling of Mq’s CAITH class resembles Sq’s GEARR class (cf. 5.148). Although Sq has considerably less tokens than Mq, his data are nonetheless presented in Figure 5.2 to show the main correspondences.

We should recall that this analysis is based on inflection in the CAITH class outside of the future stem. The tense marker h is far less prone to be absent than lexical verbal h. Although even here h can be absent, again showing syntactic dependency, with h-less -thinn (caith Sq) and a few examples of h-less -thidís. A clear example of weak lexical h in contrast with strong morphological h is furnished by the present and future respectively of liath Mq: L’ian’ fiad vs. Li’ioha fiad.
5.134  BRUITH class

In this class radical final \( x' \) alternates with \( h \). Roots have the surface shape -ix', -i, -u. There are three members; all three, very common verbs:

\[
(x') \rightarrow (x') <h> \emptyset \{ \text{bruith, ith, rith} \}
\]

The verbal adjective does not vary: \( \text{brit} \; \text{ith} \; \text{rit} \). For a similar lexical class, see ‘Sandhi’ (2.50). Alternants with no final consonant, i.e. \( \emptyset \), are the most common before subject pronouns, and especially frequent before subject pronouns in initial \( f \). The tokens from various sources are presented in Table 5.50; they include S1D.46 and 869P2, the results of three or four separate query sessions with Máire (Mq) and tokens from other speakers mostly from recordings and conversation.

Other forms are also common. 3pl pst synthetic vrix\adar, rix\adar; imperative is\saos, ix\saos ith\saos. An example of \( u \) in ith occurs between nonpalatal consonants:

\[\text{fe h'i'r u' mid' ia}^{\text{d}} | 25M \text{ s{\text{e an chuoi ar ith muid iad}.}}\]

Note the exceptional clusters in juncture in impersonal present of ith:

\[\text{ix'tar S, ihtar 43M.}\]

There is an example of \( n'i \) hit\far 05M n{\text{i hithear}, perhaps a development from the -x't- cluster or a mixed form from the future stem is-.

We can conclude from the examples that variation is very common and that most variants are found in most environments. There are, however, some generalisations which can be made from these examples:

\[
\begin{array}{l}
/._C, \text{before consonants } \emptyset >> x' >> h \quad \emptyset \text{ and } x' \text{ being very common} \\
/V/V, \text{ intervocically } x' = h >> \emptyset \quad \emptyset \text{ occurs optionally, only with 3pl pst -adar} \\
/._#V, \text{ before vowels } x' >> \emptyset \quad \text{it is probable that } h \text{ occurs here too} \\
/_\text{Pausa}, \text{ finally } x' \sim \emptyset \\
\end{array}
\]
Table 5.50 BRUITH class and morphological and syntactic environment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>/C/</th>
<th></th>
<th>/V/V</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
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Other examples from Máire of *bruith* VN:

*bri sa fín* sa *fe* ḍ a *agh bruith is a g faite* is a g séideadh, *ā bru faite* ... *s ā bru* *āxil* ā *bort* a g bruith faitei ... is a g bruith a chuaile short, *bru gas dor* ort bruith aghus do ort! *ám* *vrix* an-bruith (all M).

One can compare the pattern of 3pl pst *-adar* with the tendency of *-adar* to take the reduced form in the CAITH class, and contrast 2pl *-igí* which has *x*'-forms only.

There are many tokens of *ri* in a passage recorded from 897P:

*bhí siad aí g rí* ru | — *ag cur* — ag tabhairt móina ... *ag rí* geall *a ri *g ád* | ... *bhí sí aí rí* *í* héin ... *rí* sé *ri* *fe* ... *bhí mé i ndan rí* rí *mí* *rí* *x* | *ru m* e ... *rí* chuáile dhuine ru *xur* a [sic] *yun* a ... *rí* — *Colm* *rí* | *kolám* ... 897P.

In this small sample speaker 897P has a surface pattern as expected:

\[ \begin{array}{c|c|c|c|c} 
\text{\_C} & \text{\_V} & \text{\_a} & \text{\_Pausa} \\
\hline 
& \text{x} & \text{Ø} & \text{x} & \text{x} & \text{Ø} \\
\hline
\text{SID.46, } & \text{bruith} & \text{bru *íd* 643} \\
\text{869P} & \text{rí} & \text{a rí} & \text{er} & 171 = \text{M} \\
& & 55, \text{rí} & \text{e} & 825 \\
\text{04B} & \text{a rí} & \text{a} & \text{a brí} \\
\text{S} & \text{a rí} & \text{or} & \text{a} & \text{a bru *í* *a* *x*} \\
\text{Mq} & \text{brí} & \text{brí} & \text{brí} & \text{brí} & \text{brí} \\
\text{35E1} & \text{ri} & \text{a} & \text{a} & \text{...} & \text{...} \\
\end{array} \]

As with the lexical variable sandhi class in final (*x*) (2.50), the longest variant is no doubt felt to be the clearest form, i.e. in *-x*. This is likely to be more frequent in query than in conversation; for example, in SID.46. In repetition in conversation Máire used the more deliberate *x*'-version:

- *k'er* i tu *rud* M Cér *í*th tú *rud*? -*ha* 43M *Ha*?
- *k'er*' *x* tu *rud* M Cér *í*th tú *rud*? -*ha* 43M *Ha*?
- *k'er*' *x* tu *rud* M Cér *í*th tú *rud*?

As can be seen from the examples in Table 5.50, the VN of *íth* is often *ix* ā but (for older speakers and certain younger speakers) with progressive *ag* it is generally *ag* *í* ḍ ā, e.g.

*... g í* ḍ *ha ... ga: *ix* ā 20C *ag* *í* the ... *ga* *í* the, *k'er* *ix* ā 20Cq *cén* *í* the?, *ix* ā *v* ḍ ā: 20Cq, 20Myq, *ix* ā *br* ā: 20Myq *í* the *b(h)*read.

Speaker 10B was noted with *ag* *ix* ā (3/3), also *ag* *ix* ā 52P; speaker 74S consistently uses *ag* *ix* ā, and 66N uses both *g* ā *ix* ā and *g* í *ha*. Speaker 77C also shows *iad* *ix* ā ... , *e* *ix* ā ... , *ag* *ix* ā *n* ... 77C1 *iad* a *íthe* ... , *é* a *íthe* ... , *ag*
From this and 66N’s examples of x’ before consonants it may be that variation is being diminished in younger speakers, particularly perhaps females, in favour of a more constant x’ realisation. So also ar ix’ tu r iaw iad 52M ar ith tú ariamh iad?

5.135 SÁBHÁIL class

Verbs containing the formant -aÉl- constitute a large consistent class. A few other verbs resemble this class in the alternation in final stem quality before morpheme boundary. Some speakers retain palatal -aÉl- in all environments, e.g. 05M, 20A, 36S. The majority of speakers, however, have nonpalatal -aÉl- before verbal inflections except -f’. The verbal adjective is consistently palatal (i.e. -aÉl’ a). Some, more progressive, speakers sometimes have nonpalatal -aÉl- before personal t. The majority rule can be stated as:

-C’ > -C’ t # (other than f’ and f’).

Most speakers seem to apply this rule categorically before vowels and have palatal -aÉl- before impersonal f. e.g. SÁBHÁIL verbs he has -aÉl-f’ as in:

- aÉl’ f’ iÉ go spáteálfí
- aÉl’ f’ iÉ go spáteálfí (all 894Cs).

Máire also has general -aÉl-f’ but she has one (hesitant) example of -aÉl-f’:

- aÉl’ f’ iÉ go spáteálfí
- aÉl’ f’ iÉ go spáteálfí (all 894Cs).

In a speaker who has predominant -aÉl-f’ it seems better to derive the odd (fluent) token of -aÉl-f’ via quality assimilation across morpheme boundary from -aÉl-f’ rather than from palatal stem -aÉl-.

Speaker 21Pt has regular -f’ aÉl’ and -f’ iÉ; in SÁBHÁIL verbs he has -aÉl’ aÉl’ and -aÉl’ iÉ, e.g. sábháil > sauálfar [x2], sauálfar’ iÉ [x2] 21Ptq. (Perhaps the high front vowel of the -f’ iÉ ending prevents the quality assimilation which his -f’ aÉl’ allomorph undergoes.)

1 Following my transcriptional convention for clusters the i is palatal in -aÉl’, -f’ and nonpalatal in -aÉl’, -f’.

Examples of has regular -ad- and regular -f ar and -f i: following palatalas, his SÁBHÁIL verbs are therefore consistently palatal throughout, e.g.

márkéif an 20A marcáileann,
ruckéarl [i.e. -f i: = -ad- f i:] 20A rucáilear.

Speaker 36P has regular -ad- e.g. m'isad 36P miosáilthidh, a bostad a tusa 36P an bpostáílthidh tusa?, go bostadh i yun 36Pq dhá bpostáíltheá i dhom. This includes before impersonal /f (which he has both palatal (conversation) and nonpalatal (query)): postef far 36Pq postáilfar.

Before impersonal / -aút- is regular, including in Seán’s speech; present -aút- is very rare in Seán’s speech, noted only in sæk’út S saiceút. Speakers who have regular -ad-, no doubt generally have -aút-, but can have -ad-t-, e.g. raek’ad ti: 897P raiceútaí. Speakers with regular -ad- often have -aút- but cases of -ad-t- and -aúlt- have been noted (cp. 5.40):

kukául-t’ar Mqs15.94a cúcáilear (rare for Máire);
gha ‘m’adlad’if ... ní: v’aúld’é i: 01C6057-9 go mbealalaidis ... ní bhealáltí (speaker 01CARN has regular prevocalic -ad- 3/3);
fi’áulúlti: 872P sÚiseádalútaí (speaker 872P has pst imprs -aúlu; contrast his buáilti: buailtí; perhaps also go g’aen’áulúlti ti: 872P dhá gceúntéalait); cp. dhá sÚiseáiltaí ! CABI §499 v. 3 (emended by me from slíséaltaí), perhaps transcribed from 894C, cp. buailtí 894C.

Examples of -ad- may be more common, or easier to recognise, in the past impersonal, e.g. straip ad’u 20Mh straidhpeáileadh.

Speakers noted with nonapplication of the rule, i.e. with consistent -ad’-, are:

897P (2/2, xu9dul’d d’iad 897P chardáileadhd siad, raek’ad ti: 897P raiceútaí); 05M; 20C (e.g. pres -ad-an; fut -ad’ha) and his wife 20My; 35E (e.g. past -ad’u, psthab and pstsbj -ad’s ‘if); 36P; and 36S.

Speaker 26P has regular prevocalic -ul-, in contrast with his sister 20My and brother 36S. Speaker 21J has -ul- (x4) in query but his son 55J, also in query, has -ul- - (x2). The palatal variant seems to be more common in the younger generations (beginning in the mid-1950s), e.g. 558q (Maínis), 66N (An Aird Mhóir), 74N and 84P (sister and brother, An Aird Thoir), 79J (Maínis). Similarly, (father, mother and eldest daughter) 12S, 16M, 43M with -ul- vs. (youngest daughter) 56B with -ul-.

5.136 Future h

For the majority of speakers the future marker h is not realised in verbs in -áil; this majority include Seán and Máire and their children (Máire’s only exception being the Echo form triak’Ha MqEcho triaídhaladh), e.g.

2sg cond: fáist’ala: S phaistáidhá, din’ doildeal e 43M d’injáiltha é; nonpers: fr’iada fe M friotháilthaidh sé, sawad M, 21Pt sábháilthaidh.

A minority of speakers, however, do consistently use -ah/, -h-, e.g.

lah’h: 892M3469 laistéalda, K i rhríeal ha m’ é 05M ní thráilthidh m é, m’isadhad 14M miosáilthad. fíng’ódh: i dí 20Fá stíneáilthaid; xu9dulha: e 29C chardáiltha é, a dríadhalfar’ 37M an dtraídhaír?, go wuno na in ‘sa 51P go bhiúndhaladh mise.

(Note that two of these tokens are Echo forms.) There may be a network link regarding this feature between 05M and her son 37M (both in An Aird Thoir) and
her grandson 51P (Maínis, with -áilh- from his father 20Pá and probably from his mother 29N, daughter of 05M). All five speakers share another verbal feature, also involving unstressed h: 2sg -áilh (5.68).

All verbs in unstressed final l may well follow this tendency not to realise h, e.g. eiteal future et’alha [my pronunciation only] Mperm, et’al fe Mq.

So also tomáin (5.137). For the apparent analogical spread of h loss to the future stem of ásáid, i.e. usádd a ásáidh influenced by jussádha ghiúsáithaidh, see 5.326.

SÁBHÁIL verbs in secondary sources

The SÁBHÁIL class of verbs in folklore material transcribed by Liam Mac Coisteala cannot be taken as genuine dialect since he writes slender l in almost all cases: -áilfeach, -áilfe, -áilhidís, -áilhá, etc., for 894C2 and 869P2–5 and many other speakers. He also has slender l in his own correspondence. Only occasionally does one come upon what is the most frequent dialectal usage, e.g. stripáladar 869P5. Manuscripts transcribed by Liam Mac Coisteala have further contradictory evidence regarding palatal l against Wagner’s transcription; compare go siúilbeach duíne 869P5 with x’huílm 46.645 shiúlítainn. In this instance, however, Liam Mac Coisteala may be more accurate than SID.46. The token transcribed by Tomás de Bhaldraithe as scolálfar FFG s.v. scolálann, may or may not be accurate, in particular given that -far (with nonpalatal f) is not particularly common in Iorras Aithneach but common in Cois Fharr aige (GCF p. 71 n. 3), the dialect best known to de Bhaldraithe.1

5.137 Depalatalisation other than -áil

A small group of verbs, almost all in final sonorants, resemble verbs in -áil. There are three other verbs which show the same depalatalisation of the stem final before verbal endings:

labhair (optional), siúil (rare), tomáin (common).

In these verbs depalatalisation is regressive in the speech community. Other verbs show variation in the quality of the stem final both finally and preceding verbal endings. The variation is often of marginal status. Based on the examples, these ten verbs are best categorised as having lexical alternants and not as members of the SÁBHÁIL class:

búir, dúin, fuasal, leon, móin, sol, snáimh, (speidhhear), triail, troisc.

labhair, e.g. pres laurann laurín, fut laur’há laur’ó: lauro’s; for further examples, see CÚL class (5.170).

siúil, -I- is rare, if indeed transcribed correctly: 2pl impv siúlai uibh! M, 2sg pstsbl dhá siúlthaí 894C9, cond x’huílm 46.645;

-I’- is commonest: cond go siúilbeach duíne 869P5, 2pl impv siúltaí 18JARN, siúltaí uibh 19P, pstháb x’údí a’fí 11C, cond fuí hao 26P, x’údí xó 64M; note -I’- in 2sg pstsbl siúltaidh 894C;

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vadj fultə ~ futə. e.g. fult egə 11Cta5 síolta aige, futə SM (quality alternation here can be described independently of the SÁBHÁIL class, see ‘Verbal Adjective’ 5.175).

VN generally ful, but fut 66N (only speaker).

tomáin, pst imprs tumānau: 899D6545.
n' > n /_# optionally for M (with n >> n' here, note her medial -naf'- -n'af- in the impersonal, 5.54):

pst: n : humanadər, tumānau:

fut: n : tumānau, humanəs, n' : tuman'afər, tumanf'ar,
tuman'afər x 8(+) ; tumanə m' e:
psthab imprs tumanət'd , vadj tumanət'ə , VN tumanət' .

Thus tomáin which is phonologically similar to a verb in -áil is most consistently depalatalised as a SÁBHÁIL class verb.

The other verbs, not members of this class, with alternating stem quality are:

búir Mq is unsure of the future of this verb: buhə [x3], buhə [x1] Mq, pst wuə fə Mq; VN buh'uxt buh'uxt buh'hiəl Mq, buh'hex, buh'hex.

dúin generally with palatal final, e.g. duən' e dúin é; duhə m' e e dāinthidh mē é.

But noted with broad final in:
yun ə fər ... M (~ yun ə fər dhú(i)n an fear),
go nuna 20Csbjq go ndāna.

fual I' : pst D'fhual sel st FFG20.19, dual Mperm, cond dualhad'if 24M;

l Māire's use is consistently a nonpalatal -l( -) here:
pst dual an fər M d'fhual an fear, ar uəl tu ... dualas M ar fhual ...? d'fhualas, fut faulhə fə M, pres faulnə fə M, impv na faulag' i M, vadj fual egə M fauln aige.

When queried about dual an fər d'fhual an fear, Máire permitted it as a genuine form and added fə: s ar Mperm sé is fhēarr, then continued producing nonpalatal forms.

Vadj faultə 43M, faultə 43Mperm; 43M claims she uses both forms.

leon n' pres l'ünn'ən leoineamn;
n pst lũn fə vəer 04Bl leon sé a mhēar,
mar l'unur da lüv' 04Bl má leonadh do lámh;

n' ~ n' l'un'ə fər ... ~ l'unə ... Mq leoin an fear ... leon an ... .

Vadj l'unə , VN l'unə .

mùn 'urinate' n' pst wun' 27Mdq, fut mun'ha 27Mdq, 43M;
n fut munha Mq.

Vadj muntə Mq, 27Mdq, VN mun M, munə 27Mdq, 43M.

Speakers 27Mdq and 43M may be influenced by mūn 'teach' (VN mūnadh) here. Speaker 27Mdq claims that fual has now replaced this verb.
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seol, generally foel(-), e.g. pst x’oladar 11C. a x’ol id [x2] 899D6249 a sheol iad, VN foila seoladh. But palatal final was noted from 01C in:

pst a x’ol id 01C6247 a sheoil iad, gus hjol’ | 01C6147 agus sheoil;
less clearly in psthab x’ol’ax | 01C6147 sheoiladh.

snáimh, generally with v’, e.g. snáv’, snáv’án, snáf’, vadj snáf’á snáf’da, VN snow, but pres snáv’án 60M, 66N, pst st(h)áimh 26Pq, cond snáf’á 60M. Younger speakers 60M and 66N are presumably influenced by the verbal noun here. We can compare 66N’s verbal inflection of traditional verbal noun bleán (5.30).

(snéadh, only nonpalatal r has been heard (i.e. regular verb): impv no sp’air e M, pst sp’aiar tu ... m’e Mq, pres sp’airgh Mq, fut sp’aiarh tu: M, vadj tu m’e sp’aiarh aed. sp’aiarh Mq, VN ga ma sp’aiarh Mq. Also spéidearail, pres sp’aiaradh M. Two tokens of palatal r were noted from Liam Mac Coisteala’s transcription and one from FFG: pst spéidhir Mac Rí in Éirinn 866ESemr56, cond go spaidhirhuc an Spáinneach (TarCC)869P5, VN spéidhreadh 894C9 also FFG. Note that only initial sp - was heard in the dialect in this verb. Both initial spa- and final -ir of the folklore transcription may be mistaken.)

triail, prsbj mara dr’ial mid’ 04B; pstsbj (cond) go: dr’ialax mid’ !(Acm)43Js. This verb has been noted from Mairé with both I’ and I: pst mar’ag’ a hr’ial ort M maír a thrail ort, in explaining this expression gar hr’ial’ tu ... M gar triail tú ... Also pst hr’ial tu / m’e Mq thrail tú / mé. Also 3sg pst ... triail, 866ESemr48, hr’ial m’e 889P, hr’ial er’ 11C thrail ar; fut tr’ialha fe Mq triailhaidh sé. VN tr’ial M, Mq triail.

troisc, unalternating palatalised stem for Mairé in inflected verb, e.g. pst hrosk’ Mq, 25Cq, fut troisk’a M, 35E, VN treisk’a M, troisce 894C, but also troisko Mperm. Speaker 12Jq has pst hrosk, fut troisk (in contrast with his sister 25Cq).

For quality change in syncopating verbs, see 5.36. For verbal adjective -r’ + ha > -rho, e.g. far’ fair > farrho fairthe, see 5.174.

5.138 BLIGH class; (a) i: ~ i u subclass

The nucleus of these monosyllabic verbs alternates between a short and long stem vocoid. The two subclasses and their verbs are:

(a) i: ~ i u, eight members:
   bligh, figh, gligh ~ dligh, ligh, nigh, righ, snoigh, suigh;

(b) ai ~ o e, one member: loigh.

The long vocoid is overall most common. The short vocoid is commonest in the verbal adjective, it is also common directly before other endings in t’ (2sg and impersonal), before subject pronouns, and in preconsonantal position in set collocations. Diachronically the short vocoid is historical before consonants, the long alternant before vowels. The long variant has spread facultively to most inflected contexts. The short variant has only marginally spread to unhistorical
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contexts, most notably in the verbal noun of *suigh*. In fact before future *h* (-f-) the short vowel is obsolete. Lexically the short vowel is commonest in the more frequent verbs *bligh*, *nigh* and *suigh*; conversely, in the less frequent verbs the long vowel only has been heard in inflected *figh* and *righ* and almost exclusively in *ligh*. The long vocoid occurs facultatively in more progressive usage of the verbal adjective of *loigh*, *nigh*; (righ hesitant in young speaker 60C), *suigh*. When the short variant occurs before a vowel at word boundary, intrusive *h* (2.44, 5.124) is regular, e.g. *blí* iː *bligh* í.

(a) iː ~ i u subclass

*bligh* imprv *blí* iːMQ, *blí* h iː MPperm *bligh* í;
pres *blí* En, innovative *blí* h iː 66Nq;
pst *ní* er v*í*ː mid (or v*í* mid) 46.57; *bhli*ː sí 869P4; ar v*í*ː tuː n woː SM ar *bhlig* tá an bhó;
psthab imprs *blí*it iː M88, *blí*it h iː an woː nu *blí*it h iː n woː 12strans
*bílit* an bhóː nò ‘bíiti an bhóː’;
cond *ví*hú M;
vadj i only *blí*it a is traditional, *blí*it a 66Nq. 77Cq; VN *blí*en. See also ‘Minor Irregular Verbs’ (5.303).

*figh* iː only in inflected examples: psthab 3pl d’*fíghidís*; cond d’*fíghfeach* 869P2; cond 2sg a *bhfhá*, fut Echo 1sg *fíhead*, cond 1sg *bhfhínn* 894C2; (the spelling psthab / pstsbj imprs *bhfhá* is ambiguous as to quantity);
vadj i mostly: *fíte* 894C2, *fíte* a, but *fíte* a *ff*æ x 21Pt *fíte* isteach, rarer
vadj *fíxó*nt a S (based on verbal noun);
VN *fíxó*, *fíxó* S.

*glígh* (~ *dlígh*) pst y*lí*ː fe ... y*lí*ː(ː)dar 27Mdq, duine a dhliː’ a bheagán ná a mhóráin diob 869P2;
fut d*í*ðá 27Mdq;
cond y*lí*ːðá je M;
vadj i only d*í*ðá ~ g*lí*ːð a S, g*lí*ːð a 21Ptq; VN g*lí*xtóí M.

*lígh* iː almost all examples; impr l*íː*ː m*ó* húnn 46 s.v. t*óm*, l*íː*ː m*á* húnn M, l*íː* e M;
i in one token only, in a subjunctive or future form: *shul* á *lighe* (lihe) siad 869P5;
vadj l*íː* a; VN l*íːxó*.

*nígh* imprv n*íː*, n*íː*, n*íː*ː e MQ, n*íː* h e MPperm, n*íː* da ... 46.445;
pres imprs n*íː*ar M;
pst n*íː*ír ‘níː*ː m*eː ... 46.448, n*íː* m*é* 46.448; níː an Mhaighdean Mhuire níː sí ... , ar níː an Mhaighdean Mhuire, Ní an bhean ... níː sí ... , ar níː an Mhaighdean Mhuire 869P4;
fut n*íː*has, n*íː*úmid 46.449;
psthab imprs n*íː*it iː S; prsbj ga n*íː*í m*é* e P go nighe mé é;
pstsbj ga níːEat si 869P4; gaː n*íː*ar, gaː n*íː*íx 20Cq;
vadj n*íː*it a ~ n*íː*it a; VN n*íːxó*.
(Spellings in RBÉ such as *nighte* and *nigh* sé 869P2, 4 are ambiguous.)
Regular verb inflection

Examples of variation in conversation:

- *go max as* n’i t’édan M Gabh amach is nigh t’édan.
  - *hæ S* Hea?

- *go max as* n’i: t’édan M Gabh amach is nigh t’édan; also:
  - n’i: m’ e e *fin’ ... o* n’i m’ e e M nigh mé é sin ... ó nigh mé é.

*i* in all inflected examples: impv *riÉ*, e.g. *ri ort a* *ropo* S righ ort an rópa; pst righ Muireán a’ rópa RBÉ; cond *rihu: 894Cs*;
  - vadj *rit a* SM, P, 60C, but *rit a* 60C. VN *rixan*.

Note the variation in ...
  - go m’ei fe *rit a* ...
  - go m’et fe *rit a* gu m’et *fe rit a* 60C go mbeidh / mbeadh s é rite, where the repetition would imply the speaker’s uncertainty as to what quantity to select.

**sníomh** Generally root *fn’iw*, VN *fn’iw*, *fn’iwE*.*w*.*a*.*e*.*a*.*e*. Speaker 27Mdq, however, has an alternate root *fn’i* (cp. *snoigh* immediately below). The closest form noted resembling 27Mdq’s usage is Seán’s vadj *fn’i*t a 12S, more commonly *fn’i*t a.

**snoigh** The roots *snoigh, sníomh* and *snaidhm* are all found with the meaning of historical *snoigh*; historical *sníomh* is semantically close to *snoigh*.

*snoigh* impv *snih* e M, *sni: e* *fin’ M, *sni: q* *scof* M snoigh an choirs, *snu e fin’ M*;
  - pst *hnu m’e n mad’o* M snoigh mé an maide, *ar* *hni tu ... M*, pst imprs *ar* *sniw e* M;
  - fut *sniha* m’e M;
  - vadj *sni:tor* SM;

*FN* *sníomh* *fn’i*t a 12S, vadj *fn’i*t a SM;
  - VN *snaiochán* f a *jÉ in* M snoiochán le scian, *snaiochán* s a*nx’oar* S ag snoiochán s tar is aniar; snoiochán M.

**snaiochán** vadj *sníomh* S, VN *fn’i*t a S, *v’i* m’e *fn’i*v an *mad’o* Mq bhí mé ag *snaiochán* an maide, *e* *hni* *fn’i* t a* jÉ in* M é a *shniomh* le scian, *fn’i*t a* jÉ *an* S snoiochadann anonn is anall. Cp. *sníomhgar*, variant of snoideagar Dinn.

**snaidhm** vadj *tÉ n ropo* *sní* t a* jÉ an rópa* snaidhmte, cp. *snaidhmeáil* 2 FFG in ag *snaidhmeáil* star is aniar sa gcathaoir; cp. *sníomh* ‘binds, pares’ FFG20.

**suigh** *i* is common preceding subject pronouns in the past and before *síos* in the imperative. It is also found in the imperative before pause. It is not uncommon in the VN before *síos*. There is also one token of the short vowel in the VN before pause. In the verbal adjective and genitive of the verbal noun the short vowel is the prevalent variant.

Examples of *suigh*:
### Verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Speaker</th>
<th>impv 2sg</th>
<th>s: físe ... s.v. pimín</th>
<th>i</th>
<th>i</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SID.46, 869P</td>
<td>2pl</td>
<td>síth: s: físe ... 504</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pst</td>
<td>Shuidor 869P²</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cond</td>
<td>(shul á) suilhat s: 869P</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3pl</td>
<td>shuidhdis 869P</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>VN</td>
<td>... nó: e: ré ... 466</td>
<td>tu: fí nó: sí, 466</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>... mór: hí: ér ... 516</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>mór: hí: xof ... 542</td>
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<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>875T1</td>
<td>impv 2sg</td>
<td>suí isteach</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>894C²</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>suí sios</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>04B8</td>
<td>past</td>
<td>sín: er: ar: ansa: rod:</td>
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<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>VN</td>
<td>-Suigh, ar: seisean, insa: réd</td>
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<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>04B9</td>
<td>cp. si: an:’fin’</td>
<td>15W</td>
<td>(sister)</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12S</td>
<td>impv 2sg</td>
<td>suí: síos</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36S</td>
<td>sí:</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16M</td>
<td>2pl</td>
<td>sín: físe, sín: i:</td>
<td>sín: i: físe</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>875T1</td>
<td>past</td>
<td>shuí mac</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>894C</td>
<td>qur: hí: á: in</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>04B1</td>
<td>dhár: shuí:gh: an: Fhionn</td>
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<td>---</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11C</td>
<td>hi: fe: físe, hi: fi:</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
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<tr>
<td>12S</td>
<td>hi: fe: físe</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>04B5</td>
<td>3pl</td>
<td>hidar: físe</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12S, 16M</td>
<td>hidar</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>894C²</td>
<td>past hab</td>
<td>shuithet: sín</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>04B10tn</td>
<td>fut</td>
<td>mara: síha: m:’fa</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12S</td>
<td>cond</td>
<td>nax: síha:</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>M tá: siad: ~ síos, síth: a: k'aurt: M: ~ ceart</td>
<td>including M</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Note the regular alternation between long vowel in the future and short vowel in the prepronominal past in:

*mara* síha* m’fa* l’e dá* hív* gá* dá* a: gh* fe, hi* fe* físe ... 04B10tn


#### 5.139  (b) ai ~ o e subclass: loigh

*loigh*  ai: (mostly); impv 2sg lai: (mostly), with síos lai: físe: ~ lo: físe:;

pst lai: ~ lo: with pronoun subject or verbal suffix, otherwise lai: (mostly):

---

¹ Cp. suidheach 875T1.
² Cp. suídhean with the note ‘pronounced’ suíthinn and suifinn’ 894C9.
Regular verb inflection  1013

luigh ‘(pronounced] lye)’ an beithiocch 869P: luí na beithigh ... dár luí’ ó shoin 870B:1.150; luí sí 875T; loigh an chaora lo n xírÉ sios ar an gcnocán 894C; luíf é er’ ... 11Cn loigh staíd ar ... . luí fe fis Mtrans, lo fe fis Mperm;

fut / cond laih- (generally); note loigh lo sí amach mar loightheadh

In SID.46 all examples have aí: impv löi fías 503, pst löi fe: 502, fut loíø tu: ...

lóø tu: 500, cond lóøx míd’ 501, VN na loí sa ... 499;

dissyllabic in taján fe: s.v. luighim.

5.140  LOBH class

In this class the general alternation of the stem final is between the consonantal by-form -ow, short vowel by-form -o, and the long vocoid -au less often -oh. One member, gabh, can also have the stem -oh, i.e. it is also a member of the CAITH class. Two verbs, treabh and gabh, have obsolescent -aw. There are also cases of surface -auf-, as if from -auw+rh, and surface -oft-, as if possibly from of+t’. The maximum range is therefore:

-ow -aw, -o -oh, -au -of.

Given this range and the disparity between the members, these verbs could be classified as minor irregular verbs. The most regular stem is lobh which has been heard in conversation in central Iorras Aithneach almost exclusively with the stem low in all contexts. In Doire Iorrais, North-East Iorras Aithneach, however, the stem lau is also found. Generally regular also is togh which has prevalent stem tau in all contexts. The stem treabh alternates mostly between tr’ov and tr’au. The stem of gabh is the most irregular and has undergone partial semantic split. As a verb of motion, where it acts as a full verb and as a suppletive stem for teighre as well as fulfilling the function of teara in some contexts, its stem is goh, with very rare gau ~ go in the future stem. With other meanings it is go, gow, gaw and gau.

Historically these verbs resemble the BLIGH class. Following regular phonological rules, final -(o)w would alternate with intervocalic au. Both stems are now found both finally and intervocalically, with lobh now lexicalised as low, also lau in Doire Iorrais, gabh and treabh showing wider variation, and togh as tau being a marginal member of the class. The stem goh in gabh may be based on simple migration to the CAITH class (closest to sroich, cp. vadjs got’a and srot’a) which differentiated especially the general suppletive future of teighre, goh-, from gabh with other meanings. (Perhaps older future rax-, with internal velar, even the common by-form rah-, also influenced the development of goh-) The form tr’aufo (fut, vadj) of treabh is a combination of tr’ofa and tr’au. The form toft’a (vadj) of togh could be analysed as towt’a but given that other verbs of this class do not have this formation and that surface tow is not found, I analyse toft’a as based on older tofo. The latter is also a rare form of the adjective togh(th)a. Table 5.51 presents the full gamut of surface stems with examples.
Table 5.51 LOBH class

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>ow</th>
<th>o</th>
<th>au</th>
<th>o:</th>
<th>aw</th>
<th>oh</th>
<th>auw</th>
<th>of</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gabh</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lobb</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>togh</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>treabh</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>gov</th>
<th>gof</th>
<th>gof</th>
<th>gouv</th>
<th>got</th>
<th>goh</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lobb</td>
<td>low</td>
<td>lof</td>
<td></td>
<td>low</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>togh</td>
<td>tof</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tof</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>treabh</td>
<td>tr'of</td>
<td></td>
<td>tr'of</td>
<td>tr'au</td>
<td></td>
<td>tr'au</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.141 gabh, lobb, togh, treabh

gabh, gov, goa, gau, go, gav, goh

The root gabh has a range of meanings, 'come or go, sing, take (captive), steer, strike, accept/offer pardon', which vary in use of alternate stems. The attested variants and their meanings are:

- 'come, go': go (future gau go)
- 'accept, offer (pardon)': gov go gau VN god' gav
- 'take (captive)': gov go gau VN god'
- 'sing': go VN god'
- 'helm': go VN god', go11'
- 'strike': VN god', go11'

1. 'Come, go': go, goh >> gau, go: (VN god').

gau and go: have been attested only once each, in the future stem:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>fut</th>
<th>cond</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>n' i: yau tu' r' i:j't on P ni gabhthaidh tu arist ann;</td>
<td>n' i: yohad (or yohax or yod) fe 46.728.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

go is the general stem:

- impv 2sg: go l'e, etc., gabh i leith, go nun gabh anonn,
  - go nul gabh anall, go wa'il a gabh abhaile;
- 2pl: go' max ... go' max a faik b'ifoxi [exi?] P gabhail amach ... gabhail amach, a phaca bitseachat!
- goig 46 s.v. tighet; goig i: generally, e.g.
  - goig ' wa'il a 5 ghabhaigí abhaile;
- past: obsolescent: yo 866 Et, yo fi: t' ax 04Bt gabbh si isteach;
- i_V: Gho an inion 870 B2;
- 3pl: yodar 46 s.v. ghabhaim;
- fut: e.g. from SID.46: n' i: yohad 729, k'e: yohad tu 709, rel 'yohas Mp 197;
- cond: e.g. from SID.46: n' i: yohad (or yohax or yod) fe 728, mara yohax mid' 733, go: yohax 734, n' i: yohax s.v. ghabhaim;
- vadj: got'a, in SID.46: got'e s.v. ghabhaim.
goh is general in the present, rare elsewhere:

impv 2pl less often gohaig: M;
pres nuair a yohan’ a sola 05M nuair a ghothaim a chodladh,
nor’ a yohan’ fe d’ernax ... 14M
nuair a ghothann sé deireannach.
m’edinn’ fe s gohan’ fe fis a’r ít’ 18Bm
méadaíonn sé is ghothann sé stos aríst,
fun a balx kix o ka’r a fuvar ... gohan fe max er’ a
daun’ 19P faigheann an ballach caoch ó caitear an fómhar ...
gothann sé amach ar an domhain.

pres stem goh is common in 14M’s speech but rarer in 19P’s speech; it is not very common in older speakers, who generally use téigheann, teigheann.
past ... ghoth ann 852S₄, méadaíonn sé is gothann sé síos aríst,

Note the coalescence in:
(i) go’EgÉ gabh i leith (anseo), sometimes go’E, most often go’E and in 2pl imperative go’ag i:, go’i:
(ii) go fo, go’fo gabh anseo (said to cow), sometimes reduced to gof’o.

Note that -h has not been heard in such phrases; for example, *go han’fo gabh anseo has not been heard.

-f’- may be intended in the folklore transcription (noted without mutation) gaibhfeadh 852S. For an instance of gov ‘go’, perhaps originally ‘capture’, in poetry, see 3.

2. ‘Accept apology, offer pardon’ (generally with leithscéal, sometimes pardún)

gov, go, gau, gav, VN gof’.

gov

pst yov M, fut gofo M, vadj gofo SM;
go

impv go, pres go’ pardun a’ed 897S gabhaim pardún a’d, pst yo m’e M;
gau

impv gau S, pst yau m’e S, yau fiad M, yaudar M, fut gauh S, SM, gauf’ar M, vadj gau’ar SM; note gau’ar >> gofo (S), M;
gav

pst yov 01J.


SID.46 and 869P2–5:

gov

impv gov !11C, vadj gofo 1016, gofa 869P2, gofo 11C;
go

pst yaf’iad 1015 (cp. cond yohax !!IV2.d), gaibhfe (goite) ag na Giudaithe 869P4, and note -ou- 1014 (as against au) in pst imps;
gau

pst imprs goun: 1014, gauur 11C;
go

VN le goil 869P2, contrast Mq who has VN gau(’4) and does not permit gof’ in this meaning.

M: gov

pst yov fiad Mq, yov na gordi: e Mq ghabh na gardaí é,
gau

vadj gauf’ar [x2] Mq, VN go yau Mq, go yau’ Mq dhá ghabhadh.

In a line of poetry recited by speaker 11C, the meaning of jussive subjunctive nár yova is ‘may not go’:

Ia sk nár yova N’ t’á gorga 11C5486 iasc nár ghabha in t’eangach!
Verbs

but if one were to omit the preposition *in*, and without changing the rhythm, one could interpret ‘capture, catch’ (similar to cond *yohax* !46.IV.2.d). (The suggested reading *iasc nár ghobha t’eangach* would be homophonous with *iasc nár ghobha i t’eangach*.)

4. ‘Sing’ *goþþ*, VN *goÉl* !. Impv *goþþ*; fut *gohE m !eÉ n dA)Én dit ! 881J *gabhthaidh mé an dán duit*, *goda sé* (!894C) *gabháil an dán duit*.

5. ‘Helm’ pst *vo fé* S, imprs psthab *an bealach a ngoití* !iÉ 18J, VN *goíd*, *goúí*. Also with stem *goíd* (from verbal noun), e.g. pres *géileann* 10Bperm, pst ghóil sé 10Bperm which is common in *a goíd* ix’ ag ghabháil fhoinn; VN *goíd*.

6. ‘Set about, strike’ VN *goÉl* !11C, *goúí*. Also with stem *goÉl* (from verbal noun), e.g. pres *géileann* 10Bperm, pst *ghóil* sé 10Bperm, FFG s.v. *géileann* 3, vadj *gólíte* 10Bperm (5.314).

lobh lov regularly, lau (also rare, obsolete, or mistranscribed lo)

`lo` lov

`lau` lau

`lov` lov

`lauv` lauv

`lovEþþ` lovEþþ

`lauv` lauv

General declined as a regular vowel-final verb in *au* (with *ov* base in vadj by-form), e.g. fut *tauha*, vadj *tof*., *tau* ! M, 27Mdq, VN *tau*. But note the exceptional vadj’s based on *au* and *of* or *ov*:

---

treabh tr` ov, tr` au, also tr` o, tr` av (tr` auw)

In SID.46 tr` av, tr` ov, tr` au occur:

tr` av

---

Other speakers:

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Regular verb inflection 1017

5.142 GEARR class

The root vowel of GEARR-class verbs alternates between a short vowel and a long vowel or diphthong, yielding five subclasses:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of verbs</th>
<th>CAILL subclass</th>
<th>MILL subclass</th>
<th>BRONN subclass</th>
<th>COILL subclass</th>
<th>TOLL subclass</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a ~ a:</td>
<td>call, dall, feall, geall, mali, meall, scall, st(ie)call, feann, teann, bearra, garr, cam</td>
<td>fill, mill, till, t(i)ill, cinn, roinn, scinn, seinn</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>i ~ i:</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>u ~ u:</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>o ~ au:</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Maximum membership: 31.

The GEARR class is composed of monosyllables ending in sonorants, i.e. almost all 1 Conjugation verbs that have final -l, -û!, -n, -ô!, -r and -m. Verbs in -m form their own subclass within the CAILL and BRONN subclasses, as the vowel in verbs with final m is not categorically lengthened in any environment. The general GEARR class has (close to) categorical lengthening in preconsonantal and final position; for verbs in final m (cam, crom, cum, lom, tum), however, lengthening in preconsonantal and final position is optional, e.g. camtar kaom, crom krum. Note verbal adjectives kuEÔmtE cumta and exceptional kuma 19J cumtha (perhaps nonlocal). This group in -m will be denoted by the CAM subclass.

I have too few examples of ginn to classify it in this class: pres gi in an 20A, VN gi’ín’ an, also, with noteworthy short vowel, gi’ist’ 01P, implying ginn is not a member (reflecting historical gein (FGB gin)). The rarely inflected verb srann has non-alternating a and so does not belong in this class, e.g. fut frannhE 21Ptq; nor does searr, e.g. impv faer, pst shearr 866ESmr118 (i.e. not *shearr). It is hard to tell from my notes if sp’ina (VN) >> sp’ina (VN) ‘tease’ are two separate verbs or not. In reply to query, Mairé (Mq) produced (in order) VNs sp’ina sp’ina, fut sp’inha, vadj sp’inta, pshab sp’inad’if, impv sp’iña’g’i, sp’unad’iif, although uncertain of the last form; she permitted pshab sp’unad’iif Mperm. Perhaps spion (FGB ‘tease’) and spionn (FGB ‘enliven’) have been confused in the dialect (cp. sp’una spionnadh ‘energy’ in the dialect). The only verb in -s noted, long, where at least facultative lengthening would be expected phonologically, has no lengthening in spontaneous speech; attested in:

long. pst lugg m’e S, lugh fe S, luguðar S; VN lugga SM, less often lugh SM. (lugga Mperm but she claims lugga is her form).

The verb oil has o ~ ai alternation similar to the COILL subclass but only before t in ait’o ilte (5.170).

Diachronically the alternations in the GEARR class were phonologically, and most likely at one stage categorically (or nearly categorically), conditioned:

V > VV /_C^*[^#; C].

1 For the historical developments behind this class, see 1.172 ff., 1.199 ff. The same vowel alternations are of course common in the noun and adjective with similar morphophonemic conditioning and developments. A questionnaire was made out in order to investigate individual speakers’ usage in the GEARR class. Results are indicated in this section by ‘q’ following the speakers’ abbreviation and are discussed further in 5.146 ff.
There is, however, a tendency to generalise the long variant (VV) in prevocalic position where historically only the short form is correct. Speaker 20Cq (a conservative speaker in other ways) was the only speaker who retained the short vowel categorically in intervocalic position. He did, however, hesitate at least twice giving the ‘correct’ unlengthened or undiphthongised form with the 3pl past -adar ending (which is, as we will see below, high on the implicational scale for lengthened variants) adding:

\[
\text{slim gurb é an bealach ceart lena rá.}
\]

This would imply that in speech less monitored towards 20C’s understanding of ‘correct’ (presumably ‘correct’ here means more conservative usage) he also uses more progressive facultative lengthening before vowels. In fact this phenomenon was witnessed in conversation with speaker 26Pc. There was apparent avoidance of the long variant by this more ‘careful’ than average speaker in:

\[
\text{riÉÐ !uÉ, eò, riÐ !uÉ, riÐ !uÉ ... 26Pc roinneadh — e [filler] — roinneadh ... ,}
\]

where he selfcorrected to his preferred short version, thus opting for the homophonous clash with roinneadh of the verb déan. Compare an example of the same verbal form from an older speaker:

\[
\text{Nuair a roinneadh na sléibhte sin Chondae an Chláir ... .}
\]

5.143 Ahistorical short instances

There are only sporadic examples of the opposite phenomenon, i.e. non-applicaton of the historical lengthening rule (V > VV/_, {##, C}), in the traditional dialect:

\[
\begin{align*}
V &> V / _ C: \\
\text{d'iar siad soir iad go ngearrthaídís g'ærhaidf i:if} &\ píosa dhen- an maide. \\
11C1434; \\
| &\ ogas mangá wóra | 'solt'á | 'sailt'á | gort' | 03C \\
&\ agus mangáigh mhóra soillte goirt (predicative, note selfcorrection); \\
&\ b'ed'ar' go g'ærna m'é mur'ax ... M \\
&\ b'fhéidir go ngearrthaídh mé amáreach ... ; \\
&\ g'ærha 36S ((x2) in same conversation) gearrthaídh; \\
&\ g'ærha fíar S gearrthaí sar; \\
&\ cp. tu fe b'ærna | ... b'ærh aed 66N tá sé bearrrtha, ... bearrrtha a'd; \\
&\ brunto Sq bronntar, brunter Mq bronnttar, brunt-ar Sq bronntar; \\
&\ hænna max [x3] 30Ms theannthá amach; \\
&\ there is a probable example of serial effect in: \\
&\ agus tú héin ag cailleadh ka:n'a leis, ... cé chaoi a gcaillthímse gair'hænja \\
&\ leis, 45N; \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
V &> V / _ #: \\
\text{d'ar' tu er' a:f 20MI} d'fhill tú ar ais; \\
&\ hol a beid 32J tholl an bád 'the boat was holed' for more common tolu: \\
&\ tolladh.
\end{align*}
\]

The examples of d'ar' d'fhill and hol tholl may in fact be an indication that these verbs are marginal members of the class (for 20MI and 32J), as is bronn for Sq and Mq. We will see below that both fill and toll are found with short vowels in
historically lengthened contexts from younger speakers (e.g. Table 5.56 p. 1035). There are two definite marginal members in the traditional dialect where lengthening in historically lengthened position is only optional:

scinn, not very commonly used, it has the by-forms:

\[ \text{scinn': } \text{scinn': } \text{scinn' ce, } \text{VN scin' a S85;} \]
\[ \text{scin': } \text{VN scin' a 29Cq;} \]

\[ \text{scin': } \text{pst.scin': scin' a lu: max scinn sé í an lá amach, pres scin' an}; \]
\[ \text{fut scin' a, vadj scin' a, scin' a Mq.} \]

\[ \text{tuill ‘earn, deserve,’ (note initial t- ~ t') vadj tuill' a M, tit' a 29Cq, tit' a 52P tuilte a'inne; for an instance of unhistorical -il- in this verb, see 1.160.} \]

These four verbs, which have (optional) unhistorical short vowels in older speakers, all contain high vowels: \( \text{i} \sim \text{iÉ} \) in fill, scinn, tuill, and \( \text{u} \sim \text{uÉ} \) in bronn. It may be significant that the length of high vowels is intrinsically shorter than that of nonhigh vowels (e.g. Laver 1994: 435–6). The non-application of the lengthening rule therefore occurs in the least contrastive vocalic environment regarding length. This tendency is, however, in direct contrast with the short tokens of gearr and bearr. It is nonetheless noteworthy that [ææ] was probably historically an allophone of [a/], so that, for example, \( \text{gærha,} \) now analysed as \( \text{/g arha/} \), probably once represented \( \text{/g AÉrhE\} \) gearrthaidh (cp. 1.11).

### 5.144 Conditioning and facultative scaling

From a synchronic point of view the long vocoid can often be taken as the basic form to which a rule of intervocalic shortening is applied. As the application of the shortening rule varies mostly below 100%, so too does the actual membership of this class vary below 100%. Verbs may cross over to the more regular class of non-alternating verbal roots with either the long or the short vocoid generalised. Such ‘regularisation’ can be seen as a drift to the margins in the lexical distribution described below, e.g. Figure 5.6 p. 1027 and Figure 5.11 p. 1030. For example, in Mq, the verb cinn has only the longer variant \( \text{i} \) attested, whereas in Sq the verb bronn has \( \text{u} \) only. Depletion of the membership of this class is obviously in progress. The vast majority of speakers can be subdivided into two groups: those for whom the rule is categorical for most of its member verbs in historically long positions with spread of lengthening to prevocalic position, and those for whom it is residual or obsolete with general depletion of membership and shortening in historically long positions. This latter group typically comprises speakers born since 1970. As we will discover, the actual process of depletion is not sporadic so that tentative implicational scales can be set up. A possible lexical scale where the lengthened alternant is generalised, is, for example:

\[ \text{roinn >> (or /) cinn >> scall >> gearr.} \]

This scale means that, for example, a speaker who uses the form \( \text{ri} \text{ndar roinneadar} \) would also pronounce \( \text{x in' adar chinneadar, skaladar scalladar and jæadar ghearradar.} \) Correspondingly, a speaker who uses jæadar is likely to use skaladar scalladar, very likely to use \( \text{x in' adar chinneadar} \) and almost certainly \( \text{ri' adar roinneadar.} \)

The probability of rule application, it can be shown, depends not only on the lexical verb but also on the verbal endings. These can also be categorised implica-
Verbs

1020

tionally: in this case into implicational morphological frequency scales, for example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1sg Echo</th>
<th>3pl</th>
<th>3pl</th>
<th>pres</th>
<th>verbal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>past</td>
<td></td>
<td>past</td>
<td>psthab</td>
<td>sbj</td>
<td>noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-as</td>
<td></td>
<td>-adar</td>
<td>-idis</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>-adh</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For any given verb, therefore, a long vocoid found in the verbal noun, e.g. *g’ar* *gearradh*, implies the speaker is likely to use the long realisation in all other forms, e.g. *ga g’ara go ngearra, jurad’if ghearraidís, juradar ghearradar, juras ghearras.*

One reason for the high frequency of the long vocoid in both 3pl past *-adar* and 1sg Echo *-as* forms may be that both have synonymous corresponding analytic forms where the long vocoid is diachronically regular, e.g. *gheár *siad ~ gheárradar, gheárr (me) ~ gheárras.* This interpretation, however, does not explain, for example, why the 3sg past habitual ending *-adh* has a higher proportion of short-vowel tokens in Mq in comparison with the 3pl past habitual *-idis*, cf. Figure 5.5 p. 1026. Frequency of use of a given ending, in general, may well be another factor involved in determining the implicational scales. One can compare the morphological scaling of the CAITH (5.133) and CRUTHAIGH (5.163) classes, in particular the striking similarity concerning the progressive position of 3pl past *-adar* (as well as some dissimilarities as discussed above under the CAITH class).1

The vowel lengthening or diphthongisation is also subject to a discourse level parallel effect (cf. Scherre and Naro 1992). A probable example from Mq occurs in the series of responses 46–50 for *lom*:

`lumEþþ, lumEdEr, gE lumE (prsbj), luÉmhEþþ, luÉmEdEr`  
where the vowel in both tokens of *lomadar* seems affected by preceding forms.

So also, perhaps, responses 30–32 vs. 5 for *bearr*:

`ga m’æra (prsbj) 30, v’aradar 31, b’æraq i; 32 vs. b’ærí 5.`

This serial effect may well be a main conditioning factor in the high proportion of long vocoids in the Echo forms both in discourse and in the questionnaire returns. In fact 43Mq stated, without any suggestion from me, that the vowel realisation in Echo forms mirrors its realisation in the preceding discourse, so that *ga g’ix’o fce ort go gcinne sé ort!* is more likely to be Echoed by *ga g’ix’o go gcinne!* than by *ga g’ix’o go gcinne!* Echo endings in the 1sg, then, are generally preceded by nonpersonal consonant-final forms, leading to lengthened variants here, e.g. *A Ar gheárr í...? B Gheárras.*

5.145 Some examples

cail :: cé caileadh k’e kape’w [x3] ... chaithfi duine eicint a caileadh xap’w i Mainis

43M (*die*).

---

1 The developments described here for Iorras Aithneach are probably general in Conamara. Note the example of scaling in *-adar > -adh* (VN), occurring in the same sentence, heard in conversation from the (mostly Irish-language) broadcaster and author L. Mac Con Iomaire of Doire an Fheidh (also spelt Doire an Fheich; east of An Cheathrú Rua):

`... e jaero max as ... s bo’g nar juradar a xo ë a ghearraidh amach as ... is beag nar ghearradar a chois.`
Although the VN *kúː* *cailleadh* occurs often, only *kúː*(-) ... occurs in phrases such as *nil caille ar bith air* where *caille* is a (nonverbal) noun. I have heard the suggestion that pst imprs *kúː* does not occur meaning ‘died’. I have, nevertheless, heard it used by some younger speakers in this meaning, e.g. 66N (5.157), 90M (13.32, line 44). One can say that *kúː* is probably more common in the general meaning ‘lost’ than in the meaning ‘died’.

---

**5.146 Individual speakers**

In the following sections we will trace the developments in the GEARR class through a century, or more, of (mostly) apparent time as evidenced by fifteen individual speakers in conversation, narrative, and particularly in their responses to query. Query involved mostly translation from English prompts. Use of the long vocoid increases in younger generations, there being considerable consistency in morphological conditioning. In those born in the 1970s, however, there is a resurgence of the short vocoid as the class itself becomes defunct for certain speakers. The rate of increase is not always consistent through apparent time and there are remarkable differences within the same age-groups. For example, speakers who have a 17-year age gap are alike (12S and 29C) and a sister (66N) seems to, in some contexts, be more conservative than her brothers and than one of her contemporaries (66Nq).

---

**5.147 869P, SID.46, Pádraigín Mhacaí ’ac Con Iomaire**

Speaker 869P2–5 and SID.46 show evidence of conservative use in certain lexemes of this class (which are more likely to show long vocoids in my field informants), i.e.

- *bronn*, pst *vrún* *fé*, 2sg cond *vrúnhaː*, VN *brun* 46.1003;
- *cinn*, pstsbj *go gcinneat sé air* [x2] 869P2;
- *cum*, vadj *kumta* 46 s.v. *cumta*;
- *roinn*, pst imprs *roinnid* 869P4;
- *teann*, VN *a’ teanna leis* [x2] 869P2.

But one example was noted of unhistorical lengthening in:

*geall*: *má gheàillann tú dhom* ... 869P4,
Verbs representing the earliest definite attestation of this development. Given that the nonpersonal present -ann is not a particularly strong lengthening environment, it is possible that 869P actually used lengthened variants in the more commonly lengthened positions such as 1sg Echo. Other examples noted from 869P are ambivalent; they contain -idis and can be interpreted either as past habitual forms, or as conditional forms with loss of h functioning as past habitual:

roinn, 3pl bhídís ... mbeadh ... roínidís ... thosóidís 869P2;
tum, 3pl thúmadís i ngeir ... iad 869P5.

5.148 12S, Seán Chúlán

Seán’s forms in reply to query (Sq) are presented in Table 5.52. Initial mutations are not indicated in the future and verbal noun. ‘S’ indicates additional tokens from Seán’s conversation.

Table 5.52 GEARR class, 12Sq

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>vadj t/h</th>
<th>fut h</th>
<th>3pl pst hab (or psthjp)</th>
<th>VN -ə</th>
<th>2pl impv (aq’/t)</th>
<th>prsbj -ə</th>
<th>3pl pst adar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gearr</td>
<td>g arha</td>
<td>g arha</td>
<td>jərəd əf</td>
<td>g æər</td>
<td>g æət ag i</td>
<td>jərəd</td>
<td>jərədar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>geall</td>
<td>g arla</td>
<td>jələd əf</td>
<td>vəɬəd əf</td>
<td>g æəli</td>
<td>g æəl la</td>
<td>jələdar</td>
<td>jələdar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>caill</td>
<td>xəɬəd əf</td>
<td>xəɬəd əf</td>
<td>katə’ ə</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>xəɬədar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>feann</td>
<td>f oonta</td>
<td>d ənəd əf</td>
<td>f oontag əf (x2)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>d ənədar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teann</td>
<td>hənəd əf</td>
<td></td>
<td>hənədar</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>hənədar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td></td>
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<td>skəltə</td>
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<tr>
<td>mill</td>
<td>m iətə</td>
<td>v iətəf</td>
<td>m iət ag ə</td>
<td>m iət</td>
<td>m iət ag ə</td>
<td>v iət adar</td>
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<tr>
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<td>cp. VN rixt</td>
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<td>g iən’ a</td>
<td>g iən’</td>
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<td>fill</td>
<td>d iət əf</td>
<td>f iət ə</td>
<td>f iət ə</td>
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<td>f iət adar</td>
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<td>kou ə</td>
<td>kou ag ə</td>
<td>xou ə</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>soil</td>
<td>bəi ə</td>
<td>səi ə</td>
<td>səi ə</td>
<td>xəi ə</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toll</td>
<td>taulə S</td>
<td></td>
<td>tola S</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poll</td>
<td>pautə S</td>
<td></td>
<td>polə</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bronn</td>
<td>brunta</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cam</td>
<td>xənəd əf</td>
<td></td>
<td>xənədaj ə</td>
<td>xənəd</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>crom</td>
<td>krumtə</td>
<td>krumha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ham</td>
<td>kumta</td>
<td>kumha</td>
<td>kumha</td>
<td>kum</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lom</td>
<td>lumta</td>
<td>lumha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With a beat for the syncopated syllable in xənəd bhitteadar.
The proportion of short to long vocoids in the general GEARR class for Sq is charted in Figure 5.3. The CAM subclass is not charted with the general GEARR class in Figure 5.3, although the overall pattern is not substantially changed when it is included. In the chart ‘V general’ represents tokens of the short vowel in the general GEARR class, and ‘VV’ represents lengthened or diphthongised tokens. Many endings have too few tokens for any definite conclusions but are nevertheless presented here for the sake of comparison with other speakers.

**Figure 5.3 The general GEARR class and morphology, 12Sq**

A clearer picture of Sq’s morphological pattern can be seen in the seven endings presented in Figure 5.4. A decrease in the proportion of short vowels is evident, from the very high number in the verbal noun in -adh and past impersonal, less in 3pl past habitual, present subjunctive and 2pl imperative, a relatively equal proportion of short and lengthened variants in the 3pl past and a higher proportion of lengthened tokens in the 1sg Echo. It can be seen, then, that Sq’s (12S) morphological scaling resembles Mq’s pattern (16M, wife of 12S) in Figure 5.5 below, but with a slightly higher proportion of short tokens in Sq. More precisely, Sq’s 3pl past patterns as Mq’s 3pl past habitual, Mq has two endings after the crossover point where VV becomes higher, whereas Sq has only one category after his crossover point. At Sq’s crossover the gap between both variants is small, whereas Mq has a greater gap between the values here. The two figures
then demonstrate two stages in the morphologically conditioned advancement of lengthened forms through this class. Finally, we can contrast 20Cq, mentioned above, a speaker eight years younger than 12S, who is nonetheless more conservative in his consistent retention of the short vocoid before 3pl past -adar. Many verbs show too few tokens to be classified lexically as to their general position on the short vs. lengthened scale. One can only tentatively classify the following verbs in prevocalic position for Sq:

(i) small class, mainly long vowel: roinn, (cinn, cam, feann);
(ii) large class, mainly short vowel: geall, gearr, soill, fill, coill, toll, poll, mill.

Figure 5.4 The general GEARR class, morphological scaling, 12Sq

5.149 16M, Máire Chúlán
Speaker Mq’s GEARR class questionnaire results are presented in Table 5.53. Initial mutations are not indicated in the future and verbal noun. ‘M’ indicates additional tokens from Máire’s conversation.

Table 5.53 GEARR class, 16Mq

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>vadj t/h</th>
<th>fut h</th>
<th>3pl psthab (or pstshb)</th>
<th>VN -V</th>
<th>2pl impv (ag) -E</th>
<th>prsbj -a</th>
<th>3pl pst adar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gearr</td>
<td>g aerha</td>
<td>g aerha</td>
<td>g aerod i</td>
<td>g aer</td>
<td>g aerag i</td>
<td>g aerri</td>
<td>g aer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bearr</td>
<td>b aerha M</td>
<td>v aerad i</td>
<td>b aer</td>
<td>b aerri</td>
<td>b aerag i</td>
<td>m aer</td>
<td>v aeradar x2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>geall</td>
<td>g olta</td>
<td>jolad i</td>
<td>gaela</td>
<td>g a-bal i</td>
<td>gaeli</td>
<td>gaela</td>
<td>joladar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>caill</td>
<td>xaitod i</td>
<td>kai a M</td>
<td>kai ag i</td>
<td>gai a</td>
<td>xat a</td>
<td>xatadar</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>feann</td>
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<td>d aerad i</td>
<td>faenag i</td>
<td>vaena x2</td>
<td>d aeradar x2</td>
<td>d aeradar</td>
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<td>teami</td>
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<td>t aer</td>
<td>t'eni</td>
<td>t'aenag k</td>
<td>huzadar</td>
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<td>dull</td>
<td>dula</td>
<td>v'ada d i</td>
<td>dadas i</td>
<td>yuladar</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>meall</td>
<td>m oelha</td>
<td>v aerad i</td>
<td>m oela</td>
<td>m aerbag i</td>
<td>m aerla</td>
<td>v aeradar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scall</td>
<td>skulta</td>
<td>skalad i</td>
<td>skala</td>
<td>skalab i</td>
<td>skala</td>
<td>skaladar skaladar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>streall</td>
<td>ftr oela</td>
<td>ftr oeld i</td>
<td>ftr aerad i</td>
<td>ftr aer x2</td>
<td>ftr aerbag i</td>
<td>ftr aerla</td>
<td>ftr aeradar</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>1</sup> With beat for syncopated syllable in hoxd i theannadis.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>adj</th>
<th>fut</th>
<th>3pl psihab (or pstshb)</th>
<th>VN -V</th>
<th>2pl impv (ag)</th>
<th>pstshb -a</th>
<th>3pl pstshdar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mill</td>
<td>m' iú.s</td>
<td>m' iú.s</td>
<td>v iú. ad if</td>
<td>m' iú. M</td>
<td>m' iú. si</td>
<td>m' iú.</td>
<td>m' iú. adar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>roinn</td>
<td>rin' a</td>
<td>rin' a if</td>
<td>rin' a</td>
<td>rin' a x2</td>
<td>rin' a x2</td>
<td>rin' a adar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cinn</td>
<td>k' iú.s</td>
<td>x iú. ad if</td>
<td>g iú.</td>
<td>x iú. adar</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fill</td>
<td>f iú.</td>
<td>d iú. ad if</td>
<td>f iú.</td>
<td>v iú. x2</td>
<td>d iú. adar</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toll</td>
<td>t iú.s</td>
<td>hit' ad if</td>
<td>hit' a</td>
<td>hit' a adar</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>goill</td>
<td>gait.</td>
<td>jú. ad if</td>
<td>jú.</td>
<td>jú. adar</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>soil</td>
<td>sait.</td>
<td>jú. ad if</td>
<td>jú.</td>
<td>jú. adar</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toll</td>
<td>tallta M</td>
<td>tola M</td>
<td>tola M</td>
<td>hantad x2</td>
<td>hantad x2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bream</td>
<td>brumta</td>
<td>brumta</td>
<td>brumta</td>
<td>hantad</td>
<td>hantad</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cum</td>
<td>kumta</td>
<td>kumta</td>
<td>kumta</td>
<td>xumad x2</td>
<td>xumad x2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lom</td>
<td>lumta</td>
<td>lumta</td>
<td>lumta</td>
<td>lumad x2</td>
<td>lumad x2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>caill</td>
<td>kai.</td>
<td>kai.</td>
<td>xait.</td>
<td>A xait.?</td>
<td>B xait. as</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>feann</td>
<td>f' anan</td>
<td>f' anu.</td>
<td>d' ana.</td>
<td>d' ana.</td>
<td>f' anu.</td>
<td>f' anar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>team</td>
<td>t' anan</td>
<td>f' anu.</td>
<td>hana.</td>
<td>hana.</td>
<td>t' anu.</td>
<td>t' anar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dall</td>
<td>du'h</td>
<td>da' la.</td>
<td>yar' la.</td>
<td>yar' la.</td>
<td>A yel.</td>
<td>B yelas</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meall</td>
<td>m' iú.</td>
<td>v' ait.</td>
<td>m' ait.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>scal</td>
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<td>skail.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>streall</td>
<td>str' anan</td>
<td>str' anu.</td>
<td>str' anu.</td>
<td>str' anu.</td>
<td>str' anar</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mill</td>
<td>m' iú.</td>
<td>v iú.</td>
<td>A v iú. ?</td>
<td>B v iú. as</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>roinn</td>
<td>rin' a</td>
<td>rin' a</td>
<td>rin' a</td>
<td>rin' a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cinn</td>
<td>k' iú.s</td>
<td>x iú.</td>
<td>k' iú. x2</td>
<td>k' iú. x2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fill</td>
<td>f' iú.</td>
<td>d iú.</td>
<td>f iú.</td>
<td>f iú. x2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>caill</td>
<td>koi.</td>
<td>koi.</td>
<td>xai.</td>
<td>A xai.?</td>
<td>B xai. as</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>goill</td>
<td>got.</td>
<td>jú.</td>
<td>got.</td>
<td>jú.</td>
<td>got.' ar</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>soil</td>
<td>saiz.</td>
<td>jú.</td>
<td>jú.</td>
<td>jú.</td>
<td>saiz.' ar</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toll</td>
<td>tulan</td>
<td>tolu.</td>
<td>tolu.</td>
<td>tolu.</td>
<td>taular</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Also conditional xumháit fe.
2 Nonlenition in da' lai, dhalladh is due to the elicitation situation.
Verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>pres am' an</th>
<th>pst imps u</th>
<th>3sg pst habit</th>
<th>impv ax</th>
<th>1sg pst Echo</th>
<th>impv tic'lar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bron</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cam</td>
<td>ka'man</td>
<td>kumu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>crom</td>
<td>krumun</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cum</td>
<td>kuman</td>
<td>kum:</td>
<td>xumaṭ</td>
<td>kumaṭ</td>
<td>A xumʔ</td>
<td>B xumas</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 5.5 indicates Mq’s ‘stage’, in the morphological dimension, in the development of the general GEARR class.

Figure 5.5 The general GEARR class and morphology, 16Mq

Most endings have a higher proportion of short vowels in the verbal stems for Mq. Verbal nouns in -adh have the highest proportion of short vowels, with present subjunctive, 3sg past habitual, past impersonal, 3sg imperative and present also having high short vowel yield. The 2pl imperative has a slightly smaller proportion of short vowels while the 3pl past habitual in -idís has a relatively equal proportion of both. The endings of the 1sg Echo -as and the 3pl past -adar have the opposite proportion to the other endings with more lengthened tokens.

The alternation before vowels can also be viewed lexically for Mq. Her tokens, presented in Figure 5.6, show that her verbs can be classified in prevocalic position into:

(i) small class with regular lengthening:
(ii) small class with relatively equal proportions of short to long:
(iii) majority class with dominant short vowel:
(iv) small class with regular short vowel:

Mq’s categories (i) and (iv) are, by definition, marginal in her GEARR class. Members of (i), cinn (and till), show no vowel alternation (except in the verbal noun, coincidentally not queried in this case) and have almost completely gone
over to the regular non-alternating class of verbs with long radical vowel. Members of (iv) differ from those in (i) in that although the ‘default’ short vowel occurs before consonants, e.g. \textit{bruntar Mq bronntar, ska\ll{}ltar Mq scalltar}, a long alternant regularly occurs here, e.g. \textit{brunta Mq bronnta}, \textit{ska\ll{}lta Mq scallta}. (The short vowel before -\textit{tar} as against the long vowel with -\textit{ta} implies a further degree of morphological differentiation evident in this subclass; the verbal adjective having greater retention of the historical variant.) These subcategories are evident within Figure 5.6 which demonstrates Mq’s lexical occurrence before vowels.

\textbf{Figure 5.6 GEARR class, lexical distribution before vowels, 16Mq}

\begin{figure}
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{figure5_6.png}
\caption{GEARR class, lexical distribution before vowels, 16Mq}
\end{figure}

5.150 \textit{29C, Céit Mhaidhcil Mhaitiú Uí Mhaoil Chiaráin}

It is evident from Figure 5.7 that Céit Mhaidhcil Mhaitiú Uí Mhaoil Chiaráin (speaker \textit{29Cq}) has regular implicational scaling but quite a conservative prevalent usage of short vowel variants, perhaps influenced (especially in query) by her higher than usual literacy in Irish.
In fact, 29Cq has a pattern very similar to 12S (e.g. Figure 5.4) rather than her nearer contemporaries examined so far. The only verbs with the lengthened vowel in the 2pl imperative are roinn and (optionally) streall. The verb roinn is long in all three inflected forms. Those with the long vocoid in -adar are: 

géall, teann, feann (optional), coill, soill, fill, cinn.

In the verbal adjective she has anomalous skalta and common tuillte.

5.151 31M, Mérain Nó Leideáin; 23B

Table 5.54 displays the totalled results of speaker 31Mq’s general GEARR class in prevocalic position.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>3pl psthb</th>
<th>VN</th>
<th>2pl impv</th>
<th>prsbj</th>
<th>3pl pst -adar</th>
<th>pres</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V total</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VV total</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pst imprs</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg psthab</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>impv</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1sg pst Echo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1sg psthab</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The morphological conditioning is presented in Figure 5.8. It is evident that 31Mq has a similar distribution to Maire (16M), with a similar crossover position to dominant lengthening, although 31Mq’s crossover is more abrupt than Máire’s. She is, in fact, slightly more conservative regarding lengthening than Mq.

Lexically 31Mq has most verbs in the majority class with dominant short vowels. She does show a high proportion of VV in three verbs:

- goill: VV (x6) vs. V (x1) (V in verbal noun);
- soill: VV (x4) vs. V (x2) (V in verbal noun and impersonal past);
- roinn: the only verb with VV in the impersonal past.

In a short query session, speaker 23Bq has 2 plural imperative (minor VV use: 4/11) and 3 plural past (major VV use: 7/9) in the same relation to each other as do speakers 31Mq and 16Mq.
Figure 5.8 The general GEARR class, morphological scaling, 31Mq

5.152 36S, Seán Mhaidhcil Mhaitiú Úi Mhaoil Chiaráin
Although Seán Ó Maoil Chiaráin (36Sq) was queried for only two morphological contexts, these seem to indicate a usage intermediate between speakers 31M and 55S, rather than his sister 29C, who is conservative in this regard. Figure 5.9 shows, in his general GEARR class, that 3 plural past -adar lies to the right of the crossover point to dominant long vocoid usage and 2 plural imperative -igí at the crossover point or to its left.

Figure 5.9 The general GEARR class, morphological scaling, 36Sq

Interestingly, he claims not to have heard the verb *scall* (adh) for which, as mentioned above, his sister has the anomalous short vocoid (presumably indicative of the verb’s obsolescence) in the verbal adjective *skalt* 29Cq *scallta*.

5.153 55S, Seán Ó Gaora
Seán Ó Gaora (speaker 55S) is the eldest of four siblings investigated for this variable. His younger brothers, Marcas (64M) and Noel (72N), and his sister, Liosáí (66L), have predictably more progressive usage (Figure 5.17 p. 1034). As is evident from Figure 5.10, 55Sq shows an earlier crossover point on the morphological implicational scale of the GEARR class than older speakers described above and a higher overall proportion of long vocoids in all morphological contexts. His chart represents an advanced stage in the expansion of the lengthened realisation through the verbal morphology of this class.
Lexically, as seen from Figure 5.11, 55Sq’s verbs can be tentatively classified before vowels into:

(i) regular long vocoid: geall, coill, teann;
(ii) long >> short: mill, bearr, gearr;
(iii) short = long: caill;
(iv) short >> long: toll, soill;
(v) regular short vowel: fill.

This classification displays 55S’s intermediary position in the advancement of lengthening through the verbs of the GEARR class. His category (v) includes one example of a short vowel word-finally in d’iu ‘fiad 55Sd d’fiill siad (but cp. 20Ml’s example with fill, 5.143). This spread of the unhistorical short vowel becomes a more prominent feature in later generations.

5.154 60M, Micheál Ó Hoipicín

In query, speaker 60M has dominant short vocoids in the VN -adh and long vocoids in 3pl past -adar. His tokens of short vocoid before -adar occur in d’fiileadar (echoing his sister, 52M) and choilleadar. His usage of toll and goill is, however, early indication of verbs having short vowels in unhistorical positions (both in the suffixless and preconsonantal stem):
This usage can be labelled nontraditional, the 1960s being a major watershed in our dialect.

5.155 64M, Marcas Ó Gaora

Table 5.55 displays the small amount of data obtained from Marcas Ó Gaora (speaker 64Mq), as mentioned above, brother of speaker 55S.

Table 5.55 GEARR class, 64Mq

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>VN -a</th>
<th>pres an</th>
<th>3pl pst adar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gear</td>
<td>g’æra</td>
<td>g’eran</td>
<td>jæradar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bear</td>
<td>b’æra</td>
<td>b’eran</td>
<td>væradar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>goill</td>
<td>g’æla</td>
<td>g’alan</td>
<td>jælar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>caill</td>
<td>kæi.ə</td>
<td>kæi.an</td>
<td>xæí.adar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meall</td>
<td>m’æla</td>
<td>m’ælan <img src="x2" alt="sic" /></td>
<td>væladar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mill</td>
<td>m’iə.ə</td>
<td>m’iə.an</td>
<td>v iə.adar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>roinn</td>
<td>xæi.ən</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>coill</td>
<td>kür.ə, kæi.ə 64M</td>
<td>kuer.ən</td>
<td>xou.ədar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toll</td>
<td>tola taula</td>
<td>taula”</td>
<td>hauıadar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>crom</td>
<td>kruma</td>
<td>kruman</td>
<td>xrumarad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cum</td>
<td></td>
<td>kuman</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This table yields the following overall totals:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>VN -a</th>
<th>pres an</th>
<th>3pl pst adar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Short vowels</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Long vocoids</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 5.12 displays his general GEARR class, i.e. excluding the CAM subclass, for comparison with other speakers.

Figure 5.12 The general GEARR class, morphological scaling, 64Mq

It can be seen from Figure 5.12 that 64Mq’s crossover point to dominant lengthened variants in this class occurs before or at the present ending -ann, sooner in the implicational scale than 16Mq and 31Mq (Figure 5.5 and Figure 5.8 above), but at a similar position to, or even at least one place further towards, the more progressive usage than, his brother 55S (Figure 5.10). I suspect, from general recollection of 64M’s conversation, that the impersonal past -adh would have a
higher proportion of long vocoids for him than for 55S, so that his crossover point is most likely to be sooner again than 55S and perhaps also sooner than his younger sister 66L.

5.156 66L, Liosái Ni Ghaora

The results of Liosaí Ni Ghaora’s (66Lq, Máinís) short questionnaire are presented in Figure 5.13. Her pattern can be compared in particular with her two elder brothers, 55S and 64M, and her younger brother 72N, and with a contemporary but more innovative female from An Aird Mhóir, 66N. Her crossover point is sooner than 55Sq’s and her past impersonal forms show a smaller ratio than his. There is one definite point where her usage is more conservative than her elder brothers: her verbal noun forms show a larger proportional short-vowel dominance than either 55Sq or 64Mq.

Figure 5.13 The general GEARR class, morphological scaling, 66Lq

Lexically, as shown in Figure 5.14, speaker 66Lq has relatively typical subclass membership for her generation:

(i) long >> short: geall, bearr, gearr, teann;
(ii) a small class with short ≈ long: caill;
(iii) short >> long: feann, mill, soill.

Noteworthy here is that the verb mill is often in the typically lengthened category for her generation.

Figure 5.14 GEARR class, lexical distribution, 66Lq
5.157 66N, Nóra Ni Chlochartaigh

Nóra Ni Chlochartaigh from An Aird Mhóir, 66Nq, is the only speaker queried who has clearly dominant use of the long vocoid in all prevocalic contexts. Figure 5.15 shows the results of her short questionnaire.

![Figure 5.15 The general GEARR class, morphological scaling, 66Nq](image)

Her short vocoid tokens are:
- VN gearradh;
- present cailleann, teamann (following after 16Mq);
- 2 plural imperative teamnaigí, tollaigí (unsure of roinnigí).

It is worth recalling her anomalous short preconsonantal example (cited in 5.143):

\[\text{tu fe b'ærha | ... b'ærh aød 66N tá sé bearrtha, ... bearrtha a'd.}\]

Her common use of the long vowel in kaòû cailleadh ‘died’ was also mentioned above (5.144). Speakers who have consistent kaòû cailleadh ‘died’ may well be among the strongest users of the long variant in the GEARR class. The following conversation may be an instance of intergenerational variance within the GEARR class:

\[\text{-kaòû u e fin' nar kaòû 66N Cailleadh é sin nar cailleadh? ('died')}\]

\[\text{-hæ 16M Hæa. ('Yes')}\]

In her response, Máire (16M) may have preferred not to repeat the verb at all rather than contravene the strong tendency to retain the long variant in Echo contexts (which are themselves preceded by a long variant) by using traditional kaòû cailleadh (typical for Máire).

5.158 72N, Noel Ó Gaora and Muintir Ghaora

Noel Ó Gaora, speaker 72Nq, is the youngest son of Scáínín Sheáín Mhicil Uí Ghaora, Tóin an Roisín, Mánis and the brother of 55S, 64M and 66L. Figure 5.16 shows that he has the most advanced use of long vocoids of the four siblings. In the four morphological contexts which were queried, 72Nq has a dominant short vocoid in the case of verbal noun -adh only:

- V in: cailleadh, coilleadh, gealladh, gearradh;
- VV in: bearradh, milleadh.

He has otherwise only two short-vowel tokens (past impersonal cailleadh ‘died’ and present filleann).
Two tokens indicate a reduction in the lengthening rule before consonants (which will become more evident in speaker 77C):

toll was not productive but uncertain future toilh 72Nq was offered;

coil was produced with weak diphthongisation in the 3 plural imperative ka’iù’haxdar 72Nq coilltheadh dar, cp. 3 plural past xo’iù’edar 72Nq choilleedar (given a score of 0.5 for both short ‘V’ and long ‘VV’ vocoid in Figure 5.16).

Figure 5.17 summarises the percentage usage of these siblings in a selection of morphological contexts in the general GEAR class.

In terms of his older siblings, 72Nq’s use in the verbal noun and present tense is closer to his brother 64M than his sister 66L. It may be that 72Nq’s use represents an increase from his brother’s base (or the use of his brother’s age-group) rather than from his sister’s use, who, however, is closer to him in age. Speaker 66L is, however, more conservative than her brothers 64M and particularly 72Nq in other traits. Speaker 66L has regular 3 plural past <siad>, not <adar>. It would be of interest to discover whether other speakers who lack the strong (prevocalic) lengthening context of 3 plural past <adar>, i.e. those who use past <siad>, have lower rates of long vocoid expansion than those who have prevalent <adar> use. Speaker 66N, who has 3 plural past <siad>, has, however, the most dominant long vocoid use of my sample (5.157).
5.159  77C, Colm Ó Cathasaigh

Colm Ó Cathasaigh, speaker 77Cq, shows what seems to be the latest stage in GEARR class developments. As shown in Table 5.56, he has further use of the long variant but also reduction in some verbs in the application of the lengthening rule before consonants and finally. The verb *toll* in particular shows no diphthongisation.

Table 5.56 GEARR class, 77Cq

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>vadj t/h</th>
<th>3pl cond for psthab</th>
<th>VN →</th>
<th>2pl impv (ag’i):</th>
<th>pres am</th>
<th>pst impr</th>
<th>3pl pst adar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>garr</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>g aer</td>
<td>g aer (x2)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>juradar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bear</td>
<td>v’arhad</td>
<td>b’ar</td>
<td>b’arag i:</td>
<td>b’ar</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>juradar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>geall</td>
<td>jadhad</td>
<td>g ad</td>
<td>g adam</td>
<td>g adu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>juladar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>caill</td>
<td>xoc’had</td>
<td>koc’h</td>
<td>koc’ag i:</td>
<td>koc’u</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>koc’”dar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meall</td>
<td>m’eal</td>
<td>m’elav</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mill</td>
<td>d ilhad</td>
<td>d il</td>
<td>d ilax</td>
<td>f il</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fill</td>
<td>xoc’had</td>
<td>koc’h</td>
<td>koc’hid</td>
<td>koc’u</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>koc’”dar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>coill</td>
<td>xoc’had</td>
<td>koc’h</td>
<td>koc’hid</td>
<td>koc’u</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>koc’”dar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toll</td>
<td>tolt x3</td>
<td>tol</td>
<td>tolhax</td>
<td>tol</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tolh”dar</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The alternation of (historical) short and (unhistorical) long vocoids in prevocalic position spreads in many speakers of 77C’s generation to preconsonantal position (seen in impersonal present -tar for a small class of verbs in Mq, 5.149), so that the actual membership of the GEARR class is reduced and variation becomes less conditioned by phonological and morphological constraints and more by lexical constraints. These developments reverse the trend seen in older generations of domination by the lengthened variants at the expense of the short vowel in many verbs. The GEARR class develops a pattern more like the CAM subclass. It therefore makes sense in the youngest speakers to analyse this class for lexical distribution in all morphophonological environments. Analysis of results for this 1970s generation is complicated by the lexical depletion which occurs in the GEARR class, as in most other lexical sets, so that many verbs are unknown or not productive (e.g. *feann, scall, dall, toll, poll, bronn, cam, crom, lom, goill*).
Although the amount of tokens is small, it is evident from the lexical distribution in Figure 5.19 that only three verbs, *caill*, *meall* and *soill* (the last diphthongised in the verbal adjective only) are definite members of this class for 77Cq.

### 5.160 81C, Caitlín Ní Chúláin

As displayed in Figure 5.20, Caitlín Ní Chúláin (81Cq) from Maoras has a dominant long vocoid in the GEARR class.

The verbs *caill*, *geall*, *bearr*, *gearr* and *mill* seem to be the active members of the GEARR class in speaker 81C. These verbs are analysed in Figure 5.20 and Table 5.57; the latter shows only verbs which have short vocoid tokens: *caill*, *bearr* and *gearr*.

### Table 5.57 GEARR class verbs which have tokens in short vocoid, 81Cq

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>pst imprs</th>
<th>psthab</th>
<th>pres</th>
<th>2pl impv</th>
<th>3pl pst</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>caill</td>
<td>kə’</td>
<td>kaɪ́</td>
<td>u’</td>
<td>kə’</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bearr</td>
<td>bė́</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>u̯</td>
<td>b̥</td>
<td>ə</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 The first hesitant half-long vowel is given a score of 0.5 in my calculations.

2 Perhaps -a’-.
It is hard to tell why *bearn* and *gearr* have the most short tokens. Only *bearn* and *gearr* were queried in the present tense, hence the incongruous trough in the long vocoids in Figure 5.20. The verb *bearn* has the most short tokens. One possible explanation may be related to lexical frequency. Perhaps *bearn* is the least common of 81C’s active GEARR class. Other verbs also show short tokens, including before consonants: *goill*, *fill* (for her *díbhail*; *soill* was least familiar; cf. 77Cq above). Speaker 81C recognised these verbs but they required repeated prompting from me. They therefore appear not to be within her productive use or performance. A possible marginal member of the active GEARR class (such as *bearn*) or nonmembers (such as *goill* and *fill*) might be familiar to 81C and her contemporaries from the verbal noun with short vocoid used by older speakers. In this hypothesis it may be that the verb *gearr* behaves like *bearn* because of their phonological and semantic similarity to each other.

### 5.161 Analysis

Some speakers are apparently prone to acquire usage which is ‘younger’ or ‘older’ than that typical for their own age-group. For example, speaker 23B was heard using *l é m iÉû É 23B le milleadh* which I suspect she has picked up from her own children. (Cp. her innovative analytic examples of verbs, e.g. 5.87, 5.88, 5.90.) A clear indication of an awareness of the divergence in use was noted from Baba Ní Chúláin’s (56B) conversation. In quoting her father Seán (12S) from a conversation she had with him, she initially used *e xoû É a choilleadh* but then hesitated and pronounced *e xoû Éþþ*, Seán’s actual form.1 The initial token is her own usage, the hesitation and second token imply the difference is ‘salient’ or ‘controllable’, in contrast with so much of the change under way between 12S and his youngest daughter 56B (for example, 3pl past -*adar* vs. *siad*, subjunctive, nasalisation). We can recall how two conservative speakers, 20Cq and 26Pc, avoided prevocalic lengthening, a further indication of the salience of this feature (5.142). As noted in 4.86, plurals of verbal nouns of the GEARR class show a greater use of long alternants in the younger generation, e.g. *gearradh* > *g’arani*: 56Bq, just as *carr* > *karani*: for many younger speakers. From our brief survey through apparent time, it is clear that this class yields insights into morphophonological change. In the evidence of one of my youngest speakers, 77Cq, there is a partial reversal of the trend of increasing the use of long vocoids (from the preconsonantal and final position to the prevocalic). It is tempting to see an explanation of his pattern in verb frequency: common verbs have long vocoids, whereas less common verbs have short vowels even preconsonantly. There is, nonetheless, an example of a short vowel in the common verb *gearr* in final position from the conversation of an even younger speaker: *jãr mid*’ 84P *ghearr mid.*

In order to get at least an idea of the overall tendencies, we can summarise the lexical change by comparing individuals’ usage (in query) in Table 5.58. (Only those verbs are included for which the usage of three or more speakers is known. The symbols refer to unhistorical long vocoid occurrence prevocally, e.g. >>>

---

1 Also from 56B: *cailleadh* *kó: a*, *milleann* *m iÉû É an.*
‘long vocoid very dominant’, >> ‘long vocoid dominant’, << ‘long vocoid not dominant (i.e. historical usage)’.)

Table 5.58 GEARR class in query, lexical change in apparent time, 1912–1977

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>12S</th>
<th>16M</th>
<th>29C</th>
<th>31M</th>
<th>55S</th>
<th>60M</th>
<th>64M</th>
<th>66L</th>
<th>77C</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1a</td>
<td>roinn</td>
<td>&gt;&gt;</td>
<td>&gt;&gt;</td>
<td>&gt;&gt;</td>
<td>&gt;&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1b</td>
<td>teann</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&gt;&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bearr</td>
<td>&lt;&lt;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>geall</td>
<td>&lt;&lt;</td>
<td>&lt;&lt;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gearr</td>
<td>&lt;&lt;</td>
<td>&lt;&lt;</td>
<td>&gt;&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mill</td>
<td>&lt;&lt;</td>
<td>&lt;&lt;</td>
<td>&gt;&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td>&lt;&lt;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1c</td>
<td>caill</td>
<td>&lt;&lt;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2c</td>
<td>coill</td>
<td>&lt;&lt;</td>
<td>&lt;&lt;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2b</td>
<td>soil</td>
<td>&lt;&lt;</td>
<td>&lt;&lt;</td>
<td>&gt;&gt;</td>
<td>&lt;&lt;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>toll</td>
<td>&lt;&lt;</td>
<td>&lt;&lt;</td>
<td>&lt;&lt;</td>
<td>&gt;&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2a</td>
<td>fill</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&lt;&lt;</td>
<td>&lt;&lt;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We can see that Table 5.58 is, in one way, a restatement of the implicational lexical scale discussed earlier. We can classify verbs into Type 1, where the long vocoid becomes dominant, and Type 2, where the short vocoid becomes dominant. Type 1a is the most progressive of this type, another verb in 1a is cinn. Type 1b comes next, with the exception of mill for 66Lq (and bearr and gearr for 81Cq), followed quite later by Type 1c caill. The short vocoid Type 2 can be subclassified into 2c coill which is quite mixed, but the youngest speaker shows a dominant short vowel. Type 2b shows unhistorical lengthening by only one speaker in my sample. Type 2a fill never shows any tendency to be lengthened in unhistorical environments.

Had one been observing the speech community around 1900, or at any stage in the early expansion of the long vocoid in this class, could one have predicted the subsequent lexical developments? What conditions have directed the course of specific verbs in a century of change in the GEARR class? When one recalls that frequency of occurrence of verbal endings is probably one important cause of their conditioning of the long variant, one can postulate two possible dimensions of frequency regarding lexical conditioning which might repay further study:

(a) The overall frequency of a specific verb’s use: it would seem that Type 2 verbs are less common than Type 1. Perhaps usage may be somehow based on the nominal form, i.e. the verbal noun, which is, as we have seen, a conservative environment.1 The verb fill is not prevalent, more common for ‘return’ is teara ar ais, and for ‘fold’ dùbail is common, even ‘fold’-ail.

Verbs in Types 2b and 2c have a more chequered history, perhaps mirroring recent changes in their frequency of usage: the verb toll is being replaced by periphrasis; the practices denoted by the verbs soil and coill are becoming less common.

(b) The overall frequency of short or long vocoids in a specific verb’s usage: for example, the verbal noun of Type 1a roinn is rióin, and Type 1a cinn is per-

---

1 The short vowel of the verbal noun seems to influence a selfcorrected slip of the tongue from a young speaker. kar’i… kar’i… ka | kar’i 80P caileadh… caillte. This speaker has similar hesitation with eg’ ò (f) xe xe 80P ag a charr (cp. short vowel in traditional plural karóni: carráin).
haps most common in the phrase *tá sé cinnte ar*. The late
Type 1c *call* is very common in the meaning ‘died’ in the past impersonal
katu, a strong environment for short vowel occurrence.

Given these considerations, we may well postulate that every verb in this class
has its own history.

5.162 Second Conjugation verbal classes

Examples of regular second conjugation verbs with no alternation in their stem
are given in the ‘List of Regular Verbs’ (5.236). Syncope is the chief criterion in
the classification of other second conjugation verbs. The classes are as follows:

1. The CRUTHAIGH class has facultative elision of intervocalic h.
2. The AGAIR class has syncopating roots in final -l, -m, -n, -r.
3. The FEoghlaíM class has nonsyncopating roots.
4. The AITHIN/AITHNIGH class has regular syncope except in the 2sg impera-
tive and nonpersonal past where the second conjugation stem suffix *-o*
*-igh* is optional causing syncope; when no inflectional ending is present
there is no syncope.
5. The CRUAIGH class consists of monosyllabic roots in a long vocoid nucleus.

5.163 CRUTHAIGH class

The CRUTHAIGH class consists of verbs with intervocalic h. This h is sometimes
not realised. This class can be conveniently compared with the 1 Conjugation
CAITH class (5.124). Verbs in this class contain the stressed vowels:

- **u**: cruthaigh, mothaigh;
- **a**: beathaigh, dathaigh, rathaigh. Cf. *beathaigh ~ breathaigh* (1.263).

The verbal adjective (5.177) in verbs in radical *a* can be *-i* or *-t*, e.g.

b’áeha *beathaigh > b’áehi* (ha) ~ b’æt’

The verb *rathaigh* is sometimes inflected in the 1 Conjugation (cf. CUL class
(5.170)).

As in the dialect in general, the realisation of intervocalic h is optional. In fact,
the loss of h occurs in the CRUTHAIGH class in Máire’s data (Mq, Table 5.59) in
strikingly similar morphophonological conditions to the CAITH class.

Table 5.59 CRUTHAIGH class, Mq

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>impv /_e, _ad</th>
<th>impv /_V</th>
<th>pres</th>
<th>3sg impv</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cruthaigh</td>
<td>kru’ on f’k el, kruho ’n f’k el</td>
<td>kruhin’ fid</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mothaigh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beathaigh</td>
<td>b’æh hiad</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dathaigh</td>
<td>dæ he</td>
<td>dæ uxtar ... dæ uxtar ... uachtar</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rathaigh</td>
<td>ræg hiad</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>3pl impv</th>
<th>3pl past/cond</th>
<th>3pl pst</th>
<th>prsbj</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cruthaigh</td>
<td>kru’d if e, kruhid’ if e</td>
<td>xruho fíd (xruhidar as in prompt), xrudar e</td>
<td>go grui: æ’ d’aul deabhal e</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mothaigh</td>
<td>wluho fíd, wughidar e</td>
<td>v’ahidar, v’æhidar,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beathaigh</td>
<td>b’æh/d if</td>
<td>v’ahidar, v’æhidar,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In this CRUTHAIGH class, Máire’s (Mq) realisation of h is quite high. As in the CAITH class, she shows optional use of h in sandhi before schwa and nonclitic vowels, and before the personal endings (absent h/total):

- adar (3/5), -igí (4/9) and -ídís (1/3).

There is also loss before what appears to be 1Conj pres -an in rathaigh, but retention before 2Conj -in.

Speakers 14J and 20Pá also have optional h (in their recordings):

14J fut xruhos ... xruho: ..., VN kruu: l'cf ag crúthá leis;
20Pá pres a xrin's na fáthi' a chruthaíomns na fatal.

5.164 AGAIR class

The AGAIR class comprises syncopating polysyllabic roots which end in (palatal) sonorants: -r, -n, -n', -r'; as well as -r in borrowed ghíumar. There is no ending added, and therefore no syncope, in the 2sg imperative and nonpersonal past. (There is no syncope in two roots in -r c(ascar, imir in VN genitives kraskar(h)o, im'ara.) The following verbs are members of this class:

agair, c(ascar, cangail, ceangail, codail, co(n)gil, coisín, cuimil, dúbail, freagair, freastail, fuascail, ghíumar, imir, iompair, l(i)uspair, (oscail, rónhair, seachain, strachail, tarrainn, tionscail.

For a small minority of speakers, a few verbs (cuimil, imir, cf. tarrainn), have optional vowel lengthening before the syncopated cluster (cp. some verbs in the AITHIN class, 5.166). For a general discussion of verbal syncope, see 5.36, and other verbs with syncope (FEOGHLAIM, AITHIN, AITHRIS classes below).

1 beathaigh vadja b'ae:h, b'ae'h, b'ae' a M, all forms can also be used in the sense ‘well-fed, fat’; VN b'ahu.
2 dathaigh vadja da'e:h, S.
Regular verb inflection 1041

Verbs in -l can take either vocalic endings (with syncope) or t endings (without syncope) in the 2sg past subjunctive and verbal adjective, e.g.

\[
\text{kangal} \quad \text{cangail} > \quad 2\text{sg pstsbj} \quad \text{ga: gagglo(ha)} \sim \text{gaggat'a} ; \\
\text{vadj} \quad \text{kangli(ha)} \sim \text{gaggat'a}.
\]

The 2sg ga: gaggat'a: type inflection was noted from speaker 20C only, while variation is common in the verbal adjective (i.e. vadj -l(a)(i/the) ~ -lte, also in coisinn, see 5.177). For oscail, which commonly has regular by-forms of this class, with optional stress shift, see 1.380. Nonsyncope is found sporadically in many verbal stems before both monosyllabic and disyllabic endings. A selection of the verbs in this class is presented here.

\begin{align*}
\text{agair} & + \text{sync: fut nach n-agró Dia orm 894C3, prsbj nór agró d'ío nár agrái Dia.} \\
\text{cangail} & + \text{sync, 21Pt: pstsbj ge: gagglo(h) et, pshab kängli'f, vadj kängli'ha.} \\
\text{c(r)ascair} & \emptyset \text{sync: vadj karskar(h)icha Sq.} \\
\text{ceangail} & + \text{sync: vadj kængli(ha); semi-syncope in vadj kængli: suas M ceanglaí suas.} \\
\text{codail} & + \text{sync: vadj koli(ha).} \\
\text{coi(n)gil} & + \text{sync: fut kigl'or, vadj kigl' f S, Pt, kiggl'isha.} \\
\text{coisinn} & + \text{sync: pres koj'n'in S, fut koj'n' o: 46.1024, vadj coisinte, koj' n'(ha) SM.} \\
\text{cuimil} & + \text{sync: pst ximl'idar 43Mq, fut kiml'or, vadj kiml'i: akób S cuimlí acub.} \\
\text{dúbail} & + \text{sync: fut dublo: Mq, vadj dublific(ha). impyv dúbol'M, P, pst yubol'me Mq; vadj dubat's 'double (amount),' especially as adverb, e.g. b'ear l'um dubat's b'fhearr liom díbalm. Cp. v'k m e dublil: (l'ef a b'ían) 43M, Mq, 56Bq bhi mé díbail leis an bpián but not *... dubat's (l'ef a b'ían) Mq, 56Bq perm, 56Bq perm. VN dubailit. Cp. díbálil.}
\end{align*}
Verbs

freastail  ∅ sync: vadʃ frəæstəliːha.

fuascail + sync: prsbj mara bhfuasclaí’ tá mé ’894C9, vadʃ fuasclaithe 866E.
 ∅ sync: vadʃ fuascallité ’11Ct.

ghiúmar  ∅ sync: (most examples, from Máire, without syncope, i.e. as the FEÓGLAIM class):
impv juÉmar hus e Mq ghiúmar thusa é,
pst ar jummar, jummar fe n’e: Mq ghiúmar sé inné mé, d’ummar fe,
d’ummaradar suas m’e Mq d’ghiúmaradar suas mé,
pres jummarin’ fe, fut jumaro fe [sic], cond d’umrovent fe hu,
vadj jumari(’ha) suas, æn’imumarì eq a Mq an-ghiúmaraithe aige.
VN e jummar, e jummaráil’ Mq é a ghiúmaraíl(aíl).

jum宰ifí ghiúmaráil is also a full verb and, unlike jummar, has been heard in
conversation, e.g. pst jummaril’ fe go br’a: Mq ghiúmaráil sé go breá
mé, vadʃ tu m’e jummarait’a go br’a: eq a miní’ t’e: Mq tá mé
ghiúmaráilíl(ite) go breá ag an mbraon tae.
+ sync: at least one example with syncope was produced independently:
cond d’umrovent fe m’e Mq, and
pst d’umro fe Mperm is perfectly permissible (homophonous with a by-form
of d’iomraigh < iomair, as in the AITHIN class).

imir + sync: generally short, e.g. fut a n’im’à o: … im’à od 892Mt, pst d’im’àidar
892Mt; but stressed -i-in (fut, prsbj, cond):
    ‘imreó [x2]… go n-imrí muid … nach n-imréoch 866ESemr76.
+ sync: pshab impr d’im’à it’i: iad … n’im’àr’it’i: iad 10N.

iompair impv uÉmpEr ! M; pst (ð !iÉr)
    uÉmpEr ! S.
+ sync, regularly, e.g. fut umproí:, vadʃ umproí:. 

uspair + sync: vadʃ uspri: Mq,
    ∅ sync: pst lupar fe Mq.
    VN lupart! – lispart’ M, ’ispart’ S.

rómhair + sync: vadʃ rüavrli: S.
    pst ruvor’ m’e n’e: iad S rómhair mé inné iad.
    VN rüwurt! S, ruvor S, cp. rüfur’ S ‘wallow’.

seachain + sync: fut faəxnu: S.
    impv faəxan’ S, pst haəxan’ m’e SM, VN faəxant’ SM.

strachail + sync: vadʃ straxli: 
    pst straxal’ m’e M, VN straxal’t M.

tarrainn + sync: fut tar’s: m’e M, vadʃ tar’s: i: M.
    ± sync: fut a darr’s: tu … nax darr’s: SqEcho
    ∅ sync: cond k’erd a tarras’ox an’jí:n’ iad M céard a tharrainneodh ansin
    iad?’, go darras’ox’ oram pen’ i: M go tharrainneoinn orn héin i; nax
darax of i: 43M;
    pst 3pl tharrainneadar S84; vadʃ tarr’i: M.
Innovative examples of syncope in nonpersonal past, placing tarrainn in the
AITHIN class, were noted in:
    hasr’s: m’e e 79S;
    hasro m’iʃ (heard from a young girl born c. 1985).
Lengthening in the verbal adjective taw’s:i(’ha) occurs sometimes in the
meaning ‘tired’, particularly in the phrase tuirseach tairníthe, e.g.
    tu m’e f’i: nx torfach tuw’s:i: ni i] 11Ct
    tá mé inn tuirseach tairníthe anois;
    ‘sach tuirseach,’ a deir sé, ‘tairníthe’ tuw’s:iha | 03V.

tionscail noted (unsyncopated) in past hinəskal’ 18J thionscail.
5.165  **FEOGLAIM class**

This class consists of verbs with generally nonsyncopating polysyllabic roots. Verbs in this class are:

- *feoghlaim*, *tochais*, *(tuirlinn)*.

Examples of syncopate in the two verbs in final *s* (*tochais*, *tochrais*) from speaker 20Cq, indicate their possible classification with the *AGAIR* class (5.164, cp. *ghtiúmar* there). See also the *AITHRIS* class (5.169).

**feoghlaim**

- pst *d' odám*, fut *f' odám* 'e.
- vadj *f' odám* 'i', *f' odámta*; there is variation within the same discourse in: *f' odám* 'i e', ... *f' odámta* P.

**tochais**, **tochas**

- With -sÓ-Ô Mq: impv *tochais* mo thuín M, toxaf, toxafag 'r, pst toxaf m'e: / fiad / maik 'aL, toxafadar, pshbab toxafid 'j, prsbj go doxaf 'i: Mperm, fut toxafoc, 'N: toxafoc, cond toxafod 'i:; vadj toxafi 'a (also 12Jq).
- 20Cq: impv toxaf, pst toxaf.

**tuirlinn**

- pst hur. 'av f 11Cta19, hurl 'in' 'e: SJD.46 s.v. No examples in syncope; this verb might (optionally) syncopate similar to *foilinn* in the *AITHRIS* class (5.169).

5.166  **AITHIN class**

This class consists of verbs with facultative syncopate in potential final position, i.e. 2sg imperative and nonpersonal past. (a) Main and (b) marginal members of this class are:

- (a) *aithin*, *freagair*, *innis*, *iomair*, *taithin*, *togair*;
- (b) *ísligh*, *saothraigh*, *scanraigh*, cp. *tarrainn*, *codail* (5.164).

Three verbs, (*freagair* in query), *innis*, *iomair*, show alternating vowel length in syncopation.

*ain* h'ain = PST *aithni* 86P4, etc., 870B1; ... *ain* h'ain 04B8n(!), SM.

- vadj *ain* hi(1a). What appears to be another form of the vadj occurs in phrases such as *brust a'ext* a M *b'fhurasta aithnte*. This is, perhaps, connected to the VN in Máire’s explanation: *ain* 'f, fin 'e *ain* 'hur Mq ‘a'ithnte’ sin é a aithnit. There are similar forms with the prefix in- (3.120). Cp. *frust* *ain* hain 35E [early recording, perhaps ‘learned’] (is) frusta aithne (noun).
- Ø sync: pst *dahan* 'i, cp. ... *ain* 'f 66N, *gar ahan* 'f e 04B4.

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Speakers 872P has two relevant tokens in his recording, both of which are unsyncopated and nasalised:

\[ \text{d\'eh\'on fe e\'r \text{872P} d\'aithin s\'e ar}, \]
\[ \text{gar a\'eh\'on fe \text{872P} gur aithin s\'e}. \]

Speaker 36S has consistent nonsyncopate in final position:

\[ \ldots \text{d\'eh\'on fe ... gar a\'eh\'on \text{36S}} \]
\[ \text{d\'aithin s\'e ar}, \]
\[ \text{gar gur a\'eh\'on \text{36S}}. \]

Speaker 05M has both syncopated and unsyncopated forms, and a mixed form which has -n at (and vowel length e before h) in the unsyncopated root from the syncopated one, in 1sg pst Echo:

\[ \text{ar a\'eh\'on ho tu ... N\'ir a\'eh\'on his \text{05M}}. \]

**freagair**

(freagraigh)

+ sync: pst n\'i r\'ae\'gra m\'e Mq, ... r\'ae\'gra m\'e Mperm;

fut n\'i r\'ae\'gra m\'e Mq, pst imprs fr\'ae\'gríu P.

Ω sync: pst (probably most common) dr\'ae\'gar m\'e Mq;

VN fr\'ae\'gar and note *fr\'ae\'gar* M2perm. Contrast noun fr\'ae\'gra M \~ fr\'ae\'gro Mperm.

**innis**, **insigh**

+ sync:

cond d\'inf\{n\}s:

Past: cp. 1sg pst Echo N\'ir\' inf\{s\}as 18B.

SID.46: (cf. alternant below); d\'inf\{n\}s m\'e s.v. innisim.

875T1: d\'\'insí s\'e (x+).

894C: see his examples under + sync 1Conj further below.

d\'inf\{f\}a 04Br, 15W, 11Ct, SM, gar inf\{f\}a 899D6800.

impv inf\{f\}a 11C, also 46.1146, nu hinf\{f\}a 01J.

Ω sync:

SID.46: impv in\{f\} (or in\{f\}a) dum 1146; pst n\'ir in\{f\}eyle 942.

04B: in\{f\}a dum 04B4 inf\{s\}is dom; d\'in\{f\}a fe: 04B5.

d\'inf\{f\}. also noted as d\'inf\{f\} 03C, 01J (no past d\'insight form was noted from 01J87, this contrasts with his insigh imperative cited above), 18B, 52P.

d\'insis \~ a\' scéla ann. 11C (a rare example from 11C).

The mixed form inf / inf occurs in the past (although unlikely to be acceptable):

\[ \ldots \text{ar in\{f\} b\'e\'b\' ... M ... Béib ...} \]
\[ \text{ar in\{f\} fe: ... M (twice in the same conversation), ar\' in\{f\} tu ... M, and} \]
\[ \ldots \text{-\'ar in\{f\} tu ... B\'oC Ar in\{f\}isg tutu ...?} \]
\[ \text{-d\'inf\{f\} M, but often d\'inf\{f\}. On another occasion:} \]
\[ \ldots \text{-\'ar in\{f\} tu go ... B\'oC Ar in\{f\}isg dhuo ...?} \]
\[ \text{-N\'ir in\{f\} M N\'ior insigh}. \]

Another mixed form in\{f\}a occurs rarely in imperative and past:

\[ \text{inf\{f\} e jin\{n\} \text{11C3660 Innis é sin!}} \]
\[ \text{d\'inf\{f\} fe: y\'o: e \text{05M D\'innis s\'e dh\'o é}}. \]

Yet another mixed form in\{f\}a (as if insigh) occurs rarely in both the imperative and past:

\[ \text{a\'x in\{f\}a dum \text{11C5600 Ach innis dom;}} \]
\[ \text{N\'ir in\{f\}a fe jin\{n\} \text{11C4569 ni\'or in\{f\}is s\'e.}} \]

There is an example of unsyncopated 3pl past in d\'inf\{f\}dar 35E7257.

There is an example of inter- and intra-speaker variation in conversation in:
Regular verb inflection 1045

- nar’ in’sa fi: ... 52P Nar insigh sí ...
- ar’ in’sa M Ar insigh?
- d’in’ of 52P D’inis.

And no variation between the same speakers in:
- ar’ in’ of ... 52P Ar insí ...
- d’in’ of M D’inis.

+ sync I Conj: pres imprs guch gá n-ínstear é (in set entreaty) 894C9, pst d’ínsiadar 894C3, psthab d’ínsiálld sé 894C2. Speaker 894C regularly syncopates and has long -í-, pst d’íní, impv ní hínsi.

Cp. imprs ínseáir FFG which appears to be a mistranscription based on Cois Pharraige usage.

iomair, iomraigh
+ sync: pst d’úmra m’e S, fut umro’ m’e S, vadj umri: S.
VN umra, umra.
 Ø sync: pst d’umar fían 897P, d’umar’ m’e M, 43M, fut umaro: tu: 01P.
Cp. VN umara.

ísligh (íseal)
+ sync generally, e.g. impv ís:’ a nuas e SM ísligh anuas é.
Ø sync: the young speaker 79S is the only person noted using this form, resembling the base adjective íseal:
pst n’ír ísfol 79S, gar ísfol 79S.

saothraigh (saothar)
+ sync generally, e.g. impv sírha, pst hírha.
Ø sync: speaker 27C and her son 69S have pst híchor fe / m’e. Cp. noun saothar.

scanraigh (scantar)
+ sync generally, e.g. both impv and pst skant¢¨E skAÉnt¢¨E skAÉntrEþþ; also (nontraditional) skrenta 76N, 84P, 79A.
Ø sync: speaker 51P (only), heard in pst skentar.

taithin, taimigh
+ sync: hae(n)/’ha is most common, e.g. 04B2l, –4, SM, 23C; n’ír hæx’hø l’e fí níor thaitmigh leis.
Ø sync: hæhan’ fe M, n’ír hæhan’ l’e fí S níor thaithín leis.

togair, tograigh
+ sync: pst thograigh (on example noted: Bhi sé ag caithearth bhí agus dl’fad is thograigh sé dhen lá é 852Sh.101). Also pres mu hogrít’ ar Mq, vadj ‘í togri três am Mq. VN tograxtd.’
Ø sync: pst riv’s fe e mar’ a hogar fe M rinne sé e naír a thogair sé, má thogair tá é 05M, mu hogar’ m’e Mq, mu hogar tu / fíb / fíad Mq.

5.167 Verbs in both First and Second Conjugations

Verbs with both First and Second Conjugation inflections are divided into three classes:

1. The DEARG class with roots containing second syllables of the shape -C+son E (representing historical clusters, now divided by the epenthetic vowel).
2. The AITHRIS class with optional syncope in 2 Conjugation.
3. The CÚL class with mostly derived verbs.

‘Final’ position (i.e. 2sg imperative and nonpersonal past) generally takes the unaltered stem, i.e. dearg and aithris. This position and many verbal noun forms do not distinctively belong to either conjugation and are termed ‘neutral’ here.
Verbs

Verbal nouns in -e and -u are classified with the 1Conj and 2Conj respectively although both endings are found to some degree in the other conjugation. Cp. the discussion of t’eha ~ t’ehu: teitheadh in the CUL class (5.170).

Speaker 894C provides examples of obsolescent syncopated 1 Conjugation use of innis, for which see the AITHIN class (5.166). Cp. also his tharrain’ > pst tharrain’dur 894C2; aithris > fut aithristhe mé scéal (MMrc)894C9; and caisric in the AITHRIS class (5.169).

5.168 DEARG class

Verbs in this class are:

dearg, dearmad, deilbh, searg, tairg, tolg.

There are rare examples of mixed conjugation, endings combining both conjugations, in:

deilbh in vadj 2Conj deilbhithe, but mixed deilfithe (1Conj h + 2Conj iha);
searg, where some forms can be interpreted as mixed, e.g. fut faeroko:
interpretable as faerog+ 1Conj h+ 2Conj o:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DEARG</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>1Conj</th>
<th>2Conj</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pst</td>
<td>jærarag SM, P</td>
<td>d’æraragn fe 66Nq</td>
<td>d’æraragn SM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cond</td>
<td>jarakax 46.549</td>
<td>d’æraragn iÉhE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vadj</td>
<td>d’araki: 46 s.v. deargaim, S</td>
<td>d’æraragn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VN</td>
<td>cp. deargadh tiarai</td>
<td>deargaid Sc293, SM, 66Nq</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DEARMAD</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>1Conj</th>
<th>2Conj</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pst</td>
<td>jæramad S</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fut</td>
<td>d’æramad</td>
<td>d’æramad: S</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vadj</td>
<td>d’arlamad</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VN</td>
<td>d’el äv’</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Periphrastic déan dearmad is most common.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DEILBH</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>1Conj</th>
<th>2Conj</th>
<th>Mixed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>psthab</td>
<td>jel’āv ad ijf 892M, 21Pg</td>
<td>jel’āv ad ijf 22M</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vadj</td>
<td>d’el’āv’(ha) S</td>
<td>deilfithe 869P2</td>
<td>d’el’af’iha</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VN</td>
<td>d’el’äv’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SEARG</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>1Conj</th>
<th>2Conj</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pst</td>
<td>hærag fiad Mq</td>
<td>hæragid Mq</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pres</td>
<td>hærag hærag Mq</td>
<td>hæragix Mq</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>psthab</td>
<td>nō go seargaidís, shul á seargat sé 869P5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pstsbj</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fut</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cond</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vadj</td>
<td>faraki or farakiha 46.971, M</td>
<td>cead seargu 869P5</td>
<td>a faeragu, faeragu: Mq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VN</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With alternate root SEIRG:

vadj | Jer’ak’i: Mperm
Regular verb inflection 1047

**SEARG**

Neutral 1Conj 2Conj

With alternate root SEARAC:

pres $\text{faerok}_M q$

pshab $\text{faeroki}_M q$

fut $\text{faerok}_M q$

cond $\text{farok} \times 01P$

vadj $\text{faeraki}_M, 66Nq$

VN $\text{faerak}_M, 66Nq$

Note pres *fer'ak'in* $M_O/perm$. Forms such as $\text{faerok}$: are clearly ambiguous as to their base, i.e. $\text{faerok} + o$: (2Conj) or $\text{faerok} + ho$: (mixed). On the other hand, the base $\text{searac}$- is transparent in pres $\text{faerok}_M$.

**TAIRG**

Neutral 1Conj 2Conj

pshab $\text{h\_ag'}$

pshab $\text{h\_ag'} + iq' Mq$

fut $\text{taer'ag'} + i't' Mq$

cond $\text{taer'ag'} o: Mq$

vadj $\text{taer'ak'} Mperm$

Irregular vadj $\text{taer'af'k'} M$, based on VN $\text{taer'af'k'} o: M$.  

**TOLG**

Neutral 1Conj 2Conj

pshab $\text{holag'} M e: M$

fut $\text{tolago}$

cond $\text{holag'}: M$

vadj $\text{tolag'}: M$

VN $\text{tolaga}_M$

5.169 **AITHRIS class**

Verbs in this class take optional syncope generally in 2 Conjugation inflection; they are:

- aithris, caisric, eiteal, foilinn (FGB fulaing).

In fact it can be said that these verbs belong to the AGAIR and FEOGLAIM classes as well as being similar to disyllabic first conjugation verbs such as tomáin. (Nonsyncope and first conjugation endings are found in some tokens of second conjugation verbs, that are otherwise not in the AITHRIS class, in the 3pl past and impersonal present, e.g. tharrain' dur, etc., insteart.)

**AITHRIS**

Neutral 1Conj 2Conj

imprv $\text{ar'ha'f'} M$

psh $\text{ar'ha'f'} fe: Mq$

fut $\text{aithrishe mé scéal} (\text{MMrc}) 894C9$

$\text{ar'ha'f'} o: M e: M$

$\text{ar'ha'f'} i q' Mq$

$\text{gar'ho'f'} o: M e: M$

$\text{gar'ho'f'} o: M e: M$

VN $\text{g ar'ha'f'} Mq.$

$\text{g ar'ha'f'} Mperm$

Cp. psh nár aithrisg in é! CASB §618 v. 7.
Verbs

CAISRIC (coisric) Neutral 1Conj 2Conj
impv kafrak
prsbj/cond + sync cp. gá gcaiscreadh S84 kofr-kt: Mq-t
pshab + sync kofr-kt: u: 21Pq
pst xafrk
fut xafrk (x: xafrk’a 21Pq) kafrik: ; kafrik-ko: M
cond x: xafrk’ ax’d fe 21Pq gá gcaiscreadh S84
+ sync
vadj kafrik’ i
VN kafrik’ an

There is an aberrant initial and loss of -an of the VN in:

go do kafrik’ hem’ 27Md: dho do chaisric héin,

with loss of -an perhaps in haplology with héin and initial h perhaps in assimilation to héin; contrast kafrik’ an 27Mdq.

EITEAL Neutral et al

pres et’alon fe: Mperm. et’alin fe: Mq
cp. Is minic a eiteallas na heanacha Clad55
d’et’i’d’iif 20Cq
d’et’i’id’or Mq

pshab + sync
pst + sync
tut et’alha (as prompted) Mperm, et’ela fe: Mq
evadj et’alt eg’ ao Mq

VN Neutral et al

FOILINN 1Conj 2Conj + sync 2Conj Ø sync

pres fof’an’ha m’e: 46 fof’n’o: S, fof’n’o: M

s.v. fuilint, fof’n’o: S

felf’an’ha fe: Mperm
dols’odi’if 20Cq, nach bhfuilingeoidis,
cp. def’n’os’ ... 16B d’hfeilleonch 894C9, 2

cond fof’an’o: fe SM

fels’ho M, feln’i’e: 20Myq

nof’an’i’e: S (perhaps the spelling foinnith’ (often) 894C2 represents this form), fof’n’i’e: M

vadj eg’ ao Mq (áit) go leor fof’n’i’e: 20Myq

foilinte aige

So-called neutral forms occur in the past and VN:

pseudof’an’ fe: S

VN felf’ux’ M, 18Bm, fof’n’i’e: 26Pq

Speaker 26Pq has consistent 2 Conjugation without syncope:

fut fof’an’ o: fe’ (x3), vadj fof’an’i’e: (x2).

A variant of foilinn with nonpalatal l, i.e. folainn, (produced in query) may be a spelling pronunciation (particularly since sufráil is more prevalent than foilinn); dolan’ fiad 20Myq. Cp. 20Cq who pronounced def’an’ fe independently but following 20Myq pronounced dolan’ fiad.

5.170 CÚL class

The CÚL class contains mostly derived verbs:

(aipigh), bán(aigh), bás(aigh), (braith), bréag(ndaigh), comhair, corannigh, cúl(aigh), dubh(aigh) ~ duibh(igh), fál(aigh), (falmhaigh ~ failmhigh),

1 In the cluster -fr-kt- all the consonants are palatal except r. Cp. p. 907 n. 1.
Regular verb inflection 1049

geal(aigh), glas(raigh), labhair, mall(aigh), miom(aigh), nochtaigh), (oil), rath(aigh), (reith), slán(aigh), (sroich), teith, tórraigh;

including the CRUAIGH subclass in radical long final vocoid:
beo(dha)igh, cruaigh, feoigh, fuaigh, gráigh, luaigh), (luath), (meaigh).

Exceptions
One example was noted of 2Conj inflection of deno-inal verb scoilt: pstsbj 2sg go skoít(a)th [perhaps -aTho] 06C. Otherwise regular 1Conj scoilteann, etc. The verb fan has exclusive 1Conj inflection in traditional Iorras Aithneach speech. There is 2Conj future inflection in the ‘mixed’ lect of speaker 39J (mother from Árainn), also 2Conj present in some younger speakers (5.414):
go waönd fé 39J: fanin 48R, má fhuanainn tá 78JMN.

Mixed inflection of fan is common elsewhere, e.g. GCF §172 n. 2, SIDII–IV.924.

AIPIGH
2Conj is general, including pres aep’éin S, but also 1Conj in pres rel aep’áins S.

BÁN(AIGH)
2Conj in phrase ... le tart (examples Mq):
pst wasa fe, fut basa , cond wasax, vadj *basta M?perm;
VN tu fiad a nan hu wasa õe tart M tá siad i ndan thá a bhásadh le tart.

BÁS(AIGH)
1Conj in phrase ...

Braith
1Conj verb generally, see, for example, the CAITH class (Table 5.41, p. 995).

2Conj: pres brahin’ fe 01J, 36P.

Breag, Breagnahigh: VN br’ega, br’egnu.
Cp. clár, vadj clártha, VN cláradh (2Conj cláraigh1 FGB).

Comhair
1Conj only, for Seán and Máire (and others), e.g. pres imprs kurt’ar, psthab imprs córtai 894C, kurt’i‘, fut kurha, vadj kurtha, VN kur’á.

2Conj noted only once in cond imprs kúr’çf i 889P.

Cornaigh
1Conj
2Conj

Cormnaigh

impv
pст
pres
fut
cond

∅
∅
kaurnha Sq, Mq
kaurnha Sq, Mq

kaurno Sq
kaurno Sq
kaurninh Sq

2sg nú: go qaurnnuhár 11C1241

In aònEns bánuò iEd E”l !ig !899N ionann’s bánadh iad uilig.
### Verbs

**CORNÁIGH**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Function</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CORNÁI</td>
<td>1Conj</td>
<td>kaurna Sq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CORNÁIT</td>
<td>2Conj</td>
<td>note <em>kuli: M</em>perm</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Also inflected: cornáil: chornáilaidís ... dhá chornáil ... cornáite 21Pt (5.21).

**CÚL(AIGH)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Function</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CÚLA</td>
<td>1Conj</td>
<td>kuldá Clad28, kuldá fíar Mq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CÚLÁIT</td>
<td>2Conj</td>
<td>note <em>kuli: M</em>perm</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Cp. cúlail in to fí: kulúil' l'e 60M tá sí ag cúlail léithi (context: decline of the Irish language).

**DUBH(AIGH)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Function</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DUBH</td>
<td>1Conj</td>
<td>duvén SM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DUBHÁIT</td>
<td>2Conj</td>
<td>duvén Mq</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**DUBH(AIGH)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Function</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DUBHÁN</td>
<td>1Conj</td>
<td>dif SM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DUBHÁIT</td>
<td>2Conj</td>
<td>dif Mq</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**FÁL(AIGH)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Function</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>FÁLÁCH</td>
<td>1Conj</td>
<td>fula S, Mq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FÁLÁIT</td>
<td>2Conj</td>
<td>fula Mq</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**FÁL(AIGH)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Function</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>FÁLÁCH</td>
<td>1Conj</td>
<td>fula S, Mq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FÁLÁIT</td>
<td>2Conj</td>
<td>fula Mq</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**FALMAIGH, (FAILMHIGH)**

falmigh 2Conj is the general usage: fut fálmig, vadj fálmigh, VN fálmigh: M; also falmhaigh: 20Mq and brother 36S, e.g. vadj fáligh, VN fáligh.

falmhaigh (1Conj) has been noted from 43M only: fut fáliligh mid' iad 43M, VN a fáliligh na ... [x2] 43M.

**GEAL(AIGH)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Function</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>GEALÁÍCH</td>
<td>1Conj</td>
<td>g'aelá M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEALÁIT</td>
<td>2Conj</td>
<td>g'aeli: 23M</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**GLAS(RAIGH)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Function</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>GLASÁCH</td>
<td>1Conj</td>
<td>g'lasa fíad</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Regular verb inflection

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GLAS(RAIGH)</th>
<th>1Conj</th>
<th>2Conj</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>vadg</td>
<td>tu n aíg' glasta tá an aít utilig glasta</td>
<td>glasrí: Mq¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VN</td>
<td>tosi glása M tosaí ag glasadh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LABHAIR</th>
<th>1Conj</th>
<th>2Conj</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pres</td>
<td>lauróin fe: 46.247</td>
<td>a laurín tu: 46.356, laurín 04Br, 21Ptq, 27Mdq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prsbdj</td>
<td>cp. go labhair 'n chuach '894C9</td>
<td>go labhair tά FFG s.v. labhairionn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pst</td>
<td>lauródar 01P², lauru 29Cq</td>
<td>laurídar 892M, lauríw 892M, 26Pq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fut</td>
<td>laur 03S, laurfar 27Mdq</td>
<td>lauro (m e) 26P, 27Md, 52J</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cond</td>
<td>lauró: 889P lauróin 27Mdq</td>
<td>laurox 892M, M laur ø, m e: 21Ptq, laurof ø: 45N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vadg</td>
<td>lauró</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VN</td>
<td>Neutral laurt</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Stems laur- and laur- are apparently used in all tenses in both conjugations; in final position laur only. From my notes it seems speaker 892M has consistent 2Conj laur-. It is noteworthy that speaker 889P, who has regular 2sg cond -AÉhAÉ and -EhAÉ with other 2Conj verbs, has 2sg cond lauro-, despite his regular 2Conj cond lauro- in other persons.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MALL(AIGH)</th>
<th>1Conj</th>
<th>2Conj</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pres</td>
<td>malaí fe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pst</td>
<td>waul fe sìs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fut</td>
<td>malaó fe</td>
<td>malaó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vadg</td>
<td>to malaí a fais a hlu, a malaí fais Mq</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VN</td>
<td>tu fe a malaí fais a hlu, a malaí fais Mq</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note *mali: Mºperm, perhaps to avoid confusion with common mallaíthe 'cursed'.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MION(AIGH)</th>
<th>1Conj</th>
<th>2Conj</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>impv</td>
<td>m'un ga ma: øn ²iff e S mion go maith anois é</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vadg</td>
<td>m'íxt' ø S, m'int ø S</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VN</td>
<td>m'inø S m'inu: S. cp. mionaigh LF RM</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NOCHT(AIGH)</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>1Conj</th>
<th>2Conj</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pst</td>
<td>noxt m'e ma ylun' nocht mé mo ghliuin noxta</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>psthab</td>
<td>noxtiø</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fut</td>
<td>noxtø m'e Mq</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vadg</td>
<td>noxtiø Mq</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VN</td>
<td>gu noxtø Mq</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OIL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Recorded in song:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1Conj pst A d'fhéil '894C9 (i.e. d'el' d'oil), impirs heï' 04B1 hoileadh; cond a d'fhéilfeadh '894C9 (i.e. d'el hax d'oiltheadh).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2Conj cond nax s'el on da ... (Ams)899N nach n-oileoinn do ... .</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ Both glasr and glasrí were used by Mq but later rejected in preference to glas, perhaps to avoid confusion with the noun plural glasri: glasráí.

² Speaker 01P has regular 2Conj 3pl -ódar (in 2Conj verbs).
Verbs

VN ag of 'ust' ag oíliúint, cp. (older) VN genitive aít 'a in bean oílte FFG s.v. oílte; vadj in oílte tóightíthe ext 'a tok'ítha (Amm)39J, aít 'a tok'í (Amm)19J.

Cp. OASCAIL in 'Historical Phonology' (1.380).
RAITHAIGH 2Conj generally (5.163), but also 1Conj cond or pstsbt rhabh S.
REITH, 1Conj is general (5.235), fut imprs rof or 20Mq, but pres rohin [x2] 20Mq, cp. VN rohix:xt reitínteacht.
SLÁNAIGH 2Conj generally including VN slánú, but as noun slánadh noted in: nach bhfuil aon slánadh i do chíonn 06C.
SROICH 1Conj generally; for 2Conj in query only, cf. CAITH class, Sq (5.126).

TEITH 1Conj
pres t'échan:fiad 21Jq
pst he fe Mq
fut t'éhó fe Mq, 27Mdq
cond hehO phát fe Mq, 27Mdq
vadj t'é't 'a Mq

2Conj

VN t'éhó Mq, 27Mdq. cp. ar a theiche uathub t'éhu: 869P, S, 21Jq, 35E1

869P3, er 'a heho S, 21J, 35E.

TÓRRAIGH (Older 1sg pres tórramhaim, tórraighim Dinn.)
1Conj pst imprs tórrtha 866ESc309-3,2(d) (cp. Sc225,5), torhu: 892M4491, ag a'm bhean a tórrthe a' a'c. a'airíí 894C2. VN tórrhóthóidh, e.g. tut: ge: tórrha tá si dhá tórramh. Only the VN is known to Seán, e.g. tá si gá tórrtha' Sq, an oiche a raibh sí gá tórrtha' Sq. Seán claims never to have heard, for example, fut *tórrhoÉ mid E hehE S, 21J, 35E, 1.

SEÁN claims never to have heard, for example, fut *tórrhoÉ mid E hehE S, 21J, 35E, 1.

5.171 CRUAIGH subclass

BEOIGH, BEOH/AIGH 1Conj
pst v'oadar
fut Mq; b'oaO fiad suas (x3), b'oa, b'oa, b'oa
cond Mq; v'oad fé suas, v'oad íf suas, v'oad fé, v'oa
vadj cf. neutral forms below

2Conj

psthb bheóola:ch a'm b'c. a' airíí 894C2
fut b'oaMq, b'oa Mperm
vadj b'oiha suas 894C, b'oi: suas M

Neutral forms: vadj b'oo: a suas M, b'oo: a Mq; VN b'oo [b'oeu] M, b'ooxan Mq.

CRUAIGH Neutral 1Conj

2Conj

pst xrua:fe kruaov Mq
vadj kruat'á

1 In a' teitheadh uaidh 869P, a tebal: a ... S ag teitheadh ó ... , a tebal: wom 21Jq ag teitheadh uaidh; in query: a tebal: wem' [x2] ... a tebal: | wem' | 27Mdq. It is likely that -uÉ before consonants, e.g. a tebal: go ... 35E ag teitheadh go ... , may have spread from lexical sandhi which was originally found before vowels in the phrase ag teitheadh ó (2.52).
Verbal adjective 1053

**Cruaigh**

Neutral 1Conj 2Conj

| VN   | kruaow | kruaow | kruau(·) 27Mdq |

**Feoigh**

Neutral 1Conj 2Conj

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>pst</th>
<th>d' o' fe M, 21Ptq, 27Mdq</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pres</td>
<td>f' on' fe M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fut</td>
<td>f' oha fe M, 27Mdq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vadj</td>
<td>f' o't a M, 21Pt</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Fuaigh**

Neutral 1Conj 2Conj

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>impv</th>
<th>fua</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pshab</td>
<td>luaav Mq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fut</td>
<td>luaaha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cond</td>
<td>luaahu: d' fuaoidis</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Gráigh**

Neutral 1Conj 2Conj

| pres  | airim' u gas grúim' u 95M aadhraim thá agus grúim thá. |

**Luáigh**

1Conj: generally, e.g. pres imprs lua'ar, pst imprs luaav Mq, luaav 21Ptq, vadj lua'a, VN lua, cp. ghá luaadh lionn 894C9; 2Conj, cp. VN ghá luaadh lé bean [prose] 894C9.

**Luath**

1Conj generally in the CAITH class, pres luhan fe, luhan fe Mq; 2Conj pres lu'oin fe S.

**Meáigh**

1Conj generally, e.g. pst imprs ma' av Mq, fut ma' aha S, cond v' ahood' ef 01P. 2Conj in pst imprs ma' aw 26Pq.

---

**Verbal adjective**

5.172 General

The allomorphs of the verbal adjective are:

First Conjugation -ha, -hi(tha) also (more rare) -ti(tha)

Second Conjugation -i(tha) also (more rare) -iX a, -iX a, -ihə

Both Conjugations -ta

The main morphonological rules of verbal adjective formation are:

1 First Conjugation

(a) -Crais + hi(tha) >> ta
(b) -V(V)(h) + t a
(c) -Ccont + ha / ta, i.e.

-1/ n / m / x + ta
-v + ha ~ + ta
-r + ha >> + ta

(-C’ + t a)

---

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II Second Conjugation
(a) Generally i(ha)
(b) BEATHAIGH, AGAIR and CRUAIGH classes i(ha) ~ t’a
(c) FEOGLAIM class i(ha) ~ ta ~ t’a

III Irregular Formations include -ti(ha) for -tEþþ, -tE for -t !Eþþ, -hE for -hi(ha), -ix !Eþþ, -ihEþþ; and stem alternations.

The subrules in the First Conjugation regarding choice of -hEþþ, -hi(ha) or -tE conspire to avoid verbal adjective realisation which would have -a as the unique segmental surface marker. Where unique surface -a would appear, -ha cannot be used and the stronger forms -ta or -hi(ha) appear, i.e.

-C + ha > -*C#a, therefore > -C#hi(ha) or -C#ta.

For example:

- luÉb + ha > *luÉpê, therefore > luÉpi(ha);
  - kok + ha > *kokê, therefore > koki(ha) or kokdâ.

The verbal adjective sandhi rule -E > -iÉ (rarely -iÉh-) is a similar conspiracy rule which avoids surface realisation of the verbal adjective in one single phone or none at all, i.e. -C(t)##V is avoided yielding -C(t)##V, see ‘Sandhi’ (2.66 ff.). This sandhi accounts for most cases of -ti(ha) for unmarked -ta. Root-final voiceless stops are less differentiated by -hi(ha) than voiced stops, which are changed through devoicing, hence the voiceless stops have the choice of more salient -tE as well as -hi(ha). Voiceless final t does not take -ta, however, as coalescence would yield surface -a only as the verbal adjective marker leaving -t + hi(ha) as regular.

The main complication in this system occurs with the continuants -l, -n, -m, -s, -x, and optionally -v, which take -ta; as well as the tendency by a minority of speakers to add -ta to verbs in final -r also (actually -r’ + t’a). The palatal form -t’a occurs after vowels and palatal consonants and optionally after nonpalatal -l and -n (rare exceptions are given below).

5.173 I First Conjugation: I(a)–(b)
I(a) -C*stop + hi(ha) >> -ta
Examples in -b, -d, -g, -p, -t, -c with hi(ha):
  - lub lupi(ha), séd fet’i(ha), sloig slik’i(ha), crap krapi(ha),
  - rot roti(ha), loic lok’i(ha).

hi(ha) >> -ta: as explained above, verbs in final k and p can take optional -ta. Only four verbs of this type have been noted from conversation with verbal adjective -ta; all, except cac, also occur or are permissible with hi(ha):1

  - bac, ba’kda;
  - cac, kakdâ SM vs. *kaki:;
  - coc, koki(ha) ~ kokdâ SM;
  - rop, ropi: S, ropi: (< ?) ropdâ.

1 It is difficult to know whether the anomalous example following a root in g in tugta agána seanadhair ... 866E:Sem168 (for normal tugthaí < tabhair (irregular verb)) is genuine or a mistranscription. Speaker 866E has regular application of an obsolescent sandhi rule changing verbal adjective -ale to -l before ag. It is possible that tugta ag might be some sort of reverse analysis on the basis of his sandhi rule.
Máire was queried about the possibility of having -t\(a\) with other verbs in final \(k\) and \(p\). Having given her examples of the alternants, as, for example, with \(\text{coc}\), Mq was queried on her use and the permissibility of these and other forms. I queried as many real stems as I could recall. The results are presented in Table 5.60. (Máire produced the verbal adjective when prompted with the imperative of the verb, often using the frame ‘tá vadj ag subject’ for transitive verbs. Mq = what M produced herself. She was then asked if the alternate form was permissible, without being prompted by that form, and to give an example of its use, = Mperm. NB \(d \neq t\) here. I later found coise \(\text{koj}\text{k} > \text{koj} \text{k} \text{ím}\) and \(\text{stujk} > \text{stuk} \text{ím}\) in my notes.)

Table 5.60 cocta ~ cochtalthe, etc., M, Mq, Mperm

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>M (conversation)</th>
<th>Mq</th>
<th>Mperm</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(-i(\text{ha}))</td>
<td>(-t\a)</td>
<td>(-i(\text{ha}))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bac</td>
<td>kak(\text{d})</td>
<td>ba(\text{k}\text{d})</td>
<td>*kak(\text{i}) (\text{perm})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>coc</td>
<td>kra(\text{pi})(\text{ha})</td>
<td>glak(\text{ki})(\text{ha})</td>
<td>kra(\text{pi})(\text{ha})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>loc</td>
<td>iki(\text{ha})</td>
<td>iki(\text{ha})</td>
<td>iki(\text{ha})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lac</td>
<td>lok(\text{i}\text{ha})</td>
<td>lof(\text{k}\text{i})</td>
<td>lof(\text{k}\text{i})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>loc</td>
<td>lof(\text{k}\text{i}):</td>
<td>m(\text{aes})(\text{k}\text{i}):</td>
<td>m(\text{aes})(\text{k}\text{i}):</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>measc</td>
<td>p(\text{uk}\text{i})(\text{ha})</td>
<td>p(\text{uk}\text{i})(\text{ha})</td>
<td>p(\text{uk}\text{d})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pioc</td>
<td>pf(\text{esk}\text{i})(\text{ha})</td>
<td>pf(\text{esk}\text{h}\text{a})</td>
<td>pf(\text{esk}\text{d})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pleasuc</td>
<td>rop(\text{i})</td>
<td>rop(\text{i})</td>
<td>rop(\text{d})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rop</td>
<td>skæp(\text{p}\text{i})(\text{ha})</td>
<td>skæp(\text{p}\text{i}\text{ha})</td>
<td>skæp(\text{p}\text{d}\text{a})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>slaih</td>
<td>strok(\text{k}\text{i})(\text{ha})</td>
<td>strok(\text{k}\text{i})</td>
<td>ftr(\text{ik}\text{d})</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(\alpha\) Máire (Mq) had so much difficulty with the expected cluster here that she did not manage to pronounce the form entirely, despite considerable effort; she still took it as a definitely permissible form, cp. \(\text{loisk}\).  
\(\beta\) For cluster simplification, see 5.38.  
\(\gamma\) About this form Máire commented \(\text{ní mórán é Mq ‘not (used) very much’}\).

We can now categorise Máire’s verbal stems into three main categories regarding -t\(a\); attested vernacular, permissible, and impermissible usage:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>vernacular</th>
<th>(+\text{perm})</th>
<th>(\emptyset\text{perm})</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(\text{op, ok, ak})</td>
<td>(\text{ap’}, \text{ik, esk, ok’}, \text{ask, uk, ap})</td>
<td>(\text{ok’}, ??? \text{ok’})</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is perhaps one main principle at work here, that of maximum phonetic distance between stem coda and suffix initial, in order to heighten contrast at the morpheme boundary. Codas in use in conversation consist of nonhigh back vowels followed by nonpalatal single stops. These give maximum distance from the dental initial of the suffix. Permitted codas consist of nonlow and / or front vowels followed by both palatal and nonpalatal single consonants or clusters. These high and front vowels are closer to the dental place of articulation than the first category. The codas which end in clusters are prone to coalescence and so to loss of distinctiveness of the morpheme boundary. Palatalised velars are impermissible codas. They are presumably too close in place of articulation to the...
Verbs

palato-alveolar allomorph (-t-) of the ending. This may explain the general distribution of stems within the competence (= +perm here) and performance (= vernacular here) range but why in particular the common verbal adjective of crap has been heard only as krapiÉ may be due to the fact that k is the most appropriate preceding consonant. Along with the slightly higher attestations of -tE following k, it may indicate that k is the most favourable preceding consonant. In fact it is possible, given a theory of maximum phonetic distance, that ak is the most favourable coda. Why cac > *kakiÉ is not permitted at all is also a mystery. It is perhaps noteworthy that the verbal adjective of cac is more common than the verbal adjective of bac > bákdE ~ bákiÉ: Mperm. (Relevant data are sparse elsewhere in Connacht. GCF is limited to coc > kokdE and rop > ropi: ~ roptE (GCF §169 ‘Eisceachta’); only craptha s.v. crap, and coctha (genitive) s.v. craoibhfhliuch were noted in LFRM; there seem to be no relevant forms queried in LASID, the closest being q 599 ‘hay-cock(s)’.) With this facultative allomorphy based on phonetic dissimilation with the stem coda we can compare the discussion above of verbal t (5.40) and nominal plural extension use (4.96).

Finally, we may note that the -ta ending is also found in compounding, i.e. inchocta as well as more common inchocthaí (the). This might imply that a genitive in -tE would also occur; two speakers queried, however, did not permit *tá sé i ndan a chocta 21PtÉperm, 27MdÉperm. (It seems that unhistorical -ta has not spread to the genitive of cocadh.)

I(b) -V(h) + t' a
Roots in final vowels take -t' a, e.g.
snoigh snit !Eþþ, caith kat !Eþþ, sroich srot !Eþþ, cáith kAÉt !Eþþ, suigh suÉt !Eþþ, suigh sit !E siÉt !Eþþ, loigh let !ÉÔmtEþþ.

5.174 I(c) -C *cont + ha/ta
Roots in final continuants take -ha and -ta.

-|n/sx + -ta, e.g. dall dAÉltEþþ, lán lAÉntEþþ, bris br !iþSt !Eþþ, scioch Sk !oxtEþþ.
Exception: speal sp !ÏòliÉ 60M for traditional sp !ÏòltEþþ.
-m + -ta, e.g. lom luÒÉÔmtEþþ, also cumkuÉÔmtE generally, but kuma 19J cumtha (perhaps nonlocal usage).
-v + -ha ~ -ta ~ -t' a, lexemes noted are:

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>fúdh</td>
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<tr>
<td>guibh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>snáimh</td>
<td>cp. insnafá Clad233, M perm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sclafoh</td>
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<tr>
<td>scriobh</td>
<td>scriofa 894C2, fkr'ifta 04B2, 15W</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>snonmoh</td>
<td>(or fn'ifta) 46.229, sníofa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tiubh</td>
<td>t'ufa Mq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hao</td>
<td>ta ~ t' a</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

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The LOBH class is quite idiosyncratic (5.140 ff.):

- **gabh** got á, gaut á, gof á;
- **lobh** lof á;
- **togh** tauf á, tauh á, toft á, tof á;
- **treabh** tr'aut á, tr'of á, tr'auf á, tr'of á, tr'ofi á.

- **-r** + **-há** is the commonest formation for the vast majority of speakers, e.g.

  - iarr iErh á, clár klAÉrh S.

  Note that **-r** ! **-rhá**:

  - fair faòrh á, fóir fuÉrh Mq, mair maÉrh Mq, cuir kurh, comhair kuÉrh S, doir dorh á, speir sp !orh M, beir b !orh, cp.

  Similarly, **riar riarha** Sq, Mq against *riarta SØperm, MØperm.

Speaker 23B, however, consistently uses -rt á in kirt á and laurt á at least. In conversation cuir > kirt á 23B regularly, e.g.

  - víng kirt á ser eg á 23B bhínn cuirte aige,
  - kirt á valax amsa 23B cuirte i bhfalach a'msa;

but kurha regularly in the phrase kurt á kurha 23B caillte, curtha 'dead and buried'.

In elicitation 23Bq produced kurha curtha, sp'orha speirthe, kurha comhairthe, laurt á laurh labhartá. Questioned as to the acceptability of cuirte, 23Bq claimed it to be an incorrect form and as for the phrase: tu fe kirt á n'íf 23Bq tá sé cuirte anois, meaning 'buried'. 23Bq commented:

  d'ehrax kid á go na dín i e áx n'ír jerhax m'íf e 23Bq
  Déarthadh cuide dhe na daoín é ach ní dhéarthadh mise é.

Indeed 23Bq shows -t á in other verbal adjective environments:

  - coc > kokiÉh kokd É, scriobh > fkr'if Éd, sná(i)mh > snufÉd, sínöm > fÉif Éd;

  - in 2 Conjugation oscail > uskÉt á, coigil > keg'Étt á (leg ki- ?), cuimil > kim'Étt á, but feoghlaim > f Éldi ám.

She also has noteworthy consistent -t- usage in verbal nouns kin'Étt 23B coinnealt, t'ÉgÉtt 23B leagaint (chainte / cainte ?), and -t- in pronominial forms of the preposition thar, e.g. thartad, etc., (see 7.74).

The only example of radical **r** in unstressed position in a verbal adjective is plúsÉrtha 892M, plúsÉe 894C pláistearthá, now replaced by pláisteardáite. The optional absence of unstressed **h** here corresponds to its general absence in
Verbs

the future stem of the SÁBHÁIL class and its frequent absence in the genitive
iomradh > umar(h)a iomartha.

5.175 Quality of -t-
The quality of the t in the verbal adjective suffix -ta generally agrees with that of
the radical final consonant. Verbs in final -l whose verbal nouns have -l are the
main exception, with alternate verbal adjectives in -ltE ~ -ût !Eþþ.

-x + tA (~ t'A)

buach buaxtA generally, but buaxtA Mperm but this
may not be a genuine local form).
scoch f'k'oxtA M, 45B.

-v + tA ~ tE in f'niÉfdA generally, including S, but also f'niÉv'A S (i.e. -v't-).

-l, -l > -ltE generally, but cp. dídtala 875T1.

In verbs where -l > -l in VN:

diúil d !uÉltE ~ d !uÉût !Eþþ;
siúil SuÉltE ~ SuÉût !Eþþ, e.g. siúlta 869P, 870B1 (x2), SuÉlt eg !E 11C
ta5 siúlta aige;
SuÉût !E M;
siúltaí aige (x3, a–c), siúltaí acub (x2, d, g) 11C (in one rendition
of a traditional narrative);
táil tAÉût !E M.

-n > -ntA and -n > -ntA regularly, e.g. lán, loúntA M; stán, stuñta S; GEARR
class verbs have nonpalatal -t- only, e.g. *f'xntÁ suAÁs MÓperm teannta
suAÁs; miúin 'urinate', muñtA Mq; scáin, skAÉñt !E S, Mq. Exceptions are:

claoñ klíntA S, klíntA M;
(leon l'úntA, *l'úñtA MÓperm);
mion m'íntA S, m'íñtA S;
scinn Máire has a nonpalatal root, e.g. pst f'k'íñ pres f'k'íññ, fut
f'k'íñh, but variable quality in vadj f'k'íññ, f'k'íntA Mq.

5.176 II Second Conjugation: II(a) -i(hA)
The general 2 Conjugation ending is -i(hA), e.g.

ceannagh K'ærni(hA), scanraigh skañt ri(hA), innis iñfi(hA).
The disyllabic ending -i(hA) is generally realised as [iha], but other phonetic
forms have been noted, in particular ix A and ih A. Speaker 21Pt was noted with
ix A before pause in citation form (as he searched for the correct term for maide
corrach):

mar'dA f'k'upi: x'urhho: ... mar'dA f'k'upiñxA | ... wàrdA f'k'upiñxA | 21Pt
'maide sciobtháil' a thiurthá air ... .

Similarly, the ix e and iq e tokens in SID.46 (obviously citation forms) listed
below, Table 5.62, contrast with ihA only heard in 869P's audio recordings. A
fricative token was noted from speaker 11C before pause in t'akiñç ArN2360
teghtailthe (note palatal (ç) rather than palato-velar (x') place of articulation); his
usual long form is ihA. Reduced forms ia and ihA also occur; for examples, see
below (5.184 ff.). When stressed the vowel can be short, yielding \(i\acute{x}\) and \(i\acute{h}\):

-\(i\acute{(h)}\) alternates with stressed \(-i\acute{x}\) categorically for some speakers, regularly for others, in the verb \(im\acute{igh}\) \(im\acute{'}a\) > \(\acute{a}m\acute{`}i\acute{x}\) \(892M\), \(08B\), \(11C\), \(37M\), significantly less often \(\acute{a}m\acute{`}i\acute{h}\) \(11C\);

-\(i\acute{(h)}\) alternates with stressed \(-i\acute{h}\) in the verb \(os\acute{cail}\) \(\acute{a}es\acute{kl}i\acute{h}\) (heard only from \(37M\)).

The complete lists of verbal adjective forms of the two verbs are (cf. 1.379, 1.380):

- \(im\acute{igh}\):
  - \(im\acute{'}a\) \(im\acute{`}a\) \(\acute{a}m\acute{`}i\acute{h}\) \(\acute{a}m\acute{`}i\acute{x}\) \(\acute{a}m\acute{`}i\acute{h}\) \(\acute{a}m\acute{`}i\acute{x}\) \(\acute{a}m\acute{`}i\acute{h}\) \(\acute{a}m\acute{`}i\acute{x}\) (all or many also nasalised);

- \(os\acute{cail}\):
  - \(os\acute{kl}i\acute{i}h\) \(\acute{a}es\acute{kli}h\) \(\acute{a}es\acute{kli}h\) \(\acute{a}sk\acute{li}h\) \(\acute{a}sk\acute{li}h\) \(\acute{a}sk\acute{li}h\) (and perhaps \(\acute{a}sk\acute{li}h\) M87 [sic ?]).

5.177  \(\text{ll(b)}\) \(-i\acute{(h)}\) \(\sim\) \(-\acute{t}\)  \(\sim\) \(\text{ll(c)}\) \(-i\acute{(h)}\) \(\sim\) \(-\acute{a}\) \(\sim\) \(-\acute{r}\)

Verbal adjective suffix \(-i\acute{(h)}\) alternates with \(-\acute{t}\) in the Second Conjugation classes \(\text{BEATHAIGH}\), \(\text{AGAIR}\), and \(\text{CRUAIGH}\).

The \(\text{BEATHAIGH}\) class (subclass of \(\text{CRUTHAIGH}\) class of verbs) consists of stems in \(-\acute{a}\):

- \(\text{beathaigh}\) \(\acute{b}\) \(\acute{a}h\) \(\acute{a}h\) \(\acute{a}h\), \(\acute{b}\) \(\acute{a}t\) \(\acute{a}t\), e.g. \(\text{dathaíthe}\) \(869P\) 2;

- \(\text{rathaigh}\) \(\acute{r}\) \(\acute{a}h\) \(\acute{a}h\) \(\acute{a}h\), \(\acute{r}\) \(\acute{a}t\) \(\acute{a}t\).

The stem \(\text{breathaigh}\), a by-form of \(\text{breathnaigh}\), occurs as \(\text{breathaí}\) (\(\text{beathaí}\)) \(\sim\) \(\text{breathnaí}\) (\(\text{beathaí}\)) only.

The \(\text{AGAIR}\) class of verbs has alternation between \(-i\acute{(h)}\) and \(-\acute{t}\) in a subclass consisting of stems in \(-l\) and two stems in \(-\acute{D}\) (one of which is in the \(\text{AITHRIS}\) class). Overall, \(-\acute{t}\) is the minor variant which is, however, frequent in two common verbs \(\text{ceangail}\) and \(\text{os}\)\(\text{cail}\):

\[
\begin{array}{|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
\text{ceangailte} & \text{ceangailte} & \text{os\acute{cailte}, fos\acute{cailte}} & \text{os\acute{cailte}} \\
894Cs & 892M, 06C, & os\acute{k}iu\acute{t} \acute{e} Mp 146 & \text{frequent is-} \ 11C, \\
899D6378 & -\acute{a}t \ 72Nq & \text{os-} \ 892Mg & \text{us\acute{cail} 72Nq} \\
01C6305 & & \text{us-} \ 899D6430 & \text{fos\acute{k}\acute{a}l\acute{t} \ M} \\
\hline
\text{ARNII:} & (x10) & (x4) & (x4) \\
\hline
\text{coigt\acute{l}e} & \text{coigt\acute{l}e} & \text{toch\acute{l}aithe} & \text{toch\acute{l}aithe} \\
\text{ko\acute{g} at\acute{e}} & \text{ki\acute{g}i\acute{g} i\acute{(h)}a} & \text{to\acute{x}\acute{c}al\acute{t} \ M} < < & \text{to\acute{x}t, to\acute{c}lih\acute{a} M,} \\
46.548 & \text{SM, etc..} & \text{to\acute{x}tlih\acute{e} 46.117} & \text{to\acute{x}tlih\acute{e}} \\
\hline
\text{fuas\acute{cailte} } & \text{fuas\acute{cailte} } & \text{cuim\acute{l}ithe} & \text{cuim\acute{l}ithe} \\
\text{\textbullet\text{11Ct} \ 866ERBE160} & \text{kim\acute{n} at\acute{e}} & \text{kim\acute{l} \ i\acute{e}} & \text{kim\acute{l} \ i\acute{e}} \\
& 23Bq, 72Nq & \text{kuma\acute{f} \ > \ kum-l\acute{h} \ \text{i\acute{h}a} \ 84Pq} & \text{\textbullet\text{cP} \ 11Ct} & \text{\textbullet\text{cP} \ 11Ct} \\
\hline
\text{cois\acute{int}e} & \text{cois\acute{int}e} & \text{foil\acute{int}e} & \text{foil\acute{int}e, foil\acute{int}e} \\
869P5 & \text{SM} & \text{foil\acute{int}e, foil\acute{int}e} & \text{foil\acute{int}e, foil\acute{int}e} \\
\hline
\end{array}
\]

1 In ARNII p. 75 one reads 'ceangailte 10 (1, 2, 3)’ but speakers 5 and 6 also have ceangailte. The overall figures from ARNII §123 may be inaccurate.

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Other verbs in -l are found in my notes with -iÉÒhEþÔ only:

cangail kängliÉÒhEÔ, strachail straxlii.

These forms, however, have not been systematically collated. The verb dúbail can distinguish between dúblaíthe 'folded over' and dúbailte 'double(d) (amount)' (5.164). One verb in -l has clearly obligatory -iÉÒhEþÔ:

codail koliÉÒhEÔ; perhaps also freastail fr !ÏÉstEliÉhEþþ.

The CRUAIGH class is exemplified by:
cruaigh cruail the láidir 869P5, kruEihE 16A, 35E, kruai 27Mdq, and frequent kruat a;

beo(dha)igh beolthe, beote;

feoigh feolthe, feoite.

For this class the -tÉ ending can be interpreted as belonging to either the 1 or 2 Conjugation (i.e. a 'neutral' ending).

II(c) 2 Conjugation -iÉÒhEÔ ~ -tÉ ~ -t !E

The FEOGLAIM class adds optional -tE to feoghlaim and optional -t !E to tocha (i)s and tochrais:

feoghlaim f !oÉlEm !iÉþþ, f !oÉlEmtE (e.g. 72Nq), cp. as adjective f !a.r f !oÉlEmt eþ~

46.739 fear feoghlama é. Variation occurs within the same discourse, e.g. f !oÉlEm !iÉ eg ! ... f !oÉlEmtE

tocha(i)s toxařť a Mq. 12Jq, tox-fiha 20Cq, toxasti: 25Cq.
tochrais toxařť a Mq. toxařťiha 20Cq, toxr-fiha 20Cq.

5.178 III Irregular formations; 1 Conjugation (a)–(c)

Irregular formations in the verbal adjective are:

(a) -t(‘)i(ха) for regular -t(‘)a;
(b) -tα (-тi) for regular -t a;
(c) -ha for regular -hi(ха);
(d) -ix !E and -ihE for regular -i(ха);
(e) stem alternations: vocalic u > a, i > e; infixed -f;
recorded for regular *cruachta S and cuachta M. Also *e cuxta SM, *e e xtm am Mperm fëachtai a’m. No verbs have been noted with short vowels in *-chtai, e.g. fïuch *e cuxta, fïuch *e cuxtxa SM.

SID.46 has pluexta Mp 28 and kfin’fst ø 46.390. Speaker 01PDO has pluxtix.

(b) - to (-ti) for regular -t ø
-tø (~ -ti: in one lexeme) for expected -t ø following vowels occurs in leath and meath. Generally leata occurs in the phrase:

(Tá do) shúile leata SM, also

vø mø tø ætø bra’ænhu: er’ S bhí mé leata ag breathnú air.

But leataí also occurs here, as in: go bhfuil do shúile leathtaí sna leabhraí Mlt.

mø ætø S meata (-tø only) occurs as a more or less independent adjective, e.g.

Tá an garraí meata le cur M,

but also meate 06C. Cp. dúbalta 869P2 ‘folded’ (if accurately transcribed) for common dubhät ø; presumably leáigh is the verb in Ør leáta 852Sb152, but spelt Ør leáta [x2] 852Sb6.69, which can be derived from leath.

(c) -hø for regular -hi(hø)
There are two verbs, druid and baist, which have optional -hø for more regular -hi(hø). Both verbs alternate a restricted surface form in -t ø (the historical usage) with a productive surface form in -t’i:

druid, drit’i: l’e ... >> drit’ø l’ø ... S druithde le ‘packed with’.

baist, regularly baist(ihø), but in the sayings:

b’orhø (nu: b’ø: nu: baft(ihø) beirthe (ná beo) ná baist(ihø)

the form ... nu: baft ø is also used.

Similarly, fear baiste is heard in:

n’i xrø et’ø en’ aer baft ø ... 50E ní chreidtheadh aon fléar baiste ...

Outside of such phrases baiste was not permitted by Mq: *bhí an páiste baiste MØperm, which she corrected to baft’iø Mq. Furthermore, <i> is not inter-changeable with <iø> here, at least not for Mq. Máire permitted only (<ø and) <i> in b’ø: / b’orhø nu baft’iø. In contrast, speaker 20C, a high <iø> user, has b’ø: / b’orhø nu baft’iø. (See also genitive of VN baisteadh below, 5.228 6VND.)

5.179 Irregular (d)–(e)

(d) 2 Conjugation -ix ø and -iø for regular -i(hø)
There is optional use of -ix ø in imithe, and optional -iø in osclaithé (cf. 5.176).

(e) Stem alternations: vocalic u > ø, iø > e; infixed -f-
The derived verb fuk sioc is regular in all forms except the verbal adjective which has the stem of the nominal genitive:

verb fuk sioc > vadj faki(hø) seacaithé;

as nominative fuk sioc > genitive faka seaca.

The derived verb (‘liø liath is regular apart from a verbal adjective by-form: regular liøt ø M. 66N, including in liuith le gráin, but Seán has liøt ø in this phrase (5.18), thus:

1 Cp. uisce catricthe > ifk ø kafrik’ (1.49).
Verbs

The adjective liath has genitive léith.

Three verbs take optional infixed -S- (also found in their respective verbal nouns, the diachronic source):

- creid: kr’eft’i(ha) creistíthe: bhí sé creisdíthe ag seanain, ~ creíthíthe ag ..., contrast kr’eft’iha M, Mq, *kr’eft’iha Mɔ perm;
- tairg: tær’ak’i M, 66N tairischtí, tær’ak’i Mperm tairgthí;
- tréig: tr’eék’i(ho) M, Mq, tr’eék’iha Mperm, tr’eék’k’i 66N tréiscíthe.

Speaker 66N uses tr’eék’- as general verbal roots, but tr’eék’- only in the vadj and VN.

No infixed -s- has been noted for t’ig’ tuig > t’ik’i(ha) tuigthíthe, despite VN t’ik’as’ taiscint.

5.180 Further notes

There is an example of the genitive of the verbal noun influencing verbal adjective formation in:

tu ræl’i kolat amsa M tá raili codlata a’msa.

The adjective marbh is often used as ‘killed’, i.e. in the same position as maráithe, e.g.

tá sí marbh acub M ‘they have killed her’,

‘an mbeidh bhur ndóthain caithte agaibh nuair a bhéas siad marbh agamsa.’ LL163.

Other adjective / verbal adjective pairs, e.g. réidh / réití, seem to retain more of the adjectival versus verbal opposition for older speakers. I have heard younger speakers use réití in more adjectival use, e.g.

tá muid réití ‘We have finished’.

Many adjectives have a similar alternation of -i: with -iha as in the verbal adjective, e.g.

céillí: k’eft’iha Mq. also k’ea. i(ha);
feosaí: f’osíha 889P;
tréini: f’eu’i(ha); also f’euv’ séimh;
simplí: fímp’iha 899DARN (3/3):

badh é ba simplí sa fímp’iha sa mbád 6133,
badh é ba simplí, fímp’iha | 6133,

tá teach roinnt simplí ar fímp’iha ‘er’ a dhíornamh. 6755;

fímp’i: (>>) fímp’iha Mq;
spadáí FGB cp. spadáíha (speaker name(s) not recorded), spadaithe FFG.

Contrast ciontaí which has regular -i:. Speakers 869P2–5 and 20C, strong users of -iha -ithe, have ciontaí only, e.g. ba ciontaí le 869P4, *bh k’untiíha l’ef 20C0perm. This reflects the original use of ciontaí (superlative ciontaigh DIL s.v. cintach I; cp. ciontaí as substantive in FGB, cintaign DIL (not found in Dimn)). In fact ciontaíthe K’untiíha ‘found guilty’ is the verbal adjective of ciontaígh according to 20Cq.

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Also -ta ~ -ti(tha), e.g.

deabhalta d’aulta d’aulti: d’aulti:ha;
scréacha fkr’exta ~ fkr’exti: ~ fkr’eextiha M.

Speaker 899P is the only speaker in Iorras Aítheach I have heard using -t’i: in fhorat’i: suiúlte (2/2). There is a rather indistinctly recorded -i in prepausa resùnti réasúnta from 892Mg.

Adjectives with this -i ~ -iha and -ta ~ -ti(tha) variation may undergo similar conditioning to verbal adjectives. Speaker 19P’s prepausa token ... faï’k’ea’i:ha ... fail céillíthe is suggestive of a prepausa condition here (Table 5.65 p. 1071). Similarly, in the example go neárnadar criplíthe cróilíthe [recte criplíthe cróilíthe] i mo chláiríneach mé 866Esmr122 (as mentioned in 5.183).

5.181 (i:ha) → <i:ha>, <i:>, individual speakers

The First Conjugation allomorphs hi: and hi:ha, as well as Second Conjugation i: and i:ha, can be notated as hi(tha) and i(tha) respectively since, within each conjugation, both allomorphs are synonymous and in ‘free variation’.¹ As short hand for both conjugations one can notate <i> and <i:ha> as the two main variants of the variable (i:ha). This variable is discussed in the following sections with regard to individual speakers’ systems and change in apparent time in speakers from central Iorras Aítheach. For the Second Conjugation, i: is homophonous with the verbal noun suffix -i: which is, however, of limited lexical use (corráí, cónaí, fíathiúí, éiri, impí, ionsai, tosaí). Only in the last verb is ambiguity common, i.e. tu: fè: tosi: can be a realisation of both tá sé ag tosaí and tá sé tosaíthe. For many speakers there is a significant quantitative difference between the First and Second Conjugation regarding the use of <i:>, <i:ha> being more frequent in the 2 Conjugation (corresponding to historical -ighthe); similarly, <i:] may be a quantitative marker of the 1 Conjugation (having developed from historical -ale).

5.182 852Sb, Seán Ó Briain

Seán Ó Briain’s verbal adjectives in -i:, -íthe, -íthe were collated from a short hero tale. This tale is referred to here as 852Sb6 and was transcribed by Séamus Ó Duilearga in 1933 (only six months before the death of the storyteller) and published in 1960. The number of tokens is small (only seven, Table 5.61), and further data from other transcribed tales may supplement these findings in the future, but the conditioning in evidence here seems to resemble that found in other speakers (from whom more data has been collated). From the conjugational summary in the bottom two rows of Table 5.61 we can see that -íthe is found in both conjugations. The single token of 1 Conjugation -íthe, however, is found, significantly, before pausa (full stop in the transcription). Before vowels -íthe is more common in the 2 Conjugation. Before consonants -i is dominant. There is therefore evidence in 852Sb6 for similar conditioning (phonological, conjugational and syntactic, i.e. before pausa) to that which is discussed in greater detail below (especially 5.189).

¹ For an apparent exception, see baist (5.178).
Table 5.61 (i:ha), 852Sb6

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>/_V/</th>
<th>/_ə/</th>
<th>/_C/</th>
<th>/_pausa/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-i</td>
<td>toistí ṣ 68</td>
<td>neartaí arás 69</td>
<td>leagthaí go 71</td>
<td>baistithe. 66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-i:thi</td>
<td>collaithe ag 72</td>
<td>tārnmith’ āir 75</td>
<td>luchtai le 78</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-i</td>
<td>1Conj</td>
<td>2Conj</td>
<td>1Conj, 2Conj</td>
<td>1Conj</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.183 866E, Éamann a Búc

The data in 866ESemr demonstrate strikingly the reliability of transcriptions made by Liam Mac Coisteala towards providing a general overview of many aspects of the morphology of Éamann a Búc, this well-known scéalaí or ‘story-teller’. The patterns resemble in detail data from audio-recorded material for other speakers. It is of interest that only one token of -i:the occurs prevocally in the form -i:th, i.e. before ag in insíth d’msa 866ESemr44. All other prevocalic tokens are written as -i:the, including one before ag in bhí an scéal insíthe ag mac an fhatha 866ESemr120. This seems to imply frequent non-elision of schwa here, which is noted for SID.46, among others, below. See also 5.189. The examples in the phrase go ndeárnadar criplíthe cróilíthe [recte criplíthe cróilíthe] i mo chláríneach mé 866ESemr122 are further evidence of this speaker’s frequent <i:ha> use but they are not included in these verbal adjective calculations since neither lexeme has been recorded as an inflected verb in the dialect.

5.184 869P, SID.46, Pádraig ‘ac Con Iomaire

As presented in Table 5.62, a total of 26 tokens were noted for this (i:ha) variable in SID.46. The variant <i:ha> is by far the most common with 22 tokens of the full form and 1 of ih in sandhi before a vowel; there are only 3 examples of <i:E>. There are even examples of ih before vowels, all from Text I, however, one of the less trustworthy transcriptions in SID.46:

tít !ihE AsE ... I.15, göf ihE ig ! ... I.37, fukiha ríṣ’t’i ... I.53.

These may in fact have been in prepausa position, typical of speaker 869P’s slow delivery. Only four -i forms in all were noted from SID.46 and 869P2–5. They are all First Conjugation formations.

Table 5.62 (i:ha), SID.46

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>&lt;i:ha&gt; transcribed as</th>
<th>No. of tokens</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ix e</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>untix’e Mp 178 iontaigh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ig e</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>str uk’ig e, 314 stróic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ih e</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>str uk’ih e, 94 stromp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ih</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>in fjih 1144 innis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ih’ə</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>èp ti’ə fos 653 aipigh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ih</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>eib’t’i:ha 1062 aibrigh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i:ha</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>göf ihE ig’ L.37 goid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i:ba</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>lòidiba s.v. lagduigh</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 If the three tokens from Text I are excluded, then only three forms of ihE occur.
Verbal adjective

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>&lt;i&gt;Eh&gt; transcribed as</th>
<th>No. of tokens</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ih /_V</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>t’akh  cr’ 1.16 leag</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total &lt;i&gt;Eh&gt;</td>
<td>23</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>&lt;E&gt; transcribed as</th>
<th>No. of tokens</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i:</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>d’araki: deargaim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>t’rofai (alt. t’rofi) 609 treabh1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>faraki 971 searg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total &lt;E&gt;</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Cp. verbal noun leasú, genitive lecíhê 629.

The phonemic status of the i vowel in these forms is /i/. I transcribe all tokens in this speaker’s audio recordings as ́Eh, e.g.

scoıraıgh sokriha 869P, stıék strıık ih 869P.

v: | on grabar’ a fukiha busiha | eg’ | na jia | 869P

bhí an Grabaire fághaíthe básaithe aige ina dhiaidh.

Corresponding to SID.46 and his recordings, the material in RBÉ (869P2–5) shows almost entirely -títhe. In two cases, in the BEATHAIGH and BEOÍGH classes,

-títhe is used in contrast with -te, i.e.

dathaíthe 869P2 (phrase-finally), cruaithe ládirt 869P5.

A rare example of -í occurs in leacaithe bríste réapaí’ aici 869P2, again with a l Conjugation verb. One can also compare SID.46’s, and other speakers’, including Mairé’s, reduced variant (i.e. íh) with the occasional spelling in -íth’ before consonants, e.g. ... scoıraith’ sios insin ... 869P3. For his daughters 04Br and 15W’s usage, see 5.189 below.

5.185 01P, Pádraig Ó Nia

Speaker 01P of Doire Iorrais (North-East Iorras Aithneach) is the only speaker noted with <E> and <i>Eh> as his main variants, the former noted before vowels and consonants phrase-medially, the latter being the only form noted before pause and occasionally found phrase-medially. Least common is <i>Eh> noted prevocally and in the verb imíthe. The clear vocalic glide in some tokens of <E> is an indication that this variant is not simply a reduced form of <i>Eh> for speaker 01P. A sample of his usage, with the number of tokens (unsystematically) noted, is presented here:

| <E>  | (9) | /_V (x6) | ’refi: ́omax rêthite amach (arguably <i>Eh>),
|      |    |         | ’fuki; ́ed | fagtha a’d;
|      |    | /_C (x3) | ardí: suas ardaíthe suas; |
| <i>Eh> | (10) | /_pausa (x8) | doırtía | doıirithe, | k’ärniha | ceannaithe, |
|      |     |         | ’mí i: | imithe, | fuki: | fagthaíthe; |
|      |     | /_C (x2) | tairníthe suas, |
|      |     |         | fefi | suas | fuchha | seidhthe suas fúthí; |
| <i>Eh> | (2) | /_V | ioxi: ́ed | lochtaíthe a’d; |
|      |     |         | ’m’i:ha gus ... imithe agus ... |

It will become clear in the following discussion that, apart from his use of <i>Eh>, far more than any other of my speakers, 01P (Doire Iorrais) has important

---

1 Cp. curthai dhioim d’m 869P2. The -í, if accurate, may be due to the following ag form. Perhaps the t’rofi: variant occurred before ag.
features in common with speakers from central Iorras Aithneach, i.e. the use of a longer variant before pausa, the non-elision of schwa following the long vowel of the verbal adjective, and the association of the lexeme *imigh* with *<i>EhE*). We will also see that his infrequent use of *<i>EhE* sets him about twenty years, in apparent time, ahead of central Iorras Aithneach speakers.

### 5.186 04B, Beairtle Ó Con Fhaola

Speaker 04B’s examples show the following distribution:

(a) *<i>* is twice as common as *<i>EhE*;

(b) *<i>EhE* is used in equal proportion within the phrase and before pausa, whereas *<i>* is strongly disfavoured in the prepausa position;

(c) a higher proportion (9:3) of *<i>EhE* is used in 2 Conjugation verbs.

Table 5.63 summarises the distribution of speaker 04B’s noted examples.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Tot (iha)</th>
<th>/V, /C</th>
<th>/pausa</th>
<th>1Conj</th>
<th>&lt;&lt; 2Conj</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>&lt;&lt;</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iha</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>&lt;&lt;</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Given that 04B’s prevocalic *ih* appears as *i* in the speech of many speakers, e.g. Máire, who have common *iha* before consonants and pausa, 04B’s apparently more conservative examples of this variant are given here:

k *æpiha max* 04B*t ceaphaithe amach,*

t *æki: hean,* 04B*5t teaghathe ann,* sléin: 04B*5t slánaíthe a’d,*

04B*imíthe ar ... !(Asp)*

For his son’s usage (speaker 35E), see 5.189.

### 5.187 11C, Cólín Ó Cúlán

Apart from his high use of *<i>EhE*), speaker 11C is noteworthy for (a) his categorical use of second-syllable stress on *imíthe* (*æm’ix’a >>> æm’ih a*), and (b) his non-elision of schwa following verbal adjective *i*. He generally has *<i>EhE* before schwa but in about one quarter of instances with following schwa his realisation is *i*.*a*. For example, his most common usage is:

**is atá teaghathe isteach**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Tot (iha)</th>
<th>/V, /C</th>
<th>/pausa</th>
<th>1Conj</th>
<th>&lt;&lt; 2Conj</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>&lt;&lt;</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iha</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>&lt;&lt;</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

but he may drop the *h* while, in all cases noted, retaining the syllable boundaries, e.g.

as *to tæki: æft æx* S4.18 *is atá teaghathe isteach;*

nor’ *a tu tur ref’i: æmax mar fo* S1.10

nuair atá tá réitithe amach mar seo;

oxd *na’dun* ‘fot’in’ ref’i: æmax eg’ á S4.3

ocht ngaláin phoittín réitithe amach aige;

*nar’ ef fe fá’iriha ref’i: æmax* | ARN1227

nuair a bhí teacht se rámhráithí réitithe amach.
5.188 16M, Máire Chúlán

Of the three variants ıha, ıa, and ı in Máire’s speech, the following quantitative distribution can be deduced:

(a) ıha, less often ıa, occur mostly in prepausa position;
(b) ı occurs mostly before vowels and consonants within the same phrase.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>ıha</th>
<th>ıa</th>
<th>ı</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>tu fisd luptha, (x2)</td>
<td>kr'ikica, (x3)</td>
<td>tu n'fik ubod karti: am</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a wosag æticha, v'í fe fíe v'á, air'íha,</td>
<td>tu fe 'ænæt'ïa,</td>
<td>tu n rud iki: er'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mtí</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>,*m'ítha, l'ug æs 2</td>
<td>foki: æd on, 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r</td>
<td>k'ænglícha, 3</td>
<td>æp'i: an'fin' sa ... 4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td></td>
<td>k'ængli: suas 5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td></td>
<td>foki: æd æn, 6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r</td>
<td>fæj'k'íha, 8</td>
<td>foki: æn, 7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>l'ík'i: a'kab orha, 9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>fod'i: an'fin' æd 10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>fkr'ípi: l'ug, 11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subtotal</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples from Máire’s conversation and the tokens from Mtí, in order of occurrence, are presented in Table 5.64. The final total represents additional examples from Máire’s conversation noted in 1997.

Cp. Verbal noun leasú, genitive -i in ... l'æsi: orhab Mtí ... leasaí orthub.

5.189 Intergenerational developments

Information on the quantitative use of the variables <ıha> and <ı> has been obtained for four speakers (892M, 18J, 21P, 35E) from the list of forms given by Ó hUiginn in Airneán II (75–8; §123). Ten other speakers (866E, SID.46 (in the graphs below denoted by 1869 P), 899D, 101C, 04B, 04Br, 11C, 15W, 16M (M), 19P (P)) were added to this database. Speaker 866E’s material is based on verbal adjective use in the tale Eochair Mac Rí in Éirinn (Semr). For speaker 866E, and to a lesser extent 11C, the mainly lexical sandhi variable (a) → <ı> of the verbal adjective must be excluded from (ıha) → <ı> calculations.

In order to give a provisional overview of intergenerational developments in the variable morphological conditioning of (ıha) up until the generation born in 1935, the use (number of tokens) of these speakers is charted in Figure 5.21. It can be seen from Figure 5.21 that in older speakers <ıha> is the more dominant of the two main variants; quite clearly in the two oldest speakers, but it becomes less strikingly differentiated in many subsequent speakers (starting in the 1890s),

1 In order to boost his small number of tokens his three instances of the adjective fímpl'íha simplí were classified as 2 Conjugation.
being dominated by <i>E</i>, first in 04Br (starting in the 1900s) until eventually by 19P (starting in the 1910s) and subsequent speakers, <i>E</i> becomes the dominant variant.

**Figure 5.21 <i>ha</i> vs. <i>E</i>, both 1 and 2 Conjugations, speakers born between 1866 and 1935**

To consider any conjugational conditioning, 1 Conjugation realisation, Figure 5.22, must be compared with 2 Conjugation realisation, Figure 5.23. These distributions can be compared with total distribution, Figure 5.21, in order to judge which variants, if any, are quantitative morphological markers, for a given speaker or group of speakers. In general, for older speakers <i>ha</i> is a 2 Conjugation marker, <i>E</i> a 1 Conjugation marker. The relative strength of these markers varies between speakers and between variants for any given speaker. Speakers 866E and 892M, for example, have a robust 1 Conjugation <i>E</i> usage, whereas for SID.46 <i>E</i> is a rarely used 1 Conjugation marker. The functional contrast in SID.46’s material of the <i>E</i> variant is of low percentage use in the 1 Conjugation against zero percentage use in the 2 Conjugation. In the case of 866E and 892M the functional contrast is of dominant percentage use of <i>E</i> in the 1 Conjugation against a low percentage use in the 2 Conjugation.

**Figure 5.22 <i>ha</i> vs. <i>E</i>, 1 Conjugation, speakers 1866–1935**

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The variant \(<i\text{ha}>\) may well remain a 2 Conjugation marker for speakers with dominant \(<i>\). Speakers \(21\text{P}\) and \(35\text{E}\) show proportionally more \(<i\text{ha}>\) with 2 Conjugation verbs than with 1 Conjugation. The variant \(<i\text{ha}>\), then, functions as a weak quantitative 2 Conjugation marker for \(21\text{P}\) just as \(<i>\) functions as a weak quantitative 1 Conjugation marker for SID.46. The pattern of usage for both SID.46 and \(21\text{P}\), across a gap of over fifty years, is similar but the actual functioning variants are reversed. Figure 5.24 illustrates this opposition and symmetry.

In discussing the overall developments one should keep in mind the wide range of interspeaker variation. For example, SID.46 and \(01\text{C}\) have almost identical patterns with dominant \(<i\text{ha}>\). Speaker \(892\text{C}\) agrees with these two speakers in his dominant variant, although his \(<i\text{ha}>\) dominance is weaker than theirs, but he contrasts with them in his progressive high proportional use of \(<i>\) in the 1 Conjugation. Speaker \(18\text{J}\) shows conservative \(<i\text{ha}>\) dominance, with his use of \(<i\text{ha}>\) as a 2 Conjugation marker resembling SID.46’s material, but he has progressive \(<i>\) dominance in the 1 Conjugation.
5.190 Summary, speaker systems

To summarise, speakers can be categorised with regard to the proportional use of the variants both overall and within the conjugations, revealing a general trend of loss of \(<\text{i}\text{hE}\rangle\) through the generations (covering close to seventy years) but also much complexity and continuity. A provisional classification of these speakers into six types can be presented as follows (networks indicated by underlining (Speaker = clann Mhacaí ‘ac Con Iomaire, An Coillín), italics (Speaker = clann Mhicil ‘ac Con Fhaola, Maínis), small capitals (Speaker = 04B and son 35E, An Aird Thoir)):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Speaker</th>
<th>&lt;i&gt; 2Conj</th>
<th>&lt;i&gt; 1Conj</th>
<th>&lt;i&gt; 1Conj &lt;i&gt; 2Conj</th>
<th>&lt;i&gt; overall</th>
<th>Speaker class</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>866E</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>869P</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>922M</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>01C</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>04B</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>04Br</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11C</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15W</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16M</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18J</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19P</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21Pg</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35E</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Speakers in Class A use relatively high \(<\text{i}\rangle\) in 1 Conjugation and high \(<\text{i}\text{hE}\rangle\) in 2 Conjugation. Class B speakers use predominant \(<\text{i}\text{hE}\rangle\) with \(<\text{i}\rangle\) confined mostly to 1 Conjugation. Class C speakers use high \(<\text{i}\text{hE}\rangle\) indifferently to Conjugation. The Class D speaker uses high \(<\text{i}\rangle\) but retains a lot of \(<\text{i}\text{hE}\rangle\) in 2 Conjugation. Class E speakers use (fairly) high \(<\text{i}\rangle\) regardless of Conjugation. Class F speakers have predominant \(<\text{i}\rangle\) but with \(<\text{i}\text{hE}\rangle\) mostly in 2 Conjugation. There are speakers who have conjugational conditioning (A, B, D, F) and those who do not (C, E). Speakers who mark conjugation may have high \(<\text{i}\text{hE}\rangle\) (A, B) or \(<\text{i}\rangle\) (D, F), as may speakers who do not mark conjugation (high \(<\text{i}\text{hE}\rangle\) C; high \(<\text{i}\rangle\) E).

Our information includes speakers from three families, two of which shows quite marked internal differences. Speaker 869P (B) and his daughter 15W (C) are similar regarding their very high rate of \(<\text{i}\text{hE}\rangle\) usage and also with regard to the negligible conjugational marking function of \(<\text{i}\rangle\). The daughter’s \(<\text{i}\rangle\) use is, however, slightly increased compared to her father’s. His other daughter, 04Br (D), uses far more \(<\text{i}\rangle\) which is conjugationally, phonologically and lexically conditioned (see Table 5.65 and Figure 5.25 below). (Recall that 15W seems more like her father with regard to high \(<\text{i}\rangle\) use in the nominal plural also, 4.108.) Speaker 04B (A) differs maximally from his son 35E (F). Speakers Máire (16M) and Pádraig (19P), sister and brother, are the only members of Class E in my sample, lacking clear conjugational conditioning, so that the phonological environment is (almost) the sole conditioning factor. Máire has a higher rate of
Verbal adjective

<iha> (3:2) in comparison with her brother (4:1), who is younger, although some of her data are not as objective, having been written down directly from ongoing conversation.

The speakers in this sample all come from central Iorras Aithneach, between An Aird Mhóir and Dunhaigh Ithir. If the speech of 897P and 899P is representative of older speakers from Loch Con Aortha, East Iorras Aithneach has much less prevalent use of <iha>. Speaker 899P’s material is quite limited but he has <i> only. (He is also the only recorded speaker in Iorras Aithneach who has <i> in prepausa siúrálle.) Speaker 897P also has predominant -e, e.g. cruinní ann, réití amach, tairní le, cruad a’ainn, as well as verbal noun genitive le haghaidh leasaí — fataí. His only <iha> token occurs in 1Conj prepausa: L’<iha> leagthaíthe. Apart from 01P (5.185), other speakers from the area of Coill Sáile, Loch Con Aortha and Doire Iorrais have not been studied systematically, but <iha> is fairly common there.

5.191 Context

The syntactic position, for instance, prepausa or otherwise, and morpho-phonological environment of the (iha) variable was noted systematically from recordings of five speakers: sisters 04Br and 15W, and siblings 16M (M) and 19P (P), as well as speaker 11C. Examples from 866ESemr were also collated; although definite nonpausa forms cannot be ascertained from folklore transcriptions such as 866ESemr, probable pausa forms can be deduced from commas and full stops in the relevant manuscript. Table 5.65 presents the figures from this database. (Totals include other contexts: before consonants.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Before pausa</th>
<th>Before schwa</th>
<th>Before vowel</th>
<th>total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&lt;i&gt;</td>
<td>&lt;iha&gt;</td>
<td>&lt;i&gt;</td>
<td>&lt;iha&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>866ESemr</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>04Br</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11C</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15W</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16M</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19P</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Prepausa position is a strongly marked <iha> conditioning environment for 866ESemr, whereas prevocalic position is the major conditioning factor for his <i> variable. The majority of his <i> tokens occur here. In fact all speakers in Table 5.65, except 11C, show the highest proportion of <i> in the position before full vowels.

It is also evident that prepausa position is the main conditioning factor in Máire’s use. Prepausa position is similarly significant for her brother Pádraig (19P), as is most probably the preschwa position. (Cp. the possible significance for some speakers of preschwa position in the use of the long -i plural in contrast with shorter -a plural (e.g. 4.106 ff. and 4.129); prepausa 2sg <iha> (5.108 (4)).) Figure 5.25 shows the variation and change in prepausa conditioning through apparent time of just over fifty years for these six speakers.
We can now contrast the overall usage of sisters 04Br and 15W (daughters of 869P). The younger sister, 15W, has the more conservative usage from the point of view of her paternal network, as noted above. She has high <i>hao</i> yield and no significant conjugational conditioning nor lexical conditioning in the case of imithe, but she does have a dual syntactic prepausa and prevocalic conditioning (both schwa and full vowels score the same). In contrast, the older sister, 04Br, has lower <i>hao</i> yield and more complex conditioning: conjugational, perhaps lexical imithe, and the syntactic triad of prepausa, preschwa and pre-full vowel. It is clear that speaker 11C’s usage is anomalous here in that he is the only individual who has a syntactically unconditioned use of <i>hao</i> as a minor variant. He is a clear example of a member of the speech community not acquiring prevalent facultative conditioning. Here we can compare, for example, the various uses, or degrees of acquisition, of consonant-quality conditioning of the (V<.<.) nominal plural variable. It is of course possible that 11C reflects a more localised or perhaps (family) network usage of unconditioned <i>hao</i>.

5.192  <i>imigh</i>

The lexeme <i>imigh</i>, verbal adjective imithe, clearly favours the variant <i>hao</i> for many speakers. In this small sample, in particular, the preference is clear in the usage of siblings Máire (16M) and Pádraig (19P). Máire uses more <i>hao</i> with <i>imigh</i> than in the 2 Conjugation in general. The majority of her examples of <i>hao</i> before schwa, before a full vowel and before a consonant occur with <i>imigh</i>:

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{imithe:} & \text{_/Vowel} & \text{_/Schwa} & \text{_/Consonant} \\
\text{imithe an-luath} & \text{\textit{\`a`m i`\textipa{h} \`a`\textipa{n}lu\textipa{h}}} & \text{\textit{\`a`m i`\textipa{h} \`h\textipa{ug}}} & \text{\textit{\`a`m i`\textipa{h} \`\textipa{n} \`\textipa{\`a`x}}} \\
\text{teagthaithie:} & \text{\textit{\`a`\textipa{\`e`k}hi\textipa{\`o} \textipa{\`r}\textipa{\`i\textipa{n}}} & \text{\textit{\`a`\textipa{\`e`k}hi\textipa{\`o} \textipa{\`h\textipa{i\`a\textipa{\`h} ithe dhen teac}}} & \text{\textit{\`a`\textipa{\`e`k}hi\textipa{\`o} \textipa{\`h\textipa{i\`a\textipa{\`h} ithe dhen teac}}} \\
\end{array}
\]

Both <i>imigh</i> and teara are intransitive, and so occur frequently in final position. Verbal intransitivity might be worth investigating as a further conditioning factor (for some speakers) favouring <i>hao</i> but this will not be followed up here. The two environmental conditions, prepausa and preschwa, account for 11 out of 12 of the tokens of <i>hao</i> in the material noted from Pádraig (19P). The final
significant condition, that of the lexeme *imíthe*, will account for his one remaining token. The only example of preconsonantal </i>E</i> in his material is:

... mÚir i m’íthe l’ef a ... Pt10 ... Máirtín imíthe leis an ...

It occurs in this position undoubtedly due to the relatively high proportion of </i>E</i> with *imigh*: **im’íthe a’m’íthe** (<i>E</i>) x3 vs. **im’íthe** (<i>E</i>) x2) 19P. For speaker 866E also, *imíthe* favours </i>E</i>. The reason for this may be related to the high frequency of occurrence of this verbal adjective in general and specifically due to its intransitivity which gives rise to its non-occurrence preceding the subject marker *ag*, a strongly marked, prevocalic, </i>E</i> environment and conversely regular occurrence before pausa. The frequent aberrant stressed realisation of the </i>E</i> ending in *imíthe* is undoubtedly also a factor here.

5.193 Younger speakers

No quantification has been made of speakers born between the 1940 and 1960 but there is little doubt that </i>E</i> continues to recede in this age cohort. For most young speakers born after 1960 </i>E</i> is almost categorical and </i>E</i> is very rarely used, and perhaps not at all by some. Prevocalic 2 Conjugation tokens are, however, heard, e.g. | tu fe kr’iàxni: ham | [64M] tá sé críochtaithe a’m. A prevocalic example such as *kiv: horn* 76MAO coinníthe ann is rare for such a young speaker and is indicative of the general conservatism of 76M’s speech.\(^1\) The variant </i>E</i>, especially in **im’íthe imíthe**, is nonetheless heard from the youngest speakers. This includes phrase-medial position, e.g. </i>E</i> noted in 1998 from Michael, a younger brother of speaker 79J, and **im’íthe** 79S. Speaker 73P is the most conservative speaker I know in his age group regarding frequent use of </i>E</i>, including phrase internally. Note the phrase-final position of *scanraigh* and phrase-medial position of *imigh* in: **sko:ntr’éha | 78Rb scanraíthe, ** im’íthe i fí: | 78Rb imíthe uaidh. The data, then, show evidence for over one hundred years of intergenerational transmission of a strong implicational relation between *imíthe* and the variant </i>E</i>. There is also a tendency to use </i>E</i> in citation form, e.g. *fe:i:ha | [66Nq séalaithe*. For the older generations use in quotation form may be related to prepausa use and the conservative nature of the </i>E</i> variant; for younger generations the written form of 2 Conjugation -ithe may also be a factor. Cf. possible citation value attached to -i:x’a (5.176).

Syntax of verbal adjective

Some constructions, which are otherwise rarely attested for this dialect area, have been noted in the perfect syntagm. These are attestations of the subjectless transitive construction with *ag* and cases where the logical subject of the passive construction becomes the grammatical subject, both with and without an object.

5.194 Zero subject + Verbal adjective + *ag*

This construction is quite common and no particular note was made of instances, verbs noted here are *cac* and *cuir isteach.*

Vi: *kakta fis akab an* M bhi cacta sitos acub ann.

Tá curtha ’steach ar ’Thomond’ aige M (Thomond (third-level) College).

\(^1\) Recall, for example, her (weak) nasalisation in *sà:v:ha | 76M samhradh*, aberrantly conservative for her age-group (1.348).
5.195 Subject + Verbal adjective without object

The verbs noted are beir, crap, glaoigh, ith, mionnaigh, ringeil, siúil, traoigh.

**beir**

_Tá sí sé seachtain beirthe_ ‘it is six weeks since she gave birth.’

**crap**

_d’fheicfeá fir agus mná craptha suas thar a nglúine_ ag siúl thart Clad252.

**glaoigh**

_common in phrases referring to appointments, such as:_

_Tá mé glaoite síos ag an dó dhéag._

**ith**

_Ní bheidh Jaicí siúilte ’nuas go deo_ M.

**mionnaigh**

_Tá sí mionnaíthe nach mbeidh aon cheann go deo aici._

**ringeáil**

_Tiochtáidh tú go gairid._

**siúil**

_Ní bheidh Jaicí siúilte ’nuas go deo_ M.

**traoigh**

_Tá sé traoite._

5.196 Subject + Verbal adjective with object

(i) Subject + Verbal adjective + Direct object

Verbs noted are caith, oibrigh, fág, sroich.

_Tá si caite na cheithre scóir_ M.

_Ní ra muid oibrithe ach aon lá amháin nuair a fuair muid bóthar 894C9._

_Tá sé fágthaí ‘New York’ ó De Sathairnnaí ní caite M._

**(ii) Subject + Verbal adjective + Prepositional object**

Verbs noted are breathaigh, cac, caith, diúltaigh, éist.

_ní ru aon phower [≤ power] aige a bheith breathaithé an truí huair air go ru grím tucaithé aige dhó 894C2 ‘he (bird) wasn’t able to look at him (hero) a third time before he (hero) would give him (bird) a bite (to eat)’._
Verbal Noun

5.197 Subject + Verbal adjective + Prepositional subject

Verbs are cuimhnhigh ar, breathaigh ar, both examples from the same speaker. Beidh leithscéal iontach cuimhri a’m air 43M ‘I will have thought of a great excuse.’

Ní tháinig am lean e: vrath fhíor fhan an mar vi: fe bracai: hain er 43M nil fhios a’m cóile haghaidh a bhreathaigh siad sos an mar bhí sé breathaí cheana air

‘I don’t know why they looked down there because it had been looked at before.’

Cp. Beag nach raibh se ... é ... éistí a’inn leis ... 52J.

Verbal Noun

5.198 General

As in nominal plural morphology, simplex formants in verbal noun morphology are defined as those which can indicate verbal noun status independently. Complex formants comprise combinations of these simplex formants, or of simplex formant(s) with an extension. The extension precedes these formants. (Hence the repetition in the comprehensive list below: each complex formant is given under each of its simplex components. The f extension is subject to metathesis with final g, d of the stem.) The verbal noun has the following formants:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Simplex</th>
<th>Complex</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Zero ending</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 2. -C’ > -C’ | -C’ > -C’
| 3. a | -C’a, -ha, -axa
| 4. u | -uxt, -f-uxt
| 5. i | -iuxt, -iuxan
| 6. ax | -’ax ~ -n’ax, -axan, -axen, -f’axen, -axt, -iuxan, -iuxt, -iuxan, -’axt ~ -n’axt, -iuxt, -iuxan, -iuxt, -f’uxt, -f-uxt, -uxt, -axt, -axan, -f’uxt, -f-uxt
| 7. an, an’ | -anti, -anti, -anti, -anti, -anti, -anti, -f-anti, -f-anti, -anti, -anti, -anti, -anti
| 8. am’, am | -anti, -anti, -anti
| 9. a’l, a’l | -al’t, -tl’a, -f-al’t

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One complex formant comprises the verbal noun simplex $\text{ax}$ preceding the nominal derivational suffix $-\text{an}$ (cp. $i\text{t'}$ preceding the plural suffix $-\text{axi}$). Extensions have no independent status and combine with simplex or complex formants. For example, $f\acute{a}g > f\acute{a}g\acute{a}il$ demonstrates the independent simple ending $\text{a}t'$. Similarly, $b\acute{a}in > b\acute{a}int$ exemplifies the independent ending $t'$. The formation $f\acute{a}g > f\acute{a}g\acute{a}ilt$ (one alternative to $f\acute{a}g\acute{a}il$) is best interpreted as a combination of these endings, i.e. $\text{a}t'$ and $t'$. Similarly, $l\acute{a}g > l\acute{a}gan$ exemplifies simplex $\text{an}$ and $r\acute{e}it\acute{i}gh > r\acute{e}iteach$ simplex $\text{ax}$, whereas $l\acute{a}g > l\acute{a}g\acute{a}ch\acute{a}n$ (alternative to $l\acute{a}gan$) is interpreted as a combination of both $\text{ax}$ and $\text{an}$. On the other hand, the $t$ in the formation $b\acute{a}c > b\acute{a}ct\acute{a}il$ is best interpreted as a stem extension before simplex $\text{a}t'$; phonotactically the cluster $\text{k}t$ is not found finally so that $*b\acute{a}c$ is not a permissible verbal noun. We can be more certain of the dependent status of the extension $f$, which has a very limited distribution. It has no corresponding phone in the simplex formants and is only inserted before root-final consonant, e.g. $c\acute{r}\acute{e}it\acute{i}nt > c\acute{r}\acute{e}ist\acute{a}nt$, analysed as $f$ (extension) + $\text{an}$ (ending) + $t'$ (ending). Similarly, the alternant verbal noun $c\acute{r}\acute{e}id > c\acute{r}\acute{e}isteacht\acute{a}il$ is analysed as $f$ (extension) + $\text{ax}$ (ending) + $t$ (ending) + $\text{al}$ (ending). Other interpretations of the composition of many of these endings are possible. The status of final $t$ in the doublets $\text{an}$ ~ $\text{ax}$, $\text{ax}$ ~ $\text{a}x$, $\text{ux}$ ~ $\text{ux}$, $\text{ul}$ ~ $\text{al}$ seems intermediate between a final extension and combined independent formant. The status of medial $t$ is similarly ambiguous in $\text{ax}t\acute{a}l'$. The $i$ in $\text{int}\text{a}x$ and $\text{hix}\text{t}$ is unclassified here. These endings are found with two 1 Conjugation verbs and are not related to the simplex 2 Conjugation marker $i$. The formant $\text{int}\text{a}x$ is also found in nominal derivation (abstract and verbal noun) and from its semantics in that context is clearly related to diminutive $-i\text{t}$. The rare ending $\text{ak}\text{an}$ is categorised as a complex formant based on $\text{an}$ but the $\text{ak}$- component is left unanalysed. As mentioned above, there is one further complex formant which contains an ending which is not an independent verbal noun suffix but is found independently elsewhere in nominal morphology: ($t'$+)$\text{ax}$+$\text{an}$ (often alternating with $\text{ax}+$+$\text{an}$ which can be fully verbal but is also found in abstract nouns). The interpretation may depend on a given formant’s lexical relationship; for example, the $t$ of $t\text{ax}\text{an}$ in $m\acute{u}l > m\acute{u}l\text{t}\text{ax}\text{an}$ is analysed as the independent verbal noun marker, not the $t$-extension, since this
long verbal noun form can be related to the more common verbal noun of mil > m’iút’. The ending ux, here categorised as simplex, might alternatively be interpreted as a combination of u and ax. Note that ux and ax often alternate in the same verb. Similarly, simplex fart’ can be analysed as f (extension or related to av) + ar (dependent ending) + t’ (ending or, given a wider definition, extension). Irregular formation includes suppletion, irregular coalescence, and so on. Some of the less common formants, discussed above, could also be classified as irregular.

Verbal noun formants are generally semantically neutral although there are two endings which are found (including in nominal derivation) with roots denoting sounds, i.e. f (e.g. scread > screadail) and ux (e.g. báir > bháiriúch). Some verbs with more than one verbal noun may have various subtle shades of meaning according to which verbal noun is used. A longer variant tends to have more intensive, repetitive meaning, e.g. rith > rith, riheacht, reathach the last two being sometimes a shade more intensive or specific. For related nominal derivation, e.g. lúb > VN lúbadh with intransitive intensive and / or iterative noun lúbarail; cnagadh, cnagarnaíl; preabadh, preabarnaíl; sú ~ súbh ~ súthadh, sáitéaracht (mostly intransitive); see 3.164 above and compare, for example, sniomh, sniomhachán below (5.215). In the verb cas the meaning ‘turn’ has verbal noun casadh, and ‘meet’ has both castáil and casachtáil. For similar caitheamh vs. caitheachtáil, etc., see below (5.204). So also for the common cur ‘bury’ ~ cuir ‘put, sow’ distinction. This verbal noun has a further conditioning factor in that cur ‘sow’ is common before pausa. Other semantic differences are discussed in 5.210 ff.: cínt(e), cinneadh (5.211); corrat, corrí; creidiúint, creisteachtáil, etc. (5.212); cuir, cur; féachtáil, féachaint, féachain; fileadh, filliúint (5.213); glaoch(dáil) (5.214) (tu)spáint (5.215).

5.199 Phonological conditioning of verbal noun formation is, in many cases, of little or no importance. Conjugational, and to a greater extent, lexical factors are most important. The combinations of endings with stems are summarised here.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ending</th>
<th>follows stems in final:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Zero</td>
<td>consonant (1 and 2Conj), including h’/’, or long vowel (1Conj) or schwa (2Conj);</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. -C’ &gt; -C’</td>
<td>continuant Γ, r’, f, v’ of 1 and 2Conj;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-C’ &gt; -C’a</td>
<td>consonant Γ, m’, (K’, r’t) of 1Conj;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. -a</td>
<td>consonant of 1 and 2Conj;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-hɔ</td>
<td>long vowel of 1Conj;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. -u</td>
<td>consonant of 2Conj, rarely 1Conj, or long vocoid of CRUAIGH class;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-u nt’</td>
<td>palatal continuant Γ, t’, n’ or nonpalatal n of 1Conj (progressively rg of 2Conj);</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-f-unt’</td>
<td>d’ of 1Conj;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. -i</td>
<td>continuant n, rh, r’, s of 2Conj;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. -ax, -axøn, -ax̃n</td>
<td>consonant of 1 and 2Conj or long vocoid of 1Conj and CRUAIGH class;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-t’axøn</td>
<td>palatal Γ of 1Conj;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-axt</td>
<td>consonant of 1 and 2Conj;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ending</th>
<th>follows stems in final:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-r'ax</td>
<td>~ -n'ax, -r'axt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-iáxt</td>
<td>r, r', rk' of 1 and 2Conj;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-iáxan, -iáxan</td>
<td>n of 2Conj;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-iáxt</td>
<td>h of 1Conj;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-áx</td>
<td>long vowel of 1 (and 2) Conj;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-táfel'</td>
<td>consonant of 1 and 2Conj or long vowel of 1Conj;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-táfel'</td>
<td>d' of 1Conj;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-táx't</td>
<td>long vowel of 1 (and 2) Conj;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-táxf'</td>
<td>long vowel of 1Conj, progressive;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7. -án velar stop (g, g') of 1Conj or consonant of 2Conj;
   -án' velar fricative (x) of 1Conj
   -áxt velar (k, g, g', x) of 1Conj or palatal (nt) of 2Conj;
   -f-áxt palatal stop d', g' of 1Conj;
   -háx't r' of 1Conj;
   -háxt | consonant of 2Conj;

8. -áft', -ádl palatal stop f', d' of 1Conj;

9. -áft', -ádl velar stop g, g' (obsolete ng, progressive also j) of 1Conj or palatal n' (also rn, obsolete r) of 2Conj;
   -ádl is found following palatal stems only, except fág and fáil (and farr M); in a form of dissimilation;
   -ádl' velar stop g, g' of 1Conj or palatal n' (progressive st) of 2Conj, cp. also fáil(t);
   -t'ádl' consonant k, x, s, f of 1Conj (note that there is no (dissimilatory) *-t'ádl';

5.200 Conjugational

Conjugational conditioning of endings is not a major factor in the system as a whole. The endings -ad spreads and -ú are major 1 and 2 Conjugational markers respectively but even these are found in both conjugations (cf. 3., 4. below). Most

It is clear from this list that postconsonantally there is a wide range of possible endings. Following long vocoids the choice is far more limited; here one finds zero, -av ~ -u and -ax (including complex -áxan, -áxan, -áxa, -táxel', -táx't, -táxf'), rarely -há.
common endings are found with verbs of both conjugations and there seems to be little if any regularity in the gaps in their distribution. The minor endings -im, -il, -ich and -fat(yr)(ach) are found in the 1 Conjugation only. In fact the First Conjugation has a greater diversity of endings than the Second. The endings, and some representative conjugational examples, are listed here.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ending</th>
<th>1 Conjugation</th>
<th>2 Conjugation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Zero</td>
<td>se: ścigh, se: sá</td>
<td>f edam’ feoghlaim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. -C &gt; -C</td>
<td>snaev, snáinh, snaev snáinh</td>
<td>oskaí oscail, oskaí oscail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-C &gt; -C’a</td>
<td>mna’ múa, mna’ mánadh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. -a</td>
<td>br’ if, br’ ifa briseadh</td>
<td>as l, umra’ iomraigh, umra’ iomraigh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ba</td>
<td>in se: ściigh, seba sáitheadh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. -u</td>
<td>gaif, goil, ge: u goilleadh</td>
<td>baif a bailigh, baif u: bailú</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-unct</td>
<td>f ef fell, f ef u: feilisiúnt</td>
<td>(baugus: nontraditional bagair)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-unct</td>
<td>in kr ed’ creid, kr ef u: creisiúnt</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. -i</td>
<td>umsa tonsaigh, umsi: tonsal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. -ax</td>
<td>fKr ad scread, fKr adax screadach</td>
<td>duafa dàisigh, dufa: dàiseach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-axan</td>
<td>l: sa liath, l: isxan liachan</td>
<td>tana: tanaigh, tanaxon tanachan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-axun</td>
<td>f: figh, f isxen fiochán</td>
<td>g u: goirraigh, g u:raoxen giorrachán</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-r axun</td>
<td>in m’ fel, m: isxen muleachan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ax</td>
<td>rix ribh, rix u: rìtheacht</td>
<td>in’ af innis, infsx: insacht</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-<code>ax – n</code> ax</td>
<td>in g em’ gém, g em’ r’ax grìmeach</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-`ax – n’ax</td>
<td>in l em’ léim, l em’ r’ax léimreach</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-i:xt</td>
<td>tora tòraigh, toriaxt tòraiocht</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ixan</td>
<td>in tana: tanaigh, tanaxon tanalochan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ixun</td>
<td>in tana: tanaigh, tanoxen tanalochan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ix:xt</td>
<td>in ro reith, rohix: xt reibhúnteacht</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ax</td>
<td>in gri: gnóthaigh, grixa gnóchail</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-axxtul</td>
<td>mar’ mair, mar’ axxtul maireachtáil</td>
<td>tangaí tangaigh, tangaax: tangaíachtáil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-j:xtul’</td>
<td>in kr ed’ creid, kr ef u:xtul’ creisiúntachtáil</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-axxtul</td>
<td>in gru: gnóthaigh, gruxxtul gnóchaint</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-axxtul</td>
<td>in gl: glaigh, gluxxtul glaochail</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-an’</td>
<td>t’ ag lean, t’ agan leagan</td>
<td>in’ af innis, in:fan in:sean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-an’</td>
<td>f’ aifcach, f’ axan feachtain</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-an’</td>
<td>t’ ig lie, t’ ixt ag lint</td>
<td>in’ af innis, in:fan: insint</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-j:xt</td>
<td>f tig t’ ir: xt taiscint</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>-haxst</td>
<td>in fuar: föir, for’ ha:xt fuar:最喜欢</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-okan</td>
<td>in kuri’ a comhairligh, kuri’ okon combhailteach</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. -am’</td>
<td>f’ if tif, f’ ir: am’ títim, Cg. f’ am’ sein</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-am</td>
<td>fog’ Ùfog, fog’s:’ fàgáil</td>
<td>kis: coinnigh, kis: (ef):’ coinnéad&amp;il</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-am’</td>
<td>fog’ tìog, foa’ eff: teògraid</td>
<td>kis: coinnigh, kis: (ef): coinnéad &amp;il</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-tul’</td>
<td>buax tuach, buaxxtul buachtail</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. -id’</td>
<td>fKr ad scread, fKr adid’ screadail</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-hul’</td>
<td>in ber bair, ber hí: bair:thil</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-hul’</td>
<td>in ber bair, ber hul’ bair:thil</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. -ux</td>
<td>fKr ad scread, fKr adux screadail</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-lux(t)</td>
<td>in ber bair, ber lux(t) bair:thich(t)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-uxun</td>
<td>in fada faid:il, fadauxen fadaichean</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. -fart, -farxt</td>
<td>in saoth, farxt saothair, farxt saothairach</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. -f</td>
<td>f: aif, f: aif: sibh</td>
<td>tar: na tarrain, tarxt tarrain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. -tv, -tvt</td>
<td>in triagh, tri: triabh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1080  Verbs

The sometimes contradictory classifications of simplex and complex endings indicate that these surface classifications are simplistic and are, in such instances, not particularly morphologically explanatory.

Verbal noun genitive inflection is described in 5.224 ff. For verbal noun plurals, see 4.31 and 4.171.

5.201  I Endings: 1. Zero ending; 2. Depalatalisation

1. Simplex: Zero ending, the verbal noun has identical form to the stem

1Conj beir bér (progressive by-form of irregular beir); bruith; kir’ cuir; d’ial diol; dóigh, dó; fi[f]k’ faoisc; gléas, e.g. á gléas féin 866ESem96; ioc; léigh, lè (more commonly léabh); loit, e.g. gá loit go maith Semr142, gá loit 869P2; ól; reic; sioc; suigh sì; suí sí; sí (for collocational conditioning, see BLIGH class, 5.138); suigh su., sú su.; tomáin (sisters 04Br and 15W only, generally tomáint); te[ě] tois; tu[ě] tomhais; trust trust. The SÁBHAIL class, e.g. sábháil.

1, 2Conj eiteal.

2Conj athris; feoghlaim; iomair ~ iomraigh, iomramh; (tórраigh, tórраmh).

2. Simplex: Depalatalisation -C’ > -C”; Complex -C’ > -C’ə (-adh)

1Conj cuir, cur; diúil, diúl; gi[l] goil, gul goli; siúil, siúil; snáimh, snáimh; táil, tál SM, also tu[ə] M táladh; cp. fuail ~ fuail, fual.

2Conj ceangail, ceangail; iompair, iompar; oscail, oscail; tochais, tochas; tochraí, tochras; (for the last two verbs, see FEOGHLAIM class, 5.165). Cp. tionscail, attested in pst thionscail hínseal 18J, with VN tionscail LFRM.

Complex -C’ > -C’ə -adh

1Conj loisc, loisceadh (mostly), also loscadh; tál, táladh (also tál); three verbs in -áir: dún, dúnadh; múin, múinadh; (also múi(n) ‘urinate’, múin, múinadh); tuin, túnadh.

Notes
cart, cartadh generally, but cairt (2sg impv) and VN cartadh 852Sb1.97–8. dóirt dorr, VN dorrə but in phrase:
(tu[ě]) dorrta >> dorrə (beʃt i) tá sé ag dorrtaí / dorrteadh (báistí).

faoisc, faoic, fatri’ fi[f]k’i:ha / fiski:[ha] M fatai faoiscithe / faoiscithe, fut fiska mi[ə]d Mperm faoiscitaídh miud muid, VN iad i[f]k’ | M iad a fhaoisce; n’i[ə] f[i][k’ / fisk e’ na fadi’ fin’ æd M nil faoi(isc ar na fatai a’d. The palatal forms were produced first by Mairé; some weeks later, however, when queried, only the nonpalatal forms were claimed to be acceptable, the palatal version having been completely forgotten. Speaker 27Mdq has palatal only: fut fi[f]k’ə, vadji fi[f]k’i:ha, VN fi[f]k’ə; also faoiscadh Cladi74.

loisc, loisceadh M, rarely loscadh M and in phrases loscadh loskə sleiβhe19J, loscadh na ladhair FFG s.v. loscadh.

scor, scoradh 27Mdq.

troisc does not normally depalatalise in the verbal noun, e.g. pst hróf[ə] Mq, fut tróf[ə] M. 35E, VN treʃk’ə / tróʃk’ə M, but also as VN troskə Mperm. The nonverbal noun is normally troskə troscadh, cp. genitive in ’lu: troskə,
5.202 3. -a(dh); 4. -ú; 5. -i

3. Simplex -a -a, -adh; Complex -ha -theadh (see also 2, 6)
This ending is generally masculine but feiste is feminine with lenited adjective in:
\[ tu féit a wáh er' a gorax am \]
M tá feiste mhaith ar an gcóraich a'm.
Cp. the relatively frequent feminine marking of verbal nouns in -ú (3.5).
1Conj braith, braha \(20\)Myq in ag theadh air (generally brath), bréan, a’
bréanadh \(864\)M\(v\)\(t\)\(62\); caill, cailleadh; clár, cláradh; feist, feiste; gearr,
gearradh; guibh, guibhe; th, ithe; múch, múchadh; sean, seanadh; scuab,
scuabadh M, *scuab MOperm.
2Conj brocaigh, brocadh P (verbal forms definitely 2Conj for P); codail, codladh
kola; clúdaigh, clúdaadh \(52\)P; diúrhoigh, diúndaigh (e.g. ga jorna \(11\)C dhá
diúndaigh); iomad, iomradh, e.g. aq’ umar, umar\(\) M; (rare tórraigh,
common VN törramh); note also dándaigh SM. Clearly, 2Conj verbs in VN -a
can also be classified under 1. above.

Complex -ha -theadh
For some speakers without lexical h in sáigh, súcha sáitheadh.

4. Simplex -u -ú; Complex -uñt' -úint, -f-unt' -s-úint
1Conj fair, fairiú (more commonly faire, see 'Sandhi' for -a -u in faire and
other verbal nouns (2.52 ff.)); gai', goill, goi' u: goilleadh; loigh, lai, loighe
generally, also lai_u: 01P (Doire Iorrais).
1, 2 2Conj (CRUAIGH class) cruaigh, cruaiú, where -u alternates with -aw. Also
téith, t'eha ~ t'ehu: teitheadh. Cp. luaigh, ghá lautha l'é bean \(894\)C9,
implying a possible ending -hu:
2Conj criorthaigh, criorthú; cuartaigh, cuartaich; éiligh, éiliú (866ESemr58);
iomair, iomáí (rare); smaoineigh, smaoineu (866ESemr46); taitnigh, taitnhiú
(\(894\)C9), wil' fe taes' hér laet Mq an bhfuil s é ag taitnú leat?

Complex -uñt' -úint
1Conj caill, caillíúint '11C; cinn, cinniúint; féill, féilliúint; fill, fiulliúint (also
fellheadh); goill, goilliúint; ginn, ginniúint; loigh, goilliúint; lean, leaniúnt;
sar, sarúint; tuill, tuillíúnt. Cp. seinn, fín' uñt' \(894\)C9 seinniúint.
2Conj bagairt, nontraditional baugust' 78B, for traditional bagairt.

Complex -f-unt' -s-úint
1Conj creid, creistiúint.

5. Simplex -i -i; Complex -iáxt -locht (see 6)
2Conj cónaigh, cónaí; éirigh, éiri; fiathraigh, fiathraí; imiugh, impí;
tosaigh, tosáí.
In the noun meaning 'laugh' both gáire and gáirí occur, as if singular and plural,
although often apparently synonymous, e.g. aq meangaireacht gháire / gháirí,
but the verbal noun is gáirí. As a noun gáire occurs (unambiguously) in singular -e
and plural -i, e.g.
Verbs

5.203  6. -ach, -acht

6. Simplex -ař -ach; Complex -ř ąř -n' ąř; -ąřan -achan; -ąřan -achan; -ąřan -teachan; -ař -acht; -ř ąřt ~ -n ąřt; -ąřt -locht; -ąřan -lochan; -ąřan -iochán; -ięxt -inteacht; -ąřa -achadhr; -ęxt -achtáil; -ęxt -achtáil; (see also 7. and 12.)
1Conj blaogha / glaogha, blaogha / glaogha; éist, éisteach; scread, screadach.
2Conj cumhdaigh, cumhdaigh; dúisigh, dúiseach.

Complex -ař an -achán
1Conj géim, g emr ąř g emn' ąř géimneach; léim, l emr ąř léimneach.

Complex -ař an -achán
1Conj lag, lagachan; liath, liachan; meáigh, meáchan; righ, riochan; snoigh, snoochan; tiubh, tiuchan; cp. buigh (rare), butochan.
2Conj cruagh, cruachan; foeigh, feochan; cp. the noun duibheachan.

Complex -ař an -achán
1Conj breac, breacachán M; caoin, caoineachán; figh, fiochán; ligh, lochán; níochán; snoigh, snoochan. Cp. suigh, suí, related noun suíochan.

Complex -ař an ~ -ař an occur in:
1Conj liath, l'ixan M, l'ixan SM; tiubh, t'ixan S, t'ixan M.
2Conj bánaichán 869P5, bánaichán ... bánú 20P; geall(aigh), g'elaxan P, g'elaxan M, P gealchan.

Complex -ař an -achán
1Conj liath, l'ixan M, l'ixan SM; tiubh, t'ixan S, t'ixan M.
2Conj giorraigh, g urixan M, also g urixan giorraich.

Cp. mařan, mařan P mainneachan. Pádraig used the following four forms in the same discourse in the following order:
vi: je g'elaxan ... mařan le ... g'elaxan ... mařan P bhí sé ag gealchan ... ag mainneachán lae ... gealchan ... mainneachan; He also uses g'ælu: Pt in this context of the dawn.

Cp. li' e kuřaxan na híth M le crónachán na hoiche.

Complex -t ąř an -teachán
1Conj mil, m'iu t'ixan S.

Complex -ař -acht
1Conj éist, éisteach; fan, fanacht; lean, leanacht; rith, rithacht;
2Conj ceannaigh, ceannacht; dúsigh, dúiseacht; imigh, imeacht; innis, inseacht; réitigh, réiteacht, cp. fir' ařt M, 43M fuireacht.

Complex -r ąřt ~ -ń ąřt -neacht
1Conj léim, l'erm ařt 21Ptq, 26P léimneacht, also l'erm ařt 11C.

Complex -iař -locht
1Conj doir, dáiřocht (rare, VN more commonly dár).
2Conj maireigh (inflected verb heard in conversation only once), maire-locht, less commonly márkařt 869P (implying a possible *marcaigh);
tóraigh, tóraíocht; cp. cuartaíocht distinct from cuartaigh, cuartá.

**Complex -iáxan -iáxan -lochan, -iáxan -lochan**

2Conj tana tanaigh, taníxan tanalochn (also lowered taníxan 21Ptq, also taníxan and lowered taneíxan 21Ptq); taníxan 20T tanalochn.

Cp. adjective tanuí.

**Complex -ánt aínt -ánteacht**

1Conj ro reith, rohínt aínt M reínteacht.

Complex -axa -achadh

1 (2) Conj grú: gnóthaigh, grúxa S gnóchadh (cp. buachadh).

5.204 6. (continued) -achtáil

**Complex -axtaí -achtáíl**

1Conj bac gan bacachtáil leithi 20C (<< bacadh, bactáil);
creid creideachtáil, more commonly creisteachtáil, etc.;
dlígh glíntaí M;
féad féadachtáil S in more nominal use only;
maigh mixtaí M, 18Bm, also miów SM;
mair maireachtáil;
síl sileachtáil, e.g.

ag rith ... ? ’sileachtáil é bhuadadh ... 866E Semr160,
-A Mhurachín ghráinne, ... a deir sí, a’ sileachtáil an
mainead a scioba 866EBi6.111;

sroich srohaxtaí sroichteachtáil.

2Conj airigh generally aireachtáil, but aér’u Mperm;
aithnigh generally aéntxatáí, but note e aéntuur M, Mperm;
amhdaign amhdachtáil;
etíght et’axt, et’áxt, et’axtaí’, note:

’n’i wae: l’um e’ et’u: Mperm ní níth liom é a eitiú;
gnóthaigh gruxtaí;
réitígh re’taxtaí’ ? 52Cr;
tanaígh taungi xtaí SM, note taungu Mperm, contrast higher
register, conservative vocabulary t’angáwd ‘fight’;
taobhaigh tiwxtaí SM; note e’ hiwu Mperm;
tarlaigh tarlaxtaí 20My;
taitnigh tais’hxtaí generally;
togair tograxtaí.

The complex -achtáil generally alternates with another ending. The by-form
in -achtáil has a generally narrower semantic range in the case of caith, cas, ceannaigh and éirigh. With these verbs the verbal noun in -achtáil is perhaps
exclusive to the narrower meaning, although (at least) in the verb éirigh both
eéirí as well as éireachtáil occur meaning ‘happen’.

caitheamh vs. caitheachtáil as noun only, in the modal sense ‘have to, compulsion’. Cp. modal féad, féadachtáil as noun, above.
casadh vs. casachtaíl ~ castáil in the sense ‘meet’, e.g.
cainteoir ... chasachtáil air 894C9.
ceannacht vs. ceannachtáil in the sense ‘spend effort at or for’.
Verbs

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nax ma: xæna tu' i nax ma: to tu' gor' kænæxtæf M
nach maith a cheannaigh tú i nach maith atá tú dhá cheannachtáil!

éiri vs. éireachtáil in the sense 'happen' (cp. tarlachtáil):
aon bhlas eireachtáil gon bhreídín 894C;

nìl fhios a'd céard atá ag goil ag éireachtáil;

Also éirí, e.g.
níor chuala mé tada, éirí dh'aon nduine 899D

In reply to query, in the meaning 'happen',
ag éirí suas was preferred to ag éireachtáil suas by 21Ptq, but both were permitted by 27Mdq.

Complex -fæxtæf' -s-eachtáil
1Conj creid, creisteachtáil.

Complex -axæxt' -achtáll
1 (2) Conj gru gnóthaigh, gruaxæxt' 21Pt.

(Complex -axæf' -acháill
1Conj glaoigh, glaocháil 48M 'making a phone-call'; perhaps influenced by more common ringéil (< ring) which may have been avoided; perhaps hapax legomenon.)

5.205

7. -an

7. Simplex -an -an; -on' -ain; Complex -æxt' -int; -fæxt' -s-int; -hæxt' -thint;
-ixt' -int; -hiæxt' -thint; -añænt -acan; (see also 4. and 6.)
1Conj lag, lagan; leag, leagan; lig, ligean; tlig, tligean Clad145.
1Conj f' ex / f iæx féach, f iæxænt 869P féacháin.
2Conj cairic, cairiscan; innis, insean; daoirigh, daoirsean.
2Conj given abstract daoirsean 869P5.246. (Aíf)05M, the verb daoirigh may have VN daoirsein.

Complex -æxt' -int
1Conj baç, baçaint; buach, buacháint 897S1: féach, féacháint; lig, ligéint;
leag, leagáint.
2Conj innis, insint 18B.

Complex -fæxt' -s-int
1Conj creid, creistint; tig, tiscint.

Complex -hæxt' -thint
1Conj fóir, fóirthinth.

Complex -hiæxt' -thint; -ixt' -int
1Conj fóir, fóirthinth, for' hiæxt', also fuar' iæxt' !04B3s.

Complex -añænt -acan
2Conj comhairligh, kuir' açan S comhairleacan also kuir' acan. Cp. ávlækän ávlækæn, etc., adhlaçan; f índlacän f índlacän tionlacan, both with now obsolete verbs or verbs in higher register only.
5.206

8. Simple -im; 9. -áil; 10. -il

8. Simple -am-ím, -(am-am)
1Conj tit, titim; druaid / daird, durdim Clad6, druaidim Clad15, 105. Cp. téisclim
(e.g. 866ESemr72).
-am-án: 1Conj (obsolete) seinin, fín-am 81Pt. cp. ga hiš-am ga b'íx-
04B21 (x2) dhá sheinn go binn; but a fín-am 04B3s. Cp. téiscleam, e.g.
faoi chaír na téiscleam a bhi i894C9.

9. Simplex -aíl, -aíl, -áil, -áil; with Extension and / or Complex -átla' -áilt, -tal-
-tál; -'al- -teál; -'aíl- -teál; (see also 6.)
1Conj clois, klufad 899D6861 cloiseáil (generally cloisteáil, cloisteál); fág, fágáil, fágáil; farc, farcaíl, farcál; tóig, tóigeáil, tóigeáil.
2Conj coinnigh, coineáil, coinneáil; cruinnigh, cruinneáil 12J (generally cruinniú); tagaigh, tangáil 869P4–5 (generally tangachtáil); tastaigh, tastaíl; cp. tárrtháil 894C9, ga ma harrhai' S dho mo tharrtháil which verb occurs only in the present subjunctive go darrha: go dhárrthaí.

Complex -aíl' -áilt
1Conj fág, fágáilt; tóig, tóigeáilt.
2Conj coinnigh, coinneáil; tastaigh, tastaíl 60M.
Cp. irregular fa' faigh, fáilt, and failt 89M (in 1998, aged eight).

Complex -tal' -táil, -tal' -teál; -'aíl -teál
1Conj bac, bactáil (e.g. M); buach, buachtáil; cas; castáil; féach, fíachtáil
S féachtáil, clois, cloisteáil (cluisteáil), cloisteáil.

10. Simplex -il' -il; Complex -hiil' -thil
1Conj scréach, scréacháil; scread, screadáil; cf. (rarely if ever inflected) biogáil, brúachtáil M >>> brúachtáil M, cabail S.

Complex -hiil' -thil
1Conj bair, burháiil báirthúil, also bur-íl' P. Cp. gáirthúil garhiil' Mq, garhiil' P' g'uniil' geonail; fiuniil' siánail.

Nonpalatal -ol is the form transcribed in 869P2, etc., e.g. a' feadaíl ag ... , scréachaíol 869P2, but this is unlikely to be the genuine dialect form; contrast (from speaker 869P (or his son)) glogáiil 46.125 glogáil.
Cp. the simplex -il' and complex formation (as in plural) -ilaxi' ; -ilaxi' ; -ilaxa
5.207 11. -úch; 12. -fairt; 13. -t; 14. -bh

11. Simplex -ux -úch (alternatively < u+ax); Complex -hx -thúch; -htúcht; -hxan
1Conj béc, béicíuch; scread, screadúch S; cp. m'é ef (h)ux méiliúch.

Complex -hx -thúch
1Conj bair, báirthiúch; cp. méan(th)úch; blair hx M blaidhrhiúch.

Complex -hxut -thúcht
1Conj bair, báirthiúcht.

Complex -hxan -úchán
2Conj fadaigh, fadúchán, far more commonly fadá, i.e. analysable as 4. -w+oxan.

12. Simplex -fairt -fairt (complex interpretation also possible); Complex -fairtax -fairtach
1Conj sraoth, sraort sraofairt.

Complex -fairtax -fairtach in 1Conj sraoth, sraifert sraofartach.

13. Simplex -t -t (for Complex see 6., 7., 9., 11.). As simplex always -t'
1Conj bain, baint; ceil, ceilit; fuin, faut; e.g. fún t' 46.257; ginn, ginnit; léim, léimt; sábhaíl, sábhaílt; sil, silt; spáin, spáint; spárail, spárailt; tomáin, tomáint; tuin, tüint.

1. 2Conj foilinn, foilint, e.g. fól an t' 46 s.v. fulint.
2Conj bagair, bagairt; cangail, cangailt, e.g. ká gáal t' 46.33; coigil, coigilt, e.g. ká gil t' 46.548; coisinn, coisint; cuimil, cuimilt; freagair, freagairt; fuagair, fuagairt; imir, imirt; iompair, iompairt (including ar iompair aici 52P); labhair, labhairt; seachain, seachaint; tarrainn, tarraint; tochal, tochailt, e.g. toxóil t' 46.116.

Cp. nouns used in verbal noun progressive syntax, e.g. mungailt.

1Conj cloigh, cloiobh; cráigh, crábh; ledigh, leábh; léigh, léabh; maigh, mícw SM; oeigh, oiv S, M85 (ro: M84. 66Nq); sáigh, sáw Sq, sa ~ sáv 69Ssq sábh, more commonly sa: also saha; spréigh, spréabh; téigh 'heat', téabh; tráigh, trábh; traigh, traobh.

suigh, su, si: generally, but suíomh 852Sb11356.

1. 2 Conj cruaih, krua S92, kruaw M85, krua: S, kruaw 20Ml. Also feoigh, feobh. Cp. biaidh, a b' iav [b' iavf b' iaw b' iav] M, FFG, and b' iaw: S with no directly corresponding verb. Cp. aw ~ u: in the past impersonal (5.80 ff.). It could be argued that of the two aw ~ u: variants found in the CRUAIGH class, aw is the 1Conj ending and the u: 2Conj.

In material in RBE speaker 866E differentiates between the verbal noun kraw and noun kra: e.g.

go mo chrádhdh (chrá) 866Esm310 (i.e. kraw VN),
mo chrá chugam 866Esm108, etc., (noun).
Similarly, the noun krAÉ occurs in:

\[ v \mathrel{\sim} g \text{ krAÉ } i \mathrel{\sim} (\text{SmDs})04B \text{bhí an crá imíthe.} \]

On the other hand, speaker 11C uses krAÉw in both contexts, e.g.

\[ \text{go mo xraw 11C dho mo chrábh (VN);} \]
\[ \text{ma xraw a d' e' a ri: 11C 'Mo chrábh!' a deir an rí (noun).} \]

See ‘Sandhi’ for \(-E > -Ew (~ -uÉ)\) in caitheamh (2.53).

5.208 II Extensions

The t extension occurs in -tAÉl , -tAÉl , -tAÉl in:

\[ \text{bac, bactáil; buach, buachtáil; cas, castáil; féach, féachtáil;} \]
\[ \text{palatalised in clois, cloisteáil (cluinsteáil), cloisteáil.} \]

The n ~ r extension occurs in two verbs only, both of which contain radical -em’:

\[ g'\text{em'} géim, g'\text{em'}\text{ax} g'\text{em'}\text{ax} \text{giénneach;} \]
\[ l'\text{em'} léim, l'\text{em'}\text{ax} l'\text{em'}\text{ax(t)} \text{lénneach(t).} \]

Cp. brim’ broim and derived brimr’ ax broimneacht.

The f extension is infixed before the radical stops d and g in four verbs.

\[ f + \text{st}: \text{creid, creistiúint; tairg, tairiscint; tig, tiscint; tréig, tréiscint;} \]
\[ \text{Cp. tuairgint 148 ... tuairgint 149 ... tuairgint 160 864Mlt;} \]
\[ \Rightarrow \text{tuar'og'ax't ~ tuar'afk'ax't, perhaps *tuaraq'ax't}. \]

\[ f + \text{nt}: \text{creid, creistiúnt.} \]
\[ f + \text{xt}: \text{creid, creisteachtáil.} \]

In kl’þán 46.390 cluinsteáil , the rare variant VN of clois ~ cluin, the f can be analysed as an extension or attributed to influence between clois and cluin.

The h extension occurs following r in two verbs.

\[ h + \text{st}: h + \text{xt}: \text{fóir, for'has't fóirthint, for'hisxt fóirthint, fuar'isxt.'} \]
\[ h + \text{ax}; h + \text{xt}: \text{búir, bur'has'bur'has't búirtheacht(t),} \]
\[ h + \text{ux}; h + \text{uxt}: \text{bur'lux bur'lux't búirthiúch(t).} \]
\[ h + \text{id}: \text{búir, bur'hi'f' búirthil.} \]

As in similar instances in the morphology, tokens without h can be difficult to classify, i.e. whether h has been lost phonetically, common beside sonorants (see 1.394 ff.), or whether it is absent lexically. It is uncertain, for example, whether 19P’s recorded bur’id’ aligns with screadaíl or with bur’hi’f’. The phone h also occurs in:

\[ h + a : \text{sáigh, sacha sáthadh.} \]

For a speaker such as 36S who does not otherwise have lexical h with this verb, e.g. pst imprs sáu; verbal noun sacha is best interpreted as containing extension h, i.e. sáu+h+a. The older speaker 869P has lexical h in sáigh and so his verbal noun is to be analysed as sach+a. Cf. CAITH class above (5.124). Cp. possible hu: with luaigh (5.202 4.).

5.209 III Irregular Verbal Nouns

A few otherwise regular verbs have irregular verbal nouns:

\[ \text{bligh, bl’ an bleeăn; doir, dair’dair; gabh, got’got’gabháil(t).} \]
With go gabh, go’ gabháil(t) one can compare irregular verb fu: faigh, fu’ fáil(t) arguably derivable from fu’ad’, recall rare fuil 89M. The rare verb ionlaigh was noted in: pst d’ionlaigh sé é féin l.1.152; VN ionlad is attested in genitive usice ánlad 866ESc319.61. Many of the irregular verbs have irregular verbal nouns, e.g. teighre, go’; teara, t’áxt. Some formations classified above as regular are very uncommon and could be classified as irregular, e.g. fóir, for’hixt’ fua’xt’ fórthiúnt. Similarly, sraoth, sraothnail 17M only, in fun’ [jiniil’ oram [x2] 17M fonn sraothnail orm, is classified as irregular here but could be seen as complex containing fri: (root) with -n- (extension) and -if (suffix). Note eiteal > elitreog with ag (5.213).

Young people’s dialect
sraoth, general VN sraofairt (also sraofartach), but snifáxt 66N (5.223). This snifáxt form is strictly speaking probably not a verbal noun for noun 66N; it is unlikely she inflects a verb sraoth.
bagair, general VN bagairt, has irregular metathesis and a different ending in ba’gxuxt’ orhab 78B barguint orthub (possibly influenced by argúint).

5.210 Verbs with more than one Verbal Noun; aipigh — cas

For -áil ~ -áil and -áil ~ -áilit, etc., see further below (5.216; 5.218).
aipigh, aipeachan, (aipiuá), cf. LFRM aipiú and apachan.
aithris, aithris, aithrist
amhdaigh, amhdachtáil, e.g. ávda’t S, amhdáil, e.g. ávda’t S, (amhdú).
at, at generally (including 66N), atá 66Nq (5.414).
bac, bacadh, bacáil, bacachtáil, bacağınt.
bagair, generally bagairt, ba’gxuxt’ orhab 78B barguint orthub.
balaigh, balhu: balú, cp. balhor’xt balórreacht. (Note balú LFRM not in dialect according to Máire.)
bán(aigh), báiní, bánaichán, bánachan, the last form meaning ‘becoming a white colour’ occurs in òsait (i.e. òsait) ... a’ bánachan 869P5.
béic, béicli, béiclich >> béicceach.
bligh, bleáin generally, but note a bh’éant [ na ma: [ (Scbér)04B which can be interpreted as ag bleánnt na mbá (cf. 10.68) or even bleánnt (cp. leagant 19B, Doire an Locháin).

bog, bogadh generally, also bogachan, bogachán.
brath, generally brath, but braha 20Myq in ag braitheadh air.
breaig, brocadh, breacánach M.
brocaigh, brocadh P, brocú M.

buach, buachadh (e.g. 25M), buachaite 897S1 also boxáxt’ 78E, buachtáil. The last form is common as a noun (in older speakers): ag iarraidh an buachadh, fháil ar ... an bhfear eile 872P; go bhfuinín [bhfuighinn] an buachtaíl air l.185.

cail, caileadh, cailliúnt! (Abstm)11C in Nach mise an trua Mhuire is mé ag cailliúnt na gcéad le grá.
caoin, caoimeadh, caoineachán.
caisric, caisricean, coisricean, karfrak’an 894C, korfrak’an 25M, cp.
Verbal Noun

5.211 **cinn**

cinn, cinneadh (cf. ‘Sandhi’ 2.53), cinniúint. This verb occurs most frequently in the phrase:

\[ \text{tá (bhi, etc.) s é cinnte orm (ort, air) ... or ... ag cinn ort ...} \]

The form **k’int’** in this phrase is ambiguous as to whether it is to be analysed as a verbal adjective, i.e. tás é cinnite orm, or verbal noun, i.e. tás é ag cinnt orm. In fact both analyses or interpretations are in evidence. In **tú fe k’int’ orom** 46.980 Wagner translates ‘I am failing’. (In GCF §§172, 174 the verbal nouns of **cinn** are given as cinneadh, cinniúint and cinnt, and there is an example in ICF v’i: **fe: k’int’ er’** transliterated bhí sé ag cinn ort $\S$358, line 57. Similarly, transcriptions in RBÉ show verbal noun interpretation, e.g. tás é a’ cinnt orm 866ESemr. So also in Hartmann et al. (1996), e.g. ARN6447. Similarly, VN given as cinn ort bhí sé ag cinn ort $\S$ in Arainn. (Tour[makeady]) Dinn s.v. cinnim. In the introduction to S. Mac Con Iomaire (1938) Tomás Ó Maille wrote níor cuireadh aon leabhar i gcló atá i ndon cinnte air which was modernised by Máirtín C. Ó Cadhain to ... in ann cinnte air (1985$^2$). The verbal noun by-form **cinn** is listed in FGB. Tá sé ag cinneadh orm FGB s.v. cinn$^1$ (without verbal adjective example). Similarly, Tá sé ag cinneadh orm teacht ... de Bhaldraithe (1959) s.v. trace$^4$ 4.)

Mac Giollarnáth (1936, 1940) has both spellings: bhí sí ag cinn ort a cur as. LL24, ‘agus é cinnte orainn a cur as.’ LL26; Bhí sé cinnte ar chomharsaí na Caillí Béaraí ... 870Bdt83, bhí sé cinnte air 876Jdt84, Níl rud ar bith a’ cinnt urthi, ... Níl tada a’ cinnt wirthi, 864Mdt91 (also a’ cinnt air Mac Giollarnáth 1937: 27). Séamas Ó Murchú (1998: 61–2) writes Tá sé cinnte orm é a thuiscint and notes that it can be difficult to tell whether cinnte or cinnt (VN) is involved. Similarly, go raibh ‘sé ag cinn ort chuid de na múinteoirí a scrúdú na bunseachtaí ... 864Mdt91. Níl rud ar bith a’ cinnt urthi, ... Níl tada a’ cinnt wirthi, 864Mdt91 (also a’ cinnt air Mac Giollarnáth 1937: 27). Sémas Ó Murchú (1998: 61–2) writes Tá sé cinnte orm é a thuiscint and notes that it can be difficult to tell whether cinnte or cinnt (VN) is involved.

When asked to use this phrase in slow deliberate speech, **21Pt** produced:

\[ \text{tá sé cinnte air k’int’ er’ ... tada a shábháilt, tá siad cinnte k’int’ orom, bionn siad ag cinniúint orm 21Ptq.} \]

This shows the verbal adjective form, at least in conscious production of the relevant phrase. Even more clearly, speaker **20Cq** analyses ... k’int’ ... in this phrase as verbal adjective k’int’ in, for example, **tu fe k’int’ orom tá sé cinnte orm**, and, in contrast, cinniúint as the verbal noun: b’inn / tu: fidh á k’is’un’ orom 20Cq bionn l tá sé ag cinniúint orm. He does not permit *bionn siad ag cinniúint orm 20Cq perm. In fact one speaker, who has regular verbal adjective sandhi -i: from -á before ag, also has k’int’ before ar, e.g.
Verbs

bhí sé cinntí orthub, k'int'í: orhábh | an chloch, a rabhnaíl. (Suda)894Cst.¹
Before pausa (in usage without ar) 01C also has k'int'á:

bhí sé cínnte i' k'int'í: a thabhairt isteach ... agus é cínnte, k'int'á | ... bhí sé cinnnte. k'int'á | 01C6447–50.

The form cinneadh has not been noted from fieldwork and only cinniúint (as VN of cinn) has been heard in query. It seems that the structure tá sé cinn(e) ar ... is being generalised with loss of the alternative, definitely verbal noun, syntax.

In older speakers, where both syntagms occur (cinn(e) ar as well as cinneadh /-iúint ar), most examples show a difference between a semi-modal usage of k'int' er 'not able', where the logical subject is the object of the preposition ar, and a semantically fuller use of cinneadh (less often cinniúint) 'get the better of, beat, defeat', where the logical subject and verbal subject are the same. E.g.

cinn(e) ar: tá sé a' cínnt orm, etc., 866ESemr; é ' cínnt ar aoin fhear 894C2;
cinneadh ar: is mór an obair cinniú air 866ESemr; in ann cinniú ar a’ ri sinne 866ESemr; ní féidir cinn(e) orthub 866ESemr;
d’iúnsa an bauchail a gá gá coinnedl. Agus bhí sé i seo a’ cinniú ar a’ mbuachail. 894C2.

As stated, cinniúint occurs less often, e.g. in ann cinniúint air le ... 869P3 ('defeat').

5.212 clis — cuimhnigh

clis, cliseadh, cliseáil 44Pc.
clois, generally kluft af' , kluft al, also kluf al 899D6861, klín'f' al' 46.390.
chúdaigh, clúadh 52P (contrast 27MdOperm), clúdha (e.g. 894C, 27Mdq), clúdach 27Mdperm.
cnead (rare), cneadach M, note also cneadaíl Mperm.
comhairligh, kurt' a'kan S comhairlecan, kurt' a'kan S comhairleachan,
kurt' a'kan M comhairleachán.
cónaigh, cónaí. Cp. nominal use (in narrative) Ní dhearna sé cónaí ~ cónaí ná staid ariamh go ... 
corcaigh, corrai, corrú, (S generally has corrai but he uses corrú in the sense 'vex' both as verbal noun and noun, e.g. chuir sé corrú orm / ar m’íntinn).
creid, creidiúint, creideachtaíl 66N, FFG, creistint 892M, 01P, M, FFG, creistíúint, creisteachtaíl 894C2, P, FFG. The form creisteachtaíl was also noted from 19P but in hesitant speech where he seemed to be searching for the correct ending and where he omitted the s-extension which he usually uses:

N’f’ en, a, x’ré’d’exte’ æd an P nil aon, e, chreideachtaíl a’d ann.
(There is an example of x’ré’f’t’ | in ní fhéadadh aon-nduine é chreideachtaí, ach ... 11C which may, however, be a type of prepausa (stylistic) reduction, omitting -áil.)

The noun creideamh means ‘belief, religion’; the verbal noun creidiúint, as

¹ He also has cím’ ar. Similarly, verbal adjectival use is found in Paróiste an Chaisléain Ghearr, north of Galway city: tá sé cínnti k’int’í orm (Tom Kelly (query), born 1913, Baile an Phoill), bhí sé cínnt [i.e. cínntí] orú a mbealach (a bhí ionsa steach sa teach (Seán Ó Fára, born c. 1900, An Baile Thios, Mionlach; in Ó Maolaithche 1948: 172).
a noun, means both ‘credit’ and ‘belief’, e.g. *is lag a’ chreidiúint atá a’d 869P5 ‘belief’; creistiúint, as a noun, also means ‘credit’ and ‘belief’. creisteachtáil and creideachtáil have been noted as nouns meaning ‘belief’ only, e.g. *níl aon chreisteachtáil a’m ann.
cruaigh, cruachan, cruadh, cruabh, 
cruinnigh, cruinniú generally, cuimneál 12J, e.g. 
krin’ in fiad ... go xrin’ ed, krin’ ed aer’ ag’ ad’ 12J 
cruinneál variants alternate, often within the same short discourse in:

*cruinneál* (sic) orthú ... tá tarlachtáil ... 66L.
It might be worthwhile to investigate whether the shorter variant is more common in progressive use following *ag* and whether the presence of the preposition *ar* influences the choice of form. Note, for example, the contrast in:

*níl sé i bhfad ó bhí mé ag cuímhriú áraidht air ... 25M.*

5.213 *cuir — fuin*

*cuir, cuir, cur.* There is a common collocational distinction in the meaning ‘sowing’ between *kur* *cur* before pause and *kir’ cuir* when followed by (common) verbal noun object, e.g. *ag cuir fhataí* (these common objects are often lenited). The distinction is made in the same short discourse by Máire in:

*a kir’ ætí: ... æx’ en’æx l’ef a kur M 
... ag cuir fhataí ... in éineacht leis ag cur.*

Similarly: *ní ghothá dhá cuir, 894Cs.* So also Seán, regularly:

*a kir’ ætí: S but ar fatti’ tu fiad a xur S ar fataí tá siad a chur?*

This distribution is by no means categorical, e.g. (meaning ‘sow’ in all examples)

*an t-earrach a chuir anseo i mbliana 11C,*

*an bealach a bhfuil an grán gá chuir ... bhíodar gá chuir 11C,*

*Tá bealach áirid lena gcuir M,*

*Níl siad curtha ach tá siad dhá chuir. 66N.*

Note the plural ... *deiseannaí, leithi oibre, agus gur thóigeadar talltaí ... agus go ndearndar saothrú ansin in Éirinn ar, chrannaí xurni: agus ar, chuile shórt ní ba mhá. 881J.*

In the meaning ‘put’ *cuir* is general in all positions. My oldest speaker, for example, has *go: gír’ an ba: 852S dhá gcuir un bás.* But *cur* does occur finally in this meaning, e.g.

*arthachái uilig bhíodh dhá gcuir M (in context of ‘saying’ or ‘using charms’),
níl mé i ndan é chur xur 29C ‘put’.*
Also medially, e.g.

The variant *cúir* is less generally used for ‘bury’ (most commonly *kur*) but some speakers use *kir* frequently in this meaning:

- *an corp seo a thabhairt leat agus a chúir.* *xur' | ... a chúir xir' ansin [x3] ...*
- *le cúir a'm, ... a chúir anseo 11C;*

- *g' lora i xir' M ag iarraidh l a chúir;*
- *na saogart' ... go gir' 60M na saogart' ... dhá gceur.*

The palatal stem-final is found in derived forms, i.e. (older) *curtaocht* has a less frequent variant *curtaoir* ~ *curtaoldir* SM.

diurraigh, go jarua, go jurnu, go jurnd M dhá diùrnadh; gá dhùírna

866E Smr52, go jurnd 11C.
doir, dáir, also dáirr >> dàireadh S, rare dàireadh, doir (5.307).
dòrt, dòrteadh, dòrtaidh especially in set phrases: dòrtaidh báistí l fola, but dòrtaidh báistí l fola l tae, etc.
eiteal, VN a g' etal 46.140, a getal S, 22J, (or a g' etroig or e e'troig) 46.140 ag eiltreog, ar eiltreog, cf. 5.308.
eithigh, et ax 866E, M, etaxt 21Pt, etoxtM; note et u. Mperm eitii. E.g. iad a bheith gá n-eiteach uilig 866E, ni dho i eiteach é S, níor maith liom mo chumbharsa eiteachtail faoi rud a' bith S.

fadaigh, fa'du M, v'i: e fa'duxan na t'inn a Mq bhí sé ag fadhuchán na tine.

fair, faire, faireu (cf. 'Sandhi' 2.54).

faoise, faosc, VNs faoise, faoisceadh.
faire, fárcadh ~ farcal ~ farcál M.

féach, féachtaí, féachtaínt, féachtaint, féachtain, (cp. da 'eart a eax M?perm do neart a "féachtainn). f' ioxan' 869P féachtain ‘test’, féachtain le ... 869P2. The by-form féachtaí (f ioxdal M) S means ‘try to’ and is used with the preposition le; féachtaint means ‘test (to exhaustion)’, e.g. da 'eart a eax M do neart a féachtain, a f' eaxt na x'as agas da lud, 04B8l ag féachaint do cheolais agus do lúd. The form féachtaínt also generally means ‘look at’ and is used with the preposition ar (far more common is breathnú ar). (Cf. GCF p. 75, n. 3.) féachtaí is now obsolete, it is unfamiliar to 21Ptq, for example. Cp. the conjunction f' eaxst', f' eant', etc., (8.137).

feist, feiste, feistidh 894C4.

feith, f' eha, f' ehu, e.g. a f' eha max S ag feitheamh amach, a f' ehu: wem' S ag feithiú ainm.

feoigh, f' oocht M feochb, f' ochan SM feochan, f' ou: M feodhá.

fill, fillleadh, filliúint; the semantics of these variants are discussed by S. Ó Murchú (1986: 207) where he suggests that fillleadh can mean both ‘return’ and ‘fold’ (e.g. common ag fillleadh éadach) but filliúint basically only ‘return’. This accords with SID 46.1148 and my own experience, e.g.

- b'éigean doil fillleadh ar ais abhaile 869PZ cp151,
- b' éigean doilh filliúint abhaile arís 864M1 l82,
- agus ag filliúint dhomsa abhaile ' (Asp) 11C, ag filliúint 1 Shigeachh ' (Abtm) 11C.

fóir, for host fóirthint, for hínt fóirthint, also fuar'int 04B3s.

fuin, fuint, fuineadh. The latter has been heard in the proverb is frusta fuineadh in aice na mine, where fuineadh rhymes with mine.
5.214  **geal — mún**

gal(aigh), galadh, galú, galachan, galachán.
geál, goáilleadh, goáilliúint, e.g. v’e g’ea.‘u:nxt’ d’i P bheith ag goáilliúint di, d’im ’a
... hugas [hugas?] g’ea.‘u:nxt’ P daoine ... a thuga(m)s goáilleadh dó sin.
ginn, ginniúint, ginnt, also g’i:n’a ginnneadh reported by 63S for his cousin from
Caladh Fhínse.
giarraigh, gí:urur, cp. noun g’suraxa:n giarraich, also g’suraxa:n M (as normal
VN g’suraxa:n a ropa Mperm ag giarraich an rópa).
glaigh, glix glaoch generally, gli: heard once from young male, born c. 1968,
and glaochaíl noted in kaha tu yo:’l a glixad ’48M caithidh t’u ghoil ag
glaochaíl (‘making a phone-call’).
gléas, gleas, gléasadh, generally, also g’u:t’ esa, t’es Mq.
gnóthaigh, grichtáil 869P2, S. gráchadh S, gríchaint 21Pt, e.g. cén taobh is má
goill, g’o:’l a (e.g. gá ro fe go:’l orha 21J go raibh sé ag goilleadh uirthi)
get.’u:nxt’ 43C, go:’l u: (and get.’u:): ’892M5437, S, 43M, gait.’u: 43M.
innis, inseach, insean, insint: iní:xt 20Ml, inseacht often 894C2, insean 894C4,
iní:xt 01C6955, S, 21PgARN, í:nhann 892Mg, S, 21C, iní:xt’ 18B.
iont, ionradh (also ionramsún) generally, including 892M, but nuair a bhí an
bruth ‘na phráidhm, iontú isteach um’ru: f’t’ax le sé bhhuile, 892M.
lag, lagachan S.
lean, leanchacht, leáimníú 00C, 04Br, 06C, M.
leogh, t’u:nw léadh generally, lé 899P and his son 32P (both Loch Con Aortha)
only, e.g. bhí an saigor ag lé t’e: an Aifrinn ann 899P, ... a lé t’e: 32P. (lé
is the general form in Ros Muc further east.) Note that t’e: occurs as a noun
in set phrases, e.g. n’é: t’e: a b’i t’e: will qæiti: kurh æ: S nil lé ar bith
le a bithul dh’fhual curtha a’inn, cf. 14 and FFG s.v. lé.
leigheas, VN regularly leigheas (e.g. 864M1.161); but dá leigheasú 864M1.78.
leim, leint, leinmeacht, léimneacht, (–mn’ ~ –mr’-). Cp. ‘bok t’emr’:xt’ 894C
boilcinmeacht.
loigh, lai generally, also lai:a: 01P (Doire Iorrais).
loisc, loiscedadh M, rarely loscadh.
mill, m’it: SM, m’it:x:n 894C. Note the variation in Nior mhileas ach choinic mé
an bhro ‘gus choinic mé ... gá mhilt. Choinic mé beirt mhra ag milleachtán.
... ‘gus dá dhradh liom gurb é an grán a bhí [slight hesitation] siad a mhilt.
894P.
mu:’l a, m’iu:’a, m’iu:’a, m’it:x: 79S.
muin ‘urinate’, mun M, muna 43M.

5.215  **reoigh — tuín**

reoigh, róg regularly, but ro: 884M, 66Nq.
rith, rith, ri ru rix’, rix’:xt ritheacht, reathacht 894C9, rahax (in rhyme) S
reathach, a rahax ser’ a bo:char S ag reathach soir an bòthar (especially of
fast running), also FFG. Speaker 11C(ARN) mostly uses richeacht with
guill in the context of ‘racing’, e.g.
ag RICHEACHT geallta 1679, ag RICHEACHT geall na gcorach 1728,
Verbs

ag an gheall in éanacht....

Contrast speaker 892M who uses communitywide more common rith geallta here, e.g.

sáigh, sáthadh, sá, sábh: sá 869P, 36Sq; sá 869P (x2), SM, 64Mq, 69Sq, 77Cq, sábh Sq, 69Sq.
saoirseigh, sirfær M, sirfú: Mq.
scar, scaradh generally, including scaradh le ‘leave’, but scarúint 866ESemr80 in scarúint le ‘leave’. Similarly, U- dheamhan a n-éileoinn scarúint choichin leat dhá mbeadh bliain ar u- fad, insa lá ná, dhó, !881J.


créchad, créachadh, créachaíl P; of rain, only créachadh has been noted, e.g.

tá sé ag créachadh (báistí).
scread, screadach P, screadaíl S, screadadh, e.g. a’ screada...

scréach, scréachadh, scréachail P; of rain, only scréachadh has been noted, e.g.

tá sé ag scréachadh (báistí).
screw, screws, screws, generally, including screw le ‘leave’, but scarúint in screw le ‘leave’.

saoir, saoir, saoir, saoir, saoir, saoir, saoir, saoir, saoir, saoir.
siúil, siiúl, siiúl, generally, but siiúl, e.g. E suil...

sloig, slige, slige, slige.
sníomh, sín, sín, sín, sín, sín, generally, rarely túsánadh, the latter especially in a metaphysical sense. (Neither súpan nor *span are permitted as verbal nouns by M∅perm.)
spréigh, spréag, spréigh, spréigh, spréigh, 66Nq.

sroich, sroa, sroa, sroa, sroa, sroa, sroa, sroa, sroa, sroa.
suíomh, suíomh, suíomh, suíomh, suíomh.

spáin, spáin, generally, rarely túsánadh, the latter especially in a metaphysical sense. (Neither súpan nor *span are permitted as verbal nouns by M∅perm.)
tanai, tanari, tanari, tanari, tanari, tanari, tanari, tanari, tanari, tanari.
tangaigh, tangachaidh, the latter noted only from 869P4–5, e.g. theangail g’aon bhlas 869P4, tangail gon ... 869P5, tangail Mperm.
taobhaigh, taobhachtadl >> taobhach.
tarlaigh, tarlu, tarlaud, 20My, tarlud in n’if as eq’a k’er tu: gól a tarlud 10B níl fhios aige céard atá ag goil ag tarluid (perhaps influenced by ‘happen’-díl 10B); tarlud’ru: 04B.
tarrainn, tarrad tarrainn generally, but gá tharrainn achtle lá ... 869P4, cp. 5.218.
teith, teitheadh Mq, teithiú (often before ó).
Verbal Noun 1095

tiubh, tiúchan, tiúchán, also tiubhadh Mq.
tomáin, tomáín 04Br, 15W, but tomáint generally, including 04Br.
tois ‘measure’, tef generally, tij 21Mt, tos 894Cs, tos ‘measure, amount’ 06C.
tomhais ‘guess’, tuf M, 43M, tufa SM, 21Pt, 43Mperm.
tóraigh, tóraisóch generally, but younger speakers: toraxt 51N, 66N tóraich.
tráigh, traw regularly, but trax: 66Nq.
treoraigh, tréoxu: SM, >> tré oxo S.
trust, trust generally but trustadh 60M.
tuill, tuilleadh, tuilltát.
tuìn, tuin SM, túnadh FFG.

Variation and individual speakers

5.216 Alternate -áil ~ -áil

Lexemes and speakers’ recorded forms are given in Table 5.66. This shows that, in verbs where both variants are found, the -áil variant is considerably more common.

Table 5.66 Verbal noun -áil ~ -áil

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Speaker</th>
<th>894C</th>
<th>899D</th>
<th>01C</th>
<th>04B</th>
<th>04Br</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>11C</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>P</th>
<th>72A</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-áil</td>
<td>coinneáil</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

1 E.g. e xis aif S, P é a coinneáil.

In cloisteáil -af is common, e.g. klíft’af klín’t’af 46.390; also klíft’af 894Ct, 05M, and klúfíaf 899D6861 cloisedáil. As noted above, we can compare -af ~ -eif in g av’el M, g av’eif’ 37M ag áibhéal l áibhéis. Also farc, VN a farkáf, ò farka M, also ò farkáf M; cp. vadj farkáut ò M.

5.217 Alternate -ó ~ -u:

The ending -ó alternates with -u in a few 2 Conjugation verbs:

iomradh
iomrú isteach úm’ru: ft’ax le sé bhaille, 892M,
ág’ umarú n wad’ Mperm ag iomrá an bháid, claimed by Máire to be genuine local dialect;

lonradh
in tu n’ yr ian a lund’á, ~ lund’á: tá an ghrian ag lonradh;

scanradh
tu f’ an’eska e skant’á P tá sé an-éasca é a scanradh, generally scanrú. In more nominal use the noun in -ó scanradh is general but the verbal noun in -u: also occurs, e.g.

fuair mé héin an scanrú skant’ru | 05M.

Compare the verb sásaigh which has regular VN sasú: sású, e.g.

nax f’ed ar’ ò hasú: S nach féidir é a sháisi, go: sasú: S dhá sású.

And related noun sása sásamh, e.g.
Table 5.67 Verbal noun -a / -ú, 852S4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>-ú</th>
<th>-a</th>
<th>cúnamh, N and VN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a’ bualá an bháire</td>
<td>buala báire (x c. 3)</td>
<td>-ú</td>
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<tr>
<td>é a rósta, ceart</td>
<td>a’ rósta an bradáin [sic MS]</td>
<td>cúinú dhé, dhéinn, etc., (x4)</td>
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<td>a’ fáiscú na bhfuacáí</td>
<td>gá chaithte ansin</td>
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<td>a’ múnú guch ...</td>
<td>a’ ceapa (often)</td>
<td>a chinú go (x1)</td>
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<td>túrtha sí sin bearr dhíb</td>
<td>a’ claoana + V- (x2)</td>
<td>cúinú orthú (x1)</td>
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<td>creide (often)</td>
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<td>a’, faire iad a mhará</td>
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<td>a’, maithe go nheala</td>
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<td>a múnú C- (x3)</td>
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<td>a sheasa le, in sheasa eir</td>
<td>-a</td>
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<td>a seola léithi</td>
<td>cúinú go (x1)</td>
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<td>damsa (often)</td>
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<tr>
<td>cp. sású thabhairt 852S1</td>
<td>cp. ag iarra troid, ag iarra ort, etc.,</td>
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<td>cp. a’ damsú leis</td>
<td>2Conj a’ breatha anú ... thríd a’</td>
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<td>talú, generally breath(n)ú</td>
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</table>

5.218 Alternate ± -t finally

Table 5.68 presents information for individual speakers and lexemes regarding presence or absence of -t in alternate verbal nouns.

Table 5.68 Verbal noun ± -t finally

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>final</th>
<th>Speaker</th>
<th>866E</th>
<th>869P</th>
<th>869P2</th>
<th>870B1-2</th>
<th>894C</th>
<th>899D</th>
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<td>sábháil</td>
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</table>
The r-form attested from 869P occurs as a noun in: gá bhfách [bhfaigheadh] na caoire ligint thart ar an áit 869P5.

Note the rare forms in -n! from Pádraig Mhacáí 'ac Con Iomaire and his daughters: ag féachain f!iExEn !a hugach 869P, tumán! 04Br, 15W tomain; tarraíos 869P4.

<table>
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¹ The r-form attested from 869P occurs as a noun in: gá bhfách [bhfaigheadh] na caoire ligint thart ar an áit 869P5.

² Note the rare forms in -n! from Pádraig Mhacáí 'ac Con Iomaire and his daughters: ag féachain f!iExEn !a hugach 869P, tumán! 04Br, 15W tomain; tarraíos 869P4.
5.219 Other speakers and endings

In 

ers, also 45N

15C

(final Speaker 55S t 57Pm 60M 66Lq 66N 72Nq 76Nq 79S 81A 84Pq)

n

leagan t t t t t
ligean Ø t t t t Ø
bliain

r

iompar Ø t t t t Ø
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1098  Verbs

<table>
<thead>
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<td>r</td>
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<td>aíbris</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

1 Cp. her father’s leagan 19B (Doire an Lochán).

2 This speaker also has innovative goíl 72N, for traditional goíl (VN teighre).

3 This speaker also has innovative uasáilt 81A.

Some speakers’ examples of -iil(t)

894C coinneál 894C2, dúbait 894C3, fágáil 894C2, feiceáil 894C3, thóigeáil 894C2, sábháil 894C69, sábháil 894C69, oscáilt 894C2.

fáil mostly 894C2, 3, 6, 9, fáilt less often 894C2 ff., preceding bháis we note fáilt bháis only [x13] 894C2, 3, 4, 6, 9.

Cp. iúmpar 894C2, ligean 894C2, leigint 894C69, ’g aithrist ar 894C69.

11C coinneál: tí raibh tú in ndan hata choinneáilt ar do cheann le stoirm.

This speaker clearly has a propensity for verbal noun -t.

Speaker 15W chuisteáil, goíl gá ... cp. ligean cead.

45N feiceáil, thóigeáil, cp. leagaint, iúmpáirt. This speaker clearly has a propensity for verbal noun -t.

5.219 Other speakers and endings

-l coinneál, xin'aul' er' ...; ... xin'aul' e's 04B5.

fágáil, fágáil, fágáil,

fáilt, fáilt; fáilt láidir 897P.

Speaker 04Br has been recorded with le fáilt thart, fáilt isteach air, a fhiúlt dhó, fáilt bháis, but phrase-finally ‘ten pounds’ a fhiúl. Speaker 66N has common fáilt bháis but fáilt elsewhere. Speaker 77C1 may have some conditioning on his use of a fhiúl. His examples show a fhiúl phrase-finally:

karóg'aul', caróg a fhiúl, and

... aul', ful' on ... a fhiúl, ag fáil an ... gbháilt, generally god'. In the meaning ‘strike’ both god' (e.g. ag gabháil god' sa mbéal 11Ct) and god'(M) are common. There may be a facultative pattern of:

god' ga ag gabháil dhe vs. god'(e) or gbháilt ar f air.

oscáilt, oskal 37M, 43M, iskal 43M. Stress shift found on oscáilt (1.380).

samhail, ní bhí dhá shamhailt liom 864M1959, ghá shamhail féin leithi SÓC1.84.

(Noted in verbal inflection in: shamhail sé leis féin nach raibh Sadhbh umhaíl ar ... tí samhlaightheachach le bádóirí SÓC1.84–5; psi imprs samhlaídt 14 s.v. samhail.)

tastáil, tástáil 60M.

tóigeáil, thóigeáil, tóigeáil.

In ruairt i: rámhaílt, the -iil(t) form only has been noted from quite a number of speakers, also rámhaíltach, and ruairt i: 23C (1.10). Cp. rámhaílle (rámhaíllí, etc.) FGB.
Verbal Noun

-\(n\) leagan, leagaint: aon lámh a leagan 11C, drá a leagan 11C, \(a \text{’ágacht’ \’ámax 59P} a \text{leagaint anach},\)
ligean, ligint: ag ligint thartub an mhúir 11C.
bligh, bleán (bleáint): \(\text{bl’ant, na ma: 04BSt ag bleáint na mba.}\)
Cp. \text{buachadh \~{buachtaíil generally but buaxont’ 897S1, 64C buachaint.}\)

-\(r\) iompair, umparf \~{umpar SM; rómhair, rómhairt 21Pt.}

-\(j\) aithris, ‘g aithrist ar 894C69; \(\text{aehr’ af(f’) 52P.}\)

It is apparent from Table 5.68 above that some younger speakers born since the mid 1960s have prevalent \(a\). Furthermore, the young speaker 79S has a few rather idiosyncratic formations with \(a:\)

- \(a\) in mill, \(\text{m’it’; -r in cuir, kirt’}.\)

Two tokens were noted in the same discourse (but also noted independently):

\(a \text{ m’it’ \’a rud ... xirt’ \’a mun 79S ag millt an rud ... chaírt amhà.}\)

5.220 **Alternate -ch ~ -cht**

-\(\text{a}x \sim -\text{axt} is common in verbal nouns (and abstract nouns):}\)
argóinteacht; aragúntaxt \(\text{S, aragúnt’ ax 869Pz\~{t}162; ceannacht 869Pt. 11C, M. P. 21Pt. 66N, ceannacht 01P, SM; dáißeach generally but dáißeach 52J;\)
\(\text{g’ eʃt’ax M, 21Pt ag éisteach, eʃt’axt 27Mdq éisteach; fanacht generally, but ag fanacht thoir 84P;}\)
\(\text{l’ emr’axt }\text{FCúil} 11C, 27Mdq, l’emr’axt 26P lémmeacht, probably less often l’emr’ax lémmeach (e.g. 01C6883);}\n\(\text{reʃt’ax SM, 27Mdq, reʃt’axt S, cp. d’ia gu: reʃt’ax(t) S, 50N (S’s daughter) Dia dhá réiteach(t)’!}\)
Cp. \(\text{a glugárnax 11Ct ag glugárnach, glugárnaxt xant’ a S ag glugárnacht chainte.}\)

Not all verbs show alternation. For example, \(-\text{a}x\) only was noted in some verbal nouns:
\(\text{kudax cumbdach; fuadax fuadach; g’emr’ax g’emn’ax gémmeach;}\)
\(\text{kr’aedax cneadach; fk’aedax screadach.}\)
Similarly, \(-\text{axt}\) only was noted in others:
\(\text{fanacht (except 84P); i(no)xaxt inseeacht;}\n\(\text{riteacht (in contrast to reathacht \~{reathacht}).}\)

The ending \(-úch\) without \(-t\) is general, including in buirthiúch, whereas \(-úcht\) has been noted in buirthiúcht S, Mq only.

5.221 **Alternate -i ~ -ú**

The ending \(-i\) alternates with \(-ú\) in a small class of 2 Conjugation verbs, as exemplified in Table 5.69 (+ = used by speaker; + >> = most common for speaker; + << = less common for speaker). Variants in \(-ú\) become more common for some younger speakers.
The ending -ú is permitted by Mairé and claimed by her to exist in 2 Conjugation verbs that generally have other endings:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Speaker</th>
<th>46, 869P2-</th>
<th>894C</th>
<th>04B</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>66N</th>
<th>72Nq</th>
<th>84P(q)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-í</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cónaí</td>
<td>+ RBÉ</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>corraí</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>éiri</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flathraí</td>
<td>+ s.v. fiufrighe</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>ionsaí</td>
<td>+ (iúin-)</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>tosaí</td>
<td>+ 270, RBÉ</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>-ú</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>+ &gt;&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>corrú</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>éiriú</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+ &gt;&gt;</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flathrú</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+ &gt;&gt;</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>ionsú</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>tosú</td>
<td>+</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>+</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>réitíú</td>
<td>+</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Contrast gáirí (nonfinite) where only -í is permitted.

5.222 Alternate -úch ~ -ach and other Verbal Nouns

All three verbal nouns in -úch have alternatives in -ach. Table 5.70 presents these and other action nouns which have -úch ~ -ach.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>béic</th>
<th>buir</th>
<th>scread</th>
<th>mean-</th>
<th>méin-</th>
<th>ramp</th>
<th>rauahr-</th>
<th>blaidhr-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SID.46</td>
<td></td>
<td>hux 268</td>
<td>-ax 81</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>899N</td>
<td>-ax</td>
<td>-ax</td>
<td></td>
<td>-ax</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11C</td>
<td>-ux</td>
<td>-ux</td>
<td>-ux</td>
<td>-ax</td>
<td>-ux</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>-hux</td>
<td>-hux</td>
<td></td>
<td>-hux</td>
<td>-hux</td>
<td>-hux M</td>
<td>-ux M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>-ax</td>
<td>-hux</td>
<td>-hux</td>
<td>-hux</td>
<td>-hux M</td>
<td>-hux, -rhox</td>
<td>-hux M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>-hux</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>21Pq</td>
<td>-ux</td>
<td>-hux</td>
<td></td>
<td>-hux</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>27Mdq</td>
<td>-ux</td>
<td>-hux</td>
<td></td>
<td>-hux</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>-ax</td>
<td>-ax</td>
<td></td>
<td>-ax</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

E.g. ag fuagairt agus ag béiciúch ...... thonagh sé ag béiciúch agus ag screadach go raibh sé ag failt bháis le doigh bhrola; ... tá sé ag béicich is ag screadach thios. 11C.
Table 5.71 Various verbal nouns and speakers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SID.46</th>
<th>869P-</th>
<th>04B</th>
<th>04Br</th>
<th>66N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>laced</td>
<td>gáin</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>d'ae</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>creid</td>
<td>inisim</td>
<td>inis</td>
<td>leán</td>
<td>leán</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>goill</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lean</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note the example of alternation of -u~-e in the CRUAIGH class in:
- 'eichi hu xruù e fiù' M Le haghaidh thá a chruaú é sin.
- ha 66N Hu?
- hu xruav M Thá a chruaú.

Speaker 66Nq has unusual absence of -w in leáigh > l'á, tráigh > tr'é, spréigh > spr'é, reoigh > ro: 66Nq vs. léigh > l'év 66Nq.

5.223  sraofairt ~ sraofartaich

Although the synchronic relationship within our dialect between sraofairt and less common sraofartaich is additive (-ach is added to sraofairt, with depalatalisation), it is instructive to investigate the interdialectal morphophonology of this verbal noun. The analysis will show that the diachronic relationship is in fact the opposite to the synchronic interpretation: -ach, through its by-form -aigh has been elided from sraofartaich. Similar to the case of maistreadh, discussed in the ‘Historical Phonology’ (1.363), the development of sraofairt demonstrates the importance of the phonological merger of unstressed final fricatives in the study of the historical morphology of our dialect.

Based primarily on question 431 ‘(he is) sneezing’ of SID, the most commonly found verbal nouns of the base sraoth1 throughout Connacht, Leinster and Munster are, broadly transcribed, sraofartaí and sraofartaigh (sraothart-south of, and including, point 21), the latter having a commonly occurring nominative sraofartach. sraofairt has been recorded in a limited contiguous cluster and its geographical distribution is the key to its origin. It is found in or near the interstitial zone of South and West County Galway where historical unstressed -igh regularly became -e. This phonological zone comprises, basically, points 25–29 in the east, and 39–47 in the west. The historically correct dative ag sraofartaigh is attested for only one point in this area: a sraofarta point 43. Elsewhere in this zone there are three alternatives:

1. The -AIL ending is found (in South-East Galway, points 25 and 28);
2. The nominative sraofartach is used (in West Conamara, points 43a, 44, and our point 46);
3. The historical -fART ending is reanalysed as (i) -fart (point 47 (x2)), or, more commonly, as (ii) -fART (points 36–42, 45, and, of course, in our dialect material).

1 The etymon is sreadh to the north of, and including, points 48, 49 and 33 in SIDitt q 431.
The palatalisation to -faut brings the form in line with other (verbal) nouns in -fairt, e.g. sclafairt, confairt, and parallels many other verbal nouns in -fart, e.g. imirt, iompairt, oscault, tóigeáilt. The word ualphartach (ag ualphartaigh) may have undergone a similar development to ualfrart (the latter is cited in DIL). The exclusive attestation of sraofoart in the dialect continuum of points 36–42 may be accidental, but it is interesting to note that this is the sole form recorded by de Bhuldraithie for Cois Fharraige in ICF and FFG (sraoth is not found in GCF). Perhaps sraofoart has ousted older forms in this core area, it may at least have replaced or blocked sraofoartail (which occurs to its immediate north and east) in Conamara. According to this interpretation sraofoart may have spread from the interstitial zone to points 36–38 where historical unstressed -igh > i, and where the derivation of sraofoart seems phonologically unmotivated. Points 36–38, then, which lack the historical phonological causation, may have borrowed sraofoart. It is noteworthy that sclafairt ‘barking’ (also sclafart point 34, glafairt point 30, glafar point 28) is common in East Galway, as evidenced in SID: 11.

A historical dialectologically interesting question — whether sraofoart has spread eastwards from Conamara and f or northwards from South-East Galway — cannot be answered on the present evidence. The East Galway -igh > -a zone yields -ail only, as pointed out above. It is unfortunate that SID gives no relevant information for the other three points (26, 27 and 29) in this zone, leaving an important gap in our distribution and thus a missing link in the historical reconstruction. Neither is there information for points 30–32. Historically correct reflexes of sraofoartaigh are found immediately to the south (point 24) of the eastern -igh > -a area and to the north-east (point 35) of the ‘borrowing’ sraofoart zone which is bordered to the north by an area with predominant sraofoartail. It is highly possible, then, that sraofoartaigh existed in South-East Galway and that sraofoartaigh > sriÉfErtE > sriÉfartE could have occurred there as well as in Conamara. The deeper diachronic perspective may then be sraofoartagh > (for whatever reason, perhaps related to the development of f here, given common -fadhach > -hux) sraofoartach > sraofoartaigh > sraofoart with the abstraction of -fairt as a rather unproductive, perhaps affective suffix.1

The realisation sniÉfErt snaoíocht was noted from speaker 66N only. The material in SID yields forms with initial sn- from three near-by lects: sniÉfart’ point 42 (where ahistorical, possibly hyperdialectual, n for r is common in clusters Krauss 1958: 8, 48, 50–1, 79, 106);2 a. (S) sriÉfartax, b. sriÉfartax point 43b; juÉfart (as well as JuÉfart q 269) point 47. I have also heard sn- in Ros Muc. Initial sn- may have developed from (a) a reanalysis of tsr- forms as tsn- since both can be realised tr- (feminine an tsraoth and an tsraofoartach), (b) dissimilation with the r of the following syllable, (c) influence of snaoisín (perhaps from ‘sneezing’, cp. Dinn snaoisín), and, perhaps in 66N’s case, (d) influence of English ‘sneeze’.

1 The anomalous vocalism e: (points 35–37), e (point 28), in East Galway for regular ao > k, not to mention ia in points 23, 24, 28 and 45, demonstrates further complexities. It is certain that the contrast of southern Irish ao (sraoth) with northern Irish eo (sreoth) in this root is a main cause of these complexities. The usual dialectal contrast in ao-class words is southern e: to northern i: . In the case of sreoth / sreoth it is (from south to north) e: (~ k) - o: . (The e:) of points 28, 35–37 may be a retention of an older realisation of ao which has not been brought into line with the rest of the Connacht ao-class because of the lexical eo relationship to the north. or, resembling the borrowed origin of -fairt, the e:) of these points may be borrowed from Munster.)

2 I am grateful to Brian Ó Catháin for this reference.
Speaker 66N was not heard using \textit{n} for dialectal \textit{r} in any other word. This speaker’s \textit{-facht} ending can be seen to have three main causes: (a) a morpho-phonological fudge between the regular dialectal \textit{-fartach} and \textit{-faír}; (b) 66N’s uvular fricative realisation of \textit{r} preceding \textit{t} (1.398(ii)), so that her \textit{-acht} and \textit{-a(i)rt} are phonetically very similar; (c) analogy with the common (verbal) noun suffix \textit{-acht}, as in semantically related \textit{casacht}. (In \textit{thosaigh se, ag casacht, ag snaofáil} 66N (said hesitantly) I got the impression the word \textit{casacht} may have been used initially while 66N searched her memory for the more precise and appropriate term. This may be an indication of the semantic relation between these verbal nouns and the likelihood of the more common term \textit{casacht} influencing \textit{sraof-}.) The endings \textit{-fartach} and \textit{-faír} have been fudged elsewhere: \textit{sraofacht} point 28; \textit{sreofairfach} point 48. (Acaill, points 53, 54, seems to have fudged Ulster \textit{sre} with Connacht \textit{sre} to yield \textit{sre}.) Finally, the form \textit{jimé sianail}, noted from speaker 17M only, can be compared both with lectures containing \textit{-il} and those containing \textit{-n}. It resembles phonologically \textit{jimé sianail} which describes a similar inarticulate sound.

Genitive

5.224 General; 1VND \textit{-C \textgreater \text{-C}}; 2VND \textit{-C \textgreater \text{-C}}

There are many examples of the verbal noun in genitive position without genitive inflection, e.g.

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{in do shiúl iúnsaí.} 869P4;
  \item \textit{bolg snáthu} 46.1134 \textit{bolg snámh} (only), \textit{cp. (vadj type) insnáfa} Clad233, \textit{int}snámhte Mq;
  \item \textit{... Meacana Leún air.} [sic MS] 869P5 (i.e. \textit{Meacan an Leonadh});
  \item \textit{scian catha bidh} 875T1, \textit{cp. \textit{jik in xat ò b é 04B21 scian chaite bia};}
  \item \textit{tu fe g ér an ò wànt}’ \textit{M tá sé gèar un a bhaint;}
  \item \textit{ag díonamh na bacsáil} 892M4237.
\end{itemize}

\textit{Cp. da ynoan’ t’ispàna 04B do dhòthain tuspánaidh.}

There are seven genitive formations in the verbal noun. These are designated as verbal noun declensions one to seven, i.e. 1VND–7VND. The first three, 1VND–3VND, are similar to the nominal genitive inflections one to three (1D–3D). 7VND is similar to nominal declension six. On the other hand, 2VND and 4VND–6VND are similar to verbal adjective formations. In phrases such as \textit{balthadh doíthe} and \textit{farraige chaíthe} the synchronic interpretation (for certain speakers) may be of verbal adjectives. The verbal noun declensions have the following genitive endings:

\begin{itemize}
  \item 1. \textit{-C \textgreater \text{-C}}
  \item 2. \textit{-C \textgreater \text{-C}}
  \item 3. \textit{-C’ \textgreater \text{-C’}}
  \item \textit{+ t}a, (ti)
  \item \textit{+ ha}
  \item \textit{+ i(ha), ix’a, (hi(ha))}
  \item \textit{-C’ \textgreater \text{-C’ ax}}
\end{itemize}
The genitive (4VND) of a prefixed verbal noun occurs in:

\[ \text{fear a bhi thréís a nuaphósta} 894C. \]

1VND -C > -C'

知晓 转变 (4VND) of a prefixed verbal noun occurs in:

\[ \text{fear a bhi thréís a nuaphósta} 894C. \]

2VND -C > -C' -e

知晓 转变 (4VND) of a prefixed verbal noun occurs in:

\[ \text{fear a bhi thréís a nuaphósta} 894C. \]

5.225 3VND -C' > -C' -a (-C > -C' -a) -a

知晓 转变 (4VND) of a prefixed verbal noun occurs in:

\[ \text{fear a bhi thréís a nuaphósta} 894C. \]

5.226 4VND + t a t' a -ta-te; (+ t' i: -ti)

知晓 转变 (4VND) of a prefixed verbal noun occurs in:

\[ \text{fear a bhi thréís a nuaphósta} 894C. \]
Verbal Noun 1105

codladh, a fhrainn kolata 04B81 ag srannadh codlata; néad codlata.
dionamh, fear diaonta rópaith 894C2; fær d’int a foda bad ñi ansan 893P
  fear déanta seolta báid a bhí annsan.
dó, baladhadh dóite.
dúin, sa mbealach ar ghlias a dháinte. Clad66.
cp. gol, ... a gul ... d’arba ñar i | f is a gulata nu’ brunn’ | (Smbb)04B ag gol
  ... d’hiaithraigh sé dhi féin a golata nó a brúin.
leonadh, arba n’unta SM artha an leonta; snuha l’unta S snáith leonta.
loigh, ut lait a M ait loite.
múchadh, poll báite múchta.
oiliúint, bean oilte ait bFG s.v. oilte.
sá, cleith sháite S.
scaoileadh, poll skiúit a skiél P poll scaoilte / scoileadh.
sceitheadh, lá sceite rois P, also with extension to nongenitive use in tá sé ina
  scite[sic] rois inniu P (early notes).
síneadh, fear do shínte ná do chaointe.
spréabh, fatai spréit (14 spréigh 2.).
suí, sit a sitth, common in áit suite / suíte.
-áil > -áilte (rare, being the same form as the verbal adjective; the older and more
  common genitive is -ál, 5.225):
  ait (eit) a p’arket a 47P ait (eile) pearcáite.
  - ... cultha [FGB culaidh] ghasce, BóC
  -Ní hea ach cultha chrualbeáilte S.
+ t’i: -tí is exceptional, it has been heard only in the noun (894Cs):
  an cáithheadh kátha ... an cáithheadh kátha ... ar cholbha na cáith. kat’i:.

5.227 5VND + ha -tha (-tha may alternate with -a of 3VND)

bearradh, b’orha, e.g. fívar am’ b’orha (run)11Ct faobhar un bearradh, tu fe
  g’er an a v’arùa / v’orha Mperm tá sé gær un a bhearradh / bhearrtha.
breith, b’orha, e.g. n úm a m’orha 06C in am a mbeirthe, duto da v’orha
  04B6 dáta do bheirthe; br’éhia breithe; b’erha béarthta (< future stem), e.g.
  nòm da v’orha S nòdán do bhéarthta.
  Cpr. buairteamh, údar buarthra buartha 35E.
cur cuir, fívar aq kurha ... (run)11Ct faobhair un curtha; aimsir curtha na
  bhffatai Clad236.
dáir, dártha in sna stealladh dártha FFG s.v. stealladh (also dáraich 7VND).
faire, fear fartha 894C9, bud farha 18J bás farther; but generally no genitive,
  e.g. fear faire 869P4.
gearradh, g’orha, e.g. fívar aq g’orha (run)11Ct faobhar un gearratha, g’er
  an a jorha M gær un a ghearratha. Cp. 5.230.
  With elision or replacement of t’ in (see also freagairt immediately below):
  imirt, xuđar an im’ arà 04B2i chuarad an imeartha.
labhartha, m’ae: laurha S meadh labhartha, also lag labhartha.

Syncopating verbs:
  bagairt, lá bagartha ~ bagraíthe Mq, cp. vadj bagraíthe Mq;
cascairt (or cascranadh), cp. 3VND lo: xraskarò n’ hròìe S lá
  chrascartha an tsneachta;
Verbs

1106  

5.228  

6VND + i(ʰa) (iₓᵃ) -ítʰe

baisteadh, léis a bhaisiúth agus ... 894C9.

Cp. b ed am baft i gan 'màrtà gan 'deir. ʰa (MP)894Cs

béal Eoin Baiste gan marra gan doilile.

More commonly Eoin Baiste -ʃʃ, e.g.

Naomh Búan Baiste !(MP)894C9.

As nominative:

an ʰem a maʃtʰ | nù: n ʰem a m'orhə 06C

in am a mbaiste nó in am a mbeirthe,

xo: m baʃtʰ ʰ M chuaign un baiste.

bagairt, là bagartha ~ bagraithe Mq, cp. vadj bagraithe Mq.

cothú, roínnt cána cothaíthe chaige 869P3.

damhsa / daimhsú, bhiodar theis 'round' mór daimhsith 894C2.

dibirt, áit fhúin dibrithe M.

imeacht, i roicht is nach ros nax mbeadh deis a' bith ag an rópa imithè m'ihə dhi, gá gcastaí, gála, ná lá oibriú mhóir leothub amuich ansin. 06C (context: cloich eangaí).

leasú, leihí leasaíthe 14M.

loisceadh, gan ball rua ná loiscith’ air, 869P3, gəm baʃl ruə no loʃk'iho | 889P; as nominative gan báll ruə ná loisce 00Tm.

luchtú, æl'ə lɔxtiθʰ 18J8972 Aill an Luchtáithe.

marú, leis an artha mharáithe wəriθʰ 06C.

réiteach >> réiti, a’ tócht ’un réítifith le’! 894C9.

taobabhachtáil, intaobabhaithe (or < vadj).

taoscadh, galún taoscaithé 894C9, galún taoschtaí SM; as nominative galun tiskə [x3] 10Bq galún taoscedh.

-iʃʰ is attested in l’e: t‘iʃʰ | 11C4060 le haghaidh leasaithé.

5.229  Alternation of i: ~ iʰə; 7VND -C’ > -C’əx -aʃch

The alternant iʰə seems to be less frequent in the genitive of the verbal noun than in the verbal adjective of the variable (iʰə) (cf. 5.181 ff.). With some verbal nouns, only <i> was not noted from conversation. Maire and speaker 20C were queried as to the acceptability of <iʰa> with these lexemes and the results are given in Table 5.72 (Ω = Ωperm). (Speaker 20C has a very high <iʰa> yield in the verbal adjective.)
### Table 5.72 Genitive verbal noun (iha), Mq, 20q

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Mq</th>
<th>iha Mperm</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>taoscadh</td>
<td>galún tiski:</td>
<td>perm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leasú</td>
<td>s’imarka l’aési:</td>
<td>∅</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bascadh</td>
<td>m’aélax də waski:</td>
<td>perm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baisteadh</td>
<td>... xua am baʃfi: l’aert</td>
<td>∅</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>um baʃfi: Eoin ~</td>
<td>∅</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cp. b oí / b orha no baʃfi'i:</td>
<td>∅</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>note tu m puʃfi'ə baʃfi'osta</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20Cq</td>
<td>iha 20Cperm</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taoscadh</td>
<td>... tiski: (x2)</td>
<td>perm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leasú</td>
<td>... l’æsihtə (x4)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>... l’aési: (x1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bascadh</td>
<td>... waski:ə hu,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baisteadh</td>
<td>... baʃfi'ə (x3)</td>
<td>not heard with Eoin ~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>umar baʃfi'ə</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>umar baʃfi'ə</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cathá</td>
<td>kur kahut: only</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Also galún taoscthaíte ’894C9, rumə tiski: | 01C6548 ruma taoschait.

Speaker 20C’s (perhaps (near)) categorical use of verbal adjective <iha> (which is my impression from his conversation), is reflected in his higher usage of genitive <iha> than Máire’s here. In fact he has <iha> in a position where Máire does not permit it: as genitive of leasú. But even 20C has (and he has only heard) baʃfi'ə in Eoin Baiste.

Speaker 889P has common verbal adjective <iha>. It is probably significant that his genitive use of <iha> occurs before pause. This suggests that, although genitive <iha> is less common than its verbal adjective counterpart, it may follow similar syntactic constraints (5.191). Speaker 889P’s examples of taoschaithe are:

- aon ghalún taoschaithe aisti ... ... galún taoschaithe a oibriú. ... galún taoschaithe. ... ruma taoschaithe. ... chionneal taoschaithe amach ... 889P.

An anomalous example (if faithfully transcribed), for expected deargthai, occurs in:

- sén deis deargtha a bhí acub 869P.

The ending -t iha occurs with léabh in (higher register, cp. the same speaker’s baistíthe, 5.228):

- lucht léightíthe leabhar !894C9.

### 5.230 Verbal Nouns with more than one genitive

-coisint > coisinte, coiseanta; cur (cuir) > cuir, curtha; dàir > dáirtheach, dàrtha, dàrach; scoradh > scór (scortha). Cp. breith > beirthe, breithe, béartha; ceangal > ceangail, ceangailt > ceangailte; suí > sit a sit’a. Verbal nouns in -dil: -dla >> -dilte; cp.-i ~ -ihe.

There is perhaps selfcorrection of the initial token in:
Verbs

Má tá sé gear un a ghearrta, má tá sé gear un a ghearrtha, ... un a ghearrtha.

Note the examples in a traditional run:

Contrast the corresponding run from 04B where the initial token of an may contain either un (preposition) or innovatively an (article) without t-:

Syntax of Verbal Noun

Some rarer or less commonly attested verbal noun usage is listed below. The most unusual constructions listed were not heard by me from my field informants and are presumably obsolete. They have been noted from the folklore material collected from a few speakers (852S, 866E, 869P, 875T, 894C, (10C)). In the presentation, the diacritic † marks a syntactic structure which is found only with speakers born in the nineteenth century, i.e. (e), (f), (h) mostly, (i).

5.231  **ag + VN + Adjective**

5.232  **Subordinate clauses**

(a) Subject Pronoun + dho + Possessive (Object) Pronoun + VN

The unusual lenition in to tu gobar xrua P tá tá g obair chrua was perhaps a result of purely phonetic friction or a slip of the tongue (from nominal obair chrua 'hard work'), since, when queried, Máire would not permit it. The normal use is adverbal: ag obair crua or ag obair go crua.
(b) Subject + Object + aL + VN
’nár náreach an rud ... mé a bheith strumptha anseo ... agus gan mé tada a chur as duit ach lóistín na hoiche a thabhairt dom.’ 875TL1.76. Cp. corresponding ‘... gan mé ag cur tada as duit ach lóistín ... ’ 875TL1 (cf. (h)).

(bhí sé amuigh san oíche is ina chodladh sa lá, is gan é tada a dhíonadh. 11C.

Ni raibh mé ag iarraidh Beairstle é fheiceál M.

(c) Subject + VN intransitive
b’fhearr lena dhreifír an fáthach fanacht sa mbaile 866ESemr134.

ach é fanacht. 869P3.

bheidh é thíocht dó bhí ... 875T1

(d) Noun = Pronoun Subject + VN intransitive
ní ru fúinn a’ bith ar a’ seanfhear é imeacht 875T (seanfhear and é are coreferential).

Compare (e) (and (f)) also from 875T and (i) from 875T’s brother.

(e) Subject + VN + do + Subject †
léis é thiocht dó bhi ... 875T1 (é and dó are coreferential).

(d) and (e) indicate a prevalence for redundant coreference on speaker 875T’s part.

(f) Subject + VN + Object in phrasal ag fáil(t) bháis †
léis a’ ri fáilt bás 875T1, gan é ’ fáil bás 869P4.

Note the nonlenition and non-inflection of bás. Speakers 875T and 869P are brothers.

5.233 Subject + aL, ag, etc.

(g) Pronoun Subject + aL + VN + Object
gur maith an fear thú g’ tu dhíonadh an méid sin. 866ESemr120.

(h) Subject + VN + Object in phrasal ag fáil(t) bháis †

is maith liom thu a thóirt clainmhe dhomsa 894C (?)

(dhígh mé é dhéanamh rud maith dhom CAR.

mar má bhíonn na heiteóga amuigh aca agus iad a chloisínt aon tornam dá laithead, deirim leat gur tobann a sciothadh is isteach iad. Clad143.

Cheangail sé suas an chuisi go scríobhthai chuig an Riaighalta an iad-san a chur sgeula chuig an amharraiadhe le go gcuirfidís ala beag faoi an sgothaigh i leabhar clóniadh na fáiringe. Clad199.

tá dlite amach agus a muid a dhíonadh rud eicint duít S.
None of the attested objects are lenited by the VN neither, with one exception, are they in the genitive dependent on the VN nor would this be expected in most instances. The example in Clad43 with genitive inflection was changed in the second edition to *iad a chloisteáil aon torann* Clad46. One can compare the lack of lenition and genitive in *bás* in (f) and (h). In fact, (f) could be an instance of (g) but with nonlenitition of *f* (9.20), i.e. *léis a’ rí [a ʔ]* fáilt bás. Similarly, *gan é ’fáil bás* (f) could be *gan é [ag] fáil bás* (h) or *gan é [a] fáil bás* (g). The objects attested in (g) are all inanimate.

(h) Subject + *ag* + VN + Object (†)

... nuair ba mhaith leis iad *ag fáil* na *bua*. 869P3.
séis é ’g ól an deoch seo, 869P4.
léis na Fianna Éireann a’ mará rí Lochrainn ... fuair siad 875T1.
níor mhaith leithi iad a’ *buach’* an chogadh (perhaps speaker 10C).
’Gus chuir an sagart scéala siar le cladach, Leitir a hArd agus, an Caiseal, agus siar Cloch na Rún is Iorras Bheag, gan aon bhád ag taobhachtáil Chruaich na Caoilte, ná go mbeidís, seo caillte. 892M4311.

With *ag* phonetically absent:
— *é* ’diana bássteach a’ lâ sin — 869P4.
i ndia mise ’fáil a’ deis air 869P4 (common construction for 869P).
gan i ’feiceal aon afarc orthu 875T1.
Cp. *gan é ’fáil bás* 869P4 (note nonlenitition and non-inflection of *bás*);
ach gan iad a’ tosaí a’ troid isna Státaí 852S2;
hef mid’ hen’ à x’apa go x’arna M théis muid héin a cheapadh go ndearna.

Compare VN + Object (for more common Object + *a* + VN):
... olaimn ... chua sé un margá leis le díol na *holla* 869P2.

(i) *a* + VN + Object †

Agus ba mhaith liom ’chuir i gceló na scéalta ar fad agus iad a choimeáil 869P5.

Pronominal use and animacy are clearly important factors in much of this syntax.
One can contrive simple model examples of certain types containing both subjects and objects as follows:

| (a) | Pronoun (subject) + dhá (etc.) + VN |
| (b)(i) | Pronoun (subject) + Noun (object) + *a* + VN |
| (b)(ii) | Proper Noun (subject) + Pron (object) + *a* + VN |
| (g) | Pronoun (subject) + *a* + VN + Noun (object) |
| (h)(i) | Pronoun (subject) + *ag* + VN + Noun (object) |
| (h)(ii) | Noun (subject) + *ag* + VN + Noun (object) |
It seems (a) is preferred to the possibility of two (identical) pronouns in (b)(iii) ??? é é a bhraiseadh. It also seems that a common noun in subject position in (b)(ii) might be slightly unsatisfactory: ??? (an) fear é a bhraiseadh. Type (a) corresponds to (h)(iii), i.e. pronoun subject and object in progressive-aspect syntax. In type (a) nominal subjects, e.g. fear dhá bhraiseadh, also occur.

5.234 **Object + a^1 + VN (transitive) with impersonal force**

The object pronoun can precede a verbal noun in impersonal use, e.g.

'Tá sé chomh maith dom ... mé a chailleadh i mo ghaísce le mé [a] chailleadh i mo chladhaire' 866ESc59.13 'I might as well die ...', literally '... for me to be lost ...';

'Bhfuil tú ag iarraidh mé a bheardai? 64M ‘... want to get me barred?’;

_wul tu: g’iarlu hu: hoq’al, tâu’_ M

_An bhfuil tú ag iarraidh thú a thóigeáil? Táir;

dáirt sí leis ná rabh i ndán go’n fhathach é mharú go deó do dtiocfadh fear as Éirinn go Tír na hÓige a mharódh é, 866EB16.113 ‘... it was not fated for the giant to be killed ...’;

_xo luí s a fócas fí: tu: fí: g’iarlu i áruh: M

_chomh luath is a fhluichthás sí tá sí ag iarraidh í a athrú ‘... she wants to be changed’ (context: infant in nappies);

_is é sin tar Éis iad a chruthadh ó na heochraí Clad142 ‘after being formed from the eggs’ S. Mac an Iomaire (2000: 112);

_Nior mhaith leothub ghoil ag piocadh gan iad a thóigeáil ar csuntraic 897St ‘they ... unless they [coreferent] were ...’._

Noun-phrase objects are less common:

_deir mo mháthair go bhfaca sí féin í, ach gurb é a seanchuimhne é, rud d’fhág Peige Sheáin a chailleadh tuairim is chuíg bhliana is leithchéad ó shoin. SÓC 2.279;

_hef do: xaí a: M theis Jó a chailleadh ‘after Joe died’;

_Gá mbeithéa ag siúl, ‘gus lochán, chasachtaíl dhuit nach mbeithéa, nach mbeithéa theoiríocht. 892M.1

In the following example I take it more likely that _ag an ngaoth_ introduces the agent of _fuadach_ (rather than the complement of _éasca_):

_tá siad éadrom agus tá sé éasca iad a fhuaadach ag an ngaoth. Clad220 ‘... they are easily blown by the wind’._

See 14 (s.v. _dan_) for use with _i ndan_, e.g.

_níl an aimris i ndan tada a dhéanamh; tá an féar i ndan iochradh._

For use of verbal-noun particles _ag_, _a^1_, see 8.104 ff. For possessive pronoun as well as emphatic pronoun as object of the verbal noun, see 6.46, 6.25.

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^1 For similar examples with noun-phrase objects, see de Bhaldraithe (1956–7c: 244 §5).
List of regular verbs

A representative list of regular verbs is presented here.

5.235 First Conjugation

A representative list of regular verbs is presented here.

List of regular verbs

buigh, pst wi: fe., fut bigh fe., vadj bic: M., VN bixin (all Mq).

ciap, pst x iap fe: me, vadj vi: me k:iapi: l: e p:ian bh: i me ciapthai le pian, VN ga ma x iapa M., Mq.
cub, vadj kupi:, VN kuba.
dleagh, vsthab dhlaoidis (M: dhlaoihidis with erased (in fact, scratched out) -h-), impress dleoiit 869P5.

doir, VN durt: a M. Ag doirruu linn FFG s.v. doir (sic leg? FFG32 has doirteadh here).

(faosc, pst d iick: mid iad M., vadj fi:ck: ia M., VN iad i:ck: | M, see 5.201.)
farc, pst dark fe M., vadj farki: M., VN a fark:., a fark: M., also a fark: M; cp.
vadj fark: M.

feist, impv f:ett, pst gor of:dar i: 892M1471 gur feisteadar i, vadj feistei, VN feiste, feistita.

friothal, pst, d:rc: fe., fut fr iusa fe., vadj fr iusai: eg: a M.

gael, vadj ge:ta: Mq, VN geilleadh, geilliant.

gem, vadj jem: f:, fut gem: ha f: M., VN gemneach.

gelt, vadj jef: me, vadj to e: ge et:iha M.

ghlas, vst ghlaiseadar roimpe 869P3.

goll, pst yl:adar 889P., vadj gil: a., VN gil 889P goll.

gor, vsthab yorad if ig: : a t: in: iad he:n Mq ghraidids ag an tine iad hein, fut gorha m: e m: he:n Mq, VN gor: goradh.

guibh, pst yr yl mid: 04B ar ghuiibh maid, fut gil: a., cond yiv: a (5.31), ghuifidis 869P2., vadj guibhte, VN giv: a guibhe.

làn, vadj lunta:, VN luna.
lasc, vadj laski:, VN lasko.

loisc, pst loj: k: me, vadj loj: k: i:(ha), VN ga ma loj:k: a Mq dho mo loisceadh, VN also rarely loscadh.

luath, 2sg impv lua S.


meagh, cond v:chax SM, VN m:uxan.

meath, note vadj m:acta (5.178), VN m:ach a le: S ag meathadh an lae, ga ma v:acha.


muin pst wun: fe an, wun: a gaiar an, fut mun: ha fe an, vadj mun:ta: Mq... muain an gadhair am ... , VN muin, m:unadh.

reith, fut roha M., vadj roth: a M, VN ro:st: M.


rot, pst rot fe M., pres rota: M, fut rota fe M, vadj roti:(ha) M, VN rota M.

scain, fut skan ha fe Mq, cond skun hax o:ma: S scainneadh amach, vadj sk:nta: S, Mq, VN skuna: Mq.

scal, fut skalha fe suas 01J scalthaidh s: suas, cond dur: fe ga skalax a le: suas M diur: s: go scalthadh an l: suas, vadj skal:ta Mq, VN skal: S.

scalp ~ scio:lp, vadj tu fe jk: aepi: am Mq, VN gu jk: olpa la:et Mq.

seith, pst jk: e fe n snu:ha M seith s: an snu:th, vadj jk:et: a M, VN jk:eha M.
List of regular verbs

5.236 Second Conjugation

adhraigh, pres arim' '05M, pst darbha m'e Mq, vadj arh'í(í) am Mq, VN arbhu: SM.
bagair, impv 2pl bagair' 0r òra M bagair wiríthe, VN bagair' generally, bagairn' 78B.
brocáigh, impv nu: brokí M, vadj brokí M, VN brocadh P, brocá M.
caithrigh, fut caithreoidh kar'ho: na fatal Mq, VN kar'hu: ...
crithraigh, cond imprs go gcricia'r'ofal Alabin (TarCC)869P5.
crioithnagh, pst, x'rínhe fe m'e M, VN kr'ínhu: M.
cuibhirigh, cond imprs xaír of i: [sic] 12J, VN kaír u: ....
cumahaigh, cond b'annthach a chéimeachd coiní '869P2, ... gcúdót sí '869P3, fut go gudo: tu ...
    kudord 04B8I, VN a chuidach '869P3, go: gudoX (MP/04B9).
deasaigh also deisigh Mq.
diarnaigh, pst jurna m'e: Mq, jurna je: VN go jurna, go jurnu: cp. go jurnaí: M.
    édromáigh, pst d'edroma Mq, fut édramo: Mq, vadj édramacha Mq, VN édramu: S.
    Also édraidmigh, e.g. VN édrama '01P.
failligh, pst dar'í a' m'e 'er M, fut x'í a' m'e 'er 'M, vadj tu je f'ath 'i / f'ath am
    er'M, VN tu m'e f'ath' er'M.
finigh, fut 'f'in'ir: lir Mq, vadj 'f'in'ícha Mq, VN 'f'in'ir: ....
fúilligh, impv focz' ort. fosc: a Mq, fosc: er' Mperm.
geannraigh, pst jaontra m'e Mq, vadj g'ontri' am Mq.
gránigh, cond yr'oon'd'í je.
    Also gráinnigh, vadj tu m'e grán'í: orhab 45B t'a mé
    gráínte orthub (perhaps a rare example of influence from gráinne comparative of
    grána, or perhaps misheard by me).
Verbs

léasaigh, vadj t’esi: max 01J léasaíthe amach.
leitrigh, impv ’:eitr’ e S leitrigh é.
lonraigh, pst lunða n’ yr’ ian lonraigh an ghrian, fut lunða: fír Mq, VN tu n’ yr’ ian a lunða tó an ghrian ag lonradh, tu fír lunða: - lunða: etc., Mq tó sí ag lonradh.
maircigh, pres imprs mark it’ er 26P, VN mark’ lacht, less commonly márk’lacht 869P.
múscail, pst wuskał’ 04B38(l).
srathraigh, pst shreathrai sé, shreathrai sé 869P2, hrazha m’e n tásal S sh- mé an t-asal, pshab hrazhít fé S, vadj hrazhí: S, VN a hrazhu:, a hrazhu: S.
tapaigh, impv tapa l’aet S tapaigh leat.
táthaigh, VN iad a hchu: ana x e Dé s dochí: Sq ‘iad a tháthá ina chéile’ is dóichí.
tomsaigh, tumsin S, cond humsóxx S, vadj tumsi: S (Seán’s examples used here in explanation of the proverb, tumsin brow b’áert S tumsóxx brobh beart; Seán claims that he does not use the verb otherwise).
triomaigh, pst hr’ umidáar P, vadj tr’ umi: S, VN tr’ umu:.
tunblaigh, pst dula S, VN ulu: S.
Irregular verbs

5.237 General

Verbs are irregular in various ways. Those categorised as irregular may have the following irregularities:

- distinct aspectual form, i.e. tá of the verb bí;
- irregular root inflection, e.g. pst and fut abair, fut ith;
- suppletion (synchronically), e.g. abair / deir, pst déan, pst and fut faigh, pst feic, pst and fut teighre;
- dependent / independent forms, e.g. pst déan, feic, teighre; lenited / nonlenited form in déan;
- endings not found in the regular verb, e.g. pst imprs -has;
- regular endings used in anomalous tense in the impersonal, e.g. pres, pst and psthab imprs bí, pst imprs teighre; or anomalous function in 1sg pres Echo taim and cp. 2sg pres Echo tair, etc., in bí;
- irregular mutational realisations, involving both lenition and eclipsis, e.g. fut faigh, past abair, past clois, past feic, déan;
- high phonetic and phonological variability in stem, e.g. bí, teighre, future of faigh;
- use of enclitic fhios with bí.

The full range of endings not found or obsolete in the regular verb is:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>Endings</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Imperative 2sg</td>
<td>-tó</td>
<td>tóra, féach (5.310)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-tó(‘)ó(m)</td>
<td>tóra, teighre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present nonpersonal</td>
<td>zero ending (for -óa)</td>
<td>abair, bí (i.e. tá), clois, meas (5.310)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present relative</td>
<td>zero ending (for -óa)</td>
<td>abair, bí (i.e. tá)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present impersonal</td>
<td>-óar, -óars</td>
<td>feic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past nonpersonal</td>
<td>-óa</td>
<td>fág (5.309)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past impersonal</td>
<td>-óa</td>
<td>déan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-óas</td>
<td>beir, clois, faigh, tóra, teighre, lean (5.316)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-óhu</td>
<td>bí, (faigh)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future stem</td>
<td>-óf</td>
<td>faigh</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Many speakers do not use past impersonal -(h)óas, although rugas (beir) is not uncommon. On the other hand, speaker 26Pc has both past impersonal rugas (beir) and fuaireas (faigh) in the meaning ‘capture’. This -óas is homophonous with 1sg past Echo.

The inflectional suffixes used in the irregular verb can be taken as those of the 1 Conjugation, this conjugation corresponds to the monosyllabic stems of the irregular verbs. The disyllabic stem abair, a by-form of deir, inflects as a regular 2 Conjugation verb (but vadj raithe, VN rá). The verbal adjective of clois is both cloiste (regular 1 Conjugation) and cloistíthe (resembling 2 Conjugation, see
5.178. The past tense stem \textit{rinne} of the verb \textit{déan} has rare 2 Conjugation inflection (3 plural -\textit{idar}, Echo -\textit{ös}, -\textit{s}, impersonal -\textit{idh}, also rare \textit{déanáidh}). In the following paradigms only the nonpersonal form is given unless other forms are necessary. There are other, generally less anomalous, verbs not traditionally classified as irregular. These are dealt with in 5.303 ff.

### 5.238 \textit{abair}

**Imperative**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg</th>
<th>pl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>abar'-</td>
<td>d'er'-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abrahim'</td>
<td>d'er'\text{á}m'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abar'</td>
<td>d'er'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abrix</td>
<td>d'er'\text{á}x</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Imprs abrit'ar, d'ertar

(Also d'er'-,¹ e.g. presumably 3sg d'er\text{á}x, although no examples were noted.)

**Present**

(i) d'er'  \hspace{1cm} (ii) d'er'\text{á}n  \hspace{1cm} (iii) d'er\text{án}, d'iar\text{án}  \hspace{1cm} (iv) abrahim

(i)b A a'd'er'

B 3pl d'er'\text{á}r

(i) with relative: a d'er', ed'er', id'er', ad'er',

before f also: dor f-, d'e f-, d'i f-

Imprs (i), (ii) d'ertar  \hspace{1cm} (iii) B d'ertar  \hspace{1cm} (iv) abrit'ar, abrih\text{ar}

**Past**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg</th>
<th>Echo</th>
<th>pl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>durt'</td>
<td>durt'\text{á}s, dur\text{ás}</td>
<td>1 durt'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 durt'</td>
<td>durt'\text{á}r, dur\text{ár}, dur\text{af}</td>
<td>2 durt'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 durt'</td>
<td>3 dur\text{á}dar, dur\text{á}d\text{ár}, durt\text{d}ar</td>
<td>Imprs (h)\text{ür}u, \text{dur}u, habriw, habri\text{w}, deireadh ⇒ *d'er'\text{ú}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Past Habitual**

(i) d'er'\text{á}x  \hspace{1cm} (ii) abrahim  \hspace{1cm} (iii) d'er\text{á}x, d'iar\text{á}x

Imprs d'erti:\text{í}, habrit'\text{í}, abrih\text{a}  \hspace{1cm} d'erti:

**Future**

(i) d'erha, d'iarha, erha  \hspace{1cm} (ii) abro\text{í}  \hspace{1cm} (iii) d'er-f\text{ár} her-f\text{ár}

Imprs d'er-f\text{ár} her-f\text{ár}  \hspace{1cm} abro-f\text{ár}  \hspace{1cm} d'er\text{f}\text{ár}

**Conditional**

(i)a d'erhax, d'iarhax, jehrha, erhax  \hspace{1cm} (ii) dabro\text{í}

(i)b 1sg a d'erhax', a jehrha'  \hspace{1cm} 3sg a jehrha

¹ One can presumably have d'\text{á}r- for d'er- in the whole paradigm of \textit{abair}.
Irregular verbs

Imprs  (i) d‘er-f‘i;  (ii) dabra‘f‘i, habro‘f‘i;  (iii) d‘er‘i, jerhi:

Present Subjunctive
(i) d‘er‘a (ii) abri:
Past Subjunctive
(i) d‘er‘ax (ii) abrix

Vadj rat‘a, VN ra:

5.239 Alternate roots abar‘ ~ d‘er‘

The abar‘ - root is regular and alternates with the root d‘er‘ - (fut d‘er‘-) in all tenses. The only exceptions are: (a) the active past with root dur‘-; there is, however, a report of the form d‘abar for our dialect in S. Ó Murchú (1989 §19.5(iii)); (b) quotative (past and present) use has a deir (also past a düirt) with no abair root.

There are tendencies to use one or other of these roots in given collocations (for many speakers): in general abar‘- is used more in the meaning ‘say’ in contrast with d‘er‘- for ‘tell, inform’. For example, with pad‘ar‘ paidir and orún amhrán, abar‘ is frequent:

abró m‘e pad‘ar‘ if‘ M (conversation) abródh m‘e paidir dhuit.

Table 5.73 presents the results of some short translation exercises with three speakers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>amhrán</th>
<th>paidir</th>
<th>firinne</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pres</td>
<td>abair</td>
<td>deir</td>
<td>abair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>d‘er‘an MΩperm</td>
<td>45BΩperm</td>
<td>66Nperm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psthab</td>
<td>M, 45B</td>
<td>66N²</td>
<td>M, 45B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fut</td>
<td>45B</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source Mq, 45Bq, 66Nq.)

² Speaker 66N uses a form identical to the conditional for past habitual here, and generally.

The very common discourse markers mar (a) déarthá and déarthainn (go) have no abar‘ - by-forms. abar‘ - used here would have lexical meaning rather than discourse function. Contrast speaker 11C’s (psthab) use of abr- in introducing reported speech with use of a d‘er‘- in quotative function:

(D)’abraíod sé seo corr uair ‘Nil neart a’inn air.’ 11C;

‘Caillfear i seo,’ a deiread si, ‘caillfear i seo.’ 11C.

Speakers often differ in percentage use of both roots. Speaker 64M, for example, frequently uses the abar‘ - root. Examples from 04B, 20C and 29PM also suggest frequent abar‘ - usage:

a‘bro m‘e 04B7n; go na‘brúar 20Cq, d’a‘brúar (psthab) 20Cq.

Speaker 29C has abar‘ - as her main variant, e.g. dabra‘t‘i: 29C. On the other hand, sisters 04Br, 15W have regular conditional stem d‘er(h)- (recorded with abar‘ - here only in Echoing other speakers). The statistics for the seven speakers of Airnéán II (33–4), presented in Table 5.74, show overwhelming d‘er‘- and d‘er(h)- use in the nonpersonal past habitual, future, and conditional stems.
The occurrence of **abr**- in this material in dependent position in the few examples of past subjunctive 1sg and future relative suggests that **abr**- is more common (for some speakers) in dependent position. It may be significant that the single token of nonpersonal **abr**- in the future, abróidh, in Airneán II is used in the often parenthetic function, meaning ‘(I will take / let us say) for example’;

&agus bhí siad i ndan léimreach anois ó d’fhágthaidís, abróidh mé, Leic na gCaorach i Mainis, go dtéagaidís go Fínis. 01C6883.

My impression from some other speakers is that **abr**- is more common for them in this abróidh mé / maid use than in the more literal function. It is common, for example, in 01P and 16A’s recording, e.g.

... mar a bhfuil ginearach ann, abróidh maid, 01P;
... abróidh mé dhá thugthacht ar airde ... nu thugthacht go leith abróidh mé ar aon náis. 16A (height of climín).

The use of **abr**- here may reflect the imperative function, **abr**- being historical in the imperative. The alternative root déar- is also common in this use, e.g.

tímpéal’s chuaig lá, déarthaigh mé, nu s’èidh, 16A;
chaitheadh, ... éirí suas, déartha mé, leis an taoille ... 894Cs.

### 5.240 Imperative

In the imperative 2sg **abair** and 2pl **abra(ig)í** are most common (obsolescent **abraigt**). The 2sg **d’er’** form is used by some speakers in the idiomatic phrase **d’er’ e deir é!** ‘you bet, sure,’ which corresponds to more common **abair é!** or **d’fhéadadh a raí!** Speaker 64M, who, as mentioned, has a penchant for **abar**’ forms, uses **deir é!** frequently but his sister 66L did not recognise the expression and found it foreign to her, although her husband, 54M, did recognise it as genuine, with the idiomatic connotation. One can compare similar use of “**Deir tú é**” Clad24, 184 (“**Abair é,**” Clad28). The 3sg imperative **d’er’ox** is not permitted by MÓperm.

### 5.241 Present

The commonest present forms are **d’er’**, **d’er’an** and **abrin**.

(i)a **d’er’**

Note the 1sg analytic **d’er’ m’e**, **d’er’ m’ifá**:  
*túráidh a deir’ m’ifá* 894B ‘Túráidh, a deir mise;  
mar (a) d’er’ m’é 72A (x2) ‘as I was saying.’

2sg *N’OR tu ... 04B an ndeir tú ... ?

**d’er’** is highly common in the relative marking quotations, in which use there is a tendency to place the weak stress initially: **ed’ar’ id’ar’** or to be indistinct **ad’ar’**
Irregular verbs

*a deir.* In this use, speaker 01P (Doire Iorrais) generally has nonpalatal initial d-before pronominal f-, e.g. *a dor fe* (1.215).
*d' e* is also common, for example, in *d' er fiad ga ...* with the meaning ‘they say, it’s said that.’ Speaker 23Ms was noted with frequent d’i and d’e: 
- a d’t fe, a d’e fe, d’e fiad 23Ms a deir sé, deir siad.

Note also the definite nominal subject in:
- *nax s’er’ b e’b’ xhabal l’um ...* M nach ndeir Béib Chathail liom ... !

It can have present meaning marking quotes:
- *k’eòN x’eàd o’kEl v’iÁ Aòn d’er Se* ‘cén chéad fhocal a bhí ann?’ a deir sé ‘he is asking what was the first word.’

(i)a B 3pl mar d’er’ dar l’e ... 71D1 mar deirdar le ....

(i)b A occasionally in prequotative use:
- *a déir | a d’er’ fear (liom) ...* 09P;
- a d’er’ mak d’e: ‘l’ef ... St A deir Mac Dé leis: ‘...’.

(ii) sg synthetic *d’er’ anf$a is common in quotative use for older speakers. For instance, speakers 892M and 899D regularly have *a deirimse* (e.g. 892M 1735, 899D6723–4). In its place younger speakers commonly have analytic *a d’er’ míf$a a deir mise*, noted regularly, for example, in speakers 01C (ARN6201, 6259), 19P.

(iii) *d’ er’-, e.g.
- *l’a gu S’er’ fiad S leath dhá ndéarann siad,
- *S’i jéran M ní dhearann, S’i ern’ fi: 84P ní earann sí.*

(iii) *B er’-: éran fiad 78B* (phrase-initially).

*d’erh-, the only example noted is *d’erh$a dim’a 23B déarthann daoine;* when queried *d’erh$a dim’a* was permitted by 23Bperm but she was more sure of, and more comfortable with, *d’er’ an.*

5.242 *Past, Future, etc.*

Past 3pl: most common is *dúradar.* Speaker 894C’s normal form is *dúradar* but there is one example of *... , ‘a dúirteadar 894C2.* Similarly, *dúradar* is 16M and 19P’s usual form, but as in 894C’s example, when quoting, 19P said *a durt’adar ... duradur P,* where there was a slight hesitation after the *durt’-.* Speaker 21C, however, shows no hesitation in her *néir urtdar ... , nár urtdar 21C.* In rapid speech reduction is found, e.g. syncope in: *dúradar g’had’if $a h’uras’ | 11C dúradar go ngothaidis go hárainn.*

Echo

1sg examples: *durt’as, nár urt’as, gar uras, duras* S. Note the examples in the following exchange:
- *-manam gar uraf 14M* M’anam gur dhúras.
- *-S’ir urt’ as M Nior dhúirteas.*

2sg examples: *... ar uraf’ M (x2), gar urt’ar’ M.*

Impersonal past

*durur,* e.g. *‘gas dáiradh liom gurb é ...* 894P; *háiru léith 875T1, húrú* f’aet 11C; *habitw, habriw: Mq.*
Verbs

deireadh gur ..., implying *d’er’u; appears in SeolG66.

Past Habitual
Imprs examples:
gurb in é an chaoi a n-abraíthe é ’abríth e’ 27Cb;
dabríth i n pardr’ in’ part’ ox S d’abraít an paidrín páirteach.

Future
Imprs example:
X’i hea-f’ar 11C (note this speaker’s regular past huru).

Conditional
(i)a d’erh-: N’i: eraiù fidh 15W.
d’iarh-: 1sg d’ iaraf ò 12J; 2sg gò ’iérhò 52J dhà ndéarthá (13.24, line 3).
2sg often weakened in mar a déarthá, especially for some speakers, e.g.

mar erh: Pt, mar ero P, mara d’er³ | 21Pt, mar d’euh 35E.
ma d’erhò 76Mt.

Cp. k’e d’e’xu 64M céard déarthá?
3pl d’erhadh;j 34M déarthaidis (5.119, 13.22, line 57).
Imprs (i) d’erf i: S, (iii) X’i: jex-f’i: S; jexhì 66N.

(i)b For a minority of speakers, 1sg forms in initial ò, i.e. ò d’erhax 21J, 21Pt, ò jexhax 66N, occur attached to the end of a statement or phrasal object, e.g.
‘an gréasaí’ a thiúrthá air, a déarthainn | ò d’erhax 21Pt;
Cloinne Con Fhaoila iad a déarthainn 21J.
(Speakers 21Pt and 66N are neighbours in An Aird Mhóir.) Also nonpersonal ò jexhax 66B.

Future forms in initial e:-
Speaker 19P has erhò quite often, e.g.
érha m’è forakun el’ akur P éarthaidh mé foracún eile acú.
Also in present eran fiad 78E.

Various speakers’ present and future forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>pres</th>
<th>psthab</th>
<th>cond</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11C</td>
<td>d’er’-</td>
<td>d’er’-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12S</td>
<td>d’er’-, abr-, d’er’-</td>
<td>d’er’-, dabr-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66N</td>
<td>d’er’-</td>
<td>a jexhax (as cond)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The use of d’e(r)-, je(r)- and e(r)-, etc., is described for all leniting and nonleniting environments in 9.130.

Past Subjunctive Imprs example: ghá n-abrait liom 03C.

5.243 beir

Imperative A b’er’ax; B b’erax, etc., but 2sg only b’er’
Present A b’er’àn, imprs b’ertar, B b’eran
Irregular verbs

5.244 Various tenses

Past C, example: vr’e fe r’ an ro’ fin’ 66N bhreath sé ar cheann Róisín.

Impersonal
A examples: rugas orthab P rugas orthub (of thieves), n’ éir rugas a’ r’iaw er’ S nior rugas ariamh air; also 892M2135, 26Pc, 35E9385.

The usual form meaning ‘was born’ is rugu. There is an (exceptional) example of rugas in the meaning ‘was born’, from a younger speaker:

rugas e’ fin’ e t’ in’ 60M rugas e sin ‘eighteen ...

Past Habitual
Imprs páistí ... a beirtaí ... 869P2;

b’ertí: pa’f’i: ko’l a riv’ a fo S béartaí páistí caillte roimhe seo.

Future, imprs b’er’ ar 46.1017.

Present Subjunctive, example:
mara m’er’ a’ m’ i’ er’ 869P mara mbeire mise air.

Past Subjunctive, B heard (once) in: go ruger’ er’ 21J dhá rugá air.

Vadj. A, e.g.

n’is am b’orha no’ b’o: n’or ba’ft’ a S nil fhios a’ m beirthe ná beo ná baiste;


Vadj. B, e.g. xi: m’e tsa [sic] b’erho 52J an chaoi a mbeidh tusa beirthe.

5.245 Verbal Noun

A breith, e.g. ag breith ar an meáchan, 866ESemr118.

B beir, examples:

n’i’ jarna m’e ax b’er’ er’ agas 43M ní dhearna mé ach beir air agus ..., ag beir air 47P.

v’i’ fi b’er’ er’ isao’g’ er’ 52J bhí sí ag beir ar fhéasóig air, bloom siad ag beir ar láimh ... 52P.

n’i: f’ed’ ar’ b’er’ orthub 60M ní fédir beir orthub (catch thieves),

b’er’ er’ da vroga 60M ag beir ar do bhróga,

... le béartaí orthu. ... i ndan beir orthu. 60M.

In the meaning ‘to give birth’ beir has not been recorded as verbal noun, breith
only being heard. Speaker 52J was asked whether he would use *beir* as verbal noun in this meaning:

- a n’erhasa tá n wo: a *beir’* li: BóC An ndéarthása ‘tá an bhó ag beir lao’?
- tu: m wo: a *beir’* li: be’sar’ ga n’erhas e le f’æn sp’ïd 52J ‘Tá an bhó ag beir lao’?, *b’héidi* go ndéarthainn le teann spíd.

C béar, e.g. wil’ tu *g’iar ormsa* *beir er’* a mik’èd 66N

an bhfuil tú ag iarraidh ormsa béar ar an mbuicéad?

*béarail*, less commonly, in speakers 60M’s and 66N’s usage only. Apart from the obvious productivity of the verbal-noun suffix -áil, the phrase *béarail* ar may be influenced by *greim fháil* ar which has similar meaning to *breith* / *beir* ar, i.e. as if *‘béar fháil* ar.

Developmentally we can contrast traditional impv *beir’*, pres *beir*’æn, VN *br’er* (e.g. in 12S’s use) with nontraditional impv *beir’,* pres *beeran,* pst *vé’e,* VN *beer* >>> *beer* in 66N’s use. The oldest speakers with the innovative VNs are: beir 43M; béarail 60M; béar 66N.

### 5.246 *bí*

#### Imperative

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg</th>
<th>pl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 b’im’, b’ix m’e:</td>
<td>1 A bínis; B b’imad’, b’i mid’, b’ix mid’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 b’i’, b’ix tu:</td>
<td>2 b’ig’i’, b’i’, b’ix/x fió</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 b’ix, b’i’d je, b’ox</td>
<td>3 b’i’d’i’, b’i’d/x fiád, b’ix dár</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Imprs b’it’ar

with *fhios* b’i’ds, b’i’ts, b’i’ts, b’i’xas, b’i’xs

#### Present (General)

**Independent**

A *tu*; *tu*, t, huc, a, a; re: *tu*; *tu*, t, huc, a, a

Imprs *tu’f ar, tucu*; with *fhios* *tuc*

B 3pl *tudar*

Echo A 1sg *tum’*; 2sg *turr’*; B 1sg *tu*;

**Dependent**

A wil’, wul’

Imprs wi’il’ar, wil’ar, wil’u’; with *fhios* wi’as

B 3pl *wil’adar, wil’dar*

Echo A 1sg *wil’am’*, 2sg *wil’ar’*; B 1sg *wil’*

With *ní, ñ iñ, ñ i*: imprs *ñ iñ’ar, ñ iñ’ar, ñ iñ’u*; Echo A 1sg *ñ iñ’am’*, 2sg *ñ iñ’ar’*; B 1sg *ñ iñ’*; with *fhios* *ñ iñ’as* *wi’il’ as << *bi’as*

Following *mara: wil’*; more commonly *bil’*, B 3pl *bil’adar, bil’dar buldar*; with *fhios* *wil’ as* with *fhios* *b’ims*
Irregular verbs

Past
Independent v’i:
Imprs v’iu., v’if’ar, v’ihu., v’ihoar
Echo 1sg v’is, 2sg v’if, v’ir’
Dependent
A 3pl raudar
B ro., ru., ra., 3pl rodar
Imprs rou., rohu., rauu., rof’ar
Echo 1sg raus, ros, rus
2sg rauf, raur’, rof, rof’
with fhios: Independent v’is; Dependent raus, ros, rus, rauhøs

Future
A b’e., rel bhéas
B b’ei, b’e, (b’a), rel v’es, v’eis
Imprs b’eif’ar, b’eif’ar
C 3pl b’eidar, b’edar
D bai
Echo 1sg b’eid, 2sg b’eir’
with fhios b’eis, b’eis, b’ei his, b’ehøs

Past Habitual
A 1sg v’iu., 2sg v’ihu., v’iu’;
3sg v’ix, with fhios v’ixs, v’ixs, v’ixs
Imprs b’iit’, v’iit’, v’ixt’, (v’et’i)
B 1sg v’eoh’, v’eoh’, 2sg v’eoh:
C 1sg v’ixx’., 2sg v’ixx:

Conditional
A
sg
1 v’ex’, v’eiv’, v’ehax’
2 v’eoh: ~ v’ohæ, v’eiho., v’ehax’ (~v’et’æ), (v’exæ)
3 v’ex, v’ox, v’ex
   Imprs v’eif’i, East IA v’eihi;
with fhios v’eds, v’eis, v’ehaxs, v’eaxs, v’ex is, v’exs, v’oxs, v’ehaxxs, (v’exats), v’axxs
B 1sg v’ehix’, 2sg v’exæ

Present Subjunctive (Non-optative)
A b’i.; Echo 1sg b’iud, 2sg b’iir’
B as in future

Present Subjunctive (Optative)
ro.; Echo 1sg rod, 2sg ro’
Past Subjunctive A 2sg b’eif’æ, B as Conditional
VN v’e, v’e., v’a
5.247 Weakening and loss of initial consonants

The basic or lexical forms of this verb can undergo certain weakenings. Initial v, w, and t can be weakened or lost; -l in nil can be lost. Long vowels can be shortened or even lost. In what follows examples are listed of weakening of v to a glide, as well as loss of v, i.e. v - > q, Ø. (Cf. loss of initial v in irregular feic, 5.282.)

v - > q (also q, v), following a preceded by a consonant (i.e. -C a bh-).

Past

| ãgas nor' a "i: fin' d'inta 'ri'ift | 18J8137
| Agus nuair a bhí sin déanta arist. |

Cond

| no 'e: 'fe tok' 'ha' 'ri'ift akob 11C |
| Nuair a bheadh sé tógthaíthe arist acub. |

VN

| 'gr' im' 'e ek 'sa 'warag a 01C6186 greim a bheith aici sa bhfarráige. |
| (Following a) preceded by a vowel (i.e. -V a bh-). |

VN

| hÌstoÉx eò 'e t' er 'Em 892M 1507 thastódh é bheith tirim (here represents a slight approximant of v with neutral lips). |

5.248 v - > Ø

Initially

Past

| i: je kuma sa 'm'erl' fro'fan' 11C |
| bhí sé ag cumadh sa mBéarla froisin. |
| idar ag' 'im' 'a: t' a:hab... 11C bhíodar ag imeacht leothub... . |

Psthab

| i: j' fe d'ia: 'f' b' in' 899P bhíodh sé ag dtol síbín. |

Following a preceded by a consonant

Past

| na're i: m' e... 04B4 nuair a bhí mé... . |
| d'e k'edim' a: i: hugad | 03V Dé Céadaoin a bhí chugad. |
| f'ær g' em'ul' i: an 899P fear géimìil a bhí ann. |
| od i: on f' ax' pobal' 'b'og 17M séard a bhí ann teach pobail beag. |
| 'ferd f' 'g' ef' 'e' a... 21Pt séard a bhí i gceist aige... . |

Future

| nor'e is m'f' sa re: l' e mar' in' 23B |
| nuair a bhheidheas mise réidh le Máirín. |

Cond

| eg' a v'ixun ox d'int æd 892M1516 |
| ag an bhfioschán a bheadh déanta a'd. |
| k'er dox na h'ae's 'on ax f'ær' | 18J8283 |
| céard a bheadh ina sheasamh ann ach fear. |

Often following the conjunction mar (a) 'as', e.g. mar ox ... 04Br mar a bheadh... . In fact the following forms of mar a bheadh occur:

mar a v'ex, mar ex, mar ox, marex, marax.¹

Usage with mar covers a functional range from verbal to prepositional. It can be divided into three semantic categories, although they are not always easily distinguished:

¹ I am grateful to M. McKenna for drawing my attention to similar mar mar a bheadh in Rann na Feirste, Co. Donegal, e.g. d'imigh leis mar a bheadh mara séideán sí ann Míicl Sheán Néill Ó Baoill (Mac Cionaoith 2005: 118).
Irregular verbs

1. ‘as’; 2. ‘something like, something similar to’; 3. ‘like, similar to’.

1. *fe xí ro fe | l’ér mar ox a K’inul bud | 899D*
   Sé an chaoi a raibh sé, léir mar a bheadh an cineál bád;
   mar et fe, y et fe go d’ir’ax glan ... 20Mlt
   mar a bheadh sé, bheadh sé go d’ireach glan ...

2. | v’í’ | an áraig a | na miir’ | hr’extiha | mar ex | l’aek air’a | er’
   a waraig’a | 869P
   bhí an fharraige ina mair thréachtaithe mar a bheadh leac oighre ar
   an bhfarráige;
   v’íx mar ex p’ísa go wad’ [sic?] nu: rud a’k’ín’ a’kah 04Br
   bhíodh mar a bheadh píosa dhe mhaide nó rud eicín acub;
   marax wil’san er’ 01J (marox ?) mar a bheadh ‘Wilson’ air;
   marax bo: ... S mar a bheadh bó ... .

3. tu: tu: marax pus’d a 46 (s.v. tó) tá tú mar a bheadh pást
   ‘you are like a child’;
   to fe ard mar ex tusa n’if 04Br
   tá sé ard mar a bheadh tusá anois;
   mareas baisak’al’ 15W mar a bheadh baidhscil.

The examples cited in category 3 are all from SID.46 (speaker 869P) and his
dughters. I recall hearing similar usage from their cousins. This, then, is an
indicator of clann Mhacaí of An Coillín. The following example from
SID.46 has fuller surface realisation:
   téiv’fé ro’d mar a v’ex bh’chíox on 46.584 taibhse, rud mar a bheadh
   beithiobh amn → a ‘taibhse’ is a thing like a beast.

There is also a preposition marax marach ‘except for’ and the correspond-
ing conjunction marach go. The preposition has verbal type sandhi in, for
example, marat fin’ marach sin. This -ach of marach is diachronically
derived from bheadh. For realisations such as mar ex marach, see 7.89,
8.147.

5.249 **(Following a) preceded by a vowel; 78B; w- > Ø**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Past</th>
<th>Future</th>
<th>VN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*’i in’ fe g ol ... 66N ní bhíonn sé ag ól ... .</td>
<td>ma i: tu: go iaro P m’a bhi tú dhá iarraidh.</td>
<td>go ma jaxt’ m’id a m’áes as tu: hein’ agas a ‘pig’ 892M4612</td>
<td>v’e rua l’e e duv 20Mlt bheithe riu le bheithe dubh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>go mba seacht mle measa a bheas tá héin agus an ‘pig’</td>
<td>din’a g’ iar e g obair l’af a g’riaw 892M1500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>go mba seacht measa a bheas siad bláin ó anocht!</td>
<td>daoine ag iarraidh a bheithe ag obair leis an ghliabh. [sic].</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Speaker 78B is quite given to forms without initial v’, e.g.
   *’i in dur ... ní bhíonn dur ... ; mar ins ... mar a bhíonnns ... ;
   n’i exas áed ... ní bheadh fhíos a’d ... .

She does use v’- but apparently less often. Compare her reduced present m’i
mbíonn (5.253).
Verbs

The initial of bhfuil is occasionally reduced (níl, cáil < cá bhfuil):

\[ \text{gE v} \neq \text{ek} \neq \text{m} \neq \text{Ó} \neq \text{il} \neq \text{E} \neq \text{w} \neq \text{a} \neq \text{t} \neq \text{aer} \neq \text{f} \neq \text{át} \neq 897S \]

'go bhfeice mé an bhfuil aon mhaith i t'fhear leat';

gil'\text{d}ar 71D go bhfuil\text{d}ar.

5.250 Imperative

3sg [b\text{ox}]: b\text{ox} \text{ek} \neq \text{a} | b\text{ox} \neq \text{d} \text{aul} eg' \text{a} M biodh aicí, biodh an deabhal aige;

b\text{id} fe (sax ard \text{æd}) S biodh sé sách ard a'd.

1pl A., 'Mar atá cuid oibre,' adeir an mac, Cod. 852SbL L 121.

B b'i; mid' a'f i M bi muid istigh;

b'\text{id}m\text{d}' a goil' \text{e}w\text{a}f 46 (s.v. tá) biomuid ag goil abhaile;

-M'anam, a deir Deara, a deir se, bi muid ag goil sios, a deir se, má tá muid i ndan! 31P.

2pl b'i\text{é} g obEr'. Mperm bí ag obair.

With fhios b'\text{its} ugi: ~ b'\text{its}\text{á}gí: M biodh fhios agaibh;

b\text{ixs} \text{æd} 47P biodh fhios a'd.

5.251 Present (general), tá

Often (weakly stressed) ta, e.g. ma ta ... S má tá ... . Sometimes ta tae(t):

- ta hiad ga mi\text{á}ra fíis 21Pt tá siad dho m'uirraíadh sios;

- tae tr'i xuka ... P tá trí cháca ... ;

- tae n' fíigi g' la\text{r}o v'é tort na wati: web' 894C tá an Síogaí ag iarraidh a bhfeic leabhair a bhfuil a'd.

There may be vocalic assimilation to the following a in:

mar ta 'arha d' erfí kurh ámsa sa 'grí'V | 11C mar tá artha, a deir sé, curtha a'msa a gcraóibh.

The vowel is sometimes completely elided:

- ma t tuÉ sp\text{á}\text{r}a\text{á}ít 21Pt má tá tá ag spáráilt;

- nax u\text{as}\text{ax} a sm\text{á}l t ora S nach uafásach an smál atá uirthi!

Further reduction regularly occurs in K'\text{er} tu; jin\text{a} S céard atá t'a dhéanamh?

In utterance-initial position h- is not infrequent, e.g.

- ho fe mar\text{u}u, (Suda) 04B tá sé marbh.

- ho' ga ma' der fe 04B Tá go maith,' a deir sé.

- ho' ga ma' dur\text{t} mak ... 11Ct 'Tá go maith,' a dúirt Mac ...

- -wíl' a wuchair foi sa ma\text{í}f\text{a} M An bhfuil a mháthair seif sa mbaile?

- h\text{e}: 14M Tá.

- ho' fe jin' w\text{á}\text{e}d\text{a} n'if St tá sé sin ro-fhada anois.

| ho\text{'s} ir' a la gar\text{a} god\text{u}' | 25M Tá fhios ag an lá gur goideadh.

1sg Echo | 'am' | 18J Táim.

Initial h- can be described as a more casual realisation. This seems to be used stylistically by speaker 11C in, for example, a narrative excerpt where questions are repeatedly answered in the positive by one participant and requests fulfilled:

- -Measann tusa ... ? a deir sé.

- -Tá t\text{a}, a deir sé.

- -Meas t\text{a} ... ?

- -Tá fhios t\text{os} a'm go bhfuil, a deir sé, ...

- -' m\text{beadh} aon ... ? a deir sé.

- - Muise m'anam go bhfuil, a deir sé, etc.,

- -' Bhfuil aon tsiosúr a'd? a deir sé.

- -Tá h\text{u}c, a deir sé. Thug sé — thug sé an siosúr di ... 11C.
Irregular verbs

With loss of initial consonant tu > ò utterance-initially, e.g.
\[ ò fe | ret òa glànt òed an òar fn' | 894Cs \]
Tá sé réittithe, glanta òd an òair sin;
fatì: krag vrit òa, òa fiad òa hòr’ k’ìn eg’ kapai’. S
fatal cnaghbhruite, tá siad go — thair cionn ag capaill;
ba l’éf ó seòl òen’ d ho’òl’ ér’ òa gjafal | ó òan òa guni; | 11C
ba leis an Zetland Hotel ar an gcSeasal, atá ann i gcéanna;
\[ ò a m’è fuò’ wòf l’e do wòf’ og’ id erfe 11C \]
-Tá mé ag fuòl bháis le doigh bhòilig, a deir sé.

The syllable timing is all that is retained of tá in:
\[ xuòlo m’e òa m’òn’ ak’ ég’ jæmin’ òe’ ax | , òe wàd òs xun’ 11C \]
chuala mé go minic ag sean-ndaoine é ach tá sé i bhfàd ò shoin.

Complete loss or absence of initial tu also occurs, e.g.
\[ p’isò umdò òin’ an’ òeskò M tá an piosa adhmaid sin an-fleascach. \]
Cp. òs òed ò | ... 72N Tá fhios a’d u-, ... .
A rare example of hu: utterance-medially is:
\[ mar’ ò hùr ... 00C nuair atá ceoltóir maith, ... . \]
For certain speakers born in the 1970s hu becomes more frequent, even non-
initially:
\[ mo hu fiad ... 76MAO má tá siad , ... , \]
\[ hu m’òr’ òè’ 78JR D tá an pèire a’inn, \]
\[ tu / hu ... 79StMN \]
It has been noted as particularly frequent in 45N’s family in An Aird Thoir.

Absence of bhí also occurs, e.g.
\[ m’e hën’ s u hën’ òa kaeò’ hæn’a n’òr’ 21Pt \]
(bhí) mé héin is thú héin ag caint cheanna anseo air.

Note the further reduction in the almost muttered phrase onset in:
\[ | ò’ m’à’ tòsi: l’àt 21Pg6001 [bhí] [or tá] sè] chomh maith tosaí leat. \]
For occasional loss of utterance-initial nil, see 5.252. For an example of loss of
rainb, see 5.254. Cp. 5.259.

Impersonal

tuò’ òar Sq, Mq. The form tuò: was not accepted by Sq; neither were tuoar, tuo
accepted by Sq nor Mq as forms they would use, but tuo 21J, tuo: gu wùaxa ... 
72C tádh dhá buachadh ...

Dependent wuò’ òar Sq, Mq, wíò’ òar Sq, Mq, gu wí’u, ... v’iùr ... 79A. With ní
\[ ni’lft’ òar Sq, Mq, ni’lft’ òar Sq, ni’lft’ gu: nuasòd’ 21J nìleadh dhá n-àsàid. \]

Echo

1sg Echo forms in -òm’ (contrast GCF §§163, 211 where these are not specifi-
cally categorised), e.g. n’iòf’òm’ S.

2sg tá: wuò tu: k’aert an’jìn’ òn’jò, tuo’ M
An bhfuil tá ceart ansin anois? Táir.

bhfuil: ‘an bhfùillir’ 46 s.v. tá; nil: n’iòf’òr’ S.

5.252 Dependent bhfull

Generally wí, also wu, e.g.
\[ tuò m’dà’ rò: l’aért òd’erfe gu’wùa’l’ | 11C \]
Verbs

Tá mise ag rá leat, a deir sé, go bhfuil!

ə wUL [ə wOL] \( P \) An bhfuil? with low-high-low (rise-fall) question intonation.


With ní, n’idé níl, the final consonant is sometimes elided to n’i, for example, with fhios but also before a pronoun, e.g.

n'i m: e: na:n M níl mé i ndan;

n'i m: e: nán a ro: fína hí:af | 11C níl mé i ndan a rá faoina haois;

and in impersonal n’idéair nílfear.

An example before a consonant-initial nominal occurs in:

n'ítad am 'le e: a júfá\( \) 66N níl tada a’m le é a súil.


Initial níl is sometimes elided:

ki: núc kumá ér' na d'aul' a:t:í M
(ní) caoi ná cuma ar na deabhail fhataí,

f’úntas a b’i láe:í M (ní) fiúntas ar bith leat.

With cá: mostly kúf, also unreduced kú: wil'. Also kú: i’... kú: i’... 52P cá bhfuil ... ? cá bhfuil ... ?

The form mil' in g’éc:ao: go mil' S an gceapthá go mbuil? was heard only once.

Following mara, mara bil’ >> mara wil’, e.g.

mara b'il' fe ... 04Br, 3pl marab fhúileadar ann anois 52J;
mara wil' 23C, mara wil' fiad haírt 43M mara bhfuil siad thart,

3pl mara wil'dar eG a 43M mara bhfuiladar aige.

5.253 Present, bionn

1sg analytic:

n'i v'ín m'i:fo ká:áxt | n'i v'ín | M

ní bhionn mise ag casacht, ní bhionn.

The young speaker 78B (An Aird Thoir) tends to elide n in mbionn, in innovative direct relative use, e.g.

Gaeilge is mó a mbíonn chuile duine s mu: m’i xl’ á yín’á ... 78B.

Béarla is mó a mbionn chuile s mu: m’i xl’ á ... 78B.

We can compare her elision of n in déan:

1pl fut n'\( \) ha:m mig’ [sic] 78B ndéanadh muid (5.271). Speaker 84P (An Aird Thoir) has frequent m’is, as 78B has m’i, in innovative direct relative use, e.g.

na cín: a mbionns m’is ar an raedló 84P.

The final simple -s can be interpreted as a result of a simplification of the traditional cluster -ns.

Obsolete 2sg Echo má bhír 866E (5.97, n. 2). There is now no 2sg Echo: an *mbionnair M0perm.

Imprs b’i:t’ar generally (including 20A), rare b’i:nt’ar 20A.

5.254 Past

Independent with short vowel, e.g. v'i fe d’ína ... M bhí sé ag déanamh ... .
Irregular verbs

Imprs

v'íf'ar Sq, Mq,
v'íf'ar go b'úka (male c. 55, LA) bhifear dhá bpiocadhl.
v'íu 31D1 (x4).
v'íchu: bua年限 warKaf 64M bhítheadh ag buadaladh Mharcais.
v'íthar in bhíothar ' dórteadh na bhfataí 897St (only).

Echo 2sg v'íf. v'ír', cp. v'ír' [sic] 46 s.v. tá.

Dependent

3pl: in 892M's speech generally rodar but sometimes reduced or metathesised, e.g.

go rðarð marù ARN1393 go raibheadar marbh,
N'i: orðar, N'i: orðar ARN1532 ní raibheadar.

Imprs

N'i: rohu: ~ N'i: rof ar Sq, Mq, the latter being the more doubtful of the two. When queried on another occasion about a rof ar ... (used by 79S), Máire claimed ní focal ar bith é sin, níor chuala mé mé é sin ariamh!
N'i: rau: 31D1 (x3), v'íu ... rau 31D, rau: 26P.

Examples

ro: N'i: ro and N'i: rodar are very common.
ru: cp. ru 869P2–5, sura ru je ... !(Aim)21Pt sara raibh sé ... . 3pl cp. ní rudar 869P2.

Echo

-r'alu br'athu ort hein' S An raibh tá ag breathná ort hein?

rau: rogha's [i.e. raus raibh fhios] acú cá roghadar [i.e. raudar rabhadar] ag 'oil. [i.e. ag goil] 852S5.
N'i: raus am fin' P ní raibh fhios a'm sin.

3pl n'i: roudar 46 s.v. tá, n'í: roudar sústa 46 s.v. sásta; ko raudar 27C cá rabhadar, (SID.46 and 27C are both from An Coillín.)

Echo 1sg N'i: raus 14M ní raibhas; 2sg raur [sic] 46 s.v. tá.

raub-: only one example noted:

N'i: rauas eg' a ri' ... ..., N'i: rauas eg' a k'en út' ... 04B10tn
ní raibh fhios ag an rí, ... ..., ní raibh fhios aige cén út ...

r: ye r'ig' a sásanach a'f t i n'f o | 892M3516
dhá raibh ag an Sasanaich istigh anseo;

With fhios: 852S bhí's, ragha's / rogh's ⇒ v'ís, raus, ros
894C raibh's (probably >>) ra's ⇒ raus >> ros
04B rauas rauhas
04Br n'i: rus am ní raibh fhios a'm.
5.255  Future

b’e occurs most often, and commonly, with pronoun subject but not exclusively, e.g.

- shul à mbei’ mé but also nach mbei’ caite 869P5,
- b’ e dhach aed ag’ e-fit axt le fin’ S beidh jab a’d ag éisteacht leis sin,
- b’ e kit’ eg’ kod’ in’ 43M beidh caid ag Cóilín.

For a m o’ ha’msa 889Ptn a mbeidh a’msa, see b’i (10.69). -e- is also common in relative v’es and imps b’ ef a’r; with fhios: b’ ehas.

b’ e occurs most often, and commonly, with pronoun subject but not exclusively, e.g.

- shul à mbei’ mé
- nach mbei’ caite

b’ e ü aÉb ÏÉd Eg ! eÉþSt !Ext l !e Sin ! S beidh jab a’d ag éisteacht leis sin, b’ e

- kit’ eg’ koÉl !iÉn ! 43M beidh jab a’d ag éisteacht leis sin,

b’ e ü aÉb ÏÉd Eg ! eÉþSt !Ext l !e

3pl b’ edar 52J. Also b’ e fiad, b’ e fiad, b’ edar, b’ e dur, b’ e dur. b’ e: occurs in the phrase ‘b’e: J’ox’t ‘er’ 894C beidh a shliocht air, also relexicalised as ed’axt.

Relative bhéas is common in secondary sources, e.g. nuair a bhéas siad marbh agamsa 864M LL 163, also 852S 2, 3, 852Sb LL 94, 866E Semr132.

One example of v’ a has been noted:

- n’i v’ a an contru on 20Mlt ní bheidh aon anró ann.

Relative v’eis can be shortened to v’ es, e.g.

- is gearr a bheidheas luach af’ g’ ar a’ v’ es luax a mbeilí héin a’inn 11C.

Imprs b’ ef ar, b’ ef ar M:

- seans go mbeidhfear m’ eif ar ag iarraidh ghoil ansin M,
- n’i v’ ef ar a nan iad iX a’ M ní bheifear i ndan iad a’ithe,
- ’n lá a bheifear v’ ef ar ar a’ bportach M.

D nontraditional bai 72A (1.410), also b’ ei b’ e 72A.

Echo 1sg b’ e id, e.g. beidhead 869P2. Cp. *b’ ed MÆperm.

With fhios

b’ eis >> b’ e(i)has, and perhaps b’ ehas >> b’ eis.

b’ eis: beidh’s 852S4. v’ eis 46 s.v. fios and mbeidh’fhios 869P2, beidh’fhios 894C3, b’ eis æd 04B2; fáens eg’ a faxt qa m’ eis e M seans ag an seacht go mbeidh fhios e; b’ ehas: go m’ ehas a’msa 11Ct (x2) go mbeidh fhios a’msa, qa m’ ehas æx’ 11Ct go mbeidh fhios a’inn, qa m’ ehas æd e 20C go mbeidh fhios a’d é; b’ ehis: beidh fhios a’msa, b’ e his a’msa a deir se, an bhfuil aon bhlas ... 11C.

b’ ehas: be hios acub 866E Semr82 (indicating perhaps b’ e his), b’ ehas æx’ k’en tait’fjg a ’un [Suda] 894Cs beidh fhios a’inn cén t-aicsean atá ann, qa m’ ehas æx’ e 03C go mbeidh fhios a’inn é, b’ ehas æd 03C; n’i: v’ ehas, b’ ehas æx’ e S beidh fhios a’inn é, n’i: v’ e-as 14M. Note that there is no example of *beidh hios in 866E Semr.

(*b’ es is probably current, especially in rapid speech, but no example has yet been noted.)

5.256  Past Habitual

A 2sg m’ ihe: 46 (s.v. tá) an mbitéadh?
B 1sg v’ihe’n 65S. Forms identical to conditional with past habitual meaning:

1sg v’ ehas’ 66N.
2sg garri: m’ eho: g’ aer f’ er’ on 19P
an garrá a mbeiteadh ag gearraidh féir ann,
‘v’ ehasa fkr’ iw as efan a KaN’ 20My
Irregular verbs

*bheitheása ag scriobh is eisean ag caint.*

bheitheása ag scríobh is eisean ag caint

seans go mbeitheá ag tabhairt amach dhó, an mbeitheá?

3sg v’ex 66N bheadh.

C 1sg v’ixav 78P. 2sg v’ixo 78P.

Imprs b’it i: 892M1182; v’it i: Sq. Mq.

With past habitual meaning in Máire’s speech:

v’it i: >> v’it i: >> v’it i:.

With past habitual meaning in Máire’s speech:

imprs b i: 892M 1182; v’it i: sq, Mq.

With past habitual meaning in Máire’s speech:

5.257 Conditional; ei ~ e, o

1sg v’ex’ >> v’ehan’. Máire’s evaluation is that v’ex’ (her regular form) is an rud is fearr Mq in comparison with v’ehan’. The latter is, however, common for some speakers, e.g.

| v’ehan’ er’ tai’ | 894Cs bheinn ar t’aghaidh; ya: m’ehan[a] 894Cs; v’ehan’ a kur’a, v’ehan’ a kur’a S bheinn ag combaireamh; v’m’ehan’ perhaps >> m’/v ex 46C; v’ehan’ 66N, 78E.

B v’ehan’ 60M only, see 5.413.

2sg gu m’ohosa St, v’ohu: annt 20Mt ni bheitheá i ndan, ga m’ohosa M. v’eiha: noted only in a m’eiha; fis ... S dhá mbeitheá sios ....

v’exa: n’i: v’exa: gol’ amax an’uW M ni bheachthá ag goil amach inniu.

This is not, however, an acceptable form for Máire; her instance can be taken to be a slip of the tongue < v’ex (nonpers) + -e: (2sg). Cp. gu m’ox(a): 52J.

v’ef’u:, with anomalous -e: for conditional (actually a rare past subjunctive form, 5.258, 5.392), was used by Seán in quotation in a humorous anecdote or saying.

jaul’ id’or fi: k’e m’et’a: t’iaxt S
-A dheabhail, a deir sí, cé mbeiteá ag tiocht?

3sg mara m’ex tae’d el’a ... 20Mt mara mbeadh tada eile ...

v’ex 36P, ga m’eex ... 889P.

v’ex | v’ex | v’ex M.

B 2sg v’exa 78P (often), this speaker also has psthab 1sg v’ixav’, 2sg v’ixo:.

Alternate ei ~ e/o in conditional

The ei alternant is quite rare. For example, e only was noted in SID.46, e.g.

v’en’ 46.734, 1019, 1048, cp. gu: m’ed’ fe: 46.950, gu: m’eha: 46.II.3c, m’ex 46.116, v’ex 46.585.

Mq permitted ei before palatalis only. The ei forms queried of Máire are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Mperm</th>
<th>Mperm</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bheinn</td>
<td>v’ei’</td>
<td>bheitheá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bheidís</td>
<td>v’eid’i:j</td>
<td>bheadh</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A rare 3pl example noted outside of elicitation is:

sol(s) m’eid’iʃ 11P sula mbeidís.

Recall the rare 2sg a m’einha: S dhá mbeithéad.

Impersonal, example:

n ÏÉd s E v !ef !iÉ gA Ð !iÉxAÉn M an fhad’s a bheifí dhá níochán;

v chi 40S bheithí.

With fhios

v’eds 46 s.v. fios, v’eds 04Br, 15W;

v’et’s, gá mbeit’s (cp. cé mbeit si) 852S4, bheits 894C9, v’ets eg’ 04B3s, SM.

v’eáhs, v’eháds, ... mbehiot’s a’d, etc., 866ESemr50, mbe-hiots 869P4, ghá / go mbeithíts (x3+, verse and prose) 894C, v’ehats eg’ 04B5, ga m’eháds
eg a S go mbeadh fhios aige, eg’ mar’ as ar a v’eháts S ag Máire is fearr a bheadh fhios, v’eháds 26P, 78M, v’eháts 29C.

v’exas, cp. ni bheadh fhios 869P2 (without ‘pron[ounced]’ note), ni bheach fhios a’d 894C2, bheadh’fhios (without separation) is the most frequent spelling in 894C2.

v’exas ~ v’ex is is the commonest pronunciation among the younger generation.

v’exs, ní: v’oxs aed M; v’oxs (tg’) ... 71D1 (x3). In conversation ní bheithet’s a’d ... was replied to by ní v’exs | 66N -Ní bheadh fhios.

v’exasxs, ... nax m’eháts eg’ ... nax m’ehaxs | 66L.

v’exats (rare): ní bheadh fhios with note ‘pron[ounced]’ ni bheach iots’ 869P2.

v’oxaxs, ga m’oxaxs 00T.

5.258 Present Subjunctive; Verbal Noun

A (Non-optative):

1sg ... fan go mbí me réidh 10C.

B: shul á méi’ mé 869P5.

There are examples of the present (general) with sula:

shul á bhfuil mé ag dul ag scarradh leat 866ESemr64.

Past Subjunctive A 2sg b’et’u:

2sg rus gá m’et’u: nó [slip] nán iad ’ek’ul ... l’éhi: gá m’eha: nán e’ ’ek’ul 03S i riocht is go mbeiteá i ndan iad a fheiceál ... le haghaidh go mbeithéad i ndan e a fheiceál.

B gá mbeinmse, gá mbeidís 869P2.

Verbal Noun

v’e is the general form.

v’o: a v’o no foka 04B2l a bheith ina phóca; v’o g’injain 04B2l bheith ag insean; hu: v’a gon kos 04B8l thá a bheith gan cos; v’a an’jin’ 04B bheith ansnin;

... g’ iara v’a | 10B ag iarraidh a bheith,

... v’i fe l’e v’a, air’iha, M ... bhí sé le bheith, éirithe.

Some of these examples given as v’o might actually be v’ao.

e (through loss of initial v’): v’e rua l’e e duv 20Ml bheith rua le bheith dubh.

v’e: was heard from speaker 48M.
5.259 Syntax of *bí*

Many utterances which logically or optionally contain *bí* are well-formed without any form of *bí* in initial position. Such sentences may be classified according to what form of *bí* can occur:

*bíodh* = ∅

>dáir ortha ná imithe dhí tá sí goil isteach i scioból mar tá sí marbh acub M.

*tá* = ∅

dim`a x`e`d`a`ns e`j`in`a`ns dim`a`n`a`n`a`x`e`d` `a`n`a`x`e`d` `a`n St
daoine a chreideanns e`sin is daoine nach gereideann

(here *is* is the coordinating conjunction = *agus*).

Cp. *nil* = ∅

e.g. m`i`ur`a` b`í`h `an`a`n M nil meabhair ar bith ann.

These examples are not to be confused with the examples given in the discussion above (5.247 ff.) under weakening and elision where forms of *bí* are phonetically elided.

As a verb of existence *bí* is sometimes used without *ann*, usually with some other adverb, e.g.

*ní raibh aon charrannaí an t-am sin ach baidhscíl* 04Br.

Pronominal complements are found with *bí* in reference to quantity or measurement (age, weight, size, price), e.g.

*án* `d`úna s | `é`f e `n* `d`úna e | `ní`d f `f` `s e | `án* `d`úna 14M

in Jún, bheadh sé in Jún é, nil sé fós é, in Jún.

‘in June, he would be it (that age) in June, he isn’t it yet, in June’;

*ach an bhfuil tú é sin?* [my example]

‘are you that (amount, i.e. that old / young)’?

Cp. 14 *bí* (d).

The verb *bí + as* is often used for more traditional copula, especially in constructions where *as* has the meaning ‘native of’, e.g.

*Má tá tú as Conamara tá tú lucáí* 43M,

*Héibí cén áit sa Náirt* [North] *anos a ro’ sé as* 21Pt

‘wherever in the North he was from’.

The same syntax was used by Seán Ó Conaire, Ros Muc ( sean-nós singer).

5.260 clois

**Imperative** kluʃaʃ

Present A 2sg interrogative `a glun tu:, an gelois tú?: 2pl an gclain sib;

B klin`á`n klen`á`n; C kluʃaʃ, kluʃa

Past A xliʃ, B xuolo (xolo), huolo, fuolo

Imprs A cloistheas, xuolo; B kluʃu, xuolo

Past Habitual A xlin`á`x, B xluʃaʃ

Future A klin`á`h, B kluʃa

Conditional A xlin`hax, B xluʃaʃ

Present Subjunctive A klin`á`a, B kluʃa

Past Subjunctive A klin`á`x, B kluʃaʃ

Vadj A cluinte, klin`f`t`a, B kluʃt`a, kluʃt`i(ha)

VN A klin`f`t`a`, kluʃa`, B kluʃt`a`, kluʃt`a`, kluʃɔʃt`
5.261 Alternate o ~ u, i

\( o, u, i \) (etc.) are all possible realisations of the vowel in both clois and cluin.

clois: generally \( u \sim i \) also \( o \), e.g. glófán (Ascn)19S.
SID.46 has both \( i: xli\bar{f} \) 'm e: 387, klí\bar{f}a tu 389, \( xli\bar{f}t\) 'af' Mp 119, and \( ô: \) klí\bar{f}á, klófim' 391.

cluin: generally \( u \sim i \) also \( o \), e.g. glúnta e 20Cq dhá gcluinínta é (5.43). The conditional impersonal is perhaps nonpalatal, but is auditorily uncertain, in klun-ťi: !(Asp)11C cluiní. Cp. N'í: klún\bar{f}á 892M4310 ní cluinfar.

5.262 cluin ~ clois

The variant cluin, although frequent for a small minority, is obsolescent. It is quite common in speakers born before 1915.

SID.46 and 869P–5:

impv: ná cluinim, cluinínt sé;

pres: n glín' tu: 46.390, klin'm' 46.391 (given as alternative), ní scéal rán é má chluineann triúr é (proverb) 46.VIII.7, cluineann siad, cluineann a’ t-iasc;

psth: Chluininn an mhuintir a rú,..., áit a bhith a gcliúinínt sí, ní aithneach sé, ní aithneach sí, cloinisí;

cond: chluinheá, ní chluinheá, a gcliúinínt sé, a gcliúinínt muid, chluinírí, cluiní;

pstsbj: gá gcliúinínt.

(iii) often (?), nax glín'am' 14M, ga glín'há: 20C, xlin'áng 'f chlánídr'om 31D chluininn an seandream ....

(iv) less often; note the alternation across speakers in these three exchanges:

-x'n: xlof\bar{a}a t\bar{u} ... with reply -x'n: xlin\'ao 01J, and

-x'n gluf\bar{a}n fe ... 20My -klin'ang', klin'ang' 20C, and

-x'n xlu\bar{a}tu (n fokla fín'eg' a dr'om eg) 56N

-Ní chloistídh tú (na foela sin ag an dream óg.)

-x'n: xlin'ha' tu S.

(v) cluin not noted from 16M nor her brother 19P.

Speaker 71D (Damhras) is by far the youngest speaker I have heard using the stem cluin-. His father 29PC uses it often.
Irregular verbs

5.263 Other forms

Present
A 2sg ń gfin’ tu: m’e: 46.390 an gclin tú mé?
2pl ‘gclin sibh mé libh ! CABI §383(b) v. 3 (amended from G Chlúin).
an gclois tú? from speaker 866E in:
‘An gclois tú?’ a deir an bhanrion óg. ‘Seas, tá gnotha agamsa diót.’ Sc78.

Past
A xif’ m’e: 46.387 given as alternative form; chuala is the only form in 869P2–
5. chlois is impermissible for Sq, Mq.
B xol is a relatively rare weakened form, e.g. xol m’e 20Ml;
There is an instance of labialised initial ch- in xWuElE 892M
(13.7, line 14).
fuElE was noted from a native of Doire Iorrais FuElE 01P
(only) who also has xuElE huElEþþ,
There is an instance of labialised initial ch-
in xuElE 894C
(13.7, line 14).

Imprs
A cloistheas 894C
2; chualas xuElEs sa Domhan Thoir, an torann a rinne an tua 894C.
B kluþSuÉ >> xuEluÉ Mq.

Verbal adjective
A cluinte 852S, klin’ft’a 46.390 only form given. Cp. 869P’s daughter kluft’i: eg’ 04Br.
-á ~ á: 894C2, 3, 6, 9 cloisti(th) + ag all examples and cloistó 894C3, which
implies high proportion of application of the -í ag sandhi rule with this item
for 894C.
kluft’íh agam | 11C2454 cloistíthe agam.

Verbal Noun
A klin’ft’ol’ 46.390 given as alternative; cloisteál is the only form in 869P2, but
xif’t ol’ Mp 119. Only one example of kluftol was noted, in 899D6861:

nái le kar’ a xluftol er’ hainí: ní le caint a chloiseál ar thaibhsí.
The form cloisint occurs in S. Mac an Iomaire (19852, Clad), which Máire claims
she has heard in the area; it is attested in (higher register):
ba wa: l’um a t’aengawel’ a xluftol’ a mc 04B2l
ba mhaith liom a teangamháil a chloisint go lá;
and from a young speaker:
tá mé ag iarraidh — cloisint e 86R (hesitation, as if trying to remember the
appropriate form).

On the other hand, Máire claims klin’ft’ol’ does not exist.

5.264 dion (déan)

Imperative d’in, d’in, d’un
Present A lenited n’ín, r’in; B d’inn, d’inn
Past, Independent A jin; B 3pl rí’ídar; C rí’s, 3pl rí’ídar
Echo 1sg A rí’is; B rí’as; 2sg (A rí’i)f B rí’af, rí’or’

Imprs d’iuen, d’enu, d’airn, rín, dínu, dínhas, d’ínu;

1 See also fuola – xuola SID2v, point 65 (Omeath, Co. Louth), p. 11, s.v. cluinim; also point 66
(Tyrone, Stockman and Wagner 1965: 115, s.v. cluinstín). Cp. point 77 naD’u na chuile SIDt Mp
202, with initial ch (possibly x*) > f also before u.
5.265 \( \textit{dión} \sim \textit{ní} \)

This and following sections describe the variation of \( \textit{díon} \sim \textit{ní} \), the vocalism of \( \textit{díon} \), use of (\( \textit{dh} \)\textit{hearne} and \( \textit{rinne} \)) and other forms and usage. The by-form \( \textit{ní} \): (homophonous with \( \textit{nigh} \) ‘wash’) is rare and almost obsolete having been replaced by \( \textit{dín} \). The root \( \textit{ní} \) occurs in lenited position in the present, past habitual and present subjunctive. One example was noted in the present subjunctive:

\[
\text{nar ní: je mar' yut' 897P nar ní sé maith dhuit!}^{1}
\]

Initial \( \textit{ní} \) - in lenited position was noted in:

\[
dúin ar bith a níodh \textit{ní} ix aon bhlas damsa an t-am sin leagadh sé l'aga ife ... 06C
\]

but \( \textit{ní} \) - is regular including in 06C’s speech.

In the past habitual, eclipsis also occurs, e.g. \( \textit{níd'íf} \) (unfortunately the context was not noted). Only personal forms of \( \textit{ní} \)- were noted. One token of what appears to be a mixed root \( \textit{nín} \)- was noted in the impersonal past habitual:

\[
| \textit{nín - i: n úm fín' sp' efíalt iád l'ehi: iaskar krúdón na ... 892Mg}
\]

\[n(d)ontáil an t-am sin spéisialta iad le haghaidh iascach cnúdán na ... .
\]

This speaker has \( \textit{ní} \) in the personal verb: \( \textit{ní} \textit{í}x, \textit{níd'íf} \ 892Mg.

5.266 Individual speakers

852S4-5 has \( \textit{ní} \)- in \( \textit{má ghnídheann} \), and \( \textit{déan-} \) elsewhere, e.g. \( \textit{gá ndiantá mo chúirle} \).

SID.46 has (by far) most often \( \textit{dín}, \textit{díon} \) (5.267). Four examples of \( \textit{ní} \)- occur, all in the present and in lenited position, following \( \textit{ní}, \textit{má} \) and direct relative \( \textit{a} \). Contrast:

\[
díon \textit{ín: fe: broga 46.995 déanann sé bróga,}
\]

with:

\[
ní: í:n í:n \textit{fe: ... 46.996 ní níonn sé ... , and also:}
\]

\[
\textit{má: nín in tísá im' díon's m'ífè rón 46.999 má níonn tusa im déanthaídh mise arán.}
\]

---

1 Elsewhere in Connacht present and past habitual are attested. Although the examples in context that I have found in the relevant Connacht monographs are all in lenited position, the monographs lack a specific statement of this condition. The description in GCF §534 would seem to actually contravene this condition, without unfortunately giving any examples.

GCF: \( \textit{nín} \) (claimed to be used with initial \( \textit{ní} \) without any preceding particle or conjunction but no example given) §534 eisc. (a), \( \textit{níonn} \) (no indication as to its use) §216, \( \textit{a níos} \) §24, \( \textit{a níonns} \) §316 s.v. gach uile, \( \textit{níodh} \) §216;

ITM: \( \textit{a níonns} \) (lenited relative, in proverb) §403 (31);

IEM: \( \textit{níodh} \) (obsolescent) §585.
Irregular verbs

Present relative is attested in the informant’s explanation fear a nóimns cléibh 46.580, and in the proverb:

\[ \text{cr mha} \ i\text{ef h}e\text{n n}i\text{ans a kot kr}u\text{n}an 46.\text{VII.4} \]

\[ ar \ n\text{(s)aithe leis h}e\text{ín a nóimns an cat cr}ó\text{n}áin. \]

In 869P–5 nó- occurs in the present and past habitual active only. In the present it occurs in lenited position following ní, má and direct relative a:

\[
\begin{array}{l|l|l}
\text{ní nóimn siad 4} & \text{má nóimn tú mo ch}há\text{uirle 2.33, 174, 205} & \text{a nóimn siad 4} \\
\text{má nóimn s}é báisteach 4.423, 424 & \text{a nóimn siad 5 (with rel -s struck out)} \\
\end{array}
\]

No examples of déan have been noted in these three environments, but it is most likely that I have overlooked déan here. In the past habitual ní- has been noted both in independent position and following direct relative a:

\[
\text{independent nídís:} \\
\text{Nídís 2 (x4), 5; nídís often (2, 3)} \\
\text{a nít sé 2, a níot sé 3} \\
\]

déan has been noted alongside ní- here, e.g. dhíanaidís ... nídís ... 869P5. In all other environments there are ample examples of déan. Note, for example, past habitual impersonal diantaí 869P5 and conditional dhianfaidís 869P3.

Based on my own notes of speaker 892MARN and Airneán II (p. 35) this speaker has, in this material, ní- in lenited position in the present and 3/3 in the past habitual:

\[
\begin{array}{lll}
\text{Present} & \text{nóimn (x1)} & \text{dhíomnns (x2)} & \text{nóimns (x2)} \\
\text{Psthab} & \text{nídís (x3)} & & \\
\end{array}
\]

Speaker 894P was the only speaker recorded with r’i-., in:

\[ \text{má níonn tusa an pota sa ngeimhreadh.} 894P \]

This may be a phonetic weakening of n’ in rapid speech (perhaps influenced by r of rimne).

Other speakers were noted with ní-: 894C4 Nóidh maid (psthab); 899P, 18J nínn, níodh; n’ihad iʃ [psthab] 24N. The youngest speaker noted with ní is 35E: nídís ARN7924. Most speakers do not use n’i-., e.g. 894Cs, SM.

5.267 Vocalism in dion

The vowels i, iə, e, i, u, e are all heard in dion (standard déan). d’in is more common than d’in, d’un. [d’iən] occurs, but has been given as d’in although the difference might possibly be phonological for some speakers here. In SID.46 (Table 5.75), iə occurs mostly in the verbal noun, iə mostly in inflected forms (without t), and six examples of i as well as one example of iə occur before -nt-. This virtually complementary distribution of iə, iə, i suggests a phonetic explanation: the longer vocoid occurs in the shorter form, i.e. iə occurs in the verbal noun and imperative; iə occurs mostly with longer inflected forms which either have personal endings or have (clitic) pronouns and / or are weakly stressed; and the absence of the (full) schwa glide in the iənt sequence suggests that the n is not as velarised before neutral t than when n occurs between vowels or in word-
Verbs

final position. The i: in 964 may be due to the following palatal context, i.e. commonly d′is\' d′ef\' ar′ déan deifir. The four phones which are found in dion from SID.46, i.e. iə, iə, iə and i, can all be interpreted as allophones of /i/.

Table 5.75 iə, iə, i: in dion (déan) SID.46

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>iə</th>
<th>iə</th>
<th>i</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mp 254 d′iəna</td>
<td>Mp 256 d′iəna (fe)</td>
<td>999 n intu:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(= q 986), 69, 131, 545, 600, 986</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>244,-5. jiəna</td>
<td>80 d′iəna shri:</td>
<td>1108 d′i:n′ta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>414, 886, -7, 980, 1046, s.v. döligh, gáideadh-eacht, Texts l, VIII.15</td>
<td>382 jin′od fe:</td>
<td>667, Text l, d′inta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>977 d′iəna m e</td>
<td>328 n′iænthaidís</td>
<td>432, s.v. nim d′intar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>874 d′iən go luagh e</td>
<td>999 d′iən m iʃe</td>
<td>600, 986</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1123 d′iən fiod</td>
<td>Texts l, jína</td>
<td>986, s.v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s.v. nim n′iænid iʃ</td>
<td>seachas</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A few instances of e: / e have been noted (with initial j- 3/4, implies dissimilation between j and e):

- də jihəl o jeŋ ar jisə 04B10tn 'do dhícheall a dhéanamh, ' ar sise;
- d′eən k′ən eʃə ... d′iən ... 11C d′eənadh ceann eile ... d′eənadh ... d′eənadh;
- N′i jæn′hod iʃ ax o t′æræx ... 11C n′i æn̪æn′haidís æc aŋ t′æræch ... ;
- jæn′hod iʃ jærʃə n′ʃə sa fu′a d | jína | 11C d′æn′haidís sæiirse anseo is ansìd, d′æn′adh.

There are also instances of -en, e.g.

- gə n′enf i: e, gə n′ënti: e M ~ nax n′ënti: e M.

Imperative

2sg d′un: o v′iʃ nu: d′un i ′d′ar fe o v′iʃ nu: d′un

′A bhits ná dion, ′ a deir sé, ′ a bhíste ná dion.′

2pl d′uní: tə n′ ë K′i t! f′oxta s d′uní: tə M tā an cìl fìuchta is dìon a tae.

5.268 Past rinne, (dh)earna

There is alternation of j- (historical) ~ Ø (innovative) in the past tense of two irregular verbs, déan and teighre: e.g. n′i eərəna 852S; for (dh)eachaigh, see 5.300. It is often impossible for me to distinguish between N′i j̃ərnə and N′i arənə. Cpr. N′i arəna 881J, 894Cs, 66L, N′i: 1arənə m e, 46.1040 and the unhistorical glide in N′i: jeto̱tʃ 46.244 n′i fheidhaidís. The form N′e arənə represents a loss of historical j, easily elided (perhaps interpreted as a phonetic glide) following i. Morphologically, loss of j is of course significant: the initial vowel can no longer be seen as a reflex of lenited d-. In the verb teighre with loss of j one can interpret lenited and eclipsed dependent past forms as vowel-initial, e.g. n′i eachaigh, nach n′eachaigh.1 When j is lost in the verb déan the only surface form in the past stem (-ə)nər- which indicates initial d- is the impersonal

1 The lenited and eclipsed forms are given without an initial glide or base consonant in an English-based orthography from An Clochán, west of Iorras Asthneach: dhearna: arnah, arnu-, (n)arnée for arnë, etc.; dheachai: ahee for axi: (Stenson 2003: liii, lv).
Irregular verbs

by-form d’úrn: dearnadh. It is probable that many examples transcribed as ní: jern may be more correctly ní: úrn. Speaker 21Pt produced the following when asked to pronounce deliberately ní dhearna, ní fhaca, ní dheachaigh:

ní: | úrn, ní: | aek, ní: | aex 21Ptq.

Another speaker, 27Md, a more literate person, had historical:


Note the reduction in rapid speech: má x ní dhearna tu 11C nach dhearna tú.

A jín is reported for our dialect in S. Ó Murchú (1989: §22.6 (iii)) as an obsolete form, and occurs also in: Dhión mé taibhsí arér ... FFG s.v. taibhsíonn. Maire, queried about this form, said ní: jé:rh a So Ó Mq ní dhearthá anseo é.

2 Conjugation inflection is used by a tiny minority, e.g.

3pl rinniodar: | rin:’dor t’ihui: n’jín’ 881JCF rinniodar tithiúil ansin,

... o rin:’dor 24MlDA (westernmost instance),

in Wigger (2000) rinniodar 13JdC, 22MCS (who also has rinnios).

Other speakers have rinneadar, e.g.

rin:’dor 46.689, I.45; ríndar 04B1, ríndar perhaps rin:’dor 11C.

A Echo 1sg rin:’is was heard from 894Cs and two other speakers only. This is consistent with 894Cs’s brother’s 3pl rin:’dor 881J; contrast his 1Conj ní dhearnadar 894Cs and his brother’s gor d’úrn: 881J. Speaker 881J has 1sg rinnios, 2sg rin:’íj in song, in non-Echo use, e.g. Ó rinnios smaoiú faoi do chúis! 881J CABI §1 v. 2. It was most likely also current in his conversation. The mother of these speakers (881J, 894Cs) was from Ros Dugáin. The other speakers noted with 1sg Echo rin:’is are an older male from Ros Dugáin, Jósaí Chóil Mac Con Iomaire, and speaker 22M from Loch Con Aortha. Overall the attestations of rinniodar/-íos/-ís are skewed toward East Iorras Aithneach. This distribution may be compared to o rin:’i e a rinne é of North-East Iorras Aithneach (2.63).

5.269 Impersonal past

Independent:

d’ínhas

hain’ak:’as an’jín: agas d’ínhas an daambio 01J

thánchitheas ansín agus déanthes an dambann.

rin:’u: rinniú 869P2, 875T1, rin:’u 66N.

d’ínu: B’fhéidir gur as maide diontiú a’ chéad lá ‘riamh e S (rare).

d’úrn: S; d’úrn: sus [sic] 71D1 dearnadh suas;

-Rinneadh ... BóC-Dearnadh. 64M.

d’iú: Is ar an gCaiseal ... atá an bód pléisiúir is áille a déanadh d’ínu in Éirinn! (NUath)11C; | d’ínu: e’ | 11C dearnadh é.

Dependent:

o d’úrn: e’ fo 04B1; saP, d’úrn: an ... 04B2 sula dearnadh an ... .

894C’s examples: deárnú (x2(+))! 894C3, 6 and 9, rinniú 894C2, 9, dionú 894C9.

These examples are not sufficient to show any obvious pattern, e.g.

... an speal ba mheasa gár dionú ariamh. Nior dearnú ariamh a leitheide lé donacht 894C9;
... níor deárnú ... ar an éagnach cúntráilte a díonú.

The statistics from Airneán II (Hartmann et al. 1996: II p. 35), summarised in Table 5.76, show both d'arnu: and d'imu: frequent in independent use. In dependent position d'arnu: is by far the most frequent. As for rin' u:, it is the only form used by speaker 892M in independent position; he is the only speaker, in this material, to have rin' u: in this position. He is also the only speaker to use rin' u: (as well as << d'arnu:) in dependent position. It can be noted that he also rarely uses rin' a in personal dependent position.

Table 5.76 Past impersonal dearnadh, déanadh, rinneadh, Airneán II

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>dep.</th>
<th>independent</th>
<th>dependent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18J, 21Pg, 35E</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>899D, 01C, 11C, 21Pg</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>892M, 18J, 21Pg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>892M</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>892M</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>892M</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>892M</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other individual patterns are apparent from this table: 11CMR has d'imu: only; 18JAO has d'arnu: only; 21PgDU has both d'arnu: and d'imu: in both positions. Similarly, speaker 27CbA1 was noted (by me, from conversation) with consistent independent d'arnu: (5/5) 27Cb.

5.270 Dependent dearna >> rinne

Independent rin' a in dependent position is not frequent. In Airneán II (35, 44) it is claimed that of 87 dependent cases only 2 contain rinne. One of the tokens is ní rinne 892M (<< ní dhearna 892M). The other example occurs in a slightly hesitant context:

go ndearna sé seo siúd agus go dtug sé na — u- — go (—) rinne siad na báid agus go dtugadar siar iad. 01C6257.

Dominant dependent (n)d(h)earna is the common pattern. Dependent use of rinne may be more common in ní rinne ... ach, e.g.

Agus ní rinne n'ír rin' a sé aon bhlas, ach baint as chomh maith agus bhí sé i ndan. 05M.

Sisters 04Br, 15W have common dependent rinne, e.g.

n'i: rin' a 04Br, 15W, na' rin' a fe, ga rin' a fi: 15W.

This includes in response to dependent ndearna:

-An ndearna sé aon mhaith? BóC

-Ní rinne. 04Br.

The father of these sisters supplies the following forms in SID.46 (their brother, the secondary informant in SID.46, perhaps had ní rinne of 46.1040):

k'è,un: N'árrna tu e: 46.948,

a' N'árrna tu, 46.994,

n'i: rin' i m'è, (or, n'i: árrna m'è,) 46.1040.

Otherwise, a few younger speakers may also favour dependent rinne. Speaker 64C was noted with n'i rin' a ... ga rin' a m'è.

5.271 Past Haibitual, Subjunctive, Future, Verbal Noun

Past Habitual 3pl n'íhadh i:f 24Nt; jísh'd i:j shír a yo' S dhéanaidís saoire dhó.
Irregular verbs

Present Subjunctive In the common phrase *go ndéana Dia grásta orthub* the verb is generally (*ga*) *n*ína ... but:

\[ *n*í *d*ía *gr*ásta *or*hab 11C *go ndéana Dia grásta orthub. *]

Past Subjunctive 2sg *go* *n*ínta: e: 46,999, *gu*: *n*ínta: 20C.

Future There is a reduced form in a young speaker’s:

\[ *ae*f*í i ... as *mu*: *n*ítha [sic] *mi*g’] je 78B \]

aístí ... is mó a ndéanathaidh muid, ‘yeah’. Cp. *mí* 78B *mbíonn* (5.253).

\[ VN *a d*ína *m*a *v*í*t*a d’íhal 04B6 ag déanamh mo mhíle dícheall. *]

**5.272 faigh**

Imperative A *f*áx, B *jof*áx; imprs *f*á*ó*r

Present A * fun, B *g’ef*á, *g’of*á, *g’ohan, jof*á, *jehá, jen; imprs *f*á*ó*r

- C *wi*ñá, w*í*n; imprs w*í*t*á

Past Habitual *d*áx; imprs *d*á*t*i:

Past *f*úár, *for*, *fer*, *fur*, *fir*

Imprs *fr’i*w, *fr’i*n; (*fríothú RBÉ), *fuár’as, fuár’u:

Future, Independent A *g’cha, g’o*ñá, *g’of*á, *g’efi, g’*ifa

- *jehá, (je,a), *johá, *jofá, (jauha); (wi):

  B 3pl *jehadár, jofadár, je.adár, jedar, *jehá *d*ar, jofá *d*ar, etc.

- C *fuñá*

  Imprs *jofár, jof’ar, jef*á*r

Dependent A wi: B *wiñá; C 3pl *wi*ñár, *wi d*ár

D as independent, E eclipsed *wuñá*

Conditional, Independent *joháx, jeháx, jofáx (wix); 2sg *johá, jehá, jofá, jufá, juhá, jihá; (2sg *d*óñá); 3pl also *jof*á*ó’d*í*f*; imprs *jef*í:

Dependent

A sg

- 1 *wiñá, wiñ*á
- 2 *wiñá
- 3 *wiñ*, *wiñat fe, *wiñax, *waíax

  Imprs West IA *wiñ’t*í, *viñí; East IA *wiñí:

  Also as independent *joháx, (jofáx)*, etc., in dependent contexts

B Increase in independent forms in dependent contexts

C Independent *duñá;* Dependent 2sg *wuñá:

Present Subjunctive, lenited *ó, eclipsed *u:

Past Subjunctive 1sg *wuñ*á, *s*aíñá, 2sg *wuñ*ó*á, *wuñá, wuñá, wait*á, 3sg *wuñá, 3pl *wuñ’d*i*f* (*g*ó *wuñ’d*i*f*)

Imprs A *wuñ’t*í, B *wiñ’t*i:

Vadj *fuñ*á, VN *fuñ*ó, *wuñó, (fuñt)
5.273 Present; Past

Present

Example of A and B in conversation:

-\( \text{wun' fi} \) ... M An bhfaigheann sib ... ?

-jof\( \text{Ean} \) 74S Gheof\( \text{Ean} \).

Note also 3pl g\( \text{ofan fiad} \) 16A, jen' fed 77C; for examples such as g\( \text{efan tu} \) 15W, see further below (e.g. Table 5.78). For C wi\( \text{ha}n \), see also below (5.278 and Table 5.79).

Past

for': commonly with pronoun, e.g.

for fe; sin é an t-am a bhfuair sé sin bás wor fe 'fin' 'b\( \text{us} \) | 11C.

An example with personal name as subject:

nor' a for' d\( \text{eqck} \) e ni\( \text{ha} \) ga ma: P

nuair a fuair Jaic é ina oíche go maith.

fir': fir' | fir' | fu\( \text{r} \) ... P, fir'\( \text{adar} (\text{a})\text{max} \) M, P fu\( \text{aireadar} \) amach.

Impersonal:

fríothadh: fríothú mise 870B1.

fríodh f\( \text{r'} \text{iuw} \) S1D.46 M, fr\( \text{r'} \text{iuw} \) 04B, 11C, 43M, fr\( \text{r'} \text{iuw} \) M.

fu\( \text{ar's} \): fu\( \text{ar's} \) (thoir san Aird Mhóir cuide dhe) 57P; k' e: wu\( \text{ar's} \) na ... 27C cé bhfuair eas na ... ?

The form fu\( \text{ar's} \) is least frequent and is used by only a minority of speakers; it is homophonous with the past 1sg Echo. In reply to query Seán recognised fu\( \text{ar's} \) as 1sg only (without, however, distinguishing its specific Echo function giving examples with direct object); for the impersonal he uses fr\( \text{r'} \text{iuw} \) and fu\( \text{ar'u} \).

fu\( \text{ar'u} \): fu\( \text{aireadh} \) amach ann \( e \) 897P, \( x'i: \) wu\( \text{ar'u} \) gr\( \text{ae} \) \( b' \) i M ní bhfuireadh gr\( \text{aint} \) ar bith, ga wu\( \text{ar'u} \) gr\( \text{im'dh'er} \) 52Pe go bhfuireadh greim air; nach bhfuair eas táda 69K.

x'i: fu\( \text{ar'u} \) . x'ir fu\( \text{ar'u} \) were permitted by Mq but x'ir fr\( \text{r'} \text{iuw} \) was preferred.

5.274 Future stem

Independent

A g\( \text{\'ea} \) (or g\( \text{\'of\( \text{\'ea} \)} ; or j\( \text{\'efa} \) or g\( \text{\'efe} \)) tu: 46 s.v. gheibhim;

\( \text{\'ea} \) 01P, g\( \text{\'o\( \text{\'a} \)} \) fiad 16A (both speakers from Doire Iorrais);

\( \text{\'ea} \) mid' 72A.

je\( \text{\'a} \) tu: e: M.

jauha was noted only once:

agus cé bhí acah ghaothaidh jauha se pinsean stampat M85.

B 3pl jeh\( \text{\'adar} \) e, jof\( \text{\'adar} \) e 43M.

C fu\( \text{ha} \) is used by 49J's children (79M, 86N in this work) according to 49J; also fu'\( \text{\'a} \) 78Pb.

Echo 2sg: g\( \text{\'of\( \text{\'ar} \)} \) 46 s.v. gheibhim;

-joha m' e ... BoC -jof\( \text{\'ar} \) M, also jof\( \text{\'a} \) Mperm.

Dependent

B ... wi\( \text{ha} \) 23B, 51N; cp. cond wih\( \text{ax} \) 23B and, independently (i.e. context was not echoing 23B), her husband 12J.
Irregular verbs

C 3pl k’e widar b’ær-l’i: 43M88 cé bhfuighdar hearli?

Conditional

Independent 2sg d’ oha (perhaps g’ oha) in Is ann is fhéarr a gheothá d’ oha iasc 31D, perhaps a phonetic occlusion of j-. Initial d’- might be analysed as the verbal particle d’-. (I have heard initial d’- in the future stem of faigh from a speaker from Cladhnach, east of An Cheathrú Rua.)

Imps jé’i gr’ im’ ormsa 43M ghefí greim ormsa.

Dependent:

A wih- (minority of speakers):

-ga wihad’i:j 14M: ga wihox 25M;
- n’i: wix M Ní bhfuigheadh? -n’i: wihox 23B Ní bhfuigheadh;
- cp. disyllabic ga wihat je e 23B; also ga wihox 12J.

wai- is a minor by-form: ga waiax ife 66N (mother from An Cheathrú Rua).

b’ed’ar’ nax vhi: 46.1017 b’fhéidir nach bhfaighthi, presumably vhi: = /vhi/.

C 2sg a wahu: ... n’i wahu, ka xí wahu e jín 79S

an bhfaightheá ... ní bhfaightheá, cén chaoi an bhfaightheá é sin?

5.275 Dependent ~ Independent in future stem

It is not very common for the independent form to be used in dependent position among, for example, Máire’s generation. An instance from Máire may well be due to the serial effect:

-johá m e an tren’ BóC Gheobhthaidh mé an traein.

- a N’ oha M An ngeobhthaidh?

By far more common in her speech is a wiː an bhfaighidh?

One older speaker noted with regular use of the independent form in dependent position is 899D ARN:

-ga N ofu: 6659, N’i: jofu: 6012, 6630 (i.e. 3/3).

The historically independent form used in dependent position becomes common among younger speakers, as indicated by dependent C in the paradigm, e.g.

N ehan tu 66N, a N eho m e 66N, a jea or 66Nq;

-ga q ehan’ 72A; N’i jhox, jhox: ... 77C1.

The dependent form is sometimes used in independent position:

wiː tu sa drar ... M Bhfaighidh tú sa dráir ...

The dependent form in direct relative function is not uncommon, e.g.

ní mórán a bhfaigheas wis tu air sin M,
as if reflecting ní bhfuighidh tú móráin air sin.

The dependent form in independent position seems sometimes to be used due to the serial effect. For example, 23M in [1] and 16M in [2] have wiː in independent position in statements following the regular dependent wiː of their interlocutors:

- ... nax wiː je e: 16M ... nach bhfuighidh sé é. [1]

-wiː je e: 23M Bhfuighidh sé é.

-n’iː wiː m e: 12S Ní bhfuighidh mé!

-wiː tuː 16M Bhfuighidh tú! [2]

There are also examples of bhfaigh- in apostasis (as if reflecting dhá bhfaigh-):
Verbs

mu to fè an wi: tù e | jèha tù e M
má tá sé ann bhfuighidh tú é, gheothaidh tú é,
where the independent form is used as a slight self-correction. Similarly:

g'olc e kæl' i: hu nu wìho' bas 20Cq
‘dhá n-óltá é caillfi thá’ nó ‘bhfuightheid báis’,
produced during a translation query. There is an example of vacillation in:

gas l'é mar a v' ex ø | yohadh fí suas sa glin ø fæ johu: | fæ witha:  
prais orha | 896P agus dho lear mar a bheadh an — ghothadh sí suas sa ngloine is ea a gheothá, is ea a bhfuightheid praghgas uirthi.

5.276 Future stem variation in g' - (d' -) ~ j-, -o/e- ~ -u/i-, -f- ~ -h-

The future (and conditional) stem of faigh varies in all three of its phoneme positions. Initial g' - is obsolescent (found in the speech of 869P (SID.46) and his daughters 04Br, 15W),1 d' - is rare, if heard correctly (5.274), j- being usual. Of the vowels, -o/e- is usual: jeh- and jof- being most common. The variant -u/i- is not common and is almost confined to 2sg conditional. The final consonant of the stem is most frequently h, which can in turn be absent, but f is also very common. In fact f is proportionately more common in the 2sg conditional. Table 5.77 provides examples from various speakers.

Table 5.77 Future stem of faigh: g' - j-, -o/e- -u/i-, -f- -h-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Speaker</th>
<th>h (- ò)</th>
<th>f</th>
<th>f'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>852S2</td>
<td>o &lt;&lt; e</td>
<td>u - i</td>
<td>o &gt;&gt; e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>869P</td>
<td>g'ha</td>
<td></td>
<td>g'ofa jofa g'efi g'ofar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>875T</td>
<td>ghehat sí</td>
<td>jofas tů</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>894Bl</td>
<td>jofa: (x4)</td>
<td>gheibhim</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>04B</td>
<td>gheheas</td>
<td>gheibhim</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15W</td>
<td>g'ohan jeha jehad fè jhùe:</td>
<td>g'ofan</td>
<td>g'ifán</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>jeh(na) johas johu:</td>
<td>jofa jofar</td>
<td>jofas jofa:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20C</td>
<td>jehad f ë</td>
<td>jof ad ë</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20My</td>
<td>jehad ë</td>
<td>jofa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43M</td>
<td>jeha</td>
<td>jofa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66N</td>
<td>jeha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71D1</td>
<td>jeha jèd ë</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74S</td>
<td>jofan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77C</td>
<td>jen</td>
<td>jhùe:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Speaker 869P’s usage is more regular than that of his daughters in that his dependent future stem conforms with general dialect usage: vi: -. Also regular is his faigh- stem. In SID.46 both g' - and j (g'eha (or 'g'ofa; or jofa or g'efi) tu:, g'ofar s.v. gheibhim) are recorded but there may have been initial lenition in some of the contexts. Conditional 2sg jofa:, n'i: yihù: s.v. gheibhim; dependent

1 Speaker 11C has regular jeh- and jof- but he was noted once with g'ofa tu 11C (nonlenited position).
Irregular verbs

b'ed-ar' nax vihi: 46.1017; from his audio recordings I have noted only independent conditional jofad fe (x2). (Also 1sg pres n'i: um' s.v. gheibhim; 1sg prsbl gò vò: m'ífa s.v. gheibhim.)

Speaker 869P’s daughters, 04Br, 15W, and his grandson 46S, have regular alternation of the initial consonant of the future stem according to morphosyntactic position: unlenited g' vs. lenited j-h; used in the future, conditional, and innovatively in the present. Their vocalism is e/o/i/u, the tense/stem marker is h/f, which can be lost. Table 5.78 sets out the combined effect of these elements which result in the ten noted by-forms.1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Future</th>
<th>Conditional</th>
<th>Present</th>
<th>No. of tokens</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>g' ef-</td>
<td>g' efan tu W</td>
<td>g' efan fiod B</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g' of-</td>
<td>g' ofa B</td>
<td>g' ofan fiod B</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g' if-</td>
<td>g' ifa fiod 15W</td>
<td>g' ifa m'e B, S</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g' eh-</td>
<td>g' eha m'e B, S</td>
<td>g' ohan mud W</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g' oh-</td>
<td>jofa: W</td>
<td>jofan tu: B</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jn-</td>
<td>nuar jehas tu B</td>
<td>jehad fe W</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>je(h)-</td>
<td>gar mu: jeha fiod W</td>
<td>ma jen tu: B</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jo(h)-</td>
<td>jof fe b'ifox B</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jih-</td>
<td>rud a b'i jhó: B</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>juh-</td>
<td>jhó: W</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.78 Future stem of faigh, clann Phádraigín Mhacaí

Other logically possible forms, also current in the dialect, are probably also used, particularly jef-, jof-. One can, however, detect a facultative contrast of g' -f vs. j-h. In nonlenited g'-forms, f and h are roughly equal (4:3). In lenited j-forms, however, f is attested only in the 2sg conditional in contrast with dominant h (1:7).3 The facultative contrast, 2sg conditional f vs. h elsewhere (in the future stem), occurs in faigh in the dialect as a whole. It is striking that these contrasts should be evident in the material from clann Phádraigín Mhacaí comprising only fifteen tokens. Whether lenited future and present forms pattern according to tense (i.e. with unlenited future and present forms) or morphophonology (i.e. with lenited conditional forms) as classified here, or a combination of both, one cannot tell from this small sample. The question is a pertinent one as it could well indicate further causes for the conditioning of f/h use.

There is further evidence of the facultative opposition f vs. h in the 2sg conditional. In speaker 894C’s material in Table 5.77 above the only form with -f- is the 2sg conditional. This opposition is the impression one gets from Mairé’s conversation, although, in reply to direct query, no clear alternation is obvious, with both f and h frequent in all persons in her responses. In Airnín II (25, 36–7) j-

---

1 In eclipsed position they have wi- in the future and present stem.
2 B = 04Br, W = 15W, S = 46S.
3 The (facultative) contrast g' -f vs. j-h may be a function of the (facultative) contrast jofa: vs. johax, etc. Although a striking pattern in the context of Irish morphosyntactics, the usage resembles the dependent and independent contrast in irregular verbs. It is not unique to have a distinct verbal stem in lenited position: d'in vs. n'i: (déan 5.265 above); t'ag vs. hag: 11C (tar, teara, 5.292). Cf. nasalisation in lenited words in initial m- (1.341, 1.351). The particular contrast under discussion is, however, more difficult to explain than these others.
forms only are found. The pattern regarding f vs. h, that can be only roughly calculated, is as follows (including one correction of Airneán I 1–5407 to jofa):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>jeh-</th>
<th>jof-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td>8 (+)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conditional (non-2sg)</td>
<td>5 (+)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conditional 2sg</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Only the figures for 2sg conditional are accurate (the others are not all given in ARNI.36–7, e.g. the number of jehax tokens is not given and has been assigned a value of ‘1’, definitely too low, hence the ‘(+’) of the table) but the important point is that the direction of the proportions is accurate. Note in particular that there is no jofax in contrast with jeha ~ jofa of the future.

In the Airneán II (ARNII) data f is less common in the general future stem than in the clann Phádraigín Mhacaí material but has a greater function of marking the 2sg conditional. The weaker status of f in the future tense in ARNII, in comparison with 868P’s descendants, may be due to the initial j-form, or other morphological causes. In ARNII the presence of jehax and absence of jofax (in lenited position when unmarked) in contrast with jofa (in unlenited position when unmarked) seems to be paralleled by the j-h vs. g-f contrast of clann Phádraigín Mhacaí (cf. p. 1145 n. 3).

An explanation for the preponderance of u/i to occur in the 2sg conditional is now to hand: it is here that the stem form j-f is most common and this environment has led to the raising of of/e and its further lexicalisation, even in 2sg j-h (i.e. the minority form jih).

5.277 Past Subjunctive; Verbal Noun

1sg ga: wasn’ dhá bhfaighinn usually; ga n’ain’ e 899N dhá ngeighinn é; this speaker also has eclipse of gheo-, e.g. ga n’ofo: 899N go ngeofá. It seems ga wai- (common to the east of IA) and ga n’of- are combined in ga: n’ai-.

2sg wa’t α, wa[a], wai, wait α, e.g.

   ga:/ wa’f α 899D, 20C;
   ga wa[a] ore[a]n wai S87 dhá bhfaightheí amhrán uaidh;
   ga wa’t α: [x3] wait α: [x1] 21Pt1.

The root in α was noted once in ga wo’d i:j 05M.

Imprs A holo yai’t:i 46.280 shula bhfaighthí, ga: wa’t:i: dhá bhfaighthí.
B Shíl mise dhá bhfaighthí ga: wit’i: greim ort, 45N.

Verbal Noun

faíl’ is the most common form, e.g. 870B1–2, 46.1042.1043, SM, 66N. Many speakers use only faíl.

faíl’ is frequent but a minority form: faíl’ 46.862; 894C (fáil >> fáilt), 897P, 04Br (both), 11C (both), 20C, 20Ml, 66J (regularly, 11C’s son), 77C1 (both), 79S. All seven speakers in Airneán (ARNII.37) have fáil, three of whom (11C, 18J, 21Pg) also have fáilt.

fáilt 89M (in 1998, aged eight).
5.278 Clann Phádraigín Mhacaí

In the usage of sisters 04Br and 15W, daughters of 869P, the verb *faigh* is particularly complex in the present — with the spread of originally future stem independent *g’ e/of/h-* (lenited je(h)-), eclipsed *wi-*, and retention of *fän*, yielding four present roots:

- **unmutated** *g’ e/of/h-~ fän*
- **lenited** *je(h)án* (perhaps also other by-forms such as jofán)
- **eclipsed** *win* (including after *ní*)

The daughters’ irregularities are not inherited from their father (whose system is normal in the present: *fän*, lenited *áin*, eclipsed *wán* only). Examples of use of 04Br and 15W’s present tense *faigh* are listed here.

Unmutated  
- *g’ e/on tu xu’l a yin’ a tu koot’ er* 15W
  
  *Geofann tú chuile dhúine atá caillte air;*

- *g’ óhan mud ga l’or* 15W
  
  *Geothann muid go leor.*

Lenited and  
- *mu jen tu* ... 04Br má gheothann tú ...

Unmutated and  
- *fän’ je turfax* 15W
  
  *Faigheann sé an-tuirseach.*

Eclipsed  
- *go bhfáigheann sé an-tuirseach win’ je ’an-tuir fax* 15W.

Note the consistency and singularity of their usage in the exchange:

- *-g’ ofan* fiad ... 04Br *Geofann siad ...*
- *-or win, o* win 15W *Ó! an bhfáigheann, Ó! an bhfáigheann?*

Present eclipsed and lenited with regular unmutated *fáigheann* in the exchange:

- *-... durf fi ga win’ fi* ... *mu jen tu* ... 04Br
  
  *Dúirt sí go bhfáigheann sí ... má gheothann tú ... .*

Cp. past impersonal *fuEr* u: *gr’ im’ orab* 04Br *fuaireadh greim orthub;* with the more innovative stem *fuá* - (for older fr’ iuw, e.g. fr’ iuw SID.46 Mp 77).

5.279 Younger speakers

In the usage of young people, born after 1965 and particularly after 1970, *faigh* undergoes levelling which is part of a more general levelling process in this generation also found in other irregular verbs. In general in the irregular verbs the independent future stem spreads to all tenses and positions (to a lesser extent to the imperative). Speaker 66N also shows extension of an innovative dependent future stem *wi*-.. Examples of 66N(q)’s usage of *jeh-, wi(h)-, and fa*- are given in Table 5.79 (from conversation, unless marked with ‘q’ which indicates query). A change in 66N’s use was noticed between early 1994, when she was given to using *wi-* forms, and late 1994, when she used far more *jeh*- forms. Speaker 66N’s hesitation is noteworthy, as though avoiding *fáin*, in her response in:

- *-a fuán tu* ... *An siúileann tú ... ?*
- *-f- jehán* t’ef’ 66N *F-, gheithim leift.*

There is an example of the serial effect, producing a transient fudge of 66N’s *n’/jehán* and Mairé’s *(f)úan*, in the following exchange:

- *n’ ehan tu ba’hlo do’ 66N* *An ngeitheann tú baladh dó?*
- *n’ i ehan* M *Ní haigheann.* (Or perhaps pronounced n’i ehan.)
Table 5.79 *faigh* > innovative *jeh, wi(h)*, *fu*; 66N, 66Nq

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Present</th>
<th></th>
<th>Future</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>independent</td>
<td>dependent</td>
<td></td>
<td>independent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jeh</td>
<td>jehom’ slaiden;</td>
<td>j’ethan tu bahlo</td>
<td></td>
<td>jeha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jehan tu</td>
<td></td>
<td>do’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-jeha tu ... BóC</td>
<td></td>
<td>farir nax win tu e</td>
<td></td>
<td>wiha q</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-o’ wi’han tur</td>
<td></td>
<td>mu wi’han mid’ ...</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fu:</td>
<td>Cond: independent</td>
<td>dependent</td>
<td></td>
<td>Psthab: independent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jeha</td>
<td>jeha</td>
<td>go’ eho’</td>
<td></td>
<td>jehax</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wi(h)</td>
<td></td>
<td>n’i wi’i q</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.280 *feic*

Imperative *f’ek’ax*

Present *f’ek’an*

Imprs *f’ekt’ar, f’ek’tar, f’ek’dar, f’ek’ar, f’ek’ars*

Past, Independent *xin’ak’, hun’ak’, xon’ak’, han’ak’, xan’ak’, han’ak’*

Imprs *f’ek’u, xin’ak’u, bakas, fakas*

Dependent (N’é) *ak’a, (a) waka*

Imprs *fakuv, (N’é) aku, bakas, fakas*

Past Habitual *d’ek’ax*

Future *f’ek’ a; Conditional d’ek’ax*

Present Subjunctive *f’ek’a; Past Subjunctive f’ek’ax*

Vadj *f’ek’it(ha); VN *f’ek’ul, f’ek’ul’, f’ek’ult’*

For chí *x’é, him’, chíthe*, see 5.284.

5.281 Stem vowel e ~ i

By far the commonest vocalism is e. The vocalism i seems most common in two palatal (and therefore raising) environments: *d’ik’* and *N’i: ik’*. In general it seems that *d’ek’* is more common than *d’ik’*. This is so for Mairé, i.e. *d’ek’a* >> *d’ik’a* M. Perhaps the next most common position for i is following negative *N’i*. Further examples:

*d’ik’*  sumur rud a d’ik’u, d’ik’u, d’ik’au, d’ik’anf’o P

is iomú rud a d’fheicheadh, d’fhéicheadh ... (also d’ek’u: P).

*N’i: ik’*  d’ek’u, d’ek’u, etc., but N’é: i’k an’ iad 31D ní fhéicim iad.

vi’ik’  go vi’ik’a m’e 897S, go vi’ik’an’ P.

VN  l’e f’ik’ul akab 892M1770 le fheicéil acub

cp. *ficeál* (x9) (~ *feiceál*) speaker 892M only ARNII.38;¹

bar a vrogu’ i’k’ul a’m’ax 04B10tn

barr a bh’róige a feicéil amach.

Examples from SID.46 are presented in Table 5.80. They show four apparent patterns: *N’i: ik’* - only, *d’ik’* >> *d’ek’*, *f’ek’* = *f’ik’*, *vi’ik’* - only. The apparent contrast *f’ek’* vs. *f’ik’* is noteworthy.

¹ Corrected from *-edil* ARNII.38, cp. *feiceál* 892M1770 which I hear as *f’ik’ul*.
Irregular verbs

Table 5.80 Vowels e, i in feic, SID.46

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>e</th>
<th>i</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ni feic-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d' feic-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>feic-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bhfeic-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fheic-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.282 Present

2sg interrogative v'each' an tu, is often greatly diminished:

v' echn / ehan / behan tu 11Ci, en / ahan / an / an tu S, e.g.

\[\begin{align*}
\text{an tu kn's: tu kast a goni: iad S} \\
\text{an bhfeiceann tá? coinneoidh tá casta i gcnóat iad;} \\
\text{ehon tu a ruin' du fin' S an bhfeiceann tá an ruainnín dubh sin?} \\
\text{en tu na 'aestumpi: fin' S an bhfeiceann tá na leathstumpat sin?}
\end{align*}\]

(Cp. semantically similar and often reduced breath(a)igh, 5.304.)

Imprs f'ek'dar >> f'ek'tar >> f'ek'tar S.

f'ek'ar >> f'ek'ars are used only in the construction f'ek'ar um, etc., feicthear dhom, f'ek'ars um 23B, f'ek'ars dum 76Mt; this latter form in -rs (< pres irreg -sr + pst irreg -as) is used by few speakers; Máire (Mq) claims she would not use it.

f'ek'ar sometimes occurs with the copula, the examples occur in proverbs:

\[\begin{align*}
d' er fiad garas unu: rud as f'ek'ar an d' iwin' as S \\
\text{deir siad gur is iomà rud is feicthear dhon diomhaoinneas;} \\
\text{an a jia f'ek'tar a l' as gan' er' anax S, also na jia s f'ek'ar ... S} \\
\text{ina dhiaidh (is) feic'hear a leas dhon Éireannach.}
\end{align*}\]

5.283 Past

The most common past form may well be xun'æk' ~ xin'æk', e.g. xin'ik' m'è 46 s.v. tchím. Other speakers' forms are briefly set out here.

Speaker 852S, thuinic 852S4, note chonnaic (pronounced) thainic 852S1. This indicates x'han'æk' a very rare form, noted only here and in xon'ik'as 46 s.v. tchím, similar to hun'æk' 892Mg. In speaker 852S's short recording there is one token of kxin'ak' (with phonetic reduction of friction).

SID.46 has examples (noted):

\[\begin{align*}
\text{ü (x7)  xun'ik' m'è / m'è: / fè, etc.,} & \quad \text{i (x1)  xin'ik' m'è} \\
152, 399, 402, 403, s.v. cliabh & \quad \text{s.v. tchím} \\
\text{xun'ik'as 399 (1sg), xin'ik' dar 403} & \quad \text{s.v. tchím}
\end{align*}\]

892Mg: hun'æk' m'e' ... nuar' a hun'æk' m'if i ... | hun'æk' m'ifə ... hun'æk'as muf | hun'æk'as muf |, etc., han'æk' m'e'.
Verbs

04B: hun’ág’ fe:, xon’ák’ fi:, xin’ág’ fe:, xon’ák’ ~ xin’ák’ 04B21. For -g’, see ‘Sandhi’ (2.59).

Independent Impersonal

f’ek’u: f’ek’u: e Mq.
xon’ák’u: nuar’ o xin’ák’u: n kor’ an M nauir a choineadh an carr ann;
xon’ák’u: 66N.
fakos also occurs here: taiψa fakas i: fin’ S taibhse, facthas i sin;
 frequent in fakos dum, etc., e.g.
  fakas dom nu: rò 46 (s.v. tchim) facthas dom ná raibh,
 also facthas dom 899D6565.

bakas with copula is restricted to the set phrase bakas dum, etc., e.g.
  bakas dum go ro sort toran an M
  b’fhacthas dom go raibh sort torann ann.

Dependent Impersonal

fakos

n’i ς fakos e: 46.401 nior facthas é;
 deir siad go bhfacthas ga wakas ann iad 01C6794;
-Blu, an bhfacthas an taibhse ina dhiaidh sin ansin ann, a’
 chuala tu? 21Pg
-Nior chuala mé go bhfacthas. 01C6847–8.

faku:
s’i r faku: o: s’e: iad M nior facadh ó inné iad.

aku:
lenited: s’i: aku: tæd on 43M ní fhacadh tada ann;
 s’i: aku: 59B ní fhacadh,

bakas

in the set phrase in eclipse (cf. 9.142), e.g.
  ga maksias dum ga ... M go mb’fhacthas dom go ...

5.284  ς dihic-; Verbal Noun

zs

Forms in zs are very rare and almost obsolete, and are best listed separately.
Present:

o: him’ gòb’ ae: 11Ct Ó! chim go b’ea (common in quotation in stories), also
 -Ó! chim, a deir sé ... .

x’i: d’i ς zs Dia, e.g. x’i: d’i ς ga wak a m’ e e M zs Dia go bhfa ca mé é.

Future (note the absence of the relative ending on zs in the proverb, 10.69):
An rud a chithe leana ’sé nionns a’ leana 894C9.

d’hic-

Verbal particle d’ with feic has nonpalatal d for a small minority of speakers, e.g.
  dek’ at fi: 04B7n, dek’ e: 66N.

Verbal Noun

f’ek’ul P, f’ek’ul’ S, f’ek’ul’ 23B. The frequency of usage appears to be:
  f’ek’ul >> f’ek’ul’ >> f’ek’ul’.
Irregular verbs

5.285  **ith**

Imperative *ix’ax, ihax*

Present *A ihax, ix’an; B isan*

Past Habitual *A d’ihax, d’ix’ax; B d’isax* (as conditional)

Future *isä, ix’o*

Conditional *d’isax, imprs hisf’i; d’isf’i; B 1sg d’ix’ax’, d’ix’iñ’*

Present Subjunctive *ix’o; Vadj if’o; VN ix’o, ihø*

5.286  **ith- ~ ios-**

The *ix’/h* stem belongs to the regular BRUITH class (5.134).

Imperative example:

*ix’ad’if e nu: fogad’if ano N’i: e S ithidís é nò fásaidís ina ndiaidh é.*

Present

*B isan*, generally very rare from older speakers:

*isam’* 46 s.v. *ithim*; regularly for *869P*’s daughters (5.389);

*iostar / ix’tar iv’axi: heif na kaísk’ S*

*iostar / ihteor uibheachat théis na Cáisc* (proverb);

*N’i isan tu: sosadgis a b’i M ni íosann tú sásajas ar bith?*

Common in younger people:

1sg *mar isam’ ... 66N, 2sg N’isán tu 66N, 3sg íosann st 56B;*

Imprs *istar 66N.*

Speaker *66N* was noted using *ix*- in the present in two instances only, in an Echo environment replying with *ix’an* and (with anomalous relative) in the proverb:

*N’ix’ans ax an’ te: a xakans 66N ni itheanns ach an té a chacanns.*

Examples of intergenerational variation occur frequently, e.g.

*-isan fe e 66N Íosann s’é é. -ix’an 16M Itheann.*

Past Habitual

*B d’isax* is, for example, *66N*’s regular usage.

Future

*ix’o* is very rare from old speakers; an example is *ix’t m’e ... (alt. ... ‘isə m’e ...)* 46.305. Note the use of *is-* in the present for this family (above). Examples from younger speakers are more common: *mara n-iche tú 66L* (not prsh; also this speaker’s brother: 72N), a N’ix’o tu 80S.

Conditional

Imprs *hisf’i; e S* (translation).

*B 1sg N’i: ix’iñ’ 60M, N’i: ix’an’ e 73E.*

Present and Past Subjunctive

2sg go N’ix’o tu: slém S go n-ithe tú slám; 3pl go: N’ix’ad’if M.*

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5.287 tabhair

Imperative

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg</th>
<th>pl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>tugan, (tugax, tuurax)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>tug(m) mid', tugax, tuurax</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>tugax, tuurax</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Present

A 1sg v'er' am', relative v'er' ans
B tugan, imprs tugtar
C tuur(n) (lenited huran); D turan

Past hug (ug)

Past Habitual

A hugax (ugax)
B hukax

Future tuurha (turha) (lenited xurha, hjurha, hurha)

Imprs A tuur-f' ar; B tug-f' ar

Conditional

A relative v'erhax
B xurhax, hjurhax, hurhax (urhax)
C (eclipsed) durhax

Present Subjunctive tug; Past Subjunctive tugax

Vadj A tuki(ha), tuurha; B turhi:

VN tor(t) (lenited hort'), tuurt', tuurt' (the last two have lenited xurt', hjurt', hurrt')

For use of toig in one of the youngest speakers, 80C (also semi-speaker 70S) for traditional tabhair, see 5.390.

5.288 Imperative; Present; Past (habitual)

Imperative, 2sg

Weakly stressed imperative often tor', e.g.

tor' a'n'is spuno'g h'ik a 66N tabhair anios spano'g chuici,
tor l'aet ... M tabhair leat ...

Most often in tor um, toram tabhair dhom, torom 46.307, toram 46.217, more doubtful is toram 46.751. Also sometimes half-long tor', e.g.

na tor' l'a: na fixan a'n' if um M
ná tabhair leath na faochar anois dhom.

2sg t'ur' is used by speaker 22J and it is repeated (humorously) by other speakers in quoting one of his well-known sayings:

xak m'if er' na hiva: s t'ur' kak er' (mar a der do: b'og) SM chug mise ar na huiibeachat is tiúir cac air (mar a deir Jó Beag).

Both alternants t'ur' and tor' were deliberately used by Máire when repeating the phrase for emphasis:

'tur' kak er' is tor' kak er' M tiúir cac air is tabhair cac air!

Otherwise Máire uses t'ur' rarely indeed, e.g.

'tur' hen' l'aet e M84 tiúir hein leat é.

---

1 The form toram is attested in East Galway, e.g. taram (Ó Maolaithche 1948: 20, n. 1) for Mionlach, toram SIDII.34.307, and in Co. Clare: taram LSE22.
Irregular verbs

Compare the raised ę in 'tregar 'ar'ę yit 'hean', 46.1007 tabhair aire dhuit héin!

2sg tug less common, noted in the meaning 'take, accompany', e.g.
Tug suas Braidhean go ... 66L.

2pl
SID.46: tóigí 'i: (or tóigi) tóigí:ifé also túrigi 'i 313. tóigí:ifé 1007.
túiri: ftáex g'án min 'áf m'è! '04Br Túraí isteach go Mainis mé.
tör'i: 59B, Mperm.

Present
A v'er - occurs regularly in only a few set phrases, e.g.
v'er'ám' dá hlaDt ao Mq bheirim do shláinte!
-A bheirimse mo chrátar dhuit, a deir Pádraic a deir sé, is maïrc dhíon-thadh mórán truist asad! 889P.
Speaker 894Gs has a wider (conservative) usage of bheir-, for general a thuganns ...
, e.g.
'cnáimh' a bheireanns maide, ar lár na hiomaire, 894Gs, preii-tóis a bheireann siad ar an gcoire beag sin, 894Gs.
So also in his conditional use (5.289). beirim > beirim in younger speakers:
beirimse an barr duit! 32J.
C tóir:- oldest speaker noted: ní thiúrann hur- siad 00C (Doire Iorrais); speaker 66N, e.g. 1sg a huram' ...
; imprs ... hurtar ...
. tóirtar; túran' fe n'ís e,
tóiran' fe fain en tiúrann sé aníos é, tiúrann sé seidhean ann;
But note imperative tör' 66N.
D túir:- speaker 84P (t ~ t): tuan dar q, duan tu, duan da.

Past
Lenited ug is common, weakened from hug, e.g. N'Ir ug m'è M.
Echo 2sg -hug m'iifó moel as Thug mise mala as. -a dufa S An dugsais?

Past habitual
B hukad fiadh/fi: 04Br. 15W (sisters) only, see 5.389.

5.289 Future stem

Future
Túrha. In rapid speech, reduction can occur, e.g.
Túr tu k'ær dum ... 11C Túrthaídh tú cead dom ...
One example of nonpalatal túrha was noted in:
| túrha tu vr'ík fa'n a m'á gán xif'ún 'ís é 11Ctn
T(ú)rthaídh tú a bhricfastra go maith dhan choileáinín;
perhaps a slip of the tongue. There is what is more clearly a slip of the tongue in the opposite direction from the same speaker:
nt raibh an chéad deichniúr dhen pháidirín ráite nuair thug hjur.k sé faoi
deara, go raibh ... 11C.
B Imprs tug-far 80L.

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Verbs

1154  Verbs

Conditional
A v'eerh- is confined to set phrases:

  as b'og a v'eerhax oram hu waala gan wug M
  is beag a bhéaradadh orm thá a bhualadh dhen mhug.

Speaker 894Cs has wider usage, in relative in:

  'bodhrán' a bheireanns cuid acub air, ach 'criathar' a bhéaradh muide air,
  kr'ihar a v'eerax mid' er' | 894Cs.

Note the example in quotation (clearly a conservative context) in a story, without the expected eclipsis:

  -Ara tuige bhéartha is punt duit? a deir an sagart. 11C5149.

B x'ur-, hjur-, hur- - perhaps in that order of frequency.
Impersonal example: as an gcéad scoradh a tiúrfaí

C eclipsed durh-: gu duradh fe 84P (similarly, pres D tur- 84P).

Lenited future stem x' ~ hj ~ h
The lenited form of the future stem varies (1.120, 9.10(iii)):

SID.46  *x'ur'as (alt. b'ix' h'urfas) 305, x'urha: s.v. bheirim,
  n'i: h'urfhad fe 310;
Seán  n'i: hjurhan', n'i: uran';
04B  hjurax pad'in' 04B3s thiurthadh Páidín; n'i hurha 04B4;
Máire  x'urha: x'ura: >> hurha;
21Pt  hur'thathairt;
46S  x'urt' thabhairt;
64M  h'urhad fe thiurthadh sé;
13Jd, 15W, 35E, 66N, 72N, 78Rb hurax; 78E huran.

5.290  Past Subjunctive; Verbal Adjective; Verbal Noun

Past Subjunctive
1sg ga: dugax' S; 2sg ga: dogta: 46 s.v. bheirim, ga duga: M.

Verbal Adjective
A tuki(ha). The rare t'urha was noted from only one speaker, 18J (An Aird Thoir), who uses it consistently, in:

  agus bhí dúthá dhraif air — tiurtha amach acub 18J7989;
  péibí airgead a bhí túrtha aici dhó, 18J8842.

In the irregular verb teara this speaker has verbal adjective tuki(ha) consistently, a form similar to t'urha, in being related to, or based on, the future stem (5.293 ff.). Cp. tórh er' tórrha ar 'fond of, given to' (e.g. 11C2564) synonymous with tuki: ga tugthaí dho.

B turhi: 79A often.

Verbal Noun
	tor' is by far the most common, e.g. 46.102 = Mp 30, SM.

turt' 04Br, 15W (sisters); 04Br has lenited hjurt', x'urt' corresponding to her regular x' in lenited future stem inflection, 15W has lenited hurt' corresponding to her regular h- in the lenited future stem inflection. The form turt 46.1.12 may be an error for tur'; compare tort' 46.102 = Mp 30 and
Irregular verbs

SID.46’s daughters’ turt’. Speaker 22M (Loch Con Aortha) has VN turt’, fut t’urha.

turt’ 46S, 53M, 57P, 78Rb, e.g. ag tiúirt amach dhom 53M ‘scolding’.

5.291 tar, teara

Imperative tagax, t’ig’ax, t’agax, (t’ugax)
In 2 person:

sg  pl

2 tar, tara, t’ara, (t’ag), t’aga, 2 t’ari; tagi; t’agi; t’ig’i; t’arag’i, t’aram, t’anam, t’ana tagag’i; (t’ugi); t’anam, t’ani

Present A tagan, t’ig’an, t’agan, lenited also hag’an, t’ugan, lenited hugan, (tugan)

B t’ukan (lenited hukan)

Past A hanc’ak’ (hanc’ak’, hanc’, etc.); B 1sg hanc’a m’e:

Imprs hanc’ak’as, hanc’ak’

Past Habitual hagax, hig’ax, hagax, lenited also hag’ax, hugax, (x’ugax); 2sg hugo

Future t’uka, t’ika

Conditional x’ukax, hukax, hikax

Present Subjunctive taga, t’ig’a, t’aga, lenited also hag’a, t’ug’a

Past Subjunctive tagax, t’ig’ax, t’agax, eclipsed 3pl d’aeg’ad ifj, t’ugax; 2sg tague, t’ig’u, t’ague, (t’ukte), t’aku

Vadj taktha(ha), t’ik(ha), t’akih(ha), t’ukih(ha), tukih(ø)

VN t’iáxt, t’áxt; sometimes noted with i; e.g. t’iáxt !(Ams)04B tiócht.

5.292 tag-, tig-, teag-, theag-, dteag-, tiug-, thug-, tug-

Of all the alternants, teag- is now the most frequent stem; there are many speakers who use only this variant. Other speakers have t’ag- as the main variant with one or two lesser variants. The least often attested is tug-, only once in:

n’i: ra fe: tukih of’ax fos 46 (s.v. tagaim)
ní raibh sé tugthaíthe isteach fós.

This may in fact be a mistranscription or misprint for t’. It is, however, not an unlikely form particularly in the usage of a speaker who has tag-, as attested in SID.46, and given the lenited form of tiug- which is hug-. We can summarise the use of the three most common stems after teag-, as follows:

tag- is now rare and almost obsolete;
tig- is common for some older speakers, and particularly evident in the subjunctive and past habitual for some speakers; cp. is tig le (5.377);
tiug- seems to be an innovative alternant and is fairly common, particularly in the verbal adjective.

This yields the following frequency scale:

teq- >> tiug- >> tig- >> tug- >> tug-

The youngest speaker noted with t’ag- is 52P, in tagan, which may be influenced by the spelling.

The alternance is exploited in a vocalic order i ... a, typical of echo words, in:

-Tigeach nó ná teagach, gabhfa mé ánn, 866EB16.110.

This speaker, in 866E Semr, has both tig- and teag- stems commonly but vadj teagthaíthe only, also gd dieagainnse >> gd ditiginnse.

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Lenited *hæg* - *theaig* - has been heard from speaker 11C only (who has consistent unlenited *tæg*-). He has -g* - in all noted lenited ha- forms, e.g. *hæg*\*an, *hæg*\*ax, *hæg*\*ad*’\*if. An example of his consistent alternation in context is:

... go dteaga dæga mise. ... má theaigim hægam’ go deo. 11C.

(Contrast his *hug*\*ad*’\*if 11C5571, 5764.) Speaker 899N has -g* - in ecplisis, noted in: dæg’\*ad’\*if 899N.

Table 5.81 displays the present stem variants of this verb from some of my older speakers. A further tag- example is: go dagadh 899P. Cp. Má thigimse suas leat FFG s.v. *cuntas*. Speaker 892M, based on the verbal paradigm in Aírneán II (40–1), is one of the few speakers in my sample with no example of *tæg*-, i.e. he has exclusive *ti\*g* - in all tenses. In the verbal adjective he has both *ti\*k*’\*i: (x4) and *t\*uki\*h\*a (x1+). Cp. 866E: *teag*-, *tig* > *teagthaí*.

### 5.293 The variant *tug* - and individual speakers

The variant *tug*- is considered, by speakers queried, to be incorrect or less acceptable, even by those who use it consistently. This may indicate that it is an innovative stem which is spreading or has spread from the most frequent form (outside of the future) which has the stem *tug*:- the verbal adjective *tuki(ha)*. The verbal adjective, in turn, may be based on the future stem *tuk*-, although other historical scenarios are possible. The innovation in the verbal adjective yields consistent -ag- vs. -uk-.

The frequent occurrence in the subjunctive supports the hypothesis that *tug*- is actually a reanalysis of future stem *tuk*- (< *tugh*\*-h\*-). The form *go d’uga*, for example, could come about through analogy with the alternation *ga d’aga* (prsbj) ~ *ga d’uka* (fut) in historically subjunctive contexts. Further analogy is evident in (the third alternant in) *ga: dagtu: ~ go: d’uktu: ~ go: d’uku: ~ gu: d’uktua*: (see ‘Past Subjunctive’, 5.296). As shown in 5.296, speaker 66N has the extraneous, eastern usage of the future stem *tuk*- in the meaning ‘go’. This includes her verbal adjective *tuki*. As stated, *tug*- is most common in the verbal adjective *tuki(ha) which itself seems to be most common phrase- finally. Compare *tuki\*h\*a 892M*, which has prepausa -i\*h\*, with this speaker’s *ti\*k’\*i:, cited above; and another speaker’s *tæ\*ki: oram 43M vs. *t\*uki: | 43M cited below. It is also noteworthy that, when lenited, *hug*- is homophonous with the lenited present stem of *tabhair* (and is particularly disliked by Mairé as discussed below). The other variant *ti\*g* is homophonic with *tig* (standard *tuig*), and younger speakers (born in the 1960s) when queried, recognise the meaning ‘understand’ only with *ti\*g*. Perhaps in prepausa position, unqualified by a disambiguating adverb, for example, there was an impetus to avoid *ti\*k’\*i: in the meaning ‘come’ and replace it with *tuki(ha)*. (Note the variation and apparent confusion of *tuig* - ‘give’ and *tiug* - ‘come’ and *tioc* - ‘come’ in:

ach caithidh an seol a bheith tugthaí tuki: fiáthi a’dsa thád nach dioctha

bond nax d’uka an ghanithe sa seol, nó mara diuga mara d’uga —

mara mbeidh (an seol tugthaí fiathí) ... 21Pt.

The speaker’s intention was probably *mara diuga* ‘if you do not take.’)
### Table 5.81 Present stems of *tar*: *tag-*-, *tig-*-, *teag-*-, *tiug-*-, *tug-*-, various older speakers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Speaker</th>
<th>Speaker Code</th>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>852S</td>
<td>go diagáin</td>
<td>tigh (x3), cp. ‘tig lib a thiocht’</td>
<td>tág</td>
<td>hág</td>
<td>tág</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SID.46</td>
<td>tughn 883 = Mp 243, <em>tar</em> tagh’</td>
<td>(or ... <em>d</em> <em>i</em>g* <em>fe</em>) 949 vs. <em>d</em> _i<em>g</em> <em>i</em> 949 = Mp 243, <em>d</em>ugh 949, <em>m</em>ur <em>d</em>ugh <em>fe</em> 950</td>
<td>tagi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>869P2-5</td>
<td><em>tug-</em> exclusively, including 2pl impv <em>teag</em></td>
<td>cp. teana uair.</td>
<td>hág</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>870B1-2</td>
<td><em>dtagach</em> often, impv <em>Tara le leim</em> ...</td>
<td>ná teara in mo bhealach ...</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>875T1</td>
<td><em>go dtaga, dtagach, tacaithe, tagthaí</em></td>
<td><em>go dteagach, teagtaí</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>892M</td>
<td><em>tíg</em> forms most common</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>894C2</td>
<td><em>tag-</em> only: <em>gá dtagach, go dtaga, tacoite</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>894B1</td>
<td><em>tá</em> gá</td>
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<tr>
<td>04B</td>
<td><em>tag</em> forms most common, e.g. <em>go d’aega</em> !, <em>táki</em>;</td>
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<tr>
<td>11C</td>
<td>*tar, <em>tár</em></td>
<td><em>tag</em> forms most common</td>
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<tr>
<td>11T</td>
<td><em>á dagaon, go daga fe</em></td>
<td><em>tag</em> forms most common</td>
<td>hág<em>án</em> hág<em>ád</em> <em>if</em></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>12S</td>
<td>*tu taki: <em>n</em>is <em>tá tagthai anois, tu <em>k</em>iol taki</em> <em>yo tá ciall tagthai dhó</em></td>
<td><em>tag</em> forms most common</td>
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<td>14M</td>
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<td>16B</td>
<td><em>túg</em> <em>gá</em> <em>d</em>i<em>g</em> <em>m</em>e: <em>s</em>r<em>i</em>f* is <em>gearr</em> go dti ge mé <em>aist</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>20C</td>
<td><em>20C</em> go d<em>i</em>g* tu, <em>híg</em> tu, <em>fanh</em> <em>mi</em>  go d<em>i</em>g* a tu</td>
<td><em>mo hág</em>án ... <em>tág</em> ...</td>
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<tr>
<td>31M</td>
<td><em>go d</em>i<em>g</em> <em>ox</em> ... , <em>go d</em>i<em>g</em> at <em>fr</em>; <em>nuair a thia</em> <em>thia dhí s</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>35E</td>
<td>*bal <em>daga tu</em> ARN7434 shul <em>d</em> daga <em>tá</em></td>
<td><em>tág</em>—regularly including subjunctive</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Speaker **12S** (S) was not noted using *t*ug*- forms. When queried as to whether he used such forms, he answered:

\[ \text{t} \text{u} \text{g} \text{an} \text{ t} \text{a} \text{e} \text{g} \text{a} \text{n} \text{ a} \text{ d} \text{ e} \text{r} \text{h} \text{a} \text{n} \text{ f} \text{o} \text{ } \text{S} \text{q} \text{8} \text{8} \text{ } \text{t} \text{i} \text{u} \text{g} \text{a} \text{n} \text{ } \? \text{ } \text{t} \text{e} \text{a} \text{g} \text{a} \text{n} \text{ } \text{a} \text{ } \text{d} \text{e} \text{a} \text{r} \text{t} \text{h} \text{i} \text{n} \text{n} \text{e} \text{ } \text{.} \]

When asked to read *ní thiugann sér*, Sq88 read *nÍ* *x*ú*gan* *fe*, whereas lenited forms noted in conversation from other speakers all have *hug*- Note the hesitation and revision in speaker **14M**'s:

**Deabhla a raibh fhios a'msá  raibh an pros tiugth- — teagháil chor a bith.**

She often, however, has no hesitation. There is variation in the following exchange:

- (tu *fe*) *t*ú*ki*ú*ha 14M (Tá sér) tiugthaíthe.
- *(nÍ* *ra*us *am* go *ro* *fe*) *t*á*ék*í: M
- (Ní raibh fhios a'm go raibh sér) teaghthaíthe.

**- (nÍ* *fe*) *t*ú*ki*ú*ha (rìv* *a* *fo*) 14M (Bhí sér) tiugthaíthe (roimhe seo).**

Máire’s (16M) main variant is *t*ú*ag*- (so also her brother 19P). Her examples of *t*ú*ag*- occur in the frequency:

(÷ verbal adjective >> ÷) (present) subjunctive >> present.

Her examples are:

**Prs**

- *gÁ* d’*uga* mar’ in, *gÁ* d’*uga* p’*eg’i*, *gÁ* d’*uga* fe, mara d’*uga* tu ..., mara d’*uga* mar’ in

**Pst**

- nu: *gÁ* d’*ugá* if

**Present**

- *t*ú*gan* fe *f*t’*ax* ..., *t*ú*gan* f*ía*í*, *gÁ* d’*ugá*, *nax* d’*ugá*, *nax* d’*ígn*, *nÍ* *hug*’ f*ía*í ...

**Vadj**

* tú*ki*ú*ha

There is hesitation, as in speaker 14M’s example above, and revision in conversation, where I deliberately responded with Máire’s own *t*ú*ag*- form (in a more indirect type of probing regarding the status of *t*ú*ag*-):

- *t*ú*gan* *fía*d *f*t’*ax* san *í*á*ha* M Tiugann siad isteach san oíche.
- *t*ú*gan* BóC Tiugann.
- *t*ú*gan*, *t*ú*gan* M Teagann, tiugann.

Here Máire seems to have noticed the ‘peculiarity’ of *t*ú*gan* when repeated as a bare form and hesitated in her own repetition. Also, in direct query, when asked about *t*ú*gan*, Máire commented:

**t*ú*gan* t*ú*gan* as or, to *t*ú*gan* m*ú*xa*í*er* Mtq88 'tiugann'? 'teagann' is fhéarr, tá 'tiugann' mhícheart.

In Mtq94 she translates almost exclusively with *teag*-, for instance, ‘may he come’ *go d’*á*ega* fe: when asked:

- *á* *N*’*er*Á* *gÁ* d’*uga* fe *An ndéarthá ‘go d*ía* *gÁ* sé’?
- *gÁ* d’*uga* fe *gÁ* d’*á*ega* fe, *gÁ* d’*á*ega* fe *á* d*í*rhá* *m*’*Á* Mtq 'go d*ía* *gÁ* sé’? ‘go d*ía*gÁ sé’ a déarthadh muide.

When queried about *nur* *hugá* fe she was even more certain that *nur* *hugá* fe was the (correct, possible) form and not *nur* *hugá* fe The subjunctive *nur* *hugá* is, however, attested.

Some other speakers who have the *t*ug*-by-form are listed here.

**04Br**

- *t*ú*ag*- (x3) >> *t*ú*ag*- (x1).

**05M**

- past habitual: *ogá* *hugá* agus thiugáinn.

**11C**

- past habitual: generally *hug*- and *d*’*á*ega- but *hugad*’*í*f ARN5571, 5764.

**23B**

- present: *t*ú*gan* ... *nÍ* *hugá* ... *nÍ* *hugá*.
Irregular verbs

27Cl past subjunctive: f'éx a d'úgad i:f; vad: t'úki: sa d'ína n'íf tiugthái sa dionamh anois.

31D past subjunctive: go d'úgax.

43M 43M (Máire’s daughter) seems to use the root t'úg- most often in the verbal adjective t'úki:, which she uses quite often, although not as often as t'áeki:. E.g.

t'ú col t'áeki: oram tá codladh teagthai orm

vs. tu fun' t'úki: | t'ú Seán tiugthai.

She also has examples in present: t'úgan, nour' a húgans mid' a kakan je nuair a thuganns midhe cacann s'd; prsbj nour húga; and psstbj go d'úgad i:f.

37T present t'úgan fi: ...

53M present t'úgan je er' v'ehi: waha tiugann sé ar bheithí mhaithe. (Perhaps 53Mp.)

The propensity for use of verbal adjective t'úki(ha) is apparent in ARNL.41, 77 where this is the only form of the verb teara which has the t'úg- stem.

Others with t'úkíaha: 892M, 15W, 18J;
or t'úki: 18J, 21Pg, 35E, male born c. 1946, 66N. (Cf. ARNL.41, 77.)

(Often, however, add húgad i:f 11C5571, 5764, not transcribed in Airnéán I.) In this context the present stem t'úk- should also be noted: t'úkan, x'i: hukán 15W only. For the anomalous usage of this speaker and her sister, see ‘Developments’ (5.389).

5.294 Imperative

2sg t'ára: t'áar o' xis a'r'íft' a n'aen' M teara aníos aríst, a Neain!

t'áara, t'áara, tar so sávrí P teara, teara, tar sa samhradh!

Also 04Br.

tar: t'áara, t'áara, tar so sávrí P teara, teara, tar sa samhradh!

tàra: Tàra le léim ... 870B1, tàra nuar' a ... 43M tàra nuair a ... . Either tar or tar in: tàra anuas goa xar ... 11C Tar(a) anuas dhien charr ... !

Either t'ar or t'ara in: t'ar an a t'i: 11C Tàra un an t'il!

t'ág(o): mu hágan tu: n'fo a'r'íft' t'ág a nam 20C

má theagann tú anseo aríst teag(o) in am!

t'ág: t'ág| darr' fi: ... t'ág anuas 64M -Teaga, a dáirt sí, ... teaga anuas!

t'aráam: ná ba'ck l'e f'k'el goart find' t'áram a kuartiaxt goar òrd' 05M

Ná bac le séal dhien tsórt sin! Téaram ag cuartafocht dhon Aird!

t'ánam: t'ánam t'umsa (Abó)21Pt t'eamam liomsa.

t'ánam ort noted in phrases used initiating game:

-t'ánam ort T'eamam ort

-t'íg'om' t'áet Tígin leat

-t'k'é v'ess aed Cé bheidheas a'd? S.

t'ána: t'ána wit a'max P teana uait amach.

t'ánam, t'aráam, t'ána can also mean ‘go’, ‘let’s go’, see t'ighre (5.297), ‘come on’ being very close in meaning to ‘let’s go (together)’. It could therefore be classified as a separate defective verb. It is classified under both irregular verbs in this study due to its phonetic similarity with them, e.g. t'aráam is similar to t'ára.

Note that Máire permits neither t'ág nor t'ág (the latter in GCF §220).

Recall nonpersonal in: -Tigeach nó ná teagach, gabhfa mé áinn, 866EB16.110.
2pl t’äri-, t’ägi-, t’agäi’i:
Both variants occur in:

- t’äri: er’ en xor að’ ar fe t’ägi: er’ en xor S

‘Tearaí ar aon chor,’ a deir sé, ‘teagaí ar aon chor.’

The infrequent combination of stem-final g and 2pl allomorph -ag’i occurs in:

- Fanaigí mar tá sib, a deirimse, agus d’fhuaigh Cúl Chiaráin orainne dhen chéibh -Teagaigí i dtír. 18J7223.

The serial effect fanaigí... teagaigí is possible in this instance. Cf. 5.70 ff.

5.295 Past; Future

Past
A haen’äk’ is a fairly rare alternant:

- haen’i:’k’ 46 s.v. tagaim; haen’äk’ dar 04B1; haen’äk’, haen’äk’ M.
- hün’og’ fi 881J, hün’ m’e 21Pt tháinic mé,
- ‘hæn’ mid’ ... | hörng’ fi 35E tháinic muid ... tháinic sí.
- 3pl hün’äk’ adar 11C, hün’äg’ adar 11C, hün’äk’ dar 11C, hörng’g’ dar 11C, hörng’ dar 43M, hundar nad és m’er’äk’a: 60M tháinicdar anall as Meireacá;
- | agas: | ún’äg’ a dar [72N agus tháinice dur].

Imps haen’äk’ as a wäd’a M tháinictheas abhaile. This is the only tense where the impersonal was noted.

Note the possible slip of the tongue haen’äk’ adar 11C shular (th)áinig injineachá for regular haen’äk’ 31D shular (th)áinig injineachá for regular.

For haen’äg’ (f etc.) in sandhi, see 2.59.

B nor’ a haen’ m’e ... 84P muair a tháinig mé ... .

Future
Most commonly t’uka but also t’ika, e.g.

- t’ika muðl i ef’ S tiochtaidh muid leis,
- t’ika le na g’ald’a 37M tiochtaidh lâ na geallta.

Initial lenited variants x-, hj-, h-, u- in future stem and tiug-

SID.46: a h’tiugas tu: 947, ní thiochtaidh (h’uka) VIII.1.
- x- (most common): n’i x’uka fe ... M.
- hj- k’er’d a hjukax äft’ax 894C céard a thiochtaidh isteach;
- nuar’ hjukax sael’ e d’ir’ ARN1295 muair a thiochtaidh sail i dtír;
- as ma slan a hjukax a wäd’a ... a hjukax ... (MP)04B9
- is maith slán a thiochtaidh abhaile ... a thiochtaidh .... ;
- h-
- Gá mbeadh ceann ann ansin a thiochtaidh a hukax i dtír 11C1386.
- t’ukan, n’i: hukan 15W.

Note the variation in the vowel in:

- 'n: h‘uka fe ... 66N Ní thiochtaidh sé inniu.
- n: huka M Ní thiochtaidh.

uk-

’x’ukax ... ogas ukax ... !(Asp)04B thiochtaidh ... agus a thiochtaidh;
- b’e fe sax lua nor’ ukas dírn’ on aef’r’ on M
- beidh sé sách Luath muair a thiochas daoine ón Aifreann,
- ga m’enj’a m’íha nor’ uk: M go mbeinnse imithe muair a thiochta.

In the tiug- stem lenited hu- only has been noted except in reading X’ugan from
Irregular verbs

5.296 Other forms

Past Subjunctive
2sg, e.g. ga d’ágá: orha l’e ‘klo | 896P go dteagá úirthi le cloich.
	(t’uk-) (future stem) is most likely to be the stem in the morphologically fudged form in: go d’ukta: héin’ 04B1tn dhá dtiocadh héin. If the stem were t’ug-, a realisation *d’ugta: or *d’ugdta: would be more likely. A similar, fudged form is found in: go d’aedco: 27C.

Verbal Noun
	(t’iáxt) >> t’aíxt (in ARNII.40 tíocht (x246) vs. teacht (x14, e.g. 18J7163)). Many speakers do not use teacht.

t’iáxt, e.g. gona bíáxt 950 gan a thióichte.

t’aíxt, e.g. tu fe: t’aíxt a ’n’es 46.662 tá sé ag teacht i ndéas. This minor by-form teacht is in fact speaker 866E’s (An Aird Mhóir) regular form, i.e. ag teacht, a theacht, le theacht. It is similarly the only form used by a speaker from the neighbouring townland, 894Cs (Caladh Fhínse), in his recordings.

5.297 teighre

Imperative

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg</th>
<th>pl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 t’aím’, t’aíx</td>
<td>1 t’aímid’, t’ai mid’, t’aíx, t’anam, t’aram, t’anamid’, t’anéi mid’, t’anaméid’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 t’aiρ’, t’er’, t’er’(a), t’aíx, (tair’, ter’(a))</td>
<td>2 t’aiρ’i, t’aii., t’aiρ’ag’i, t’aiρ’i, t’eg’i, t’aíx, (taig’i)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 t’aíx, t’ed fe:</td>
<td>3 t’aiρ’d’i, t’aíx</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Imprs t’aiρ’ar

Present

A t’aí in (reduced t’en t’un; also suppletive gohan); B gohan; C 1sg t’aím’

Past

Independent A yo; B xu, xu, xu, xo, xo, hu, fu, fo;

1 Not all vocalic variants of teighre are given, cf. 5.298.
5.298 Variation of vocoid ai, e, o, a in stem teigh-

The diphthong ai is most common. For example, tokens noted in SID.46 have the diphthong only:

- **Impv**
  - t’er’ an’ fin’ 04B4 téire ansin;
  - t’er’ aﬀ’ax ... t’er’ a hën’ ... t’ai’ a max 892M2633–4–8
  - Téire isteach ... téire héin ... Téire amach.

- **Pres**
  - t’em’ a ful 33M téim ag síul.

- **Psthab**
  - nar’ a hënfa ... M nuair a théinnse ... ;
  - hex i’, ’d eft: i’ 31D théithi, dteití;
  - hex dr’ úm og ... 892M5189 théadadh dream óg ... .

- **Prsbj**
  - go d’e: tu go ... go dté tú go ... (common).

- **Pstsbj**
  - nu go d’et fe 04B5 nó go dtéadh sé;
  - go d’ex a ro en 04B6 dhá dtéadh a raibh ann;
  - go d’e:’æn ’æn’ suas ... M dhá dtéadh duine a’inn suas ... .

Also e before h:

- **Pstsbj**
  - go: d’eha suos a b’ælax fin’ S dhá dtéitheá suas an bealach sin.

Short e (o) is quite common, especially in weakly stressed position:

- **Impv**
  - t’er’ a SM;
  - t’ed fe d: i’ d’aul’ S téadadh sé i dhígh deabhail;
  - t’eq i’ 892M1566, M.

- **Psthab**
  - hed i f 892M1066, 05M, 11C.

- **Prsbj**
  - go d’e: tu go ... go dté tú go ... (common);
  - go d’e:’æf max eg a 11C; go dté mise amach aige;
  - go d’e: ha tu ’fis 892M1600 go dté tú sios.

- **Pstsbj**
  - go: d’e:hu (common), go: d’ed i f (common); go: d’ed fe 899D6389;

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Irregular verbs

The diphthong aı can be reduced in more allegro or casual style to aþþ, = [A], and eþþ, e.g.

pres  t'um bád a'f't'ax s sáıvr aı hain' a'f't'ax sáıvr er' aı mod ... t'èn ùrsàs,axìn: ët'ax 21Pt téann bás isteach sa samhradh ... théinn isteach sa samhradh ar an mbád ... téann tuársasteachd isteach.

The forms t'um and t'én here are best taken as reduced or allegro forms of t'ain, separate from the more regular occurrence of e in the teighre stem. The speaker was speaking very casually. Further investigation, however, may yield speakers who do have e more regularly in the present. Standard or spelling in é, or both, influence some younger speakers, e.g.

mú ñheìn | fiad 72N má théanna siad;
ñ'í heıx dur ... no hën du 76Mt ní théadh dur ... nuair a théann tú.

5.299 Imperative; Present

Imperative

go gabh is commonly used in the imperative. Broad initial t- is found only in 2sg, 1pl and 2pl in SID.46 and perhaps 894C2.

2sg t'air' is probably the commonest variant of the téigh- stem.

t'èr'(:); t'èr' a dìd' d'aul' S teire i dìgh deabhail;

*teir'?, this is perhaps the form indicated by tair' a' marú 894C2.

1pl t'anom 46 s.v. téighim, t'ànnam M.

t'ànnam mid' fìs eòg aì mo: S teannamuid sìos ag an mbá, or perhaps t'ànnamid',
t'ànnam'd' ët'ax gà t'ax a' fòbal' S Teannamaid isteach go teach an phobail, also analysable as a form of the verb teann; cf. teara (5.291, 5.294).

2pl t'ai.i / t'éi i / t'air' i xola Mq téi / teig' / téir' a chodladh;
téig' 46 s.v. téighim; t'éig i: 892M1566.

Imprs t'ai.ar Mq.

Present
A go(h) gabh may, less frequently, be used for teighre here. For mo hair', see 'Higher Register' (10.59).

B goh- may become regular for some younger speakers, e.g. frequent for 66N. An example of intergenerational variation occurs in:

go.írn fe ... goan fe ... nax goan 66N

Gothann sé ... gothann sé ... nach ngothann?

t'ain M Téann.

C 1sg t'aiim' 84P (i.e. t'ai+i+m', 5.412).
Verbs

5.300  Past

Past *gabh* is common enough among the oldest generation:

\[ yó \ 866E, \ e.g. \ ná \ yó \ ná \ a \ yó \ 866E \ nó \ go \ ndeachaidh \ sé ... \ 866E \ nó \ go \ ndeachaidh; \]

\[ Gho \ an \ iníon \ 870B; \]

\[ yó \ já \ áx \ ros \ xait \ é \ wáj 04B \ 10tn \ gabh \ sí \ isteach \ i \ roschoill \ uaidh. \]

But *chuaigh* is the general form noted from all my field informants.

Variation in initial consonant of past stem x-, f-, h-

Initial f is obsolescent; x being most common.

852S4  *chua* - >> *chó* - >> *fua*-, *fó*-, Dumhaigh Ithir. Note: (i) that Séamus Ó Duilearga corrected *chó* (transcribed by the folklore collector Brian Mac Lochlainn) to *chua* in the manuscript; (ii) the form *Ach chá* (chó) maide; (iii) *ghoth* (x5+), e.g. *ní ghothach* an chaol ort a ghoth ort. Perhaps other tokens, transcribed as *chua*, chó, chá are actually forms of *gabh*. In this speaker’s short recording *xuE* occurs.

852Sb  *Fuaidh* LL 5 footnote, Loch Con Aortha.

SID.46  *xu* 44, 690, 1164, etc.

875T  (ABg) has an example of *fuaigh*; An Coillín.

889P  *xu* ~ *hu* ~ *fu*þþ, Coill Sáile.

894Bl  *xu* > *fu*þþ, Gabhla.

899N  *chua* ~ *fua* ~ *hua*þþ, Ros Dugáin.

01P  *xu* ~ *fu* , Doire Iorrais, cf. 16A below.

06C  *xu* >> *fu* , Dumhaigh Ithir.

11C  *hu* fe, *huadór*, Maoras.

12S  *xu* >> *fu*þþ, Carna. Sq himself claims he does not use the *f*- form.

16A  (Doire Iorrais) is the only speaker noted with consistent *f*- here, in 16A1, for example, all 6 tokens of *chuaigh* noted have *f*-, e.g.

\[ *fua* \ m \ é \ ser \ 'chuaigh mé soir; *fo* \ m \ é \ pl \ é: \ 'f é \ chuaigh \ mé ag plé le. \]

He has *fua* more commonly than *fo*.

23C  *fu*þþ, Rosín an Tambah(ia)gh.

\[ xu \ fe \ ... \ S. \]

\[ xu \ xdar \ ag' \ im' \ art' \ 21Pt \ CHUADAR \ ag \ imirt. \]

\[ xo \ m \ é \ xe; \ xo \ m \ ba \ j \ f \ é \ ... \ M \ is \ mé \ a \ CHUAIGH \ un \ baiste \ le \ ... \]

\[ xo \ b' \ er \ ... \ M \ CHUAIGH \ beirt \ ... \]

xo or xu: t’a*xtn* fo xo ‘*hàrrn*’, 46.900 an tseachtain seo CHUAIGH tharainn.

Dependent

dh- - Ø, *ni [dh]eacha* 852S4, *né*: *áxa* 03C, *né*: *áxa* 21Pto, cp. *nipher* (dh)earna in déan (5.268) and common *jer*- - *er*- in *abair* (5.238). It can be auditorily difficult to distinguish between *né*: jaxa and *né*: *áxa* *ní* dheachaidh. Cp. *né*: ‘jáx, *né*: táxamid’ 46.726, 731. I can, however, be sure of at least one token without *j* from conversation:

\[ *né*: áxa k'axtar a*kab* ax’t*æn* 03C

*Ní DHEACHAIGH ceachtair acub an-tsean.

Intervocalic *x* is often weakened to *χ* or *h*, e.g. 3pl *gá* *náfheadar* 11C.

Initial *d* in *gá* *d’áxa* *fe* 04B4, may perhaps be a slip of the tongue which might imply underlying *d*’ (or nasalised *t’?) or perhaps phonetic deunasalisation, *n* > *d*. Compare the definite slip of the tongue:

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Irregular verbs

**Impersonal, independent and dependent**

**CHUAS (CHUATHAS)** gá tóraíocht 869P3.

**nuair a CHUAS a tóraíocht ...** 11C nuair a CHUAS ag tóraíocht, ...

**xuas go xuartiú:** 60M CHUAS dhá chuartú.

There are three impersonal examples in following short conversation:

**xuas ámax e'g' á bosta [x2] ... go n'áxas ámax 60M CHUAS amach ag an bposta ... go NDEACHAS amach.**

**nuair a CHUAS ag tóraíocht, ... .** 31D nuair a GABHADH ar ...

**raE xa d'i: i: 12St1b RACHAS go dtí.**

*nuair a chuaifear xuE á [or dhá] chuartú ar maidín 34M.*

**ach bhífear amu' t túirt aire dhó. Mise i mbannaí dhuit gur eiriobh agus go NDEACHAS n'áxas amach, ag túirt aire dhó 22M.**

With speaker 60M one can contrast Máire who interpreted the queried forms *xuas, jxaxas* with 1sg meaning only and gave examples against the non-complement Echo rule: **xuas ámax Mq chua amach ‘I went out’. (Such usage is, however, nonvernacular.)** Similarly, Seán could make no proper sense of queried *raxas*, the form found in his audio-recorded speech. Cf. Mq’s reaction to *rathbhear* as past impersonal of *bí* (5.254).

5.301  **Future; Subjunctive**

**Future**

*goh* - is the general form, *gau* is rare (if heard correctly in):

*S' ní yau tu r' i:j f' un P ní ghabhthaidh tú aris ann.*

**Conditional**

The stem *rax-* in future and conditional is current only in a few set phrases, e.g.

**raxa m'ifá maní: rachaidh mise i mbannai;**

**raxa m'ifá f'í: yut' go m'ei 'gf emax ad | 894P**

**rachaidh mise faoi dhuit go mbeidh gliomach a'd.**

Otherwise *rax-* is by now obsolete, attested in vernacular use from old speakers and secondary sources only:

*S' ní 'raxa: xor a 'b'i'h' ún | ... | goh xí' eu'n | 852Stn**

’ní rachthá ar chor ar bith án’ ... ‘gothaídh mé ann.’;

‘... racha mé lib,’ 869P4.

**nach é an chaoi, a ngoifí agus a bhfuighfí pleáin? 11C1382.**

*Imprs gofaf ag iarraí fíúsce 869P2: go fir’. e.g.*

The future stem *goh-* may lose intervocalic *h*, e.g.

**Future relative**  a yx: f'e M (ar maidin) a ghabhthaidh sé.

**Conditonal 1sg**  go 0A': 01J, y0' SM, go 00' M.

2sg, 3pl  go 00:0s M, k'erd a yd' if M céard a ghabhthaidís?

Note the further weakening through loss of initial *y* in:

**ax n'0an' ach ní ghabhthainn** (speaker perhaps M).

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Verbs

Present Subjunctive

gə d'əha and gə d'əha were noted only in:

gə d'əha tu 892M1600;

gə d'əha | din'ə d'ə ði' ər g ir' oga_n' ti' fo ... 11C

go də duine, a deir sì, dh'fhir óga an tì seo ...

Past Subjunctive, impersonal
dúirt sè go mba mhath an ceann, dhá dtéití, go' d'a'it'i: san oíche, nuair a thittheadh an teannbeann 'na codladh, agus an corp a ghoid ARN9053.

Vadj got'ə, also get'ə 06C. Note the single token of rachtha in:

v'ì n háta, ra'fha ga tum pu'iri ... got'ə ga tum puiri e | 04B

bhí an hata rachtha go tóin poill ... gabhthe go tóin poill.

This may be due to hypercorrection: fut gabhtha > racha; vadj goite > !rachtha.

5.302 Verbal Noun gol' => gol

A gol' SID.46 e.g. 46.774; a yil', gol' 20Ml; gol, yol 866E (only, apparently); gol' => gol 19P, B got'.

Note the loss of initial g in (very fast delivery):

s mud' of a gir' an 'aet' a'k'ext' 892M1565

is muid ag goil dhá gcuir in áit eicint.

Cp. common initial weakening 'of' M goil.

The variant gor' is used by one speaker in my sample, 897P, who appears to use gor' only:

ə gor' a'ft' a'x' 'ob' tran'hona 897P ag goil isteach dhóibh traithnóin, i: gor' annus 897P òg goil annus,

hæn'sact' fe yor' ogas v'ì: ... 897P sheansaíl sé a goil agus bhí .... .

B goilt and a ghooltg 72N.

dol is used as a common noun:

ə dol a'mù: s an dul amù, en dol suas aon dul suas,

er' a ge' del' fis M ar an gcéad dal síos;

tu dol a'mùc mor ort S tā dal amù mór ort.

With ðion and other auxiliary verbs, dol is also used as VN:

n'ì jìnam' en dol a'ft' ax an 10B ni dhéanaim aon dal isteach ann

'I do not go in' (to a public bar);

ə m'ed dol a'max as mù a n'ìd fe' | 11C

an méid dal amach is mò a niòdh sé;

dhá mbeadh caolán caol ann mar dàtradh, a mbeadh beaic lüirt roimhe, nach mbeadh aon dol suas ag an bhfeamainn dearg, agus a bhfheidhad sí ghoil — a bhfheidhad sí bulcail, mbeadh an taoil dhá bulcail isteach in aghaidh na haille. 894Cs.

Cp. n'i'ì en dol a'nun na nàl an 41M nil aon dal annaí a'll ann am 'it is not humbug', or perhaps 'there is no avoiding it'.

Sometimes gol' occurs as a noun (doubtless less 'correctly'):

n'i'ì gol' suas a b'ì hean M nil gol' suas ar bith ann;

s uafásach a gol' a'mùc e, s mor a dol a'mùc e M

is uafásach an goil amù é, is mór an dul amù é;
Irregular verbs

1167

tá goil amú ormsa.  

"goi" can be used meaning ‘come’:

bí: goil’ anuas M bi ag goil anuas! ‘Come (on) down!’

Vidar a goil’ an iar bhiodar ag goil aniar.

Minor Irregular Verbs

For alternating stems, see tocha(i)s in the FEOGLAIM class (5.165) and compare an example (if accurately transcribed) of blais with nonpalatal consonant in final position: … gan blaise … níor bhlas. 869P4. Many minor irregular verbs have ‘contamination’ of the stem from the verbal noun (bligh, dáir, fóin, gabh, cp. eiteal; figh in the BLIGHT class (5.138) where the verbal adjective may be based on the verbal noun). Cf. nontraditional use, 5.390. There are also instances of ‘contamination’ from other phonologically or semantically similar verbs (cúitigh, fóin, fialhraigh, gnóthaigh).

5.303  bligh

Some inflected forms based on verbal noun bleán occur, especially in younger speakers, e.g.

-… go m’fíon … dhá mbleán? -s’i fíonan fiad 66N Ní bhleádnann siad;

blíonan 66N bleádnann;

bhleán 84Pq.

In response to query 66N gave bligh forms, i.e. fut blí’sha, vadj blí’t’a 66Nq vs. *bleáinte 66N∅perm. An even younger speaker, when commenting in 2002 that she did not know the word sine, claimed she never milked a cow: níor bhleán mise (bó ...) ariamh ... 86N.

5.304  breath(n)aigh

This verb can be classified as a minor irregular verb because the stem varies between br’áma (also br’ána) and br’áha (also br’áha). Cf. 1.233. The general ã-vocalism is sometimes raised to e (or close to e), e.g. verbal noun ...

br’e:hu: orba: P ag breathú orthub.

5.305  buach

For a possible alternate (older) buaigh, see 1.421 Q 329. Cf. gnóthaigh (5.315).

5.306  cúitigh

cúitigh, cumhdaigh, cúidigh, cuidigh are used by Máire in the sense ‘repay’ M, Mq:

kut’-: fut kut’o ; cond go gút’o ; vadj kut’i’ am l ef cúit’ a’m leis, VN e: xú’ u l’æt é a chúitíú leat;

kud-: fut kudo’ m’e yut’ e cumhdoídh mé dhuit é, kudo’ m’e mar’æx l’æt e cumhdoídh mé amáreach leat é, VN e xudo’ l’æt é a chumbhdá leat;

kud’-: pst xudo’ fe l’um e chúidigh sé liom é;

kid’-: fut kid’o’.
Verbs

Mperm: kúd·· pst xuđà, vadj kúdi··.

cúitígh is the historical verb here. Two other phonetically, similar verbs, cumhdaigh and cuidigh (cp. older meaning 'share'), also retained in the dialect with their independent meanings, have encroached on the original meaning of cúitígh. An unhistorical stem kúd· can be seen as a combination of all three. (For examples of regular cumhdaigh 'protect' from other speakers, see 5.236; cf. chumhdaigh, chumhdáit, 9.113.) Cp. fiathraigh + iarr > fíar 66N (5.311).

5.307    dóir

This verb is regular except for optional or innovative forms based on the verbal noun dáir, common as a noun, e.g. tá dáir ar an mbó.

Past: yor· taru; xuđun' i: M dháir tarbh Chúláin í; yor· is Máiir's more usual form by far. Similarly, speaker 11C has more common past yor· than yor·, examples of which are yor fe k'án ... a yor· a taru; 11C dháir sé ceamn ... a dháir an tarbh.

VN note bó: doir· er· a mælæs fin' 43M bó dhá doir ar an mbealach sin, normally dara· (including 43M). Also: ag dáireadh dara· bó (male speaker born c. 1950, An Aird Thiar).

5.308    eiteal

Past and future are generally regular (cf. 5.37), e.g. past d'eiteal 25M, but an irregular form (with past or possibly future meaning) occurs in:
aon éan ... ná rad a' bith eile d'eitreo san aer aráí. 869P2.

where d' replaces an erased 'g in the manuscript.

VN a g et al 46.140, a get' al S. 22J ag eiteal; a 'g el't roig or er' el't roig' 46.140 ag eitreoig, ar eitreoig.

Cp. éanlaath ar a n-eitrealach [recte] (run) 852Sh Lll.129, nach bhfuil an t-éan héin ar a getealla (sic) in ánn a ghl thartub 852Sh 6.72. Also: seanphréachán ... nach bhfuil i ndon eitreog. 864M Ll.72. Note that dh'eitreog and ag eitreoig could be homophonous, e.g. (following a vowel) d'imigh sé dh'/ag eitreog.

5.309    fág

Regular except for alternative -a in past dao· d'fhág ~ dao· d'fhága, e.g. dao· fe· 01C 6778, dao· fe· slán 04B d'fhág sé slán. (d'fhága < d'fhágaibh is the historically more correct form.) Scán and Máire have mostly dao·. On the other hand, sisters 04Br and 15W have been noted with consistent dao·. Note also the spread of the future stem to present in fúcan fe: 04Br.

5.310    féach(a)

Regular except for alternative -a in the 2sg imperative f·exa· M, f·iax·a, f·ex·a. (féach ~ féacha is of long standing, e.g. McManus 1994: 399 §7.4.) It may be that féacha, in final -a, is favoured in the meaning 'hey, behold'. The stem varies phonetically, especially in the 2sg imperative. Examples:
f·iax(a)  ·f·iax a wil' M Féacha an bhfuil!; ax f·iax 12J ach féacha!
f·ex(a)  ·k·e v·exa m'e ... 04B10tn cé bhféachtaídh mé ... ?;
Irregular verbs

See also e: ~ ia (1.18), cp. breath(′)aigh (1.233), conjunction feachtain (8.137).

Vadj v′: Jib f′ exta SM bhí sib feachta, ma n′aert f′ ext am Mq mo neart fēachta a′m, ... f′ ext am Mperm feachtat a′m.

VN f′ ioxd′ S′ try to′, f′ ioxan′ 869P′ test′, f′ exant′ Mq′ test (to exhaustion), look′, cp. ... exan′ M′perm, also a f′ exant da xf′aes agas do lūd, 04B8l ag fēachtain do chleas agus do lūd. See discussion in 5.213 and conjunction f′ exant′, f′ ext′, fiachaint, etc., (8.137).

5.311 fiathraigh, iarr

The two semantically and phonologically similar verbs fiathraigh (dhe)′ enquire, ask′ and iarr (ar)′ request, ask′ are confused and amalgamated by some younger speakers. This includes semi-speakers, e.g. 70S:

caitbhich mé an leaindléidí [< landlady] a fónaíl, fiathraigh di, an obair a fónaíl amáireach 70S.

Speaker 66N′s examples show 1 Conjugation fia′ (close to traditional iarr′; cf. 2Conj > 1Conj, 5.416) but VN fiā(pr)u′ (corresponding to traditional fiathraigh).

Her examples are:

Impv f′ iar k′ an e′r fia′ ceann air.
Pres f′ iaran fe ′teabr′ ats a gomh fiarann sé teablits i gcónaí.
Fut f′ iara m′ e′ do fiarthaidh mé dó ... .
Vadj ... f′ iart am ... fiairt a′m.
VN wil′ morun k′ eft′ an′ go iaru′ n′ uv ′ Bhfuil móirín ceisteannaí dhá fhiathraadh inniu′? (referring to my fieldwork).

There is what seems to be an example of confusion (cf. 1.206) between the two verbs in an older speaker in:

... go n′ iarbh ′ an n′ wuah′ gaz′ inn′ in′ 01P
agus is iůndúl i gcónaí go n-fhiathróidh an mháthair dhen inín.

Similarly, the disfluency might involve confusion of iarr and fiathraigh in:

d′ iarr siad e′r ′ d′ iara ′ d′ iarada long′ ... 10B
d′ iarr siad air, d′ fhiathradh do ... .
5.312  fóin

Various roots alternate in the verb fóin in the future and verbal noun. The future and verbal noun are the most commonly occurring forms. The verb occurs quite rarely.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{fun} &\quad \text{pst } \text{dun} \text{ fe}, \text{ fut fun h} \text{ fe}, \text{ VN fun SM.} \\
\text{funt} &\quad \text{fut fun a fe}, \text{ VN fut S.} \\
\text{tuin} &\quad \text{fut tuin a fe S (not used by Mq).} \\
\end{align*}
\]

5.313  fuirsigh

Regular 1 Conjugation verb, e.g. conditional Threadbhainn ‘s d’fhuirfsinn !894C-9, but when the root is in final position, i.e. 2sg imperative and nonpersonal past, it takes the form fuirsigh. Similarly, the verb cornaigh (5.21, 5.170) has a consonant cluster which is phonotactically prohibited in word-final position; it too could be classified as a minor irregular verb. Cp. fág (5.309), féacha(a) (5.310).

5.314  gabh, gabháil

gabh is classified as a regular verb of the LOBH class (5.140 ff.). It is also used suppletively in the irregular verb teighre. In the meaning ‘helm (a boat)’ both go gabh and the historical verbal noun go Él are used as stems.

\[
\begin{align*}
go &\quad \text{pst yo fe S.} \\
go &\quad \text{pst yo fe Mq, Nior gh} \text{oil sé FFG s.v. g} \text{oilann 3, fut x i yo} \text{a / yovul fe Mq, vadj go} \text{a Mq.} \\
\text{VN am bad a yo} &\quad \text{an b} \text{ad a gabhail, go} \text{a.} \\
\end{align*}
\]

Cp. use of imperative gaul in the meaning ‘take’ in a local song (10.71):

gaul \text{ d} \text{ xial } !(FCúil)\text{06C gabhail do chiall,}
corresponding to gov d xial !(FCúil)\text{11C gabh do chiall; thus gaul } < \text{ gau + go} \text{a}.

5.315  gnóthaigh, (brúigh)

The general verb for ‘win’ is buach; but, in the past and verbal noun in particular, gnóthaigh is sometimes heard, e.g. yru: je gnóthaigh sé, e yru:tafe e a gnóthachtáil. The form of the stem alternates between gnuc-, gruc-, gruc-, gnuc-, gruc-, grucx-, brucx-, rucx-.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{guc-} &\quad \text{1Conj pst yru Mq, cond yruh} \text{a 21Ptq, ga gnux [perhaps pr-] 25Tt go gnóthaadh an ceann eile amaireach; vadj gruf a: V} &\text{n e ynu a ? 31M, whereas e * wuxa 31M é a buachadh is 31M’s and the general form.} \\
\text{2Conj Prshj (in salutation, not understood as an independent verb nor as connected with ‘win’ by S or M): (go) nu: d a yut M Go gnóthaí Dia dhuit!, less often ga gnuf ... M.} \\
\text{Past and VN examples under the stem gn/ru()a- below may be parsed as 2 Conjugation gn/ru-.} \\
\text{gnua-} &\quad \text{pst ynu Mq, VN gnuxtal } 11Ct. \\
\end{align*}
\]
Irregular verbs

| grua- | pst yrúca fe 46.329, where it is given as an alternative to yúr fè; pst oghs yúra fè; y’ g’ od! (Aes)21Pt agus gnóthaigh sí an geall; In conversation with a speaker of more eastern Conamara speech: -Ar ghrú tú ...? Ruairí Mac Con Iomaíre
| gnúch- | pst lsgr Echo ynnuhas Mq.
| grux- | pst yrúax 10B; cond gæ gruxax: 21Ptq.
| bru- | Homophonous with brúigh. Noted from 66N only:
| ru- | In lenited position 66N often has simple initial r, e.g. n’ ér ru: ... 66N. Similarly: pst ru: 79P (Cill Chiarán, mother from Leitir Mealláin). Mq claimed that yrú: fe was incorrect giving her own yrú: ynhæ, whereby 66N also offered yrú:. Recall that 66N’s mother is from An Cheathrú Rua where gru: is the usual verb. In 66N’s speech Iorras Aithneach buax and gru: of An Cheathrú Rua seem to have combined to yield bru:, lenited (v)ru:. Similar mixture in 79P.

5.316 lean

Generally regular. Irregular past impersonal lean(th)as is rare or obsolete, noted in a tale about the Fianna:
agus rith sì héin agus Fionn agus leanas iad l’anas iad 869PZCP151; leanthas iad ... 869P3.

Table 5.82 gnóthaigh, Mq

| 3sg pres | gnúan’ fe, a gnúan’ fe ... , Echo gnúan |
| 3sg pshab / cond | ynnuait f'fe e |
| 3sg pshab | ynnuhas fe [sic] |
| impv 3pl nó nà | gnúad ij nu: nu ynnuhas |
| 3pl pst | ynnu: fiad, ynu: fiad, ynu:dar |
| impsr pst | ar gnú:n, ar grú:n, ar grú: ... gnú:n |
| prsbj (opt) | gn ynu: tu: mear' ax e |
| 2sg pst question (a-c = order) | ar ynu: tu: ... a, ar ynu: tu: ... d |
| 1sg Echo pst response | ynuhas b, ynuhas c, ynuhas c |
| 1sg fut | n': ynu:ho m'if e |
| VN | a gnuxad' |
Verbs

5.317  *maraigh*

*maraigh* (historical *marbhaigh*) *mara* generally, but sometimes with -r-, e.g. cond *go maróx* M dhá maródh.

5.318  *meas*

In the 2sg present interrogative the form *máes tu* ~ *móustu*: *meas tú?* occurs in alternation with (a) *máasan tu* (an) *measann tú?* The shorter form characteristically lacks the interrogative particle and is the most frequent form in the semantically weakened discourse function of ‘I wonder ...’, ‘D’you think ...’, ‘And what do you think (happened) but ...’. In this meaning it frequently has one word stress. Its weaker verbal role is further illustrated by the non-attestation of *meastusa* and by the fact that it is followed by subordinating *an* only, ‘*meas tá an ...*’, as against both *an* and *go* in *an measann tú an / go ...* ? The contrast is clear in:

- ‘Measann tusa anis, a deir sí, ’ bhfuil a hathair agus a máthair sin beo? U?
- ‘ bhfuil siad beo? a deir sí.
- Tá, a deir sé.
- Meas tú (u), a deir sí, ’ bhfuil siad go maith faoi lóistín na hoiche? 11C.

It can be used in a plural context, e.g.

wel’ a *yín*: uaf’ *máes tu* k’ e m’ òr l’ib’ fk’ ed fada bog b’ in’ 11C

Bhuel a dhaoíni uaisle, *meas tú cé mb’fihearr lib scéal fada bog binn ...* ?

Further examples:

*máes tu*: ro M *meas tú an raibh?*

... s *móustu*: nax *dun’ ak’ á tr’ ur ...* M is *meas tú nach dtáinig an triár!*

*máes tu*: nax *æ*: 14M *meas tú nach ea!*

s *móustu*: nax gi’ *fé max á luv’ mar fín’ 18Bm

*is meas tú nach gcuireadh sè amach a láthn mar sin?*

*móustu*: nax in’ *rubáil’ S *meas tú nach in robáil?*

5.319  *oscaill*

Owing to its optional anomalous stress patterns, *oscaill* is sometimes irregular, see 1.380. From conversation it was noted only once with initial *f*:

wil’ *fe foscailt* o M *An bhfuil sé foscailte?*

5.320  *scriobh*

The root-final consonant is generally *w* but there are examples of -*f* ~ -*w* in SID.46:

- *f* pst fk’r’if m’ e 338, 339; pres f’g’r’ifam’ ... f’g’r’ifam 342;
- *w* impv fk’r’iw e’k’ e 341; VN fk’r’iúw.

5.321  *scurd*

Regular (see examples in 14) except for a 2 Conjugation form noted from 43M: pst *skruto fi:* m’ e; as if reanalysed as *scréaith*, presumably from the commonly occurring verbal adjective *skrutí: scruídoit*. Cp. *scruádadh skruto* 139D.

5.322  *seinn*

The verb *seinn* is not used generally in the vernacular (where *cas, ceol, gabh* and
Irregular verbs

abair are used). A historically regular example is past hin’ fe 869P sheinn sé. Lengthening (of the GEARR class) is absent in higher-register future fin’ ha !(Asp)04B seinnthidh. The fudged past impersonal -im’ occurs in a local song in:

xil’ a nua k’ ol’ gor fin’ im’ ar’ iav er’ vug’ al’ !(Asp)04B chuile nóta ceoil dhúr seinnbh ariamh ar bhítúil.

When asked to conjugate this verb Mq consistently produced the following paradigm:

impv fin’am’ rin’ k’ ol’ seinnim roinn ceoil, pst hin’am’ fe ; fut fin’ha fe ;
vadj fin’ a ; VN fin’ am’ Mq . VN also fin’om’ fiin’ unt’ !894C.

5.323 srooth

-f- occurs regularly in the future / conditional stem and verbal adjective, and less regularly in the present. It can alternatively be inflected regularly, i.e. without -f-, as glaoigh for example (although not all forms have been noted):
pst hri’ fe Mq , pres f’rían’ fe Mq >> srífan’ fe (?) Mq , fut sri’ fe Mq << sri:fa fe /fiad Mq , cond hri:fat fe M , vadj sri: eg’ a Mq . VN fri:fort’ , fri:fortax M .

VN also fiini’ 17M (only) sraothnail , snaíxt 66N (only) snaofacht.

5.324 spáin ~ (f)aspáin

spáin is almost universal, e.g.:
pst spáineadar 852S4 , nar span’ S , exprs spán’u: 11C ; prsbj go spáine 869P2 ; fut spán’ha ;
vadj spáinte ag 875T1 ;
VN a’ spáint 869P2 , 870B2 , a spáxt’ SM , a spán doib S a ~ doibh ;
> spán’ 66N , e.g. pres spán’ an’ fe 66N .

taspáin is very rare, e.g.:
pst thuspáineadar 852S4 , tiq’ a nar hispáin’ Sq tuige nar thaspáín? with second-syllable stress in:

haspán’ fe tuma ye P thaspáin si seomra dhú;
fut ní thuspáinthe mé 852S4 , prsbj go dtaspáine mé 894C2 ;

VN a tispáxt’ Sq , common as noun:

dáine nach mbéadh morán tispáint tispáxt’ aige S .

tuspana occurs as a noun. Neither tuspana nor *spána are permitted as verbal nouns by M∅perm.

’aspáin occurs in:
pst ’aspáin sé dom an bealach a ngothainn | u’spáin’ ... 899P .

5.325 Verbs with limited usage

Many verbs commonly occur in only one or two inflected forms which occur in more or less set phrases. (See also ‘Copula’, 5.333 ff.) For example, the verbal adjective and verbal noun are sometimes the only common forms of a given verb:

1 It is claimed by S. Ó Murchú (1998: 64) that togair does not have full inflection. This verb occurs in limited functions but it does, nonetheless, appear in all tenses, especially following dhá, má, mar, e.g.
riar: vadj to riarha muh am ort SM tá riartha amuigh a’m ort;
VN a riar ort S ag riar ort.

ullmhaigh: vadj (most common form recorded), e.g. oliÈhE maòx 06C ullmhaithe amach, ¥: fe oli: eg a S bhí sé ullmhaithe aige, oliÈhE M; VN olu: 892M, S, e.g. ag olu: gh riar ort SM tá riartha amuigh a’m ort;
VN ol È ot È ort S ag ullmhú an gharrat, also 892M2013. Other forms were produced in elicitation:
pst dola m’e Mq, fut olo: m’e Mq.

Other verbs of restricted use include fóir, fuáil, goir, tórraigh, till, úsáid, meath, pláistéar. For the special uses of ghoin m’aire mé, see 14 aire.

fóir, fuair: the commonly used subjunctive ÒgEÔ wuEr !E d !iE ... go bhfóire Dia ... , etc., (also wuÉr !Eþþ, wer !E) belongs historically to this verb but it may not necessarily be connected by most speakers to the other (less common) form noted, i.e. VN foÉr !hiÉÐt !, e.g. E foÉr !hiòÐt ! Ór !, ag fóirthínt air; cp. fuEr !iÉÐt !!(Acb)04B. When asked to conjugate this verb Mq produced:
pst duÉr !hE SÓ orEm (i.e. anomalous d’fhóirthigh), fut foÉr !hE SÓ orEm (fóirthidh), vadj tu fuhr eg’ oram Mq (fóirthhe).

fuáigh, fuáil: both variants can be inflected, e.g. pst duE SÓ Ó ~ duÉAÉl ! SÓ Ó Mperm, SeÉ duÉAÉl ! ... En mu)hEû !E 11C is é a d’fhuáil ... an muthaille, but, as verbal adjective, only fuEt !E M was noted and is permitted (*fuÉAÉût !E M ∅ perm). Cp. 5.22 for fuáigh ~ fuáil and similar verbs.

goir: occurs commonly only in goír !Em ! dE hlhÏòÐt !E goirim do shlainte and goír !Em !Es kaÉþSrEm !Ek ! goirim is caisricim, and in the noun, e.g. gor !Em ! skol !E goirm scoile. When asked to inflect the phrase with slainte, Máire produced:
pst yur !dar / yur fiad slænt ! xÈf !, yir’am’ dar ?, yir’, fut gir’ ha ?, VN a gir’am’u ?; the VN gor’ am’, with o, has also been recorded from Máire.

sil: meaning ‘try’ and ‘think’, senses expressed more commonly by traíáil and ceap respectively. Vadj (rare) bhí sílte aige é dhionamh Mq, 45BØperm; VN (rare) deabhal síleadh Mq, deabhal síleachtáil Mq; -Céard tá orm chor ar bith? adeir an fear eile, a’ síleachtáil é féin a dhíriú aniar, agus chinn sé ar. 864M DT 33.

tórraigh: Cf. 5.170.

till has only been noted from conversation in lenited forms following N’it(-) nì(-) and mostly in the future:
N’ir hìl’ fe l’ig’ an nior thill sé uilig ann,
Ní: hì: hì: maìd sa gòr a l’ig’ ni thillthidh muid sa gèarr uilig,

This would imply that lenited forms are more common than nonlenited forms.

(Cf. loss of t > ogrúidh FFG24.) The VN occurs, for example, negated in dheamhan tograchtáil. I have not heard any impersonal or verbal adjective forms in conversation but they are permitted and produced by Máire in query:
má thograítear a ghoil ann Mq, bhí tograíthe a’m Mq.

In younger speakers togair and many other verbs become restricted or are completely lost with the reduction of native vocabulary through the generations. For expansion of ássaid, however, see 5.326.
Irregular verbs

Presumably due to this high frequency of lenited forms, when unlenited (without preceding i: ni), the verb may vary its initial between f-, f- and t-. All forms in elicitation were given as genuine forms; Séan, however, preferred the t- alternative. All the examples from conversation have radical i: (following the lengthening rule of the GEARR class) and so also in Séan’s t’i: ‘till’ below. Forms noted in the optional short vowel environments of the GEARR class all have i: also, e.g. 3pl pst hí:adar Mq (-adar being an implicationally strong long vocoid ending for M), and 3pl pshab hí:ad’i: Mq (-idis being an implicationally strong short vowel ending for M).

f- ‘they fit there every day’ f’i:ha fiad a guini: an Sq fillthidh siad i gcóinai ann (future in present function), f’i:ha Mq, d’i:ha Mq. Cp. fill ‘fold, return’.

f’i:ha fe on sq, cp. silleann FFG20.

t’i:ha fiad, t’i:ha fiad, as fi:ha fiad un, manam gor t’i: a fokal k’ærSq ‘tillthidh siad’ is ‘stillthidh siad ann’. Manam gur ‘till’ an focal ceart. f’i:ha Mq, cp. silleann FFG20.

The verb is not used by younger people questioned; speaker 43M and many others do not understand it. It is replaced by native teighre ann and borrowed fitéil (< ‘fit’). Cp. foin (5.312).

meath is used by Maire in verbal noun construction only (as are the examples in FFG20) e.g. m’i etan a v’e m’ao l’ef ní fhéadthainn a bheith ag meathadh leis, but n’i v’ao m’e l’ef ní mbeadhaidh mé leis is permitted although she proffered n’i v’e m’e m’ao l’ef ní bheidh mé ag meathadh leis immediately following the form inflected for tense. Note also m’aeta meata which is used as an adjective, less common meaite 06C.

pláistear is permitted by Maire in a limited number of forms, being suppleted by pláistreáil: pst imprs pluift’eru e., fut pluift’era fe; but not pst *pluift’er fe nor vadj *pluift’erha where pst fleuf’r’el’fe and vadj fleuf’r’el’ a are preferred Mq. In her actual use I recall only forms of pláistreáil. The verbal adjective of pláistear does occur in older speakers’ usage, e.g. (892M)

43M

tu fe | pluift’erha m’în’tha max | t’á sé pláisteartha mînîthe amach.

5.326 úsáid

úsáid was recorded only in the impersonal from Seán:

ax ‘kaaurar’ a hussadf’i: e | ... hussadf’i: ... S ach corruiar a hússáidfi é,

This speaker uses jusud ‘use’-áil in personal inflection, e.g.

manam go n’usulon fiad a fokal ín’ S

m’anam go n-ghiúsáilann siad an focal sin.

(All three examples cited from Seán are comments on words or sayings queried.)

It is, however, attested in personal inflection from 20C (probably in reply to query). Speakers 35E (highly literate), 43M (Seán’s daughter) and 52P inflect this verb in all persons and tenses as a 1 Conjugation verb; so also usaed an tu 80C. There is perhaps stylistic use (used in responses to linguistic queries from me) by speaker 28B: usaed an 24B, including anomalous stem-final replacement and 2Conj in the present impersonal:
Similarly, \[ \text{n} \text{i} \text{ usad} \text{t} \text{ar} \text{ S} \text{, usad} \text{t} \text{ar} \text{ 35E} \text{ ásúídear} \text{, and cond imprs d'} \text{úsáidfí 35E}. \] Its 2sg past habitual / past subjunctive lacks speaker 20C’s expected -t- (or h):

\[ \text{usad} \text{t} \text{a 20C ásúídeá}. \]

Expected t is also absent in another by-form of the present impersonal:

\[ \text{n} \text{i usad} \text{t} \text{ar 36M ní úsáidear}. \]

Its future is irregular, lacking h in:

\[ \text{usad} \text{t} \text{a m’e e 43M úsáididh mé é}. \]

As does the conditional:

\[ \text{a dusad anfə 77C a d’úsáidinnse}; \]
\[ \text{d’úsáideá 35E, an chaoi a n-úsáideá 35E}. \]

The absence of h here seems to reflect the frequent lack of h found in the more common alternant \[ \text{jusad’}, \]
which personal forms of \[ \text{úsáid} \]
are apparently optionally replacing, i.e. future \[ \text{jusad’(”)a > usad’ə}. \]
This is an indication of the lexicalisation of h loss in the SÁBHÁIL class. A younger speaker has the mixed stem \[ \text{usad’}: \]

\[ \text{pst a dusad’ fe 81A a d’úsáil sé}. \]

VN generally \[ \text{usad’, usad’}, \]
but also \[ \text{a jusad’ a ghúsáid}, \]
influenced by \[ \text{jusad’} ‘use-áil. \]
The younger speaker who has pst \text{dusad’} has VN \[ \text{usad’} \text{ 81A úsáilt} \]
which resembles a combination of ‘use-áil and of the final stop of \[ \text{úsáid} \]
(perhaps the initial diphthong in his example was misheard for a \[ \text{úsáid}). \]

### 5.327 Adverbs as quasi-verbs

Adverbs of direction can be used as verbs, mostly in reflexive constructions with the preposition \text{le}. These are the correlational adverbs of direction \[ \text{amach, isteach, siar, soir, aniar, anoir, suas, sios, anuais, anois, annon, anall, and other adverbs including nominal and compound adverbs: abhaile, ar aghaidh, ar ais, ar gcúl, timpeall, thart, an cinn}. \]
The nominal preposition \text{trasna} has a complete corresponding verb, \[ \text{trasnaigh}. \]
Of the compass adverbs, only simple ones have been recorded as quasi-verbs.

Usage is generally confined to the imperative and, with less verbal status, to the past. The usage in the past is, from an inflectional point of view, effectively adverbial, without lenition (or d’) even in the few cases where there are verbal endings. In response to query the present, future (as imperative) and past subjunctive (or conditional) occur. Máire has this range in query. Other speakers are likely to be less liberal in query. Speaker 21Ptq, for example, does not permit present subjunctive use. In conversation the adverb often occurs in the discourse before the verbal by-form, e.g. \[ \text{tá sé ag goil soir } \ldots \text{ soireadh sé leis}; \]
also 3pl impv \[ \text{siaraidís} \]
below. In all cases with reflexive \text{le} the inflected form is replaceable by a simple adverb + prepositional pronoun.

The 2sg prepositional pronoun \text{chugad} can have verbal imperative force, e.g.

\[ \text{O a dheabhail, chugad ó thuaidh! S ‘Oh dear, pull it northwards towards you’!} \]

Demonstratives qualified by adverbials occur commonly with verbal force, e.g.

\[ \text{hod e fior a kar St2a heod é stair an carr}. \]
Irregular verbs

agus ní raibh bonn a dhá chos leagtha ar an urlár nuair siúd amach go dtí an seanfhear glic aris é 866ESc49.26, also Sc114.13, 31.

Cp. demonstrative sea (5.329).

The endings of the 1 Conjugation are used with the relevant verbalised adverbs. (Exceptionally, 2 Conjugation inflection occurs in a neighbouring dialect in Síosaigh leat LFRM s.v. síosaigh, but other persons and tenses are 1 Conjugation.) Note the dropping of initial un stressed elements which is optional in some instances, e.g. un cinn > cinneadh sé Mq.

Nondirectional adverbs are not permissible (*ísthead sé, *amúcahead sé Mperm, 43M∅perm, 66N∅perm), other adverbs are very doubtful indeed (*amú-adh sé, *soirdua-adh sé, all with marginal permissibility status (indicated with ‘???’)). Impersonal inflection is also very marginal (*siartar nó ná siartar M??perm). Past habitual forms are not permissible, e.g. psthab *amachaidís Mperm, 43Mperm, 66Nperm.

5.328 Examples

Imperative

Singular

1 fiarar’ i m Mperm siaraim liom, a’máxom’ i m M amachaim liom. Cp. ní: esto: ser’ a’ e i m o ra: Sq ní fhéadhá ‘soireadh mé liom’ a rá, said by Séan (Sq) in response to a query for him to use soir in 1sg impv (contrast his 1sg pres soirim below).

2 ser’ i’et soir leat.

3 ser’ a’f je i’ ef P soireadh sé leis; siaradh sé leis Mq; a’nuasad fe i’ ef S anuasadh sé leis (of hay to be cut), maxat fe i’ ef M amachadh sé leis; suasax nu: suasax Mq suasadh nó ná suasadh; t’áxad fe Mq isteachadh sé; a’nunad fe i’ ef Mq anonnadh sé leis; wa’at fe i’ ef Mq, 66Nq >> a’wafat fe i’ ef Mq, 66Nq abhaileadh sé leis; er’ aiod fe i’ ef Mq ar aghaidheadh sé leis; e’ afdad fe i’ ef Mq ar aiseadh sé leis; k’ín at fe i’ ef Mq (an) cinneadh sé leis; t’impalad fe Mq tinealladh sé; ’tartat fe / hartat fe Mq (th)artadh sé; (a)’nulad fe Mq analladh sé.

Plural

1 amachamuid linn FFG, fiarar mid i’n 21Pperm, fiaramid i’n Mq siarmauid linn, a’nulamad i’n 43Mq (x2) anallamuid linn.

2 (a)’max: i’e mad’i: (a)’f’axi: i’e mun’ S amachat le maidí isteachaí le móin (quotation in puzzle), fisí: i’ib’ stíosac lib, ser’ ag’i: i’ib’ S soirig llib.

3 tó: mór’in: s: héin’ a goil’ fiar’ a: fiarad’ i’f’ o: M tá Mairín is i héin ag goil siar, ó siaraidís leothú; n’isad’ i’f’ o:hab 21Pperm aniosaidis leoth-ub; or gu:lad’ i’f’ o:hab Mq ar gcúlaidís [< ar gcúl] leothub.

Present

1sg v’i: m’e: ... agas ser’ an’ i’ m a’waf’ an’fin’ Sq bhí mé ... agus soirim liom abhaile ansin (historical present).

3sg fiarat fe ... mara fiarán héin’ Mq siaradh sé ... mara siarann héin; maxat fe ... mara maxán héin’ Mq amachadh sé ... mara amachann héin.

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Past (marginal)\(^1\)
3pl -adar, xuadad a max aqas (a)\(\)is(a)dar l'ochadb a bohar Mperm chuadad amach aqas antios(a)dar leothub an bóthar (this example was described by M as tau togha with regard to permissibility). But 'machadar leothub M?perm.

Future (as imperative)
1pl \(\)nadh \(\)mid' \(\)43Mq (x3) anallthaidh muid.

Past Subjunctive and / or Conditional
3sg go fiarat fe Mq dhá siaradh sè; go: suasax Mq dhá suasadh; go: suasat fe Mq dhá suasadh sè.
Cp. impermissible present subjunctive in 21Ptq (amach \(>\)mach):
- machad sé leis perm vs. *mara macha sè, mara macha héin \(\)perm
- siarad sè leis, siara muid vs. *mara siaradh sè, *mara siara héin \(\)perm

5.329 Defective verbs
Five defective verbs are used in the imperative only (mostly second person); a sixth verb has quotative function:
gabh i leith, fainic, fuigh, huga, seo; ar, arsa.

gabh i leith
2sg A go l'e, B go\(\)e, go\(\)a
2pl A go\(\)i l'e, B go\(\)i, go\(\)ag\(\)i:
Non-inflection in 2pl occurs:
go\(\)a web' [x3] ... fu'\(\)i: web' [x2] P GOILLE uaib ... stúilí uaib,
go l'e a\(\)n' fo a jaul' woa\(\)a - go\(\)ag\(\)i: ... 12Strans
GAbh i leith anseo, a dheabhail mhóra \(\)goilligí.
Cp. go\(\)a\(\)g\(\)i: web' M goilligí uaib! (Cattle are often called with gabh i leith, generally with 2sg go\(\)a Goille! regardless of the actual number of cattle.)

fainic
2sg fa'\(\)ak' (u' hen')
2pl fa'\(\)ak' f\(\)ib hen' M fainic sib héin; fa'\(\)ak' i, fa'\(\)ak'ag\(\)i\(\) Mq, fa'\(\)nak'ag\(\)i (daughter of 894C).
Also used as a noun, e.g.
xir' m'e xil' a'\(\)n'ak' orha M chuár mé chuile fhainic uirthi.

fuigh
2sg fi l'æet g\(\)a v'ek'\(\)a m'\(\)e, fi l'æet g\(\)a fou'. M 43M fuigh leat go bhfeice mé, fuigh leat go fóill.
(Spelt fu'\(\)h by 43M.)

\(\)\(^1\) Cp. 1pl amachmar, 3pl amuchadar LFRM s.v. amach.
Irregular verbs

huga
also tuga

2sg huga l’æt
tuga l’æt S

1pl huga nu’d l’in’
tuga nu’d l’in’ S

2pl hugi l’ib’
(Source S and M.)

seo (demonstrative pronoun and adjective)

2sg as adverb fo (presumably also fo, fow, ho, how)

2pl fe'i:


5.330  ar, arsa

This verb has narrative mood, or ‘historical present’ function. The alternants are:

or er ar, a (= a);
orsa arsa orfa arfa arsa, asa (⇒ *asa), aras (⇒ *o/aras);
arsa arsu, sru jfru sru, sa su.' 1

With nonpronominal subjects the forms arsa, (asa, aras), sru are used. With pronominal subjects the use is generally of arsa, sru (and presumably asa, aras) with the emphatic form of the pronoun. The 3 person singular and plural emphatic pronouns can be used with obsolescent ar, (a), with the additional possibility of the simple pronoun in the 3sg (attested in 3m ar(r) sé). With arsa (arsru, sru) in the 3 person emphatic pronouns both s- and s-less pronominal variants occur; attested are:

arsa seisean ~ arsa eisean; arsa sise;
arsa siadsan, sru siadsan ~ sru iadsan

(perhaps possible, but as yet unattested: *arsa ise, *arsa iadsan).

With ar, s-forms only are attested. There can be ambiguity when the rs cluster is pronounced rje: orj efan or (homophonous) orjefan can be interpreted as arsa eisean or ar seisean. 2

The verb is used by a small minority of speakers, a deir being the commonest quotation marker. The younger generation is prone to use a dúirt. For ease of presentation, only ar and arsa with one vocalism, o, and one s realisation, s, are given in the paradigm below. Examples of less attested variants, such as sru, are listed further below.

---

1 sru is given with two examples from loras Aithneach (19) in FFG s.v. sru; these examples, sru mise, sru mo dhuine, are, however, exactly those found in GCF §223 for this form, as well as sru tusa in GCF. One does find sru mise independently from 11C, one of de Bhaldraithe’s main informants for FFG. One should perhaps read ’20’ for ’19’ in this FFG entry, i.e. ’20’ = Cois Fharraige. For similar forms from near An Clochán (West Conamara), see Stenson (2003: lviii). The variation in the vowel of sru in loras Aithneach (u, i, a) implies that the variation of the spelling of the vowel as o, u and i in Stenson (2003: lviii) is in fact phonetically significant (although unlikely to be ‘phonologically meaningful’ according to Stenson). Cf. 1.381 (6).

2 It is possible that dialects which have emphatic 3m (s)esan (s)esean have metanalysed and assimilated s from forms such as ors efan. One would therefore expect regular phonological realisation of r as rs (rather than rj) in core sesan areas. E.g. ors esan > or sesan. This appears to be the case in An Caisleán Gearr, north of Galway city. The form sesan in other dialects may, furthermore, be related to 3m emphatic clitic -san. (Cp. the importance of olseat in Middle Irish in the development of the 3 plural pronoun (L. Breatnach 1994: 273; 2003: 140).)
### 1180 Verbs

<table>
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<td>1 orsə m’iʃə</td>
<td>1 orsə mid’a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 orsə tusə</td>
<td>2 orsə fiʃə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3m orsə ʃənə, ors ʃənə, or fe:</td>
<td>3 orsə sədən, or sədən, cp. sru sədən</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 orsə fiʃə, or fiʃə</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples are:

**arsa**
- orsə m’iʃə Mq arsa mise.
- ers ʃənə 04B2l: orsə, ʃənə, 04B5 arsa eisean (both of 04B’s examples have eisean).
- xir’as ersə rί: loxrən ə d’er fe 04B1 ‘Chúreas,’ arsa rί Lochrann, a deir sé; ers ʃənə’ 04B2l arsa Oisin.
- ors ʃənə’ 04B2l arsa Oisin, ors an fər əg 04B5 arsa an fear əg.
- orʃə n tamədən mo’t 04B8l arsa an iMadən Mér.
- orʃə ʃənə 11Ct.
- aʃə fər akob 892Mt arsa fear acub.

**asa**
- a’s an gabhar 894C9; ‘Má!’ ’s an Tarú (in rhyme) 894C9.
  - The form of the article, an, rather than a’ here, is an indication of the final vowel in asa; perhaps realised as *əsə, *əsə, or even *əsə. Cp. a’ sé from the same speaker.

**arsə**
- ‘... ins an áit,’ ar as (sic) mise 869P.

**arsru**
- arʃə rən fəʃən | d’iaramad daun | ... 892Mtn
- -Tά, arsrə seisean, Diarmaid Donn, ....
- d’ənə m’id’e fin’ arʃə rə ’v’ert’ | 892M
- -Déanθaidh muid e sin, arsrə an bheirt.
- Also arʃə ’g xənən | 892M2747 arsrə an chlann.
- sru m’iʃə, fru m’iʃə 11C.
- fru m’id’ hεn’. 892M sru muid hεn.
- frufə rə sədən 892Mtn, 11C. fru sədən 892M;
- fru sədən 892M3743.
- u rə | 892Mtn ət sru an comrádət ... ; ət sru na trí rί ...
- For sru mo dhúine FFG, see 5.330 p. 1179 n. 1.

**ar**
- ar sise 894C9.
- er ʃənə 04B2l, or ʃənə 04B5 >> ar ʃənə 04B2l, ar fiʃə 04B10tn.
- or sədən 04B1.
- ar sə: ogas m’e hiaxt er’ æf ar’iʃt’ ar fe, ɡa bona m’iʃə ... 04B10tn
  - ’agus mé a thíocht ar ais aríst,’ ar sə, ’go bpoṣa mise ...

**su**
- məʃə ’v’er’id’iʃ f’ɪn a max sə əʃən’! (sns)869PZCP163
  - ‘Maise bhéarfaidís Fiann amach,’ su Oisin (this source is often inaccurate, cf. 1.419).

**a**
- a’ sé 894C9.
Máire has only orsə in query but certain speakers show variation:

869P ar as, sa;
892M arʃə, arʃru fʃan, arʃru, arʃʃə, friʃʃə (ʃiʃan;
894C as[ə], s[ə], ar sise, a’ sè;
04B crs fən, ors fən, ers[ə], orʃə, er/or/ar fən, ar fə;
11C ors fədən, orʃə fədən, sru, fru.

Copula

5.331 Presentation

In the following description, abbreviations or indicators are used to represent classes of words which are preceded by identical forms of the copula. Thus ‘é’ stands for the pronouns é, i, iad, ea, eo, eod, eobh, in, iud, iúd and éard (when these pronouns are arguments of the copula (alone), of finite verbs, and perhaps facultatively when they are verbal noun arguments (cp. gas é a bhailiú ... is fearr GGBC §380(i) 5 and (ii) 1 (§14.66))). ‘V’ stands for vowel-initial nonpronouns. Where relevant examples are found, emphatic pronouns, indicated by ‘eisean’, are dealt with separately as they have a tendency to pattern with both é and V. There are also examples of a minority unhistorical usage where the prepositions as, ó (past i.e., i.e., i.i, i.i., i.i) and the prepositional pronouns aige, aici (past 7e, 7e) take palatalised copula forms, i.e. like ‘é’. The abbreviation fhV stands for the common adjectives (some of which were nouns diachronically) often lenited following the past copula: fada, fearr, féidir, fior, fiú, etc., note the rare níorbh fearr ‘was not a man’, fh represents lenited frusta and fh represents lenited fleáir. The adjective éigin ~ éigean is classified under fhV (it is historically a noun). Finally, dhe + diobh stands for the syntagm (cè) dhár diobh / mác / inín é / i, etc. All recorded forms are presented first in paradigm form, with examples listed in the subsequent pages. Numbered and lettered rows and columns in the paradigm will enable cross-reference to the examples. These are set out in order of function (numbers 1 to 13), e.g. past declarative 1.i.a, 1.i.b, 1.i.c b’, ba, ba h-, etc. Alternative orders of exposition are according to copula form (letters a to nn), e.g. past forms in -v 1.i.g, 1.ii.g 2.ii.g babh, nibh, nach bh, etc.; or according to the following context, e.g. present copula preceding vowels (other than é) 1.i.b, 1.ii.b ... 1.ii.d, 1.ii.d, etc. In order to avoid duplication, however, the reader can study the formal and contextual paradigm by following the relevant letters in the functional list. Yet another categorisation is based on copula mutational properties; these are dealt with in 9.118 ff. and 9.154 ff. The nonpast is also labelled the ‘present’, its usual function. The indirect relative (4iii) includes the cataphoric particle a’.

5.332 Stress; Tense

Stress

The copula is generally unstressed. With elision of unstressed schwa it can of course become stressed, e.g. bann b’ann, san is ann. It can also be stressed in

1 Other words behave similar to this copula set in initial ñ, but occur in more limited collocations, i.e. the noun failt in past ab failt 4.i.g; the past impersonal of the verb feic has by-forms with copula b’ (b’fhacthas) and go mb’ (go mb’fhacthas). Impersonal present feic also has a variant is feicthear (5.282).
combination with stressed particles, e.g. with mara in mara ‘v: 01C6886
Marabh ea. (past 7.j). For stressed forms in jussive subjunctive, go ‘mu h, go ‘ma h, see examples in 13i.z, aa below.

Tense
There are two tenses, nonpast (covering present and future meanings) and the past (covering past and conditional meanings), and a jussive subjunctive. In the past form with maith, i.e. ba mhaith le, etc., there is often present meaning, e.g.
ba mhaith liomsa gabhaise ‘I am fond of cabbage’, in addition to regular conditional meaning ‘I would like cabbage’,
go wil ‘ din ‘ gor wa: I ‘obh ab ct x ‘un ‘ ... S

gobhui d uini gur mhaith leothub dt chiuin,
N ‘ir wa: l ‘um a vlas S nior mhaith liom a bhlas ‘I don’t like the taste of it’.

The nonpast form with future meaning is not very common, an example, with zero copula, is:
N ‘i v ‘ei enin ‘a t ‘i: vraun anoxt ax mair in ‘ s reman t ‘ax uagn ‘ox e M
ni bheidh aon-nduine tigh Bhrabh [< Brown] anocht ach Maorin is
Riamann, teach uaigneach et ‘... it will be a lonely house’.

Another example, most likely with future reference, is:
- ... mar beidh siad tinn ar maidin, a dúirt sí, ‘gus is maith leothub braon le
haghaidh leigheas. 11C.

5.333 Use of Past vs. Present
In fronting contexts the nonpast of the copula is mostly used even when the main verb is in the past tense. In query Seán easily distinguished present from past in
N ‘i: mara x ‘ef ‘a ... S q ni mar a chéile vs. N ‘ir wara x ‘ef ‘a ... S q nior mhar a
chéile. Present and past were practically undistinguished, however, in N ‘i: eospa ...
le: S q eospa ... atá ~ N ‘i: eospa ... v ‘i: S q ni eospa ... a bhú although he did,
with pointed querying, eventually make the distinction in N ‘i: b eospa ... S q ni
b’eospa .... Similarly, mas ag ‘ískax a v ‘i: fe S más as Carna a tháinig sé and
mas ae s karna hú ‘a k ‘fe S más as Carna a tháinig sé are preferred to mu: b ‘a ‘g ‘ískax ...
S má b’ag iascach ... and mu: bae s karna ... S má b’as Carna .... Seán translated ‘wasn’t yesterday a cold day’ as
nach fuar an lát a bhú inné ann. Only when asked for a possible alternative form
did he produce mara fuar an lu: ... S q narbh nh uar an lá .... In answers to queries
from me Seán also used more conservative gur as dependent past more frequently
than go mba although go mba was recorded often from him in conversation, e.g.
mar jui go m ‘ef ‘i: S mar gheall go mba leis i. The present is used in response to past context in:
-Meas tá ar iarann a bhú iontúb? 11C
-á tu ‘i ‘s iarann | ‘s iarann 892M4792 A! tá, á! is iarann, is iarann.

Note the change of tense in the free-standing form in the following exchange:
-Sea go díreach, sea. Ba leis e, ba leis. Ach ní hé a sheol iad. 01C
-Ní hé. 899D
-Níorbh é. 01C6247.

There is use of present interrogative an with a past dependent function in:
-Ach dhá gcumminnsa, a deir sé, an ao ‘é an deabhal a bhú ann, a deir sé,
bhainthinse caint as 892M2419.
Copula 1183

There is no main verb to indicate past function of *ní hé dho*, meaning ‘it was not so for’ in:

*Agus ní raibh in Micil Sheáin, in Micil, Ó Laideáin bocht ach duine dona la*, u- duine, lag dona. Ach *ní hé, dho* Thomás a Bár. Tá mé ag cheapadh an oíche sin, go dtroidhead sé ... 892M2446–7.

Morphologically the contrast between nonpast and past can be lost, for example, nonpast interrogative *an* is obsolescent, having for the most part been replaced by ‘past’ *ar*; so also *marar* by *marar*. These (*ar, marar*) in turn can be distinguished from specific past forms such as interrogative *an mba* and *marar mba*. Other forms amalgamate both tenses, e.g. *nach* vs. *narbh* can be replaced by *nach b*’. Lenition can disambiguate these neutralisations in some contexts.

A contrast between present and past may well be possible in contexts where present relevance favours present tense use, e.g.

*as duna n la a ví*; *á S is dona an lá a bhí ann*
said at 3.00 p.m. referring to the present day of the utterance.

5.334 Use and acceptability

Morphological usage, Mode

Differences of mode and emphasis are possible within the past paradigm, at least with regard to frequency of usage. For instance, forms in *-r* are more likely to be used in modal function in contrast with the more frequent use of *-ba*/*ma* forms in pure tense function. For instance, modal *níor mhór dho dhuine* ... but past time *ní ba mór an fear é*. Diachronically the older form *níor* is used in the common modal phrasal usage, the innovative *ní ba* in a more productive tense-specific context.

Acceptability

Not all forms, even if reasonably frequently produced by a given speaker or speakers, are equally acceptable. For example, some innovative forms have marginal status. Questioned on her use of *nach* in

*nax vr’a n lu; v’í: an M Nach bhreá an lá a bhí ann!*

Máire produced and preferred *nax br’ó ... or nar vr’ó ... Mq. These in fact are the two historical bases for innovative and obviously marginal *nach* for Máire. This *nach* is not an isolated example for Máire, although not very common, cp.

*d’irha fe ... or ví ft’ ... duirt’ mi’f naax v’íft’ a M
d’fhiaithraigh sé ... ar mhiste ... dúirt mise nach mhiste. (Máire was perhaps influenced by spelling when she produced an m’eg’ an duv’m Mq an mh’eigean duinn in careful translation.) Similarly, the form *nír* *ed’ar’ 45B nír fhéidir, recorded only from this speaker, for more common *níorbh fhéidir*, was first rejected by 45Bq as impermissible but on reflection she recognised it and found it permissible. It can certainly be classified as marginal. On the other hand, an older form is not permitted by 20Cq: jussive: *go mba ... 20Cq vs. *gur fearr ... 20C0perm.*

5.335 Frequency

Some forms are quite rare, indicating obsolescent, innovative or minority variants. Past *nach bh*’ has limited currency, forms in *-m b*- *-m b-* were noted from
Verbs

Seán (12S) only, forms in -r j- from 899D, 05M and Sq only. Conditional go: ma dhá mba is more frequent and mutationally more regular than go: ba dhá ba. go: mar-’ dhá mbarbh was heard from 21J only. The form garbh gurb before nouns and adjectives in the present and past is obsolescent, noted from 869P3, 869Pt and !894C6 only. Before é, j is much more frequent (with simple past ba) than v’, which, however, is common.

an (present interrogative) is rare except before ea, and is sometimes heard before é, forms such as an ãe:’t ãx, an umu: an aisteach? an iomú? are only marginally acceptable to Máire, but deemed possible. Older speakers 892M and 894C and the conservative speaker 27Cb, however, do use an ... ? Similarly, maran 894Cs. cð with the copula has not been noted in conversation. Some forms are possible, others very doubtful. ku: ães cð as was very strange to MQ but only doubtful to 54Cq who pronounced ães ãc ã as thiù in query.

5.336 Variation and individual speakers

Note the variation in a phrase repeated in natural conversation:

bo jaé, bo v’ae, bo v’ae, bo jaé: 16A Badh ea, babh ea, babh ea, babh ea.

Similar variation, but not this bo jaé: bo v’ae type, is not uncommon. The form bo jaé: (i.e. bo j’/é in my notation) is by far more frequent in Iorras Aithneach and is used by most speakers most of the time. Each speaker uses certain forms regularly in various proportions. Speaker 01CRM belongs to the minority bo v’/é users (ARN: bo v’in: 6241, 6360, bo v’æ 6903). For another example: Seán and Máire and their family have a strong tendency to use nax before é in the present, e.g. nax in’ e, nax iad, nax od S, whereas a minority of speakers use nax b’ more often, e.g. 01J, sisters 04Br and 15W, sisters 60Mg and 64Me, a male speaker (born c. 1960, AM), 79S. The form nach b’ is probably more common among younger speakers. For example, noted in one conversation from the male speaker, born c. 1960, An Aird Mhóir:

nax b’ in ... , nax b’iad ... , nax b’i: b’æn ...

nach b’in ... , nach b’iad ... , nach b’i bean ...

Copula nach b’ is clearly distinct from verbal nach (in contrast with the copula nach in ... , etc.). Compare innovative: móos b’in’ e ... [x2] 79S más b’in é ... .

Note the alternations in the exchanges:

-Nach iad ... ? BóC -Nach b’iard? 04Br;

... bo (j’in ... ) BóC ... badh in ... -bo v’e: 15W Babh é.

There is an apparent instance of serial effect in:

bo jaé: ... bo jaé:’t ãx ... 21Pt Badh ea. ... Badh aisteach an t-ainm ... , where the second token of badh ... occurs for more usual b’aisteach (otherwise, before nonpronouns, badh is found occasionally before as and ó, 11.1 /_V). The distribution of b’as and badh as in the following citation implies that the longer form might be favoured in Echo contexts (by 25M):

-... b’as has an Lioíndh e ... 25M -B’as ães an Lioíndh e. BóC

-Badh as. bo jaes | 25M.

An example of hesitation while producing a form in conversation seems to indicate the speaker was searching for the appropriate form:

N’i’s (l) m’ed ãr ... 62P ni mb’hfeidir ...

Most speakers, including Seán and Máire and family, have nonpast interrogative ar ar and marar marar for older an and maran. In contrast, speaker 21Pt has the
common Ær ar but more conservative maran maran. Speaker 11C has present cérb as ... ? and past cé mb’as ... ? Present cé as ... ? is most common.

No work has been done on speakers’ overall systems and various possible implicational relations. An example of such an implication may be manifest in speaker 899D. He is the only speaker from whom nír jae: niúr dh’ea, etc., was recorded in conversation. It is probably no coincidence that he is a regular bE jÉr bháth user. Speaker 66N has prevalent bh with fhéarr, fhuiú and fluide:

| pres: ar v'ar dum ... ar bh’fhéarr liom ... (context: present); | past: v'ar l’um ... bh’fhéarr liom ... , | gom’ v’ar ... go v’ar ... go mb’ bh’fhéarr ... go bh’fhéarr; | gao mav’ u: fánaí go mba bh fhiú fánaícht; | past: ba wíd a hul i nu ... babh fluide thall i ná ... . |
| The general tendency to avoid elision of schwa which is developing in certain instances in younger people’s speech is also evidenced in the copula: | b’intox Æ ... 52P b(a) iontach an (‘break’ dhom é ... ); | ba a’n-rud ... 48R ba an-rud ... . |

On the other hand, I have noted, in Conamara in general, younger people’s bin’ b’in (influenced by (written) standard) for traditional ba jin’ badh in. There is metanalysis of present af k’inti: is ciontaí in past usage heard from 46C only:

e: hen’ ba fk’inti: f’ef 46C é héin ba sciontaí leis, for normal ba k’inti: ba ciontaí. The only example noted with iondúil preceded by past ba seems also to have metamalysed (unless an immediate retake, i.e. ba – is iondúil ... , or slip of the tongue):

| b’sundúl’ gao m’ed’ar’ ga m’ælalad’i: e 01C6057 |
| ba (s)iondúil go mb’fhéidir go mbealalaidís é. |

(01CARN seems to use more ba initial tokens (some of which are given in 5.383) than is otherwise usual, perhaps due to the slightly formal recording context. The ba ‘sundúl’ example could then be interpreted as a possible hypercorrect usage. Cp. his use of interconsonantal an of the article, 6.84.)

### 5.337 Copula forms

#### Table 5.83 Copula, Nonpast

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<tr>
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<th>Form</th>
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<td>Envr</td>
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<td>i</td>
<td>Decl</td>
<td>Pos</td>
<td>aj, f, h, if</td>
<td>as, is</td>
<td>as, is</td>
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<tr>
<td>ii</td>
<td>Neg</td>
<td>s’e</td>
<td>s’e</td>
<td>s’h</td>
<td>s’e h</td>
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<tr>
<td>2i</td>
<td>Interr</td>
<td>Pos</td>
<td>Æ</td>
<td>Æ</td>
<td>ab’</td>
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<tr>
<td>ii</td>
<td>Neg</td>
<td>nax</td>
<td>nax,</td>
<td>nax,</td>
<td>nax,</td>
<td>nax, nax-b’</td>
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<tr>
<td>iii</td>
<td>Alt neg</td>
<td>2i +</td>
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<tr>
<td>3i</td>
<td>Dep</td>
<td>Pos</td>
<td>ga, ga s</td>
<td>ga</td>
<td>gæh</td>
<td>gæh</td>
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<tr>
<td>ii</td>
<td>Neg</td>
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<td>nax</td>
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<td>nax,</td>
<td>nax-b’</td>
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<td>Drel</td>
<td>Pos</td>
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<td>as, is, Æ</td>
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<tr>
<td>ii</td>
<td>Neg</td>
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<td>nax-b’</td>
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<tr>
<td>iii</td>
<td>IndRel</td>
<td>Pos</td>
<td>as, Æ</td>
<td>ab’, gæh</td>
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### Table 5.84 Copula, Past and Jussive Subjunctive

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<tr>
<th>a.</th>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>ma: ha</td>
<td>ma: ha</td>
<td>mub’</td>
<td>mub’</td>
<td>ma: baj</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>o: ha</td>
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<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>mara</td>
<td>mara</td>
<td>mara:’</td>
<td>mara:’</td>
<td>mara:</td>
<td>mara:aj</td>
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<tr>
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<td>k’e: ha, k’e:’</td>
<td>k’e: h</td>
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<tr>
<td>(9)</td>
<td>g: ha</td>
<td>g: ha</td>
<td>g: ba, g: ba’</td>
<td>g: ba’</td>
<td>g: ba</td>
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<tr>
<td>(11i–12)</td>
<td>g: ba</td>
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<tr>
<td>13i</td>
<td>g: a</td>
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<td>j</td>
<td>v’</td>
<td>v’</td>
<td>ma (h)</td>
<td>m’</td>
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1i   | baj | bav’ | bav’ | bav’ | (ma h) |
| ii  | (n:i:v’) | n:i:v’ | n:i:v’ | n:i:ma | n:i:mb |
| 2i  | ama | ama’ | ama’ | ama’ | ama’ |
| iii | nax v’ | nax v’ | nax mab | nax m’a | nax m |
| 3i  | gav’ | gav’ | gamma (h) | gam’ | gam |
| ii  | nax-m’ |
| 4i  | bav’, v’ | bav’ | ama |
| ii  | naxv |
| 5   | ma: baj | vac-bav’ | vac’ |
| (6) | 7   | marav’ | marav’ | mara ma | mara:m’ |
| 8   | k:ev’ | k’e: ma | k:em’ | k:em |
| (9) | 10  | gav’ | gav: ma | gam’ | gam |
| 11i | gav’ |
| (12) | g: ma |
| 13i | g: ma (h) | gam’ |

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<td>maj</td>
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<td>mba’</td>
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(1i–ii)

2i  | a maj |
| ii  | (nax maj) |
| iii | nax maj |
| 3i  | ga maj | ga ma:av | ga ma:ar | gam ba |
| (3ii–4ii) | gamaaj |
| 4iii | gamaj | am ba |
| (5–6) | 7   | mara maj |
| 8   | k:emv’ | k:em ba |

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### 1188 Verbs

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<td>gu: maj</td>
<td>gu: mar(-v')</td>
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<td>(11i–12)</td>
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<tr>
<td>13i</td>
<td>gu mab</td>
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<td>mbav'</td>
<td>'mu h</td>
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<tr>
<td>-j</td>
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|    |    |    |    |    |
| (11i–4ii) |
| 4iii | gambaj |    |    |    |    |
| (5–9) |
| 10 | gemb j |    |    |    |    |
| (11i–12) |
| 13i | gam bav' | ga 'mu h | ga 'ma h, ga ma h |    |    |

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<td>-rbav</td>
<td>-r-v'</td>
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<tr>
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<td>/_V</td>
<td>/_V,C</td>
<td>/_e</td>
<td>/_V</td>
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|    |    |    |    |    |
| (1) |
| ii | n'ir, n'ira | n'ir h | n'ir ba |    |

|    | 2i | 2ii | 3i | 3ii | 4i |    |    |
|    | a'rá | nar-b' | nar-b' | ar-b' | nar-b' | ar-b' | nar-b' |

|    |    |    |    |    |
| (5–6) |
| 7 | marar | marar-b' |    |    |    |    |
| 8 | k'er | k'er ba |    | k' er-v' |    |    |
| 9 | kur |    |    |    |    |    |
| (11i) |
| 10 | dh'ar ba | gurb |    |    |    |    |

|    |    |    |    |    |
| (11i) |
| ii | yur, kur |    |    |    |    |
| 12 |    | darb |    |    |    |
| 13i | gur | gur h | gur-b' |    |    |
| ii | nur | nur h | nur ba (h) | nur ba | nur | nur bav' |
5.338 Present and nonpast; 1i.a — 1i.c

1i Declarative Positive Present

1i.a  \( l_\text{ê} \quad \text{Is é a bhaiseadh a fá} w\text{a}f\text{t} \text{áx na púití. 869P} \text{ZC}p151.} \)

a) is:  \(-nax \text{æ} \quad \text{BóC Nach ea!} \quad \text{a} \text{fæ} 09B \quad \text{Is ea.} \)

Rèitiadar amach bás iomara, is é bhí acub insan am sin, | a fæ: v'i:
\( 'a'kæb \text{ansan} \text{'ém} \text{fín} \) | 1IC2165.

is é an | a fe:n sòrt fear a bhí in mac Bhriain … 1IC3036.

a fow iad na buaxa … (MP)04B | Is eobh iad na buachá …

agus na daoín, a bhí beo ann insan am sin, is in iad iad anois, sin é | ò
\( \text{'fin'} \text{'iad} \text{'án}'n' n'fín' \text{'e} \) | an t-anam … 852Stn.

Is sin é, | a 'fin' 'e: | sin é an obair is mó, sin é is mó atá ag díonamh na bacsáil. 892M4237.

-Abhó, a deir sé, tá an spiar seo, a deir sé, goite thrí mo chroí, is eod archar ò Dhiarmair Donn, | a fad oraxar o: jsr\text{om} d\text{aun} | mar sé

\( ná\text{r} \text{chís} \text{ariamh. 892M} \text{Tn.} \)

((ðs))

Cp. the slow, slightly hesitant phrase-initial in:

is é an chaol an raibh an bacach | is fæ: xi \text{ro m} bæk\text{ax} ag fáil an ceann is fhear air seo 892M4021; and note:

\( | \text{ugas m} | \text{o: sær} | 892M4151 \text{Agus an m-, ò! is ea.} \)

f s:  fe: an fì'\text{æn} ... 1ICt Sè an phleain ... ; fud suas e 04B21 siúd suas é;

Siad a chaugh siar fïad a xua \fi\text{or} sa dá bhád 899D6197;

Ach seod iad fod iad a chuail mé héin 899D6266;

fud e: v'i: g' eift' am M siud é a bhí i gceist a'm.

hj s:  \(| l\text{hjæ} | 31P \text{Sea.} \)
1190 Verbs

\[ h: \] ogas he hisa x’is’ m’e ra. 05M Agus sé [or hé] thusa a chinn mé a rá. 11C
\[ ‘hin’ e ] 05M Hin é (often).
- ... nach é an chaoi, a ngoifí agus a bhfuighí pleáin e? 11C
- Hé, ceannacht. hea | k’ænæxt | 892M1382
- Agus goifí go dtí na sáibhéaraí, nach ea? 11C
- Hea; hea: | go ngearraití an pleáin e sin. 892M1383.
ho v e: n din’ a danax 84P heobh é an duine deireanach.

Cp. æ. Sea.

Exceptionally i/iomú, l_fior
\[ f is: \] fomu ítha 20Mh is iomú oíche.
Regularly sumu: sumi: which is, for example, Seán’s regular and permitted form, but cp. gar fomu: in dependent nonpast (5.343).
\[ i f is: \] if f’iar S85 who has regularly s iar, as f’iar is fh’ior.

1i.b \[ l/V \] as is: as æf’t’ax a bok hu M is aisteach an boc thú.
\[ s is: \] s intax hu: M is iontach thú!

1i.c \[ l/C \] as is: as d’aultí ... Is deabhaltaí ...
\[ s is: \] s intax a f’ær hu M Is iontach an fear thú.
\[ i f is: \] cp. n’íi, rívr’ a 01C6147 níos rainghre.

5.339 1ii.a — 1ii.d
1ii.a \[ l/é \] n’é: n’é: hein’ a jor a wun’ Sq ní é héin a ghearr an mhóin.
l_eisean n’é: n’é: efon a jor a wun’ Mq ní eisean a ghearr an mhóin.

1ii.b \[ l/V \] n’é: n’é: a ges gaa’ é ní as Gaillimh é; n’é: an M ní ann;
\[ s is: \] s ed a b’i d’ox S ní ól ar bith deoch;
\[ s is: \] s intas a b’ih e S ní intas ar bith é; n’é: e’n’ d’ina wun’
xor a b’eh e 892M1518 ní aon déanamh arbh é chomh an bith é; Ach ní aon chiondál amháin rópa a bheadh sa chúpla áit 01C6141.

1ii.c \[ l/C \] n’é: n’é: n’é: mar a xe’ a ... ní mar a chéile ... , n’é: num’ed a mu hu nax wil mur f’æcki: M ní nóimead amuigh thá na bhfuil mar teagthá; Ní mór éasach ar bith dhe na rud a raith sin nar raith píosa a’inn leis. 899D6569.

1ii.d \[ l/é \] n’é: n’é: he: xil’ ær a vi’ narn a jína 899D6020
\[ n é: \] ní hé chaile heur a bhí i ndán a dhéanáth;
\[ s is: \] s é: hí: ní hí; s’é: hod e S ní heod é, s’é: rud e Mq ní hiud é.
\[ l/V \] n’é: h: ní hionann iad, ní hionann mise is tusa;
\[ n é: \] n’é: hintas e S ní hiontás é.

5.340 2i.a — 2i.l 2i Interrogative Positive Present

2i.a \[ l/V \] a’ a: n’íd’as eq’ a fin’ a f’ol na ard e M nil fhios aige sin a íseal ná ard é.

2i.c \[ l/C \] a’ a: a f’ær mah aibr’ e A fear maith oibre é?
2i.e  

l_é

\[ab\]:  

\[m'\]æs \[tu\] a b' i: hen' a tu: an \[S\] meas tú ab i héin atá ann?

\[a\] b' e; mak'd' e: \[M\] Ab é Mac Dé é?

\[a\] b' in' i: an' ir' an' \[M\] ab in i an fhirinne?

\[a\] b' e; fin' tu: tu: iar' M ab é sin atá tú a iarraidh?

\[b'\]: \[b'æ\]: 05M Ab ea?, b' ud e' her' æ\[x\]'a her' er' an ærd' woa' S Ab iud é theoir a'inne theoir ar an Aird Mhoir?

l_eisean \[ab\]: \[a\] b' i: i nu: mara\[b'\] i: (!) S ab ise i nó marab i;

\[a\] b' ef\[o\]n \[M\] [sic?] \[ab\] eisean?

2i.g  

l_é

\[an\] an: Interrogative \[an\] can generally have either of two functions before \[ea\]:

(i) with copula meaning retained as ‘is it?’ (in this meaning \[ab\] \[ea\] is far more common), and

(ii) as more general interrogative particle meaning ‘really!’

In meaning (i) when the minor variant \[an\] \[ea\] ‘is it?’ is used, the form with initial vowel retained, i.e. \[an\] \[æe\], seems to be more common (than \[\] \[æe\]):

\[-an\] \[æe\]: 16B, 36S, An \[ea\] ‘Is it?’

... a \[v'e\]is \[a\] \[æe\]: 55J ... a bheidheas \[an\] \[ea\]?

\[an\] an: \[-mufo\] \[æe\]: 16B Muise \[an\] \[ea\] ‘Really!’

In meaning (ii) ‘really!’, \[æe\], with elision of initial \[æ\], is usual (8.62):

\[-an\] \[æe\]: \[-ni'\] \[fe\] \[an\] Nil \[se\] \[an\]. \[-æe\]: \[M\] An \[ea\]?

\[æe\]: nax wil’ \[an\] \[ea\] nach bhfuil ‘is it not really?’ (very common).

Other examples

\[an\] \[é\] \[an\] Clochartach 894C9,

l_é

'S dhiúin fhios agam péin an iod é an faisean 1894C9;

nil fhios a'msa an \[e\] a \[æe\]: an \[dárna\] cuíirse nó an triú cuíirse ... 18J7191,

\[æe\]: dge\[k\] i: a rin' \[æ\] ... 18Bm an \[æ\] Jaici a rinne ... ?

\[-\] \[æe\]: Sg \[an\] é? (vs. Máire who claims not to use this form, nor to find it very acceptable.)

\[n'\] \[an\]: \[-ni'\] \[fe\] \[an\] Nil \[se\] \[an\]. \[-æe\]: \[M\] An \[ea\]?

\[æe\]: nax wil’ \[an\] \[ea\] nach bhfuil ‘is it not really?’ (very common).

\[an\] \[é\] \[an\] Clochartach 894C9,

l_é

'(From conversation) \[æ\] \[n'i'd\] i: ... 27Cb An iud i ... ? nil fhios a'm an \[in\] \[é\] an Gaeilge \[æe\] \[in\] \[é\] \[n\] gedg' \[æ\] ceart 18Bm.

(In reply to query) \[æe\] \[in\] \[é\] \[e\]: Mperm \[an\] \[in\] \[é\] é?, as in Clad64; \[æe\]: Mperm \[an\] \[iud\] ... ? \[æ\]: Mperm \[an\] \[iud\] ... ? \[æ\]: Mperm \[an\] \[iud\] ... ? \[æ\]: ab' ud, ab' id ‘ab iud, ab iud,’ a déaranns moide Mq.

2i.h  

l_V,C \[an\] \[an\]: an i dtuís \[nú\] i ndeire 894C2.

\[an\] \[o\] jía \[nu\]: \[o\]: s\[e\]\[fn\] 892M2391 An \[o\] Dhiú nó \[ó\] ‘Satan’?

... \[an\] so g' a\[n\] gl\[an\] nu: so g' a\[n\] sal\[a\]x e | 894C ... an sa gceann glan nó sa gceann salach é (it is unlikely that one should read insa gceann ...).

2i.i  

l_V,C \[ar\] \[ar\]: ar \[æe\] b' \[æ\]: kl' \[æ\] \[æ\]: M ar as Bled Cliath é?

\[ar\] \[m'i'f\] \[æ\] \[y\] \[um\] \[i\] \[arm\]: ... 11Ct ar miste dhom a fhiathraí ... ?

\[ar\] \[kim'\] \[æ\] \[x\] \[ib\] ... 04B2l ar cuimhneach lib ... ?

\[ar\] \[m'i'f\] \[æ\] \[y\] [um ... 11Ct (x2) ar miste dhom ... ?

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Verbs

ar K’ún spéialt e M ar ceann speisialta é?
nach bhfuil fhios ar taibhse nó cead é héin. 01C659.

2ii.2 | Interrogative Negative Present

2ii.a | nax

ach sin é a deireadh na sean-ndaoine, nach é? ‘nax ‘e: 899D-
nach: 6661, nax ae: S Nach ea!

2ii.b | nax intro 20C nach iontach.

2ii.c | nax d’aulti g’k’én e S Nach deabhaltai an ceann é!

2ii.d | nach is: nax he’:i:ar nach a bhí ann acht Mearaíun;

nach h: abair leis nach hí a bhí ann ach Mearaíun;

nach s: sin is fearr nach bh’fhearr?

2ii.e | a v’i: n’fín nax b’á: 01J a bhí ansin, nach b’ea?

2ii.o | nach b: is fearr nach bh’fhéarr?
5.342 2iii — 2iii.k

2iii Alternative ‘whether’ Negative Interrogative Present

As in 2ii, e.g., \(l\_\)É

\[ \text{nax nach: } \ a\ b'\ i: \ nu: \ nax\ i: \ M\ ab\ i:\ nö\ nach\ i. \]

\[ \text{nax b' nach b: } \ a\ b'\ i: \ nu: \ nax\ b'\ i: \ M\ ab\ i:\ nö\ nach\ b'\ i. \]

2iii.e \(l\_\)É

\[ \text{nax ab': } \ a\ b'\ in\ i \ldots \ nö\ nach\ b'\ i\ 894C9; \]

\[ \text{nö fhiós a'd ab ea nö nach ab ea.} \]

cp. marab

\[ \text{a b' if i: nu: mara b' i: S ab ise i nö marab i.} \]

2iii.g

\[ \text{nax an': } \ \ldots \ \text{an ea nü nach an ea.} \]

2iii.i

\[ \text{nax ar: } \ \ldots \ \text{ar as Carna é nü nach ar as.} \]

2iii.k

\[ \text{nax arb': } \ \ldots \ \text{arb é atá ann nü nach arb é.} \]

5.343 3i.b — 3i.n

3i Dependent Present

3i.b \(_V\) ga go: \[ \ldots \ \text{ga a kaánt hrid' a hæta tu fe} 49J \]

\[ \ldots \ \text{go ag caint thrid a hata atá sé.} \]

\(_\)iómu ga s \[ \to \ \text{sumu:} \ \ldots \ 45N \text{Is iómá ...} \]

3i.c \(_C\) ga go: \[ \ldots \ \text{go is.} \]

\[ \text{d'ecta: ra: gæ sumu} 05M \text{D'fheldhá rá go is [or go 's] iomá.} \]

3i.e \(_\)É

\[ \text{gab' manom} \ gæ \text{e'erhan' gæ b' e: } S \]

\[ \text{gob: } M'anam go ndéarthainn go b' é ... .} \]

3i.f \(_V\) gab: \[ \text{mar is minic leis go b' unn} \ gæ \text{bun is mä a bhíonn si.} 01P \text{(rare}} \]

\[ \text{form in this environment, cp. 3i.l garb} 27Cb; \text{discourse context:}} \]

\[ \text{general direction of wind).} \]

3i.i \(_V,C\) gar

\[ \text{f'ek'ar um gar hæft'ax a rud e} 04Br \]

\[ \text{gob: } \text{feithear dhom gar haisteach an rud é,} \]

\[ \text{tus eg' a gar hintax a f'ær aibre' a hu: S} \]

\[ \text{tá fhiós aige gar hiontach an fear oibre thá;} \]

\[ \text{ cheaper mé gar hiontach an rud é; v' a meg' a gar hulax' a rud gasur a kaunt' yél'g' a 23B} \]

\[ \text{bhi mé ag rá gar hálainn an rud gasúr ag caint Ghaeilge;} \]

\[ \text{d'ecta: ra: gar húmu: P d'fheldhá a rá gar iomá.;} \]

\[ \text{wil' as aedsa gar hæska f'er a g' umur na munn' 54M} \]

\[ \text{an bhfuil fhiós a'dsa gar héasca fear a thriomá ná móin?} \]

3i.k \(_\)É

\[ \text{gar-b' x'æp'x gar b' in' e m' b'æelaax a v'ei fe M} \]

\[ \text{gurb: cheapthainn gurb in é an bealach a bhheidhas sé.} \]

\[ \text{gob:} 892M1594 \text{(only token of gob e: noted).} \]

3i.l \(_V\) garb

\[ \text{gar b' aingeal é} 894C0; \text{ gar b'æs kurna M gurb as Carna;} \]
5.344 3ii.a — 3ii.e
3ii Dependent Negative Present

3ii.a /_é/ nax nach: d'er fiad nax náé: M dei ré stíad nach ea.
3ii.b /_V/ nax nach: ... nax udór a b'i ... M ... nach udór ar bith ... .
3ii.c /_C/ nax nach: ... nax dín' akab e M ... nach duine acab é.
3ii.d /_V/ nax h 'b'er' nax hanán a fokal tré nadas aghas tré nadas S nach h: 'b'féidir nach hionann an focal 'tré nadas' aghas 'tré nadas':
   Dúirt sí liom nach hionann nax hanán iad sin aghas Deara M.
3ii.e /_é/ nax b' nach b: ... nax b':e: to: aer ... nach b'é atá ann.

5.345 4i.b — 4ii.e
4i Direct Relative positive Present

4i.b /_V/ as is: a'g' k'én as aird' an ceann is airdé.
4i.c /_C/ as is: x'i: a'eka m'é din'a r' iaw as mu: du'd' a swí'ts nor'é: M
   ni fhacá mé duine ariamh is mó duil i súilís ná é.
   jun a ya s' f'éd'ar é xur M dheamhan a dthath is féidir a char.
   is is: is er' eg' anó: is f' u: e M is ar éigin is fiú é.
   o a: a'm a nurov e' eis okras ort fa' b' solvar a' eis fiod 66N am a
   mó a bhheidhais ocras ort sea is 'slower' a bhheidhais siad (perhaps
   indirect relative following am).
   Ó = is for 'gair a' if a' d'érfe f' u: hóg' éal | (Suda)894Cs
   or a: -Sin ghadar anois, a deir sé, fiú a thóighedh.

4ii Relative Negative Present

4ii.a /_é/ nax nach: Ar nós a lán bádóirí nach é san am, bhíodh Labhráis a' Ghréasal ag trácht ... S0C1.83.
4ii.c /_C/ nax nach: ceann ar bith nach féidir a tharraint.
4ii.e /_é/ nax b' nach b: coill ... nach b'é dualgas! 894C6.

5.346 4iii.c — 5.e
4iii Indirect Relative Present

4iii.c /_C/ as is: as umu: f'k'el | as f'éd'ar' kur fíes cre' | 04B5
   is iomá scéal is féidir cur síos air (air refers to scéal).
   o a: go mbeidh scáilp beag [sic] ann, a beag nach (a) sáithedh | a
   b'og nax a sahú: [sic] do láimh isteach ann, 16A1.

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4iii.e \_É \- ab´ ab: fear ab é a mhaic a bhí ann, q (M or S).
gab´ gob: fear gob é a mhaic a bhí ann, q (M or S).

4iii.i \_-V.C ar ar: fær ar æn´ am´ do: mœrt´ in’ Mq fear ar ainn dó Máirtín;
an fær ar l´ e f e M an fear ar leis é.

With cataphoric: ‘agus gach ar leir dhom uaidh sin amach,’ a deir Mac Rí in aN: or ar: Éirinn 866ESem156.
gar gur: an fear gur leis an bhó (M or S).

4iii.k \_É ar-b´ arb: fær ar b´ e: æn´ am´ fun Mq fear arb é a aínn Seán.
garb: fear gurb é a aínn Seán;
gurb: k´æw fu: gæp an din´ à go fæsan´ fíad gow´ t e: gar b´ iad hein´ à xir´ er´ à gos a iad St
cén fáth go gcéaptain daoin go seisann siad dhon té gurb iad hein a chuir a leis a geasa iad?

4iii.l \_-V arb arb: æs an út´ ar bars da xúmrudid: n´ fo 11C as an úit arb as do chomrádaí anseo; fær ar b an am´ do: mœrt´ in’ Mq fear arb aínn dó Máirtín.

5 má Present
(Generally mòs, also ma, e.g. mas 17M más.)

5.a \_É múf: mú: fí: hein´ à rin´ e SM más i hein a rinne é.
más: is gearr... go mbeadh fhiu a’msa más ea. mòs fue | 11Ctn.
l_eisean mú: fió tu: at an SM más ise atá ann.
rare múos mú: s fin´ e: n if a b’aelax e: 892M
más: más sin é anois an bealach é.

5.b \_-V múos múos an’ fo he más anseo é.

5.c \_-C múos múos fíar e: más fíor é; más fíor nó bréag é 01C6873;
más bád i a bhí tú ag cheapadh a bhheadh ag rith gheallta ná rud, bheithéad ag iarraidh jib móir. Agus más bád oibre í ní bhheadh sé chomh mór 01C6136–7;
ní raibh úthúas a bích ach an piosa oibre a bhí le diona, leithé, an duine sin a chuir as cionn cláir, más bean ná fear a bhheadh ann.
11C.

5.e \_É múos b´ más b: múos b´in e ... [x2] 79S más b´in é ... .

5.347 6.a — 7.1
6 ó Present

6.a \_É of´ os: o: fí: hein´ à tu: ... o´s é hein atá ... !(from song).

6.b \_-V os´ os: os a kant´ er´ ... o´s ag caing ar ... .
6.c \_-C os´ os: os rud e: go ... o´s rud é go ... .

7 mara

7.b \_-V mara mara `maga tá 894C2, mar im´ ri: tu er´ S mara inní atá air,
mara: mar a`esa ga`at a hein ak` f e M mara as Gaillimh a tháinig sé.

7.c \_-C mara mara k`aen el` e St mara ceann eile é,
mara: mar a korha nor` faen e Mq mara córtha ná Seán é,
mar a mu: no` fin´ e Mq mara mó ná sin é, ach tóraidh mé isteach an tobar mara toil libh é 864MDT72.

7.e \_É marab marab: marab' od e fod e S marab eod é seod é.

7.f \_-V marab cp. marab á tu: n sm`išt' a 137M
marab: marab a'd atá an smótse.
Verbs

7.g /é maran:

7.h /C maran:
maran rud a'kint' ef' e 21Pt maran rud eicint eile é.

7.i /V marar:
mamar ó'm'ha wa'd f te SM marar imithe abhaile atá s'é;
mimar: tu' er' M marar imní atá áir.

7.k /é marar-b'
mabar: marar- b' è: mararb.

7.l /V mararb mararb: mararb arth atá s'é.

5.348 8.a — 10ii.d

8.a /é cé k'e cé:
k'e e' hen' S cé é héin.

8.b Adverb /_as
k'e cé:
k'e a'ss e SM cé as é?
Pronoun /_V k'e:
k'e akab e cé acub é?
cé:
k'e akab a'aid' M cé acub is airde?

8.c Pronoun /

k'e hu' hen' 11C cé thá héin?
k'e kruaí an klár na barra do 'áfr 04B2
cé cruáil an clár na barra do mhéar?

k'es

Nil fhios a'msa céis feall an iomarca 894C2.
céas:
Níl fhios a'ms a'cèis feall an fear Mé héin' 04B10ta
nil fhios a'ms céis feall an fear thá héin ná e héin;
k'e f' in' ha [s'h?] n bohar fo nu: m bohar e' a M
céis leithne an bóthar seo ná an bóthar eile?
Meas tú céis feall dhe pholta iascach é sin, cuire muid i gcás,
ná na potaí ' dtugann muid na potaí Francach orthub, ... Meas tá cés fhéarr an tsílat é sin, cén feárr is as pota iascach é, ná an pota leis na slatachá bhaintheá sa gcoill? 11C; here cén feárr is may be a slip of the tongue for cés feárr an, cp. Measdu cés fhéarr is fuar an muirín le n-iche ná é [bheith ?] bruite? 31P.

8.d Pronoun /_é
k'è: h
cé h:
k'è: he: 'fin' Cé hé sin?
k'è: he: 'hem' 01C6259 Cé hé héin? a deir mise.
Cp. Cé hádán siar a bhfaid' a gruaig le fána? ! CABI §379(a) v. 1.

Adjective /_V
k'è: haird' ò m'iò na: tusa Mq cé hairde mise ná tusá?
k'è: hóig à ... Mq cé hóige ...

Nominal /_V
k'è: hel' xin' òk' i: S cé heile a choinic i?
k'è: hain' am' nír 'hlís ò hur 881Jm
-Cé haímn ná shloinne thá? a deir Raifdaraí, deir sé.
k'è: híontas e Mq cé híontas é! (híontas is the only permitted noun here according to Mq, although cé hainm was not queried).
ce híontá dú! 894C9, a Dhía cé híontá é! CABI §199(c) v. 8.

8.f Adverb /_as
k'èb céb: Céb as é?

8.i Adverb /_as
k'er cér: k'er àes e S cér as é?

8.l Adverb /_as
k'erb,cérb: ní bheidh's acú cér b'as thá 852S4, ar m'íft' a yum iarbhi: ...
k'erb baas hur 11C1 ar miste dhom a fhiathrai ... cérb as thá?
ar miste dhom a fhiathrai cérb as thusa? k'è 'r baas hisa | 11C1 cérb as thusa?, k'er bæs e M cérb as é?

8.m Adverb /_as
k'em cé mb': k'è: maes tusá 22J cé mb'as tusá?

9 cá Adverb
9 (karb cárh): kar bæs M?perm, 54Cperm cárh as é?

10 dhe +
10i.ii. + diobh yar dhár: k'è: yar d' ív hur cé dhár diobh thá?

5.349 Past; Jussive subjunctive; 11.a — 11.c

1i. Declarative Positive Past

11.a /_é ba ba: ba iad ba gráin' ò Pt ba iad ba gráinne ... (rare).

11.b /_V ba ba: b' "an' nuaíxt gá | l'ædz og an 'wæ̂t ò v' e harr' an | 21Pq6636 Ba an-nuaíocht dho leaidiz óga an bhaile a bheith thart ann;
ba áes ... ba áes ... (daughter of 20S) ba as ... ba as ... ;
  cp. ba | æn' am' gan wëxwae' | nu ... 04B9n
  ba ainn dhon bhuaighill ná ... .

11.c /_C ba ba: ba jëa ra ro n' tarám xf't'ax na n'io 11C lenition
  ba ghearr go raibh an t-arm isteach ina ndiaidh;
   adjective ba woxt a rud e Pt3b ba bhocht an rud é;
Agus i ndrochfharraige ba mhóir an meáchan ar bharr crann báid é. 899D6163;

ba xuma l’umsa b’o: e ba chuma liomsa beo é;

Ba chumúsach an samhradh e;

Ba dhioicair (dhoib) ba jokar’ ob’ tada dhíonamh. 01P.

b: bhí mé héin thiar ann, mar ba mhínic mar b’ in’ ak’ ann mé.

892M4655 (rapid speech).

lenition

ba xuíf yumsa n’ l’aež e’ 14M

ba chomhaois dhomsa an leáid eile;

ba xol K’æhor yo e Mq ba chol ceathar dó é;

ba x’aird’ an henn’ i 23J ba cheird ann héin i;

ba bhean mhaith ba ñ’ an wär | i do mháthair 869P;

ba bu b’airce leothub e fháil 20My;

ba wäk yo’ e Mq ba mhac dhó é;

lenition

ba haxt m’år ~ f’år e nor tusa Mq

ba sheacht mb’fhéarr (x3) ~ fearr é ná tusa.

numeral

ba g’år g’c’odar áf’ax na jia 11C

ba gearr go raibheadar isteach ina dhiaidh,

ba g’år g’ær’ ad’ ... 04B4 ba gearr gairid ... ,

bo d’aulti: g’ k’un e ba deabhaltai an ceann é,

Ba deacair trí phunta dhiéag a shaothrí ... 18J7050,

-Narbh fhuada an tarrain ... . Proinsiasas de Búrca

-Ba fada. Ach, ach tugtaí anuas ... 892Mg.

nonlenition

adjective

bo g’år g’ær’ ad’ ... 04B4 ba gearr gairid ... ,

bo d’aulti: g’ k’un e ba deabhaltai an ceann é,

Ba deacair trí phunta dhiéag a shaothrí ... 18J7050,

-Narbh fhuada an tarrain ... . Proinsiasas de Búrca

-Ba fada. Ach, ach tugtaí anuas ... 892Mg.

nonlenition

noun

ax ba g’af’lax m’äh e: | 852S ach ba gaiscioch maith é;

ba beirt chol ceatharachat dhen bhean óg ... 866E;

Ba gnás mór leob é 18J9292;

bo kürfja l’um’ ‘p’en’ e’ | 11C ba combarsa liom féin é (also

ARN2285);

agus ba Prastaill a bhí inti. 11C;

ba bád Brainlí i sin a bhí ar an gCoillín ARN7187;

ba bád Cathasach a bhí inti. ARN8217;

Ba bean as Mánis a bhí inti sin. ARN8891;

Ba mac dreifíre dhó é. 872P;

ba fir iad táilliuírí an ditgeann tús a bhíodh roinnt siúl(ach) 11C;

ba stógaí a bhí tontub. 05M;

Ba semfhrear beag craite, feasaithhe a bhí ann. 889P;

pronoun

ba mé / tú / muid / síb,

ba mise ... , ba tusa ..., ba muide ..., ba sibse ... .

5.350 1i.d — 1i.g

1i.d /_V ba h ba h: ba hudav’ a hus a fuar fe 20My ba hálainn an bás a fuair sé,

nor’ a ba hífa gan’ a ba hórd ga wa’r ri: ... , ... ogas nor’

ba hórd gan’ a ba hífa donas (run)04B10tn

nuair a ba híseal dhon fhia ba hard dho Mhac Ri ..., ... ogas nuair

ba hard dhon fhia ba híseal dósan,

gá dhonacht me ba hairde me ná thusa M.
be haird a e nor x’ tæx el’ a SM ba hairde é ná an teach eile,
be haird’ e nu’ m’ ifa Mq ba hairde é ná mise,
ba høg a l’aéin’ hu ... P ba hög an leaidin thu ... ,
ba haimn di Sile ! CABI §236(a) v. 3,
An mhóin a chaith ráithe f.oí foí bháisteach ba holc i lé dódh (Atb)-
894C CABI §296 v. 1.

Adverb
bo han bo heri ... 894N ba harn ba haeraí ...

li.e l_é b’ b:
γ b’ é an cás céanna é 894C2,
- b’e; η kus Κ ena e S B’ é an cás céanna é,
- ba ji; n m’aen’adjar aku; un i ... b’ i; S
Badh i an meáneagar acu an n, ... b’ t;
bn in è núnt a ro fi 11Ct b’in é an áit a raibh sí.

li_iud
b udn a máx a ti’m” S b’iud amach an t-im (in rhyme).

li_fhN-
b edar’ i; v’e taestud’ frofin’ 14M
b’fhéidir i a bheith ag tástáil froisin ‘it was possible that ...
,b’edar’ m’ fl’aen’ fin’ aib’rú; er’ 52J b’fhéidir an phleain sin
a oibirí air, b’ eg’ an’ o: rix’ b’éigin dhó ríth.

l_N
b’intax 892Mg B’iontaich., b’intax an at’ e S b’iontaich an áit
é, b’intax i; 57J b’iontaich i;
baes an áit fo hi; hen’ 15W b’as an áit seo i héin.

li.f l_é b b:
ob; bin’ e vi; cn P o! b’in é a bhf ann.
b’ti; sin an bas 26Ps, cp. ... b’(a) i ’n ... 894C9.
b’in 30P (often), 76Mt b’shin.
b’in’ am’fit nas | 64C b’in an-’fitness’.
baq qa lo or ... 66N b’in go leor .... be: ... 52M b’ é ... .

li.eis ean
befan a xin’ ak’ m’e M b’eisean a choine mé,
beisan befan fear a eolais 43J.
bif a xun’ ak’ m’e M b’ise a choine mé,
bialsan a xun’ ak’ m’e M b’aisan a choine mé.

li.g l_N b b:
ba’ an dr’am foidor’ axt a v’i int’ fin’ 897P
B an-dream seoltóireacht a bhí ionú sin;
’bàn’væn’ f’k tilta vi int’ a fo 18JARN
b’ an-bhean scéalta a bhí inti seo;
nuair’ ab iffal gan juria b’er’d ga ... 11C
nuair ab íseal dhon ghniorria b’ard dho ... ,
similarly nuair ab íseal dòsan b’árd dhon chuí ... b’iseal b ifsal
dho ... 889P;
B’iontaich b’intax an toimhais i sin 18J7285 (similarly, b’intax
18J7295); b’intax e: 47P b’iontaich é;
is b’airgead maith baer’aq ad’ ma’ deich scileacha an t-am sin.
11C;
B’álainn báloax’ an duine é; B’aide baird’ a i bhfad é ná ... ;
bais m’er’ aka; 43M b’as Meireacá;
bo: v’e; kl’a han’ ak’ fe M b’o Bhleá Ciath a tháinic sé;
be’ afo v’i; n’at’ M b’aice aí bhí an áit.

bob mar go deimhin ba b’frus-tra i ba brust i cheannach uaidh 01P
ba b: (perhaps slip of the tongue).
5.351 1i.h — 1i.i

1i.h 1i.e  bój: ba jí: S badh í; ba jod e v i: an SM badh eod é a bhí ann;

badh: ba jín’ iad ba wú: l e ru: ba jlad 11C
badh in iad ba mhó le rá badh iad;
ba jerd a v i: an ‘droxobar’ S badh éard a bhí ann
drochobar; ba jíd e e: Mq badh iad é.

note b) Mar badh éard a bhí ann mara b’er a v i: an là stoirme
gaoithe aniar’neas. 892M1598.

1i.eisean bó jefan a v i: an S badh eisean a bhí ann.

1i.i 1i.e  bó: Badh as ba jaes ’Tipperary’ i 10B.

badh: ba jaes ára’e S badh as Árainn é,
’x ed xurt a fuar’ m’ífa ba jo: dgo: d’am e M
an chéad chhiarta a fuair mise badh ó Jó Jan é;
- ... b’as bас ... 25M -B’as bас ... BóC -Badh as. ba jaes | 25M;
Badh ea. ba ja: ... Badh aisteach ba ja:f’ox an t-aimh ... 21Pt.

5.352 1i.j — 1i.m

1i.j 1i.e  bóv: ba v e: 15W Babh é;

babh: ba v e n din’ a d’ernax e 14M babh é an duine deireanach é,
ba jín’ e m’í p’sa ba wu: ba v e: fin’ 60M
badh in é an píosa ba mhó babh é sin.

1i.k 1fNV féidir bóv: ba v ed’or’ 60M babh fhéidir.

fiú babh: x æp m’í nar v u: ... ax ba v u: wil’as æd 43M
cheap mé nar bh fhú ... ach babh fhú a bhfuil fhios a’d?

v’ bh: v’or a k’on k’ena nax v’or 66N
bh’fhéarr an ceann céanna nach bh’fhéarr;
fearr v’or e x’aenax 66N bh’fhéarr é a cheannacht;
v’or l’um ... 66N bh’fhéarr liom ... ;

v’orit’ p’æk’af ... 66N bh’fhéarr dhuit peicis ... .

1i.l 1fNV, bów Babh ait an triúr iad. 21P 1802 (articulated slightly uncertainly,

1i.m 1fNV babh: echoed by Ba mhaith ... from 892M);

ba wid’ a hu i nu ... 66N babh fhuide thall i ná ... .

Cp. ba, ba wada l e fo ... (Coleman Janáí Beag Conroy, An
Ghairfean, Ros Muc, born c. 1958) ba — babh fhada leis seo ... .

1i.n Declarative Negative Past

Rare, noted only in two marginal examples:

mba h: -Ní bhreadh-a i ndan, ’ba hálaimh an duine’? BóC
-Bhuel d’fhéachdha’ mba hálaimh an duine’ a rá ’b’álaímh an duine
é’ ná ’ba hálaimh an duine é.’ 27Mdq.
-’Bheitheá i ndan ar an mbealach céanna ‘ba haisteach é nach
mba haisteach?’ BóC
-’Ba haisteach é, mba haisteach.’ 27Mdq.

Declarative mba (1i.m) is not permitted by Mq.

5.353 1i.i.b — 1i.o

1i.i Declarative Negative Past

1i.i.b 1i.e  ní: ní bhiod sé amhlaidh. Ní amhlaidh bhiodh. 889P:
ní aimsir mhaith: a bhí anuraidh ann S;  

líi.c /\C/  
ní:  ní eisp éir ag ad' a' faórb Sq ní easpa airgid a bhí orthub.  

líi.e /É_\C/  
ní:  ní hír' anuraidh ann S;  

ní:  ní: xéart dit' a gohill isteach ... M,  

ní:  ní: xéart gó yín' e P ní xéart dho dhúine é.  

líi.g /É_\V/  
ní:  ní bín:  

ní bín é an leagan 'though' [perhaps dó (= de)] a chuir-thídís thart anseo air déarthainn.  

líi.h /É_\fh\V/  
ní:  ní bh:  

ní bh' easpa airgid a bhí orthub.  

líi.j /É_\fh/  
ní:  ní bh:  

ní bh an áit ... 21Pt;  

ní:  ní orbh ea, níbh ea.  

líi.k /É_\fh/  
ní:  ní bh:  

when noting this form I could no longer recall which fh-initial adjective was used).  

féidir  
ní:  ní bh fhéidir deoch a fháil ann.  

fhiú  
ní:  bheadh sé níbh fhearr dhá ... ,  

ní:  bheadh sé níbh fhearr dhuit ar bith é,  

ní:  bheadh sé níbh fanacht.  

féidir  
ní:  bhí sé imíthe 35E.  

fhiú  
ní:  bhí sé imíthe 35E.  

fleár  
ní:  bhí fleár.  

líi.l /É_\V/  
ní:  níobh  

níobh iontas,  

níobh ionann ní:  wíman iad héin ... 21Pt,  

ní:  níobh anseo ... .  

líi.m /É_\V/  
ní:  ní:  ma cupla b' iob' a' iob' intob P  

ní mba cúpla ar bith a bhí iomtub,  

núrn:  a bhíteadh tinn leis an mbhrúiteach, ní mba mhaith leat |  

núrn:  ní mba mhaith leat a d'22Mt.  

Tá fiú is ag an lá nuair a théadh muid ag druicheál ní mba ní:  ma muid an dream céanna chor a bhí nuair a theagadh muid. 31P  

(i.e. we were strengthened by eating raw scallops).  

ní:  ma x'éart ... 60M ní mba cheart ... .  

líi.n /É_\fh\V/  
ní:  ní mbe:  ní iob: m' ead' ar' ... 62P ní mbe'fhéidir ... (cf. 5.336).  

líi.o /É_\V/  
ní:  ní mbe:  ní maeis ní mbe'as ... .
5.354  

1ii.bb — 1ii.dd

1ii.bb  / C  

nón:  níor haoi maik’aoí er’ a yualan’ P  

Níor thada Maidhcil ar a ghualainn,  

| Níor dhliobh maith a leag sé amach 892M2005.  
| Níor ghallaoireacht a bhí acu; níor mhóran le rá é;  
| Níor Phrastasúin tá fhios a’d a bhí iontab 11C3259,  
| Níor pheaca a’ bith duit é (Máire, wife of 897St);  
including  
mar a chéile  
níor mhar a chéile ar chor ar bith iad,  

lenited prefixed adjective:  níor ‘háen’ l’aoed e; fin’ Mq níor sheanlead é sin.  

Níor l’eif a’N’e: e S níor leis immé é,  

spóiteach fhrith mhian é:  03C níor mhaith leis . . .  

Nonlenition  

níor tada tada ar ghualainn an leaiming M. 

-Fan, a deir sé, deir Fionn, a deir sé, amach ó, amach ón bpáilís seo. Níor beag a bhfaill i dtriobalaí. D’insigh sé an scéal dó, . . . 892Mtn.  

Níor kivr’ ax l’m S níor cuimhneach liom.  

Níor dream farraige iad. 892M1616.  

Níor:  níor wáí: l’ef . . . 39C níor níthas leis . . .  

/fhN/, fheidir níor:  níor’ ed’ ar’ e od 45B nír fheidir é a ól.  

1ii.cc  / é  

níor h:  bhí fáitíos go raibh ceansair uirthi ach níor hea.  

5.355  

1ii.dd — 1ii.nn

1ii.dd  / C  

níor ba:  níor ba l’ef a káir S níor ba leis an carr.  

nórbh:  níor v’e: n rud a v’é er’ M nírbh é an rud a bhí air, níor v’ad na fli’peri: v’é: gao jin er’ M nírbh iad na slípéaraí a bhí dhá dhéanaamh air, níor v’in’ . . . S nírbh in . . . , níor v’in’ e: S nírbh in é;  

níor v’d e Mq nírbh iad é;  


Níor v’e: 01C6678–9;  

Níor v’ae: | 72C nírbh ea.

1ii.h  / fhlN, ftl  

fhearr  níor-v:  níor vór l’m S nírbh fhearr liom é.  

fheidir nírbh:  níor v’ed’ ar’ . . . S, 01C nírbh fheidir . . . .  

fíor  níor v’iar dó e S nírbh fhíor dó é.  

fiú  níor v’u: e nírbh fiú é.  

Note the variance in the following exchange:  

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5.356  2i.c — 2i.pp

2i Interrogative Positive Past

2i.c  /_C  a a:  Ní raibh fhios aige seo a mainneachán nó oiche a bhí ann.

2i.e  l é  ab:  b ín e: S ab in é an fear?

2i.m  /_C  ama  ama k en mar fin e a mba ceann mar sin é?

2i.n  /_fíN  am:  m éd ar e: M a mb fhéidir é a dhéanamh?

2i.o  /_V  am a mb:  m éas tu a m u e fin e M meas tú a mb fhíud é sin é?

2i.q  l é  a maj  a ma je: nu nax ma je: Mperm

2i.bb  /_V  ar ar:  ar an'fin' e 24N ar ansin é?

Indirect:  d'iarha fe ar er' a mochar a v i fe S

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d'fhiaithraigh sé ar ar an mbóthar a bhí sé,
d'iarba je ar náisal e. Sq. Mq d'fhiaithraigh sé ar asal é.

\[\text{Ar tú an} \ldots ? \text{ (in rhyme) 870B2, Ar mhaith leat é?}\]

2. ef \[l \_C\]
\[\text{d'fhiathraigh sé ar chuma leat?}\]

2. 2 \[l \_C\]
\[\text{ar-b'h } \text{arb: ar b' in' e: S arb in é?}\]

2. 2f \[l \_C\]
\[\text{Not attested but probable, cp. narbh ãf't ãk àn e narbh aisteach an ceann?}\]

2. 2h \[l \_C\]
\[\text{fearbh: \[m às tu ar v' òr e: M meas tú arbh fhéarr é?\]}\]

2. 2i \[l \_C\]
\[\text{Not attested but probable, cp. narv ~ narEv rust ãf't àn bhfrusta aithnté?}\]

2. 2j \[l \_C\]
\[\text{ar m: meas tú ar mb'fhfrusta duíit é a dhéanamh an bealach sin?}\]

5. 357 2ii.a — 2ii.q

2ii.a \[l \_C\]
\[\text{Interrogative Negative Past}\]

2ii.b \[l \_C\]
\[\text{nach ard an fear a bhí ann?}\]

2ii.c \[l \_C\]
\[\text{nach: \[nax v' àn M nach bhreá an lá a bhí ann!\]}\]

2ii.d \[l \_C\]
\[\text{nach bh: v' ãr àk àn ènax nax v' òr 66N}\]
\[\text{bh fhéarr an ceann céanna nach bh fhearr.}\]

2ii.e \[l \_C\]
\[\text{ach nach bh'iontach nax () wintax an intinn \[a bhí \ldots \] ag na} \]
\[\text{nach bh: sean-ndaoine héin! 06C,} \]

\[\text{nax wintax a rud e 23M nach bh'iontach an rud é!}\]

2ii.f \[l \_C\]
\[\text{mó h: (ba hálaíonn ...) nach mba hálaíonn 27Mdperm.}\]

2ii.g \[l \_C\]
\[\text{na mh' éigeàn} \]
\[\text{nach mb:} \]

\[\text{fearr} \]
\[\text{fíor} \]

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2ii.o /V nax m  
nach mb:  
nax mcha‘n a x̄ǣnhax a v‘i: n‘fin‘ M
nach mb‘álaim an chreathnach a bhí ansin!
nax mÎntax a x̄i: x‘n‘æ̅x an oq‘fin‘ fíos ... M
nach mb‘iontach an chaol a ndeachaigh an aít sin síos ...

2ii.q /é nax maj  
Cp ... a mä je: nu nax ma je: Mperm
nach mbadh: ... a mbadh é ní nach mbadh é.

5.358 2ii.bb — 2ii.q  
2ii.bb /V nar nar: nax a‘t’ wah a v‘i: oc S nar aít mhaith a bhí ann?
l/ C nar nar: Nar chrúan an píosa oibre ... 892M1393,
lenition  
Nar ghear a mháir sí froisin! 21Pt,
nar hirhí: n‘ʃk‘if‘aw‘ e S nar shaothrait an scillinn é! nar
dheabhlaich an ceann e! 20My, nar dheabhlaite an ceann e!
-ar wa: l‘æt ... 18Pc Ar mhaith leat ... ? -n‘ir wa: S Níor
mhaith. -nar wa: 18Pc Nar mhaith?

2ii.3 earm  
nach mbadh:   
... E mje nu nax mje

2ii.ee /V nar‘b  
nar ‘b:  
nar: Narab aici bhí an fáitíos di héin!
adh:  
Badh é Seán Bácach a huncail narbh é?

2ii.ee or ff 
nar(ø)b: Narab aici bhí an fáitíos di héin?

2ii.ff /V narb  
narb  
narb: Narb aici bhí an fáitíos di héin?

2ii.hh /V nar-v‘  
nar‘v‘: bo je: fein ba‘kax à hŋk‘al‘ nár v‘e‘ | 11C
adh:  
Gúascach ba mhó a bhí staid a oibríú. Narbh ea? nar ‘v‘æ: 01C;
nar v‘æ: M narbh ea!, nar v‘id e e Mq narbh iud é é?

2ii.ii /V nar‘v‘  
nar‘v‘:  
nar‘v‘: Narbh aici bhí an fáitíos di héin?

2ii.jj /V narv  
narv  
narb:  
Bhuel narbh iomrá 894C2, nár bh‘iontas 894C2;

2ii.ii /fhr nar‘v‘  
nar‘v‘:  
nar‘v‘: Narab fhaid a M narbh airde é?

2ii.mm /C nar m  
nar m: Narab fhaid a M narbh airde é?

2ii.ll /V nar m  
nar m: Narab fhaid a M narbh airde é?

note  
nara vuar a l: v‘i: x‘e: oc S
fuar  
narbh fhuaire an lá a bhí inné ann!

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Verbs

2iii Alternative ‘whether’ Negative

examples as 2ii, e.g.

\[ \text{nax b’ nach b: } \text{ar an’ fin’e nu nax b’ae’ b’ed’ar’ nax a’e’ 24Nt} \]

(as present) \[ \text{ar ansin é nó nach b’ea, b’féidir nach ea.} \]

2ii.q \( \text{l_é} \) \n
\[ \text{nax maj a mao je; nu nax mao je: Mperm} \]

\[ \text{nach mbadh: a mbadh é nó nach mbadh é.} \]

5.359 3i.b — 3i.g

3i Dependent Positive Past

3i.b \( \text{l_V} \) go go: (as present) bhi mé ag cheapadh go amadán a bhí ann.

\[ \text{g g: } \text{x’æp m’è g[ìk’a v’i; an 45N cheap mé g’ uisce a bhí ann.} \]

3i.c \( \text{l_C} \) go go: \[ \text{ga wor a tof’es a jinhad fe he’ni 04B} \]

\[ \text{lenition go mhor an tsoilis a dhéantadh sé héin dhí; bhuí nuad ag caint anois ar an — ar an scéal mar d’éarthá go — go mhor an tab go wor a ìgab a gooil ann.} \]

\[ \text{O1C6199.} \]

\[ \text{rinne ... suas ... go mb(a) mhaith an beart go m’ah a b’ert} \]

\[ \text{(dh)vìb (dh)vì gcuireach siad ... go mhaith go wah an beart é 01P.} \]

\[ \text{nonlenition ax a’wen’ go di: } \text{m’e:jk’æv’n’ ... (Smds)04B} \]

\[ \text{ach amhain go dliobh miseamhnaithe ... .} \]

3i.e \( \text{l_é} \) gob’ \[ \text{is go b’e; he’n’a v’i; aës b’ælax S} \]

\[ \text{gob: is gob é héin a bhí as bealach; ... go b’id e e: Mq dìirt sé gob iud é é; b’e:ga b’in’ i: n’if a v’i: g’eft’ e’g’} \]

\[ \text{b’fhéidir gob in i anois a bhí i gceist aige.} \]

3i.f \( \text{l_eisean} \) \[ \text{k em fu: go be’fan e S cén fáth gob eisean é?} \]

\[ \text{gob gob: } \text{x’æp fe go b’fo v’i: ... 43M cheap sí gob ise a bhí ... .} \]

3i.g \( \text{l_V} \) gob \[ \text{... duairt gu’ b’olc a’ rud 894C2;} \]

\[ \text{gob: bhí siaid ag ceapadh ariamh gá mhéid gá mbeadh an chloich, go b’amhlaidh is fhearr a bhualtheadh sí an medchán. 894P.} \]

5.360 3i.j — 3i.t

3i.j \( \text{l_é} \) gob’ \[ \text{sé an chaoi ar chuir sé an t-amhrán, gobh iad Aranjmain} \]

\[ \text{Chúig-Uladh. a ghoith an capall. 892M5059.} \]

\[ \text{‘Gus chuala mé, chuala mé ach ní fhaca mé é, go raibh sé roimhe seo, gobh é an bealach a dhíonfí léithi sin, san am sin, fear agus a bhuaichead aige, ag cuir fadhaitvais ortha, ros nach dtiocadh sí, thart go brách ar thú. 894P (of rejected kelp).} \]

3i.k \( \text{l_fhV} \) gob’ \[ \text{go v’e’d’ar’ 60M gobh fhéidir.} \]

3i.m \( \text{l_C} \) gob \[ \text{v’is eg’a ga ma l’ef e S bhí fhios aige go mba leis é,} \]

\[ \text{go mba: mar jút ga ma l’ef í: S mar gheall go mba leis í,} \]

\[ \text{tos’iæd’a ... | ga ma wor a ìgab a hoq’al as | 899D618} \]

\[ \text{tá fhios a’dsa ... go mba mhóir an jab a thóigeal as,} \]

\[ \text{| b’ed’ar’ gama xuma’ l’ef | 18J b’fhéidir go mba chumna leis.} \]

\[ \text{lenition ... go mba chuide dhe mhuítir Shasana a bhí i mBealfeast 15W,} \]

\[ \text{D’amhaigh sí nár mhac rí Úr, agus nár mhac rí Artúr, ach go mba mhac dlisteanach le rí agus le bainróghain Lán-dhearg, 852SbL117,} \]
chaithit sé go mba Phratastún a bhí in ... 20C.
variation

Tá mé ag cheapadh gá bhfeiceadh muid Nó an uair sin go mba gránna, go mba grhránna an spilingt é nuair a bhí an bhean sí ag tíocht iseach. 892M.

l_V go mba (h)
shlínise ‘ gual na sráide dhuit go mba háille thú ná ’n ghrían

Mar b'hfáithhas dhomsa go mba aille go mba 43J.

Tá mé ag cheapadh gá bhfeiceadh muid Jó an uair sin go mba gránna, go mba gránna an spilingt é nuair a bhí an bhean sí ag tíocht iseach. 892M.

l_V go mba (h):

Mar b'hfáithhas dhomsa go mba aille go mba ...

l_V |

l_N go mb: go mba.

l_N |

l_F go mb: go mba.

l_F |

l_N |

CABI §35(b) v. 4, 892M.

 Variation

Tá mé ag cheapadh gá bhfeiceadh muid Nó an uair sin go mba gránna, go mba gránna an spilingt é nuair a bhí an bhean sí ag tíocht iseach. 892M.

l_V go mba (h) shlínise ’ gual na sráide dhuit go mba háille thú ná ’n ghrían

Mar b'hfáithhas dhomsa go mba aille go mba 43J.

l_V |

l_N go mb: go mba.

l_N |

l_F go mb: go mba.

l_F |

l_N |

CABI §35(b) v. 4, 892M.

 Variation

Tá mé ag cheapadh gá bhfeiceadh muid Nó an uair sin go mba gránna, go mba gránna an spilingt é nuair a bhí an bhean sí ag tíocht iseach. 892M.

l_V go mba (h) shlínise ’ gual na sráide dhuit go mba háille thú ná ’n ghrían

Mar b'hfáithhas dhomsa go mba aille go mba 43J.

l_V |

l_N go mb: go mba.

l_N |

l_F go mb: go mba.

l_F |

l_N |

CABI §35(b) v. 4, 892M.

 Variation

Tá mé ag cheapadh gá bhfeiceadh muid Nó an uair sin go mba gránna, go mba gránna an spilingt é nuair a bhí an bhean sí ag tíocht iseach. 892M.

l_V go mba (h) shlínise ’ gual na sráide dhuit go mba háille thú ná ’n ghrían

Mar b'hfáithhas dhomsa go mba aille go mba 43J.

5.361 3i.bb — 3i.nn

3i.bb l_V gar gur: durt fe gør in’ in’ tfe fún i: M dúirt sé gur inín le Seán i;

durt fe gør er’ war’ in’ a v’ fe kiv’ u: M dúirt sé gur ar

Mháirín a bhí sé ag cuimhnigh, durt fe gør out’ wáh e M dúirt

dé gur áit mhaith é, manam gør ort a vi: an m’iachó M

m’anam gør ort a bhí an m’iádh;

is beag nach mbíodh muid ag sárthú ar a chéile gur i bhfastá i

dtaltamh a bhí an dubhán 01C6423.

l_C durt fe gør mu: v’iach’had’i: M dúirt sé gur mó a mhillethidís;

(a: present)

Ach séard a bhí ráite gur mac rí a bhí ann. 35E7538.

with lenition

... gur chuid acub a bheadh ansin 32J, ... gør yuna ... M ... gur
dhona ... , gur dheachalta beag é 11P.

3i.ee l_E gar’-b’ durt fe gør b’ in’ e m’ b’méalax a ra fe M

gurb: dáirt sé gurb in é an bealach a raibh sé;

hem’ gør b’c: (f) ’d’odom’ na f’tioid’i: fín’ ’winfa l’ug |
01C6823 chreidim gurb é a d’fheoghlaim na fiodóirí sin Mhainse uiliug.

1_eisean

gar b’fhan 899N gurb eisean.

3.ii.01

3.ii.01 

k’em fo: gar befan e S cén fáth gurb eisean é?

3.ii.02

Chathat sé go mb’ónacht, gar b’olc a’ spirid ... 869P3.

x’ap fe ... | gar bun | as luath a ylanax a k’o; | 869P cheap sé gurb ann is luaith e aghlanadh an ceo. As in present 3.i.1. 

go bhfuil fhios a’ m ... gurb ann a ceannábh dhom iad. ... gurb ea, gar ann a ceannábh dhom iad. 05M.

3.ii.03

Mhaínse uiliug, 

3.ii.04

/chreidim gurb é a d’fheoghlaim na fiodóirí sin Mhainse uiliug,

3i.ff

/éisean gurb:

1

01C6823 chreidim gurb é a d’fheoghlaim na fiodóirí sin Mhainse uiliug.

3.ii.05

ki Ém fo: gar befan e S cén fáth gurb eisean é?

3i.f

/éisean gurb:

1

01C6823 chreidim gurb é a d’fheoghlaim na fiodóirí sin Mhainse uiliug.

3.ii.06

Chathat sé go mb’ónacht, gar b’olc a’ spirid ... 869P3.

x’ap fe ... | gar bun | as luath a ylanax a k’o; | 869P cheap sé gurb ann is luaith e aghlanadh an ceo. As in present 3.i.1. 

go bhfuil fhios a’ m ... gurb ann a ceannábh dhom iad. ... gurb ea, gar ann a ceannábh dhom iad. 05M.

3.ii.07

Mhaínse uiliug, 

3.ii.08

/chreidim gurb é a d’fheoghlaim na fiodóirí sin Mhainse uiliug,

3i.h

/éisean gurb:

1

01C6823 chreidim gurb é a d’fheoghlaim na fiodóirí sin Mhainse uiliug.

3.ii.09

Chathat sé go mb’ónacht, gar b’olc a’ spirid ... 869P3.

x’ap fe ... | gar bun | as luath a ylanax a k’o; | 869P cheap sé gurb ann is luaith e aghlanadh an ceo. As in present 3.i.1. 

go bhfuil fhios a’ m ... gurb ann a ceannábh dhom iad. ... gurb ea, gar ann a ceannábh dhom iad. 05M.

3.ii.10

Mhaínse uiliug, 

3.ii.11

/chreidim gurb é a d’fheoghlaim na fiodóirí sin Mhainse uiliug,
bhí sé ag rá nar bhréag a' bich a bhí ann, 11C3033.

3i.ii 3i.ii 3i.ii 3ii.ee 3ii.hh 3ii.ii 3ii.ii 3ii.ii

bhí m' e: nar b' e: g' k' an ... 01J shíl mé narb é an ceann ... .
catieh tá rú narbh iad nar' v'iad an cleas [< class] iad 'na

3i.ii 3i.ii 3i.ii 3i.ii

dháithidh sin. 892Mg:
durf fe narv v' in' am' b'aelax e M
daírt sé narbh in an bealach é.

5.363 4i.b — 4i.c

4i Direct Relative Positive Past

4i.b 4i.b 4i.b 4i.b 4i.C

ba: Cé leis ba cosúil é? 27Md; fe: ba eska 66N Sé ba éasca.

4i.c 4i.c 4i.c 4i.c

ba: ba iad ba grin é: Pt ba iad ba gráinne;
nonlenition

Tá mé ag ceapadh gur cúrsaí daoine maith agus síogaí ba
ciobjisiocair leis ba 'k' in' t' ukor lef 11C1243;
mar ba tráthuille Sc156.29.

lenition (ní)

ba jin' e: xi: ba 'v'esa mid' 899D6500
ba: ba dháin é an chaoi ba mheasa midi;
comparative:

... ba mnó ba wu: ... ba bhreácha ná iad 889P.

Also ba yrux' a ba ghráinne from P but it was not noted whether
in declarative or relative context.
Rare lenition for common ba deise:

k' e a'k'ob ba je'f 66N cé acub ba dheise.

Cp. go na kaurni: ba yir' a' !(Acme)43Js dhe na cornába
dhaoire.

Lenition of m-, followed by nonlenition of d- in:

a ba mhùise deise póg '894C.

nonlenition

ba gri' aula P ba gnata;
badh in é an birin ba damáistí uilig acub 35E9134;
ní fhaca sé aon uisce ariamh ba grin é: ba grano' ná é le
breathnú air 852Sin; a' ceann ba sine 852SbTS135;
a' coileán con ba breácha a chonnaic sé ... a' bhfean ba breácha a
chonnaic sé 852SbTS148, cp. 'á ba bhreácha 'á ro ... 852Sb-
TS124;
sin é ba folláine fulen' a 20Mt;

wel' 'vi: | f'ir' an ó jínhax n'í: ba slaxtuir' a s 'ní: b'or e
ná: 'x'el' a 899D6022 Bhuil bhi, fir ann a dhéanadh ní ba
slachtnaire is ní b'fhearr é ná a chéile.

Cp. Nior bhinne liom péin, a deir sé, ceol ba binne, ...
Nior bhinne liomsa ceol ba binne, ... !11C.

Rare nonlenition in: badh é an t-oileán, ba mó ba mú: 'raibh cáil
air leith iascach ag an am sin. 06C.

with noun: a' n' d'aull ba wak do: Mq an deabhail ba mhaic dó;

lenition

a' n' d'aull ba jr'ehur do: Mq an deabhail ba dhreithiúr dó,
also nonlenition an deabhal ba dreitheáir dó Mq;
án d’aul ba chol k’athar dor Mq an deabhal ba chol ceathar dó.

/\_N  ø a:  
dúirt fe ... rud ø fior gáv øer M

dáirt sé ... rud a fior dhon fhearr.

/\_C  
feird ø x’ær øt jina l’ehab 21Pt
séard a cheart a dhéanamh leothub;
dubhairt sé nar cheart ... gur bé Roínn na Gaeltachta a cheart é
sin a fór Mít.

/\_C  ø a:
ba ‘wu’ ‘kosúl’ f’e gaur’ iad | 32J

or Ø:
ba mhó (ba) cosáil le ghabhair iad (ná caoire).

/\_C Ø:
... nax ra fe go ma s ‘x’ær do: * v’e | 01P ... nach raibh sé
chomh maith chunt d’uath dó a bheith. (This may, however, be an
instance of present tense with spirantisation of initial c- common
in Doire Iorrais, 1.405. The speaker has a clearly present
unlenited example:
ní bheidh siad ag tabhairt ... , mar is ceart. k’ær 01P.)

5.364  4i.d — 4i.g

4i.d  /\_V  ba h  
an ainnir ba háille ’ bith graoi !894C9,
ba h:  ni rudaí ann ba hábalta. 894C2.

comparative
adjective

ba je m’ p’issa ba kruajá gáin fot e | ba je: m’ p’issa ba hám’rott i: ... 892M badh é an píosa ba cruaidhe dhen phota é,
badh é an píosa ba hanróit ... (recording slightly unclear);

ba hann ba herí ... 894N ba hann ba haéraí ... ;

... ba huainn’i: qa: quala fe ... 04B10tn
... ba huainn dhá gcualach sé ... ;
badh iad ba héasca a chuir aníos. 06C;
níor ghearradh aon adhmad ariamh ba háille ná iad. 06C; dhen
rum ba háille a ... 06C; a maick ba hog’ a Pt an mac ba hóiige,
mé héin ba hóg’a P mé héin ba hóige;
gá ma je: ba hóg’ a 24Mt go mbadh é ba hóige.

Cp. Badh é ’n fear ba haoirid’ é ... !894C9.

simple
adjective

... ogas nor’ ba húrd gáin’ ià ba híseal dosan (run)
04B10tn agus nuair a híseal dhon fhíia ba híseal dóir;

“Cur seasta” ba híonamhail [4i.d] leó ... Ba hanróiteach
[1.i] ... Le doraighthe ab híonamhail [4i.g] a bhíodh ... Clad9-10.

a ba h:  nor’ a ba híseal gáin’ ià ba húrd gá wák ri: ... (run)
04B10tn nuair a a híseal dhon fhíia ba húrd dho Mhac Rí ... .

4i.e  /\_fhn  ab’ ab, b’ b:
fearr (o)b’ ab:

ə  ba h:  nor’ a ba híseal gáin’ ià ba húrd gá wák ri: ... (run)
04B10tn nuair a ba híseal dhon fhíia ba húrd dho Mhac Rí ... .
Copula 1211

b’ b: ⁹a d’ír’ a...  aqas b’ed’ar’ e’, 20C
chomh díreach... agus b’fhéidir é,
shíúil ab chomh trách agus b’fhéidir leis é 866EBI6.112.

4i.g / _V ab ab: nuair’ ab iʃal gan juria b ard qa ... 11C

4i.fhr obh’ a brusta jina S obair ab fhrasta a dhéanamh.

fáilí Ach níor le Mac Ri in Éirinn ab fháilí é (run)866ESemr56;
níor leis ab fháilí é Sq.

L _V b b: wel’ tūnus bir’ ed | bæn’ an’ s bæ slí’ a yo | 11C
Bl6.112.

comparative ní ’búid’f’ 46 (s.v. ard) ní b’airde.

5.365 4i.h — 4i.m

4i.h / _ea boj

badh:  gar go leor gon bhóthar bu dh-eadh bhí sé ’na chúnadh; 869P4.

4i.k / _fhN bav’ bo’ ʃ xuert’ bâ’ ʃor’ vi: ’n’er’ ʃ ør’ iaw Pt

babh:  badh i an chuirth babh fhearr a bhí in Éirinn ariamh,
Cé leis babh fheárr leat a bheir’ ag obair’? 27Mperm (speaker
was queried about ... arbh fhearr ... ; she permitted babh fhearr);
Sin é ’ chaoi babh fheárr duit é. ... an buidéal babh fheárr a bhí
án: 45N;
nax b’in’ e ʃ xi: bâ’ ʃor e 79S
nach b’ in é an chaoi babh fheárr é. ... é ba bh’fhearr 79S.

v ’bh:  nax in’ v’ or 66N nach in (é) ’bh fhearr.

4i.l / _fhN bav: an fhiacail babh fhuide bâ wid’ a siar ina ceann 00Tm.

4i.m / _C ama a mba:

go dtiocadh, sé ar chrann cailín áirthid eicínt a mba mhaith a
mha wà leis a thabhairt amach piosa dhen oíche. ARN9085.
Perhaps a mixed form, i.e. regular direct cailín ba mhaith leis a
thabhairt amach influenced by regular indirect cailín a mba
mhaith leis i a thabhairt amach or cailín a mba mhaith leis a
thabhairt amach. Cf. 4iii.m (5.367).

5.366 4ii.l — 4ii.jj

4ii Direct Relative Negative Past

4ii.l / _V naxv: ní mórín nach bh’anan é. 869P2.

4ii.n / _fhN nax-m’ d’aul blas sa ʃæx nax m’eq’ an’ S

nach mb: deabhal blas sa teach nach mb’eigin (sentenced left unfinished).

4ii.bb / _C nar ɡa ylor yaru: nar v’iʃ 04Bh| dho ghlór gharbh nar bhinn;
nar: n’ ʃar nar l’ʃ øp kæp’in’ Sq an fear nar leis an caipín;
Mile crosín di nár mhór le bád a chur go stíle. Clad216.

4ii.hh / _é nar-v’ ʃ gair nar v’e: jr’iʃal e Sq an gadhar narbh é a dhirobail é;
narbh: n’ʃar nar v’e: kæp’ in’ Sq an fear narbh é a chaipín é,

4ii.ii / _fh nar(a)v’ narbh ʃk’el narø v’ed’ar’ l’e din’ ø inf’axt Mq
scéal narbh fhéidir a fhiceál;
narbh ʃk’el narø v’ed’ar’ l’e din’ ø inf’axt Mq
scéal narbh fhéidir le duine a inseacht.
Verbs

4ii.jj l_{V} narv: rud nar wintas 01J rud narbh iontas.
l_{fhr} narbh: fekte nar vrysta infact Mq scéal narbh frursta a inseacht.

5.367 4iii.c — 4iii.ll

4iii Indirect Relative Positive Past

4iii.c l_{C} bo ba: cé raibh sí ina seasamh, ach ag an doras, thiar ag an bhfear ba leis i. eg: a vr é b a T éf i | 01P (horse).

4iii.e l_{é} ab' ab: an fear ab é a dhreatháir a chroch leis é.

4iii.f l_{fhN} (a)b':...ku l a híansa | b ed a l ohab | kim v r u: or | 869P

4iii.k l_{fh} v' bh:...d'aul v u: e S ach deabhal bh'fhíú é. (The particle following negative deabhal has the same effect as, or is equivalent to, indirect relative a.)

4iii.m l_{C} ama: /_'V narv: rud narbh iontas.

4iii.n l_{fhN} am':...v' bh: an gabhr: gob é a dhriobail é go b é: jre bhal e Mq.

4iii.o l_{V} am a mb:...+Ém er: - {interjection} Mongáin is Meilits ar a leothub an sliabh sin.

4iii.q l_{é} _Em aj: an bhean a mbadh í. a bó í.

4iii.t l_{C} _Em ba:...+Ém er: - {interjection} Mongáin is Meilits ar a leothub an sliabh sin.

4iii.w l_{é} _Em aj: an bhean a mbadh é.

4iii.bb l_{C} _Em ar:...+Ém er: - {interjection} Mongáin is Meilits ar a leothub an sliabh sin.

4iii.ee l_{é} _Em ar:...+Ém er: - {interjection} Mongáin is Meilits ar a leothub an sliabh sin.

4iii.ff l_{V} arb:...+Ém er: - {interjection} Mongáin is Meilits ar a leothub an sliabh sin.

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4iiii hh l_é ar-v': fear gurb as Bleá Cliath é (Mq or Sq).
4iiii li_f hN ar-v' d'au l ar v' ar a hiext M deabhal arbh fhnearr a thlocht.
4iiii li_N arbh: k'en ox e fo ar v' aicse b'aen waik' a' S88
cén aít é seo arbh as bean Mhaidheil?
4iiii.ikk li_f hN ar-m' an tuam ar m' u: br'aenhu: er' 01J
ar mb: an t-am ar mb'fhiú breathnú air.
4iiii.III li_N ar m' .... i dhéach ar mb'aimh (sic) g'fheair a' tí Seán a Búrc. 869P4;
(dh'fhiafraigh sé dó cén) ríocht ar mb'as é ríacht f'mos e: 46.940
(same speaker as 869P).

5.368 5.b — 6.g
5.369 7.b — 7.qq
Marab: Marab acub a bhí an t-airgead! Mq. Marab éan a bhí ann. Mq.

7.h /_É mara
baj: mara badh é sin é mara ba je: fín e badh é an cnoc é mar dáirt mé leis an mór, is mara badh é sin é mara ba je: fín e, ba, ag plé le fear é. 21Pt.

7.j /_É marar

7.k /_fhN mara’ ãe’d-ar’ l’èf M mararbh fhéidir leis.

7.m /_C mara mò
mara mba: mara mba chórtha é ná Seán.

7.n /_fhN marar’ m’ar a K’un el’ á M mara mb’hearr an ceann eile?

7.q /_É mara
majs: tá mé ag ceapadh ... gar dhon Chaoláire Rua in áit eicint, mara mbadh é Caoláire Rua an tórthaínn, 11C3355.

7.bb /_C marar
mar: ná ro SiEd bl iEn o ÐI marar woÉr E baÉdEr iEd S
nár raibh siad bliain ó inniu marar mhór an badar iad.

7.ee /_É marar-b’:
mararb é. Mperm.

7.qq /_É Measann Beartle ‘ac Dhonnacha gur mhac do Mhícheál ’ac Eoin
*marar’-v:
maranbh: Marar é. Mperm.

5.370 8.a — 9.bb

8.a Pronoun /É
K’e: cé:
d’iarrh míe ji k’e’ e hên’ S d’fiathraigh mé dhe cé é hên,
(as present)
d’iarrh míe d’i k’e’ e hên’ M d’fiathraigh mé de cé é hên.

8.c Pronoun /_C
K’e: b’É
cé ba:
k’e b’a K’inti: l’ef S cé ba ciontaí leis?
agus cé bhur’ K’e: ‘v’i: ach an chleith a bhí ar an seol mór 187106.

8.d Pronoun /_É
K’e: b’É
cé h: d’iarrh míe d’i k’e’ e hên’ 47Pq
K’e b’a É
cé h: d’fiathraigh mé dó cé hé héin (K’e: e’ hen’ in conversation),
(as present)
d’iarrh míe j’i k’e’ e fín’ S d’fiathraigh mé dhe cé hé sin,
nuair a fuair sé amach cé hé Naomh Mac Daru agus cén ócíd a bhí aige héin ann, chuaidh sé ... ARN7619.
Copula 1215

8.m Pronoun /_C
k' e: ma
cé mba:
k' e: ma wù: iad ... 04B4 cé mba mhó iad ... ?
k' e: ma l' ef e SM cé mba leis é?

8.n Pronoun /_fh
k' em'
cé mb:
k' e m' or e nò e fin' M cé mb'fhearr é ná é sin?
k' e m' ur yit' rud a jís a M cé mb'fiú dhuit rud a dhéanamh?

8.o Adverb /_V
cé mb:
ach lǽar mar bhí sé ... agus ag inseacht cé mb'as é 11C.

8.r Pronoun /_fh
k' em'
cé mb:
acr' a k' em' v' ar a nors i: k' aeh'fin nor mar' in' 66N
cé mb' bh'fhearr an nors i Ceaitlín na Máirín?

8.t Pronoun /_C
k' em bE
cém ba
cém ba leis é seo?

5.371 10.a — 10.k

10 a dhá Past
10.a /_é
ga: bò
dhá ba:
dhá ba iad na bróga (héin tá siad tugthaí siar aici)!

10.c /_C
dhá ba seáil breagach a ba jk' eil br' egox a bhí ann 04B4;
dhá ba | a: ba beithioch fáin a bhí ann 01P;
ghá ba liomsa 894C9.

10.e /_é
ga: bò
dhá b;
gha' b e: n tAfr an e S dhá b' é an Táfreann é,
gha' b iad fín' iad M dhá b' iad sin iad;
gha: b' ec nax d' uka x ... 66N dhá b' ea nach dtiocadh dhá ... ?
D' éirigh an beithioch chomh croíthiúil, agus gá b' é chaoi mbead
se léis porgóid a thabhairt dó. 06C.

goa: ba bò:
gha: ba bò: (male, An Aird Mhóir) dhá ba b' ea.

10.f /_V
ga: bò
gha' b: n ' drochaírn|ar' i: St dhá b' i an drochaimísí i!
dhá b:
gha' be' fan hen' ... 66N dhá b' é Seán héin ... .

10.g /_V
goa: bò
gha: bò:b nó: x: tAex fo M dhá b'airde é ná an teach seo.

10.h /_é
goa: bò
gha: bò:e dhá badh é.

10.k /_fhV
goa:
dhá bh:
goa' v'ech'ar' iad a váxet' M dhá bh'fheidir iad a bheithe;
- Gá bhfheadhadh duine ... BóC -goa' v'ech'ar' 12J Dhá bh'fhéidir.

5.372 10.m — 10.ff

10.m /_C
goa: ma
dhá mba:
dhá mba duine ceart a bheadh ann;
gá [mbu] mé héin 869P2 (the insertion of mba by the transcriber
might imply a surface sandhi elision such as go: m a m e: > [go: m m e].

10.n / fh
fheidir go: m ed: ar: iad a wae:xt' M dhá mb'fhéidir iad a bhaint.
for dhá mb: go: m ior e M dhá mb'fhior é.
fiú go: m u: e e M dhá mb'fhíú é é.

10.o / fh
ghum a b i h e f a v ox an 10N
dhá mb'am ar bith eile a bheadh ann,
go: maes b'i: a k'ia x'ukat fe M
dhá mb'as Bled Cliath a thiochtadh sé,
dhá mb'ann go: ma: a ghothaidís ag cínaí 05M,
dhá mb'orm go: moram a dhionthá é bhainthinn na fiacla asad 18J7196.

10.p / fh
fíor dhá mb:
go: ma b i Er Ó M
dhá mb'fhíor é.
fiú go: m u: e e M
dhá mb'fhiú é é.

10.q / fh
fheidir go: ma: n sávr: ò... 01J
dhá mbadh é an samhradh ò... ,
mbadh: ní píonós a bhí orthub, dhá mbadh ea ò... .
go: ma jin: e jíonhat fe M dhá mbadh in é a dhéanadh sé,
go: ma jíad M dhá mbadh iad.

10.r / fh
mar-v dhá mbarb:
go: mar v' e: parak vik'al'in ò... 21J

/ C
go: mar m i: f: v' e x a foda ò... 25T

dhá mbar mise a bheadh ag scoladh ò... . Also 45C.

10.t / fh
ghum' b'e: m' péid' ur b'á:eni: hén: tó fe kat' a max ek' a S
dhámb b'é an peictiúr beannaithe hén tá sé caite amach aici!

10.u / fh
ghum b'er a:na x: hu S dhámb b'Éireannach thú,

dhámb b: m' b'aelax k'ena l'um go: m b' er: a bortax e S an bealach
céanna liom dhámb b'ar an bportach é (initial bhí elided).

10.v / fh
bhí: dhámb b' léithi héin go: m b i: ha hén' an bhó ò... S.

10.w / fh
ghum b: je: am peaf' a S dhámb b'adh é an páiste ò...

10.x / fh
gam b je: am peaf' a S dhámb b'adh é an páiste ò!

3.73 11.i — 12.ll

11 dhe + past: 11i dhe + a (relative pronoun); 11ii dhe + diobh

11.i / fh
k'an a: f' ag go: m e: d' ar: ar: al: 43M an ceann is fearr dhábh
fhéidir a fháil (perhaps with present meaning).

11.ii / fh
go: m a: d'fhiarthóch bean a' tí... cé go: mbu diobh (dhíú) é 869P4;
cé go: mbu dhíú é [x2] 869P.

11.ii / var, gor yar, gor
(yar or gor)
cé mb'as é, ná cé gár ma: é, 869P2,
cé gár diobh (diá) iad 869P4;
dhúr:  cp. *Ba dhúr dtiobh a athair*, Clann Dhostnachta ... *Seol*G64 (this spelling implies *yar* or *gar*, cp. *darb* 12.ff below).

12 *dho + ainm* Past

12.ff *darb* darb: *fær do v:i: er’ a gafol | a v:i: na jfor’|f dar baen’am’ do v:

12.ii *durm*dár mb: bean ... dár mb’ainm di, *durm maen’am’ d’i | ... 04B7n.

5.374 13i.c — 13i.aa

13 Jussive Subjunctive; 13i Positive Jussive Subjunctive

Zero seach(t) measa bheidheas siad bliain ó anocht! S.

13i.c /_C go go: go ma'æsa ... M go measa ... go væsa ... Mperm go mheasa ... .
13i.m /_e go ma: ga ma he' yït' Mq, 47Pq.

h:  

13i.aa /_C go ma: ga ma ti' (f'or' v'e fid' bi ion' o) noxt 16B

go mba: go mba mile fearr a bheas sib bliain ó anocht!

nonlenition go mba measa a bheas tu bliain ó anocht! 866ESmr70,
go mba seacht gcéad déag mile fearr a bheas sinn héin γ a’ 
catódar bliain ó anocht! 866E0C223.

lenition 
go mba ghair mheasa bheas tu ...! FFG19, 20 s.v. gair mheasa,

both ga ma fa'x kak' xak' v'i' ã væsa v'eis tu S

go mba seacht cac chac mhile mheasa a bheidheas tual

go mba seacht ngair mhile deirgmhile mheasa bheidheas tu bliain 
ó anocht! S,

Go mba seacht, go mba hocht, go mba naoi mhile 
deirgmhheas su bheidheas tu ó anocht! S.

13i.n /_fhV gom': go ma' uer a v'eis tu ... 50N, Mperm

go mb: go mb'hfearr a bheidheas tu ...

13i.p /_ea go ma'h': a ma b'ær hæna S go mhab ea cheana!

13i.r /_ea go na'v: ga ma vër hæna he'n' S go mbabh ea cheana héin!

13i.y /_ea gom bav': gom ba væ hæna S gom bhabh ea cheana!

13i.z /_e go' ma h: ga 'mu he' yit' 14M go mba hé dhuit!
go mba hc: with elision of go: ghe' mu he' yit' 1B8Bm 'mBa hé dhuit!

13i.aa /_e go ma h: ga ma he' yit' 47P, go ma he' yit' M, 56B,
go ma h: go ma he' yit' 47Pq go mba hé dhuit!

5.375 13i.bb — 13i.ii

13i.bb /_C gar nonlenition: gur measa gar m'æsa bheidheas t'umáireach! S, M,

l_/f- gur: 

13i.ii /_N gur i gar a bhfheitheas Miic Dé go raibh m'anam! 05M.
13i.ii /_C gar væsa ...! lenition Go mba seacht, go mba hocht, gur mheasa bheidheas tu bliain ó anocht! S,
Verbs

Go mba seacht, go mba hocht, gur mhíle mheasa bheidheas tú bliain ó anocht! S.

13i.aa /V
1218
gar h: gar hâvla yit' 18Pc, gar hâvla yit' Mq gar hambhlaidh dhuit!

13i.ee /ea
1918
gar-b': gar b'æ hæna M gurb ea cheana!

13i.ii /fhV
garv': gara v'or ... Mq?perm (x3) gurbh fhearr ...

13i.oo /C
guru: gura slán guch tát gá ...

13i Negative Jussive Subjunctive

13i.bb /C
ná: ná f'or ... Mq ná fearr ...

13i.cc /V
ná: ná hâvla yit' Mq ná hambhlaidh dhuit!

13i.dd /é
ná: ná ba h ná ba he: áwern dit S ná ba hé amháin duit!

13i.gg /ea
ná: ná ba hâvla yit' Mq ná ba hambhlaidh dhuit!

5.376 shula, dhábh, hea, b’fhéidir

The conjunction shula was noted from conversation combined with the copula only once. Most examples come from query, of only two speakers:

present
shular: sular / hærar / hular f'ed'ar' Mq s(h)ular féidir.
shula ba: ... sola ba x'æert dob' e 21Pq6930
uaireantaí an chloig sula ba cheart dóib é.

past
shular: harar x'ært do: 27Mdq shular cheart dó.
shula: hæræ x'ært do: 27Mdq shula cheart dó.
shularbh: sul ar / sul ær / hær ær v'- Mq,
hal ær v'ed'ar' 27Mdq (s)hularbh fhéidir leis,
shulabh: har a v'ed'ar' 27Mdq shulabh fhéidir leis.
shula mb: hær æ / hul a m'ed'or' Mq shula mb'fhéidir,
sul dhá mb'fhéidir leat i a cheangal Clad203.

In Máire’s responses to query (Mq) the nominal particle dhá, which precedes abstract comparatives, can contain the copula. The forms (leniting) are, for example: dhábh fhrasacht, dhá mb’fhrusta, dhá mb(a) aistí, dhá mba bhreúichte Mq (3.69). Similarly, ’á ba bhreúicha ’á ro’ an ceann eile ba ... 852Sb13124. Cp. níbh fhearr dhiut ... ná cuide dhábh fhearr yú: v'or Mary Conroy (native of Camas); also ní fearr ... ná cuide dhá fearr FFG20 s.v. cuid 11.

Forms of the nonpast with phrase-initial h for more common f can best be interpreted as phonetically weakened forms due to ‘casual’ articulation; for example, common casual hær for more common fær Sea. A rarer, intermediate form between f and h is also found: fær: 31P Sea (note the ‘casual’ nasalisation). It is just possible that in copula Echo contexts h might echo copula h of the pre-
ceding discourse. For example, if interrogative (surface) nax e is interpreted as nax he; it might be echoed in the positive by he: This possible interpretation was prompted by the striking sequence (cited again here), where 892M’s h variants may be simply the ‘casual’ variants, or may be echoing preceding (deep) h:

- Agus insan am sin, nach é nax e an chaoi, a ngoifí agus a bhiuighfi pleáine? 11C
- Hé, ceannacht. hea | k’ænæxt | 892M1382
- Agus goifí go d’t na sábhéaraí nach ea? nax a’ 11C
- Hea, hæ | go ngearraidts an pleáine sin. 892M1383.

The full range of variation is S ~ hj ~ h ~ ∅, as one also hears, for example, phrase-initial æ for Sear. Cp. also more expletive hæhæ haha ‘yes’ (e.g. 21Pg6209). For use with demonstratives, e.g. fin’ ~ hin’ ~ in’, see 6.76; cp. as ju: is fiá, etc., (9.127).

Reduction often occurs in b'héidir, e.g. b’eør ga ..., b’eer ga ..., b’eer ga, ga m’er’ go P.

This pronunciation was rejected by speaker 52Jq as non-existent: he feels the intervocalic d‘ is present and that the reduced form is not equivalent to a true (monosyllabic) b’er’. For diverse forms of cuimhneach with the copula, see 9.128.

**Syntax of copula**

5.377 **tig le**

The more or less obsolete tig le occurs in the copula syntax:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>present</td>
<td>asf t‘ig’ t’æt e jina Mq is tig leat é a dhéanamh,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Is tig leat FFG s.v. tigeann;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>past</td>
<td>ba big’ t’æt e jina Mq ba thig leat é a dhéanamh;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>conditional</td>
<td>go ma big’ t’æt e jina Mq, dá mba thig liom ‘Clad224;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>subjunctive</td>
<td>nör ma big’ t’æt e jina Mq nár ba thig leat é a dhéanamh!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Cp. similar copularisation in b’fhacthas dho, is feicthear dho (feic, 5.282).

5.378 **Copula with numerals**

fearr occurs with numerals seacht, céad, mile, seacht mile, etc. The numeral can act as a direct qualifier of fearr or as independent adverbial followed by direct relative copula, e.g.

- ba sheacht fearr M << ba sheacht mb’fhear M.
- céad fearr: Is céad fearr liom é 27Mdq; Ba céad fearr liom é. 27Mdq; Dáirt sé go mba céad fearr leis é. 27Mdq; go mba céad fearr a bheidheas tú 27Mdperm.
- mile fearr: Is mhile fearr liom é sin. (2) 27Mdq

Ba mhile fearr liom é. 27Mdq, Ba mhile fearr liom é. 27Mdq; Dáirt sé go mba mile fearr leis é. 27Mdq;

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>go ma m’i f’ar v’ e fíb’ b’f’ián’ o’ next 16B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go mba mile fearr a bheas sí bliain ó anocht!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nár ba mhile ... Nár ba mhile fearr a bheidheas tú bliain ó anocht!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27Mdq.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mile is fearr: Is mile ’s fearr liom é ná an ceann eile. (1) 27Mdq.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Verbs

míle b’fhéarr: Ba mhile b’fhéarr liom é. 27Mdq.
Ó’s ba mhile b’fhéarr liom agam a’ biauchailín deas óg ’894C9.
But *Nár ba míle b’fhéarr ... 27MdØperm.
míle measa: Go mba seacht, go mba hocht, go mba naoi mhile mhile
deirgmeasa bheidheas tú ó anocht! S.
The highest figure noted is 1,700,000,000,000:
agus go mba seacht gcéad déag mile milliún fearr a bheas sinn féin agus a
bhfuil sa láthair bliain ó anocht. 866ESc171.
b’fhéidir occurs, as a noun, for example with indefinite adjective or numeral:
‘... b’fhéidir go ... ’ ‘Ach níl aon bh’fhéidir ann’ Clad28;
‘... , b’fhéidir go ... ’ ‘Biom an dák bh’fhéidir ann,’ Clad27;
b’fhéidir go mbaintheadh is dhá bh’fhéidir nach mbaintheadh.
See also 14 féidir 2.

5.379  Fronting

Emphasis

is eod orchar ó Dhiarmaid Donn, mar sé nar chlis ariamh. 892Mtn.
ufa waid’ an nax br’ a t’ eर’ iad M Uise a Mhaighdean nach breá tirim iad!
(w)ja s er’ a tć n wuř’ fâx M (mh)use is air atá an bháisteach!
Duine a mbheadh fiaca maithe agise is an-mhilis iad le n-ithe. Clad124, also
Clad56 (an- here is the general intensifying prefix; (is an- + adjective) is
rarer than (is rí- + adjective), tá siad an-mhilis ... would be more common).

Topic
b’ãen á vî: sa wãrđ a ñ’ en’ax I e jàn agas hugadar fîsk’à ji M
Bean a bhí sa vàird in iöneacht le Seán agus thuagadar fuisce dhi.
kurtó hán’ak’ a ñeara to fe n’jîn’ M Cárta a thàinig ó Deara, tá sé ansin
(said to person who had just entered the room).
I’ ef na swim’is as kosu’d i: M leis na Svuínios is cosúil í ‘she resembles the
Sweeney’s’.
wegan tu jî t’ ñan ìh e, x’ i egam’ æd’er fe b’ed’ær gab’ e: x’ tæx a
lassat fe oram ... na tæda M ‘An bhfágann tú istigh san oiche é?’ (of a
dog) ‘Ní fhúgaim,’ a deir sé, ‘b’fhéidir go b’de an teach a lastadh sé orm ...
ná tada.’
-Mise nach mbheadh i bhfad a’ déanamh na hoibre sin, ar seisean, dá ligtheá
dhom! SNG294.
Sé seachtainí d’athrú nár mhór don bheitioch. SÓC3.159 ‘a beast / cow needs six
weeks of a change’.
Fronting of pronoun governed by preposition:
qar b’ iad a wił’ a sid mar a tć fe akab S
gurb iad a bhfuil an saol mar tá sé acub.
Fronting of phrase governed by ‘stranded’ preposition:
| ’hen’ x’ eg gaw’ ñumar’ a | ar’ ñaes a t’eśid’iʃ | na’ humar’axa | 01P
Chaon cheann dhen iomaire, arb as a leasaidís, na hiomaireacha. ‘It is
from each end of the (potato) ridge that they used to fertilise the ridges.’
The preposition as is repeated in:
As taoibh thull dhé chuán b’as iad sin, as Leitir Mialláin. 21Jc.
5.380  Fronting with \textit{is ea, badh ea + relative}

Fronting followed by 	extit{is ea} followed by a relative clause is not uncommon among the older generation. The present tense 	extit{is ea} is the only tense recorded from conversation:

\begin{itemize}
\item \ldots má ar a’ sliabh (slúid) in áiteacháin seadh is tréine bhíonn an fhíataill a’ fás 869P5;
\item Tuaírím’s orlach go leith, sea is, sea is deise | fae f | fae d efə a dhóthaidís. 01P;
\item Go mór mór, na fataí, a bhfuil tú goil ag baint uasáid astub, sea tá tú gá dhíonamh sin leob, á gcur leis an gclai, 01P;
\item Mar, bhíodh, an t-am sin, insa tseanaimisir is foide siar anis, dá gcuala mé trácht air sea bhífuil mé ag goil caint air. 11C1125;
\end{itemize}

\textit{is ea} in nonpresent contexts:

\begin{itemize}
\item agus dho léar mar a bheadh an — ghothadh sí suas san gheothá, is ea a bhfuightheá praghas ortha 896P;
\item Bhuel sa gclúid ó dheas ansin sea bhí an obair uilig. 11C1151.
\end{itemize}

Past \textit{badh ea}:

\begin{itemize}
\item gar go leor gon bhóthar bu dh-eadh bhí sé ’na chánai, 869P4;
\item Lá sneachta fuar geímhre bu dh-eadh a bhí ann, 869P4.
\end{itemize}

Fronting without \textit{is ea} is now most common, e.g.

\textit{Leisce an deabhail a rà a déarthas tò ‘daighean’ S}.

5.381  ‘Munster’ type \{Predicate + \textit{badh ea é}, etc.\}

(a) Place

\begin{itemize}
\item Agus bhí ceanná — as Sasana bu dh-ea é, rugú is a tóigíú ánín — bhí sé goil thart ... 869P2.
\item as Cúndae Ros Cumáin bu dh-eadh é slím. 869P5.
\item Agus b’as a’ mBuaille bu dh-eadh é. 869P5.
\item As Iorras Fhliomnán bu dh’eadh iad 894C2.
\end{itemize}

(b) Time

\begin{itemize}
\item bu dhé thimpeall agus aimsir Chromail bu dh-eadh é 869P4.
\end{itemize}

(c) Class

\begin{itemize}
\item Máirnéalach ba dh-eadh Peadar Máirtín i dtús a shaoil SÓC 2.283.
\end{itemize}

(d) Lineage

\begin{itemize}
\item Go Bhlácach bu dh-eadh an duine uasal, 869P2.
\item Go chloinne Conrí bu dhea é, ach ... 869P2.
\item Go chlann ‘Onnacha bu dh-eadh Maoilre Dá, 869P5.
\item Go Bháircach bu dh-eadh na daoine a ra sé ’ cuir a dtuairisc 869P5 (followed on the same page by the only construction now used \textit{bu fear go Cheallach é héin 869P5}).
\end{itemize}

(More examples 869P5.147.) Note the two examples of \textit{ba} + predicate + \textit{badh ea é}.

One example of the present \textit{is ea} from 04B occurs in:

\begin{itemize}
\item spg an x fa e’ d’ar fe 04B ‘Spáinneach is ea é,’ a deir sé.
\end{itemize}

The youngest speaker noted using relative \textit{sea} following a fronted element is speaker 66N who uses it in the proportional subordinating construction where it introduces the second comparative clause:

\begin{itemize}
\item am a mó a bhí dhéas ocras ort fae a slowar a v’eis fiad 66N
\item am a mó a bhí dhéas ocras ort sea is ‘slower’ a bhídhneas siad.
\end{itemize}

(For traditional \textit{an t-am is mó a mbeidh} ... . It is difficult to know whether ‘slow’ in this context is simply a borrowing, as it is sometimes borrowed, or somehow an indication of English interference in a relatively complex syntax. I have heard a speaker slightly younger than 66N, from Cois Fharraige, also use nontraditional
syntax in this proportional function. She said: *is goire a bheidheas ... is fearr* (a *bheidheas* sé) for traditional *dhá goire* goire *dhá mbeidh* ...).\(^1\)

The indication of a source can be made with adverb preceding the preposition *as*, e.g.

\[
(\text{Is} \text{ d} \text{ochi go m'b} \text{'anuas as Gabhla} \text{ e} \text{ ARN}8389).
\]

Note the syntax of the fronted verbal noun followed by auxiliary *déan* in examples from **869P**:

\[
\ldots \text{ gur b'é 'n chaoi dtáinic rud icín ... agus gur b'é 'n chaoi a ndeacha sí ins a' bhfhráige agus gur b'é a báthra rinniú.} \text{869P}; \\
\ldots \text{ gur b'é a mharù a dianfai} \text{869P}.
\]

### 5.382 Proleptic pronouns *é, í, iad*

The proleptic pronoun is regular before definite predicates and common before personal pronouns, e.g.

\[
\text{b' i in' i: S ab i a inín i?}
\]

\[
\niórbh iad bróga an ghréasai bhí ar an gCoillín iad ach bh-, bróga bhí teagthaíthe. \text{05M};
\]

\[
\text{Cé hé thusa?} \text{852S1, Cé thusa?} \text{ S; cf. 6.45.}
\]

There are cases where the second pronoun is optional, the initial pronoun thereby alternates between subject and proleptic pronoun, e.g.

\[
\text{Sé raibh uathub, sé raibh ó na 'B-', ó na 'Blacks' [i.e. Black and Tans] an t-ám sin é. Go bhfagadh is iúcub.} \text{05M,}
\]

where *Sé raibh uathub an t-ám sin* is also possible. Similarly, *fearacht* (7.111) is usually used in phrases with two *é* pronouns, but:

\[
\ldots \text{nach é fearacht na nÉireannach bocht.} \text{05M, S.}
\]

Before the indefinite pronouns *chuile dhúine* and *go leor* proleptic *é* is common:

\[
\text{Ach ní hé chuile dhúine gheitheadh cead páidirín a rá ag tórrthamh.} \text{11C}
\]

(vs., e.g. *ach ní chuile fhear a bhí i ndán an sleadh char sa liamán,* **892M**);

\[
\text{Ní hé go leor marcaíocht a rinne me riannh} \text{852Sb6.77; }
\]

\[
\text{Ní hé go leor é sin.} \text{866EB16.108.}
\]

Proleptic *é* can, however, be absent before definite phrases, possibly with different nuances of emphasis and rhythm, e.g.

\[
\text{d'ér fiadh naox a goil a im' in'ax a nuadur S}
\]

\[
\text{Deir siad nach an gaol a imíonn ach an nádúr;}
\]

\[
\text{durt' fe narna v' in' am' b' eloex e M dúirt sé narbh in an bealach é;}
\]

\[
\ldots \text{cháis tigh Mhac Uí Con Raioi, thios ar bhruach Aill Dubh. Sin an aill, tá le, tá ar bhruach, Trá Mhaoraíais.} \text{892M2304.}
\]

Note before ‘indefinite’ an *iomarca*:

\[
\text{nach an iomarca prógráims Gaeilge atá air! Níl breathnú siar ortú S;}
\]

\[
\text{Tá mé héin ag cheapadh gur an iomarca, an iomarca cócireacht is rudai a,}
\]

\[
\text{mhilleann na, leath na rudai sin.} \text{31P.}
\]

Compare reiterative use in *Féibrí cén scéal é nú nach scéal é* **894C9**.

The demonstrative pronoun *sin* can be replaced by *sin é*, e.g.

\[
\text{fín' e le ra gao wil' m'e ...} \text{18J Sin é le rá go bhfuil mé ... .}
\]

In classificatory function, *é* occurs for more usual *sin* (or the usual order is reversed and the article elided) by speaker **29N** in:

---

\(^1\) For generational change in a corresponding (comparative adjective) syntagm used in Donegal (Gaith Dobhair), see O Sidhail (1979: 146–7).
‘giall’ é ceann \([\times 2]\) 29N, meaning ‘‘giall’ is one’ (i.e. giall is singular);
‘tráilear’ é Gaeilge 29N: ‘trawler’ é Béarla 29N.
The constituent order resembles English, reading é for English ‘is’. These are more usually ‘giall’ sin ceann or Gaeilge é an ‘tráilear’ or the verb bí is used, e.g. ‘tráilear’ (é) an Gaeilge atá air. One can also compare the use of classificatory i, e.g. céard atá i ‘frioghleasach’? M, céard atá in ‘aduainneach’? M.
There are examples of extension in the use of é in speaker 64M’s usage, i.e. dhá mba é and nach é before indefinite predicates:¹


64M.
On the other hand, he has the traditional use of gur without é before an indefinite predicate in:

‘So’ bhí gabhar acub thall le haghaidh balú, ag ceapadh gur ‘drugs’ a bhí ann. 64M.

From these few examples it would be worth investigating whether 64M has a morphological constraint on the generalisation of é before indefinite predicates: inserting é when the copula remains unchanged but omitting é when its insertion would change the copula form significantly, e.g.

- nach brioscá atá ann \(\rightarrow + é\) nach é brioscá atá ann
- gur brioscá atá ann \(\star\rightarrow + é\) *gurb é brioscá atá ann

where the change from gur to gurb in gurb é may block the use of é.

5.383 Omission of copula

Omission of the copula is very common; a few examples will be given here.

Omission of \(is\)
Omission of \(is\), in present and past context, is more frequent than its presence before fronted indefinite constituents, e.g.

fear maith a bhí ann S.
Gúsach ba mhó a bhí siad a oibriú, narbh ea? 01C6655.
Ó! baile ann héin a bhí ann 899D6795.
bhi dream eile theoir ann, na Caolaigh, is (= agus), caint air a bhílis í gcónaí 01C6870.
f! ïòr hu t!A St !i l !Ó dE VoÉhEn !E“n !iþS

Examples of \(is\) here are:

Ó! is, is ar aimsir cuir amach na heangá a bhí[dís?] ag dionamh an cheangáil? 21P6307;
Ach, is gabhar a bhí sa teach ar chuma ar bích an cailín beag seo ann, bíoith bhíthe bhainne ann nó ná bíoith. Ach is ag tóraíocht gabhar, a cuireadh í seo an tarthána seo. 11C.

¹ Cp. Ahlgqvist (1978: 66–9) for the dialectology of \(is + é\).
At least some of these examples with *is* are presumably slightly more formal or emphatic. In SID.46.99, 103–4, 762, 767–72 before indefinite nouns the context (i.e. elicitation) probably influenced the use of *is*: there are seven instances of *is* and two instances of zero copula.

Examples of *ba* here are:

- *Ba rópaí cráibe a choinic mise ... gá gcuir orthub ach, bhí siad ag cuir an minell sa deireadh orthub.* 01C6045;
- *Ach u-, ba tás an tséasúir a bheidh ansin an dtigeann tú? 01C6058;
- *insan am sin, an chéad am dhe sin, ba rópa cráibe, bhíodh insa láinnéar trót sin.* 01C6144.

Often omitted before adjectives (at least functionally) *beag*, *cuma*, *fada*, *fíor*, *gearr*, *maith*, *maith*

*b*og an oer’ *a* te *eg’* ort M beag an aird atá aige ort.
- *Cuma liom beo céard déarthas aon-nduíne;
- *kuma sa d’aul S cuma sa deabhal;
- ... *Ímí muid, a deir sé, ach gheoifear greim orainn.*

*Cuma liom, a deir sí. 11C;* *f*ior ut’ SM Foir dhuit;

- *mah a b’ædi: hu* S maith an beadal thú;
- *ma yob’* e of’ S maith dhóib e fháil.

-Minic a chaire muid tuairisc as daoine eile foai na rudal sin 11C.

- *fada mix’* ut’ durft *fi* | a’ *uf* as *fada d’erfe* ax | ... 11C

- *‘Fada amuigh thú,’ a d̄airt sí. ‘A! ’uise is fada,’ a deir sé, ‘Ach.....*.

In past context in:

- *fada ga n’air’*’ís *dhami: P Fada go n-éiriodh Janat.
- *n’if’ | g’or ya dan’ak’ na din’ a fe *f’t’æx | a’ v*’k a g’iara n f’is | 894C

Anois, gearr go dtáinig na daoine seo isteach a bhí ag iarraidh an fios.

Before definite constituents:

- *Na cinn is fhéarr a choinic mise ag obair ar chuma ar bich, le deireanas, na cinn ghlasa.* 35E.

An example phrase-medially is:

- *ax fada ga m’ei fe séx mor* M ach fada go mbeidh sé sách móir.

With *beag nach, beag nar* (cf. 8.22):

- *Níor mhór — beag nar mhór an eangach sin a bheir istigh aríst shála n-éiriodh lá.* 01C6336.

Other adjective:

*Cám a bhreathnóíds is air M* (exclamatory).

In some cases the absence seems to be a case of phonetic deletion. In:

- *ax | dologi: nax’ axa fe ‘wad’ ã gã’ n’axa fe Goa | go ‘min’ af | 01C6824

*ach (is) dóichi nach ndeachain sé abhaile go ndeachain sé go Maínis*

the initial of *dóichi* seems slightly devoiced as though preceded by *s* is. Compare weakened but audible *is* in:

- *ax | s doichi: go ro n tao. ur an i̇b’o fo ... 11C

*ach is dóichi go raibh an taoilíur an iochr seo .... .*

As an exhortation *ma ’hu: Maith thú!* is common, whereas *as ‘ma hu: Is maith thú* is often used ironically.
In Echo contexts before adjectives *cuimhneach*, *cuma*, *gearr* copula omission is common. Responses:

-Ar cuimhneach leat nuair a tháinig Seán is Máire anseo, nó? BóC

-kívr'ax | kívr'ax gá m'a 21Pt Cuimhreach, cuimhreach go maith.

-kuma l'æt Cuma leat? -kuma Cuma.

- ´f g`ar a'v ins a gid a skæp' a S Is gearr a bhíonn an gaol ag scaipeadh.

- g`ar 23M Gearr.

In (present) interrogative:

-m' iʃt a yum ... 11Ct Miste dhom ... ?

-kuma l'æt M Cuma leat?

-ən`if a t'iaxt hu M anois ag tíocht thú? ´Have you just arrived?´

(Examples in the present interrogative are too common and used by speakers who have regular ær to be simply interpreted as phonetically elided initial a.)

5.384 Nonpresent; Echo predicate

Omission of *ba*

Only lenition is commonly evident to indicate past copula with *cuimhneach*, e.g.

-Bhuil cuimhneach *'xɪn'ãx* [pst] leatsa í fheiceáil ansin, a Mhaidhil? 21Pg

-Ó' cuimhneach *'kɪm'ãx* [pres] liom go bhfaca mé i ach ní raibh mé ach i mo leaidín bheag. 892M4782–3.

Omission of *ba* before the preposition as, is common for a minority of speakers, e.g.

*bhí an neors* [< nurse] seo ... a bhí inti ... ach u-, as Tiúim í, ach u-, bhí sí ...

*bhí neors ... bhí ... As Sladhgó í. Bhí sí ... 21Pt.*

Omission of jussive subjunctive *go* (gur, etc.)

-f`ar a'v eis f`ib`' bl`ian` o: nolak` fo 23M

*Fearr a bheidheas sib bliain ón Nollaig seo!*

Omission of predicate

Omission or ellipsis of the relative clause of a predicate in Echo contexts is quite common, e.g.

B'fhéidir gur calm a tháinig orthub nú b'fhéidir gur gála, ach tháinigeadar i dtír ... 11C;

-vi: m'e g'infax gá nurra k'erd a vi: oram s durt fi: gâb' iad nà hiv'axi: M bhí mé ag inseacht dho Nóra céard a bhí orm is dàirt sí go b'íad na huibheachait;

*bhí bosca tobac aige — nú, (s) dòichí gur tobac — leithí an, tsagairt 25M;*

-*ken uar' o m' ei ... 14M Cén uair a mbeidh ... ?

-a x'ed vi: el a M An chéad mhí eile.

- ... g`as x`æp æxul' a yin`a gar fi: hawwa' 14M ... agus cheap achuile dhuine gur faoi Shamhain.

-Ach céard a bhí sna jaicíní meas tú? 21Pg

-Nach solais! 899D6879.
5.385 Other examples

The form of *is mar a chéile* ... used in Echo contexts is consistently (as) *mar a* (in the positive, for example). Speaker 60M has a similar metanalysis with *maith an*, noted in:

- *Maith an piosa go dtástóidh é dhíonamh arís.* BóC
  - *s maí hé 60M Is maith (an), (for traditional -is maith.).*

Mixed tenses occur in one rendition of the following proverb:

\[ \text{f' e: nax wuar' an' of' mar wor as f' u: an' cènt a S} \]

\[ \text{An té nach bhfuair an fhéoil nar mhóir is fíú an eanraith.} \]

Mixed prepositional syntax occurs in:

\[ \text{gar tu: díarni st'f' an' a v'í a an 24M} \text{gur tú Janal Stífin a bhí ann.} \]

Nonrelative *dhar diobh* occurs in a song composed by Seán Cheoinín (18S):

\[ \text{Ba dhar dhíobh a athair, Clann Dhonnacha ... SeolG64.} \]

Speaker 72N often uses *sea* for traditional *sé* and *is* *leis*. Speaker 81C uses *sí in*, or similar to, this widened function resembling English 'yes, yeah'.

5.386 General

Some of the ongoing changes in the verbal morphology of Iorras Aithneach will be described in this section. In particular, the more remarkable changes in progress in nontraditional speech, or what I term ‘young people’s dialect’, will be outlined. Given that my research has focused primarily on traditional dialect, the following description can only be taken as a rough sketch of later change in progress. Outstanding features include the use of traditional future stem morphology in the present stem, development of a 3 plural conjunctive pronoun *dur* from the traditional past tense suffix *-EdEr*, replacement and syncretism between the two conjugations, and most recently the formation of conjunctive impersonal pronouns. The genesis of *dur* can be traced well back into generations of traditional speakers but its major expansion occurs in nontraditional speech. Another change which straddles both types of dialect is the depletion of the subjunctive mood. Systemically more limited changes occur within and between the verbal classes, e.g. generalisation of the long vocoid in the BLIGH class.

5.387 Suffixation with *-áiil*

A small number of examples of expansion of the *-áiil* verbal ending have been noted. This *-áiil* is the productive verbalising suffix, now particularly common in the increasing number of borrowings from English. Some examples of expansion in the native verbal system seem sporadic, while other verbs occur more consistently (cp. 5.20 ff.). Examples contain traditional 1 Conjugation verbs:

- *bac* *nu bácail* a b**í l**um ... 66N ‘Ná bacáil ar bith liom,’ a deir sé; cp. traditional VN by-form bactáil;
- *coc* *kokcáil* a 64Me coccáile;
- *dúin* *ní dhúineálann* ... 66N *ní dhúineálann* ... , but regularly *dúin* *án* 66N;
- *treabh* cp. *tr'âuw* *án farrk* ... *tr'âuw* *suas am* 20Cq *treabháil* *an pháirc* ... *treabháil* suas a'm.

Cp. innovative verbal nouns in *-áiil*.
Developments, in particular since the 1960s

Tense and Mood; Stems and depletion

5.388 Present from future stem

The present tense forms of certain younger speakers, particularly those of speaker 66N, show influence from future morphology in at least four ways:

1. Extension of the CAITH class to other verbs; this involves the insertion of h (similar to the future stem of non-CAITH class verbs) into present tense forms. This yields, for example, l’áhán 66N léann (cf. 5.398).

2. Use of future stems in nonfuture tenses in irregular verbs, a trend in most younger speakers (5.390), although found less commonly in older speakers’ déar-, béar-, gheof-, iós-, iúar-, tioc|g(th)-, goth-.

3. Devoiced stem finals with present endings, some speakers (also) have + h following consonants.
   One example noted from 46C: d’ínahán déanáin.
   Sporadic examples from 66N:
   - duír t’fín uair’ a húkán’ fe, n’é: fíi’n’ fíi’tí 66N
eír s’aon uair a thiocann sé, ní bhíonn sí istigh;
   - tik’án fí: m’ífao 66N tuigtheann sí mise;
   - skodhan fe: 66N scóthann sé é; tiocann 66N, ní thóigtheann 66N.

77C has what may be present tense in:
   tae’ka, tae’kan stuf krúa er’ aéf a'r’i'ft' ... 77C1
   teagtha—teagthann stuf crúa ar ais aríst....

78B regularly uses fük- in the present of the verb fág, and two examples of déanth- in the present:
   - fükán [x2], fükín [x5]; ní jéinhm, ní dhéanann (-íonn ?);
   - d’ínahán déanáin.

4. Some occurrences of the form -án (< fut a + pres an) in the present tense.

5.389 Clann Phádraigín Mhacaí: 04Br, 15W

The daughters of speaker 869P (Pádraigín Mhacaí, main informant for SID.46), i.e. 04Br and 15W, use the traditional future stem in the present in the irregular verbs faigh, ith, teara (cp. also verbal adjective, 5.293), teighre; also in the present of the minor irregular verb fág, and in the imperative and verbal noun of irregular tabhair. They have furthermore a past habitual (perhaps conditional), form of tabhair, huk- based on hug + h. There are examples in SID.46 of regular future stem fkr’ irf- of scríobh in nonfuture contexts (5.320). In relation to future stem expansion, it is noteworthy that the sisters seem to have a more frequent use (than is typical for their generation) of the conditional, both in the subjunctive and past habitual functions, and, at the general phonetic level, a high loss of h beside sonorants (including h, the 1Conj future formant). Their usage has proven to be progressive resembling current young generations, but consists of forms and
Verbs

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combinations which seem particular to their network. These combinations are set out here.

*faigh* for present *g'e*/of/ihan ~ *fá'n, je(h)án, win*, see *faigh* (5.278).

*ith* \(\text{\`{n}}\text{isan tus\`{o}}\text{ 04Br }\text{an i\`{o}sa\`{n} tus\`{a} ?}, \text{\`{n}}\text{`i: i\`{s}an mud` 15W.}

In reply to my question:

\(-\text{\`{n}}\text{`i: x`\`{a}n` f\`{i}b` ... B\`{O}C \text{An i\`{t}he\`{a}n sib ... ? \text{the sisters answered}}

\(-\text{\`{n}}\text{`i: i\`{s}an 04Br, 15W N\`{i} i\`{o}sa\`{n}.}

Note also *i\`{s}an* SID.46 s.v. *ithim*; given that this form is recorded in the Vocabulary in SID.46, rather than as a questionnaire response, it may have even been heard by Wagner from one of 869P’s offspring. All other instances of present *ith* have the *ith-* stem in SID.46 and *íos-* was not noted in the present in folklore transcriptions from 869P. In a tiny snippet recorded from speaker 872M, 869P’s wife, *ith-* is used in the past habitual:

\[-d\`{i} `\text{n}\`{i}: `\text{a} \text{a} ? `\text{v} `\text{i}: \text{d\`{i} x`\`{a}d f\`{i}d\`{a}d an ... s n\`{a}\`{n} \text{n\`{i}x`\`{a}d f\`{i}d\`{a}d ...}

D`ith-, n\`{i} \text{i\`{o}sa-, bhi, d`i\`{t}he\`{a}d\`{h} si\`{a}d an ... is nach n\`{i}the\`{a}d si\`{a}d ... .

From this it seems probable that 04Br and 15W’s mother used *ith-* in the historically correct tenses and that the daughters’ present tense *íos-* usage is their (and other siblings’) innovation. One could speculate, however, that the attested hesitation in the mother’s use between *íos-* and *ith-* actually indicates the source of the innovation (perhaps her *d’i\`{t}he\`{a}d\`{h} is actually to be interpreted as conditional (in past habitual function), recall fut *i\`{x}\`{i} \text{m\`{e} ... (alt. ... `\text{is\`{a} m\`{e} ...}} 46.305), but a single example is of course insufficient to draw any concrete conclusions.

*teara* 04Br: \(t`\text{e`\`{a}g-} \text{(x3)} \text{>> t`ug-} \text{(x1);}

15W: \(t`\text{ukan, \`{n}i: hukan, t`uki\`{h} or\`{a}m 15W i\text{io\`t}c\`{a}th\`{i}the orm.}

*teighre* go\`{h}an fi: 04Br, go\`{h}an mud` 04Br, go\`{h}an mid` 15W.

*tabhair* has apparently a special past habitual (unless simply another conditional, it may be coincidental that the two recorded examples occur in past habitual function): *hukad f\`{i}d/f\`{i}: 04Br, 15W, e.g.

\(\text{krug` a hukad f\`{i}d er do xof 04Br `cr\`aig` a thug\`{a}d\`{h} si\`{a}d ar do chois.}

04Br: impv 2pl *\text{tu}r\text{`i}: `\text{A}ms *ti\`{a}raf; VN *tu\`{r}t\`{e},* lenited *hjurr\`{t},* \(\text{x`\`{u}r\`{t}} \text{(X`- also in cond / psthab x`\`{u}r\`{a}d f-).}

15W: VN *tu\`{r}t\`{e},* lenited *hurr\`{t}* regular (b- also in cond / psthab hurr\`{a}d fi). C\text{p. impv SID.46 *to`gig i: (or to`g) to`gig i: f\`{e} also t`\text{ur}g\`{i}: f\`{e} 313, to`gig i: f\`{e} 1007.}

*fåg* f\`{e}k\`{a}n f\`{e}: 04Br.

**5.390 Younger speakers**

Developments observed in the irregular verbs in the network of clann Phádraigín Mhacaf are not found in the general contemporaneous community but become common with speakers born after 1970, in particular with those born after 1975. This represents a hiatus of c. 60 years between the first observed innovation and the generalised reinnovation. The main change is a levelling of irregular verbs *abair > pres déarrann (e.g. ní éarrann 84P), beir, faigh, ith, tabhair, teighre* based on the future stem. (There are other changes, e.g. spread of the present stem of
Developments, in particular since the 1960s

feigh, fa-, to the future stem; tóg replacing tabhair in the meaning ‘take’, through influence of English ‘take’. (I have also heard tóg for tabhair in Ros Muc from female speakers born since c. 1980.) Table 5.85 presents a small sample of young speakers.

Table 5.85 Future > present in irregular verbs, some younger speakers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Speaker</th>
<th>1st pres</th>
<th>feagh pres</th>
<th>feagh other</th>
<th>tabhair pres</th>
<th>teighe pres</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>66NAM</td>
<td>isan</td>
<td>jehan</td>
<td>fut stem jeh-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73PMN</td>
<td>icheamn</td>
<td>fan</td>
<td>traditional</td>
<td>traditional</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76MAO94</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>78EOMR</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>78MAO</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>79MILD2</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80CAI recorded in 1994</td>
<td>jehan</td>
<td>fut dep nax wuha</td>
<td>&gt; tóg VN, e.g. ag</td>
<td>fut dep n'f jeha</td>
<td>'+' tóg VN, e.g. ag</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84P(q)AO</td>
<td>ichim</td>
<td>faigheann</td>
<td>gá bhfeigheadh</td>
<td>t'urann</td>
<td>t'ain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85MAO</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>n' fhácha</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note tabhair > vadj turhí 79A often. Similarly, heir, VN breith > b' er 66Nq; in another query session 66Nq claimed not to use VN b'ear. An instance of the opposite phenomenon, present / past stem > future: occurs in tabhair: fut imprs tug-f 80L.

There is also a tendency to derive the stem from the verbal noun, e.g.

snáth > suan 60M, 66N;
tráth > go drátha se 79J;
léabh > le vo 81A (cp. 2sg impv léafa from my daughter Muireann Ní Churnáin, aged 2 (born in 2003); cp. ps tleábh (aged 2.4), fut níochána (aged 2)).

One can compare the apparent increase in the use of the unaltered -aÉl - stem in the SÁBHÁIL class of verbs.

5.391 Echo

The very young speaker 85M (recorded in 1995 by Ruairí Mac Con Iomaire) has a suffix -ad -ad in Echo position in 1 plural present tense contexts:

- An bhfaigheann sib ... ?  - a Él i wihád 85M Ní bhfuighheadh.
- Ní thugann sib carr lib?  - a Él i huád 85M Ní tháirthad.

This may be an extension of traditional 1 singular future Echo -ad -ad, or perhaps related to the d in his 3 plural dair dur use, e.g. 85M beidh dair, or possibly a change of -ann > -ad. He has past 1 singular tokens bhí and chuala in Echo contexts, without traditional -aÉ-s-as, and present 1 singular bionn in Echo context. He has had greater exposure to older Echo usage than most of his generation because his grandmother, 05M, lived with his family. Echo ní abróid was noted from his

---

1 These developments indicate that Wigger’s statement (2003: 273), that the suppletive system in irregular verbs is not undergoing change, needs to be modified for young people’s dialect.

2 Perhaps speaker 79MAB.
Verbs

older brother, **79Jg**. (My own son, Dara Ó Curnáin, born in 2000, used Echo -ad in 1 singular Echo contexts in the future, past (e.g. *chuiread*) and present (*nílead*) aged between c. 2.10 and c. 3.6. From age c. 4.6 in future contexts he used regular -ad only; although he used 1sg present Echo *tá* aged 5. My daughter, Muireann Ní Churnáin, used *Ní ghothad* aged 2.7 in future Echo position commonly in 1 singular function but also outside the 1 singular.) We can compare the lack of control of traditional Echo usage shown by speaker 64Meq who, in response to query, did not use any Echo forms in nine possible tokens, but when she realised I was investigating Echo forms she erroneously offered -as (the regular past ending) in the 1 singular future: *gohas* 64Meq gohas.

### 5.392 Conditional, Past Habitual / Subjunctive

Sporadic examples were noted in the conditional of forms from the past habitual / past subjunctive. One example, in the 1sg, was noted from 23M and is taken as a slip of the tongue in the initial token of past subjunctive with conditional meaning:

\[
\text{Ní i: xorin' ães ... Ní i: xorox' ães 23M ní chorraínn as ... ní chorroíinn as.}
\]

Cp. serial effect in *dhá gcuirri, crochtí* (5.119). Note *dhá mbinn* for expected má bhínn in a past habitual indicative context (if correctly transcribed):

\[
\text{Bhí mé ag obair liom lé mín is garbh, agus dhá mbínn héin bhínn a' déana punt sa lá 894C4.}
\]

Also 1sg (cp. 5.111):

\[
\text{b'ed'ar' go nárthi'n mixt' ãn' 43M b'fhéidir go n-athraínn m'íntinn.}
\]

For humorous *k e m'et' a' t'ixt S cé mhbeite ag tiocht?*, see 5.257.

Speaker 66N was noted with -ix for *(h)ax* (2 Conjugation for 1 Conjugation), in *gE v'ek'ix 66N* go bhfeicíodh. In query for conditional impersonal 66N offered both *ní bhfuighfí 66Nq* and *ní bhfuighfhi and ní bhfuighf ni bhfuighfí. Cp. imperative *-t' i* (5.111); *-ot' i* (5.116); *(h)aínn 60M* (5.413).

### 5.393 Variation and depletion in use of subjunctive

Specific subjunctive mood morphology is undergoing depletion. The endings of the present and past subjunctive are replaced by future and conditional endings respectively. Replacement occurs more commonly in the past than in the present subjunctive and apparently in impersonal more than personal endings. Irregular verbs are both the first to show replacement and the last to retain subjunctive forms.

#### Impersonal

It seems that subjunctive forms tend to be lost more in the impersonal (which is a general ‘weak spot’ in the system) than in the personal verb. Subjunctive use is, however, retained in set phrases in the impersonal, e.g.

\[
(\text{Ní ghabhthadh Jaicí go Níú Ghearc [New York]} \text{ dhá gcailltí é;})
\]

\[
\text{go gat' ar a nolak' P go gcaitear an Nollaig.}
\]

---

1 Speaker abbreviation followed by ‘q’ in sections 5.393–5.397 stands for responses to (parts of) a questionnaire which contained sentences for translation aimed at determining subjunctive use.
Speaker 66N’s only noted subjunctive form is found in such a phrase:

\[ \text{`sula gcaitear an bhliain.} \]

### Present Subjunctive > Future

Examples of variation:

\[ \text{gAÉ dÏòÐ !iÉd¢ SÓ l !um s` maòrE dÏòÐ !oòx ...} \]

\[ \text{GÁ DTAITHNÍODH SÉ liom is MARA DTAITHNEODH ... ;} \]

\[ \text{Bhuel téire i dtosach, a deir sé, go Teampall Réinín is MARA BHFAGHE wó:} \]

\[ \text{TÚ cead é a chair ansin téire go Teampall Mhuiris is MARA BHFAGHE wó:} \]

\[ \text{TÚ cead é a chair ansin téire go Carraig Fhada mhic Eoghair, MARA BHFUIGHIDH wó: TÚ cead é a chair ansin téire go Cill Bhríde. 11CSt.} \]

### Optative Present Subjunctive > Future

Although the present subjunctive is still most common in the optative, it may nonetheless be replaced by the future. This is particularly true for the younger generation, e.g. 60Mq, 66Lq, 77Cq:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Fut 1Conj</th>
<th>Subj 1Conj</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>60Mq</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66Lq</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77Cq</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note the example from the older generation where Máire quotes Seán but changes his optative present subjunctive to a future form:

\[ \text{-gE Ð !air !iò n tÏòsEl ort} \]

\[ \text{Go n-éirí an t-asal ort!} \]

\[ \text{-[laughter]} \]

\[ \text{gE Ð !air !oÉ n tÏòsEl ort} \]

\[ \text{Go n-éireoidh an t-asal ort!} \]

5.394 **Obsolescent go mbí; Final vocoid**

The special present subjunctive form *bí* of the irregular verb *bí* is obsolescent and occurs rarely. It has been noted in the form *go mbí* only, i.e. I have no example of *shula mbí* or *mara mbí*. Speaker 894C, for example, regularly uses subjunctive forms; *go mbí* 894C2, however, was noted only twice from his material. The form *beidh* is far more common for him: *mara mbeidh sé, mara mbeidh'fhios, shul á mbeidh 894C2*. An example from 11C is ó thosós duine ag caint ar, an ngliomadóireacht seo héin nú go mbí sé réidh 11C. Similarly, Séan (12S) was rarely noted with *go mbí*.

The irregular verb *íth* may have more advanced subjunctive loss than other irregular verbs. It is, for example, attested in subjunctive contexts from 894C with the future stem only:

\[ \text{shul á n-íosa sib, go ’nuas ... go n-íosa mé thá 894C2} \]

Examples of 894C’s future use (for subjunctive) are:

\[ \text{m'anam ón deoul [deabhal] mara ngoha mise siar agus mara mbeidh’fhios d’im ... a bheas thiar 894C2;} \]

\[ \text{go n-éireó sé 894C2} \]
Verbs in final vocoid

Verbs in final vocoid may lose subjunctive inflection sooner than others since the vowel-initial subjunctive suffix can be regularly elided post-vocally, e.g. -i + a > -i in the nonpersonal. If the ending is elided, only the stem remains and the form becomes phonologically indistinct. Thus the phonologically more robust future suffix in h tends to be used. For example, in a translation exercise (in 1988) the only form of glaoigh in a subjunctive context produced by 12Sq and 16Mq contained future -ha:

fan go ghlìo m`e er` Sq. Mq fan go nglaothaidh mé air.

But many examples without future -h- are attested (5.28).

5.395 SID.46, 04B, 16M

Examples of loss from some older speakers are given here.

SID.46 (speaker 869P), Pádraigín Mhacaí 'ac Con Iomaire

SID.46 has quite a few examples of conditional for past subjunctive, all irregular verbs:

- go: win` 34 dhá bhfuighinn,
  mara ghaax mid` 733 mara ngothadh muid, go: ghaax: 734 dhá ngothá,
  go: d`oka: or go: dugiatan: 949 dhá dtiochtaí or dhá dtiaigtaí.

Speaker 04B, Beairtle Beag Ó Con Fhaola

Speaker 04B has regular use of subjunctive but some conditional forms have been noted:

1sg go man` hax` 04B4 go [purpose] mbainthin;
(2sg (often) go gir` ha: [x2] 04B4 dhá gcuirthea;)
3sg go nolax d` ox 04B8 go [purpose] n-oladh deoch, but in the prose explanation of this lay given by 04B the subjunctive is used (unless h is loss through coincidence): go nolax, fe` d` ox 04B8 go n-oladh, sé deoch;
impersonal go dugiatan: ... go m`ilf`i: 04B21 go [purpose] duitait ... go [purpose] milf.

Speaker 16M, Máire Mhicil Uí Chon Fhaola

There is an example of variation where Máire changes from the conditional to past subjunctive in repetition:

-m`et fe re: hula `m`im` ox brain M
  An mbeadh sé réidh shula n-iméodh Braidhean?
  `-hæ S Hea?
-m`et fe re: hula `m`im`ix brain M
  An mbeadh sé réidh shula n-iméodh Braidhean?

5.396 Questionnaire

A subjunctive questionnaire was made out and four older speakers were queried, at least 18 tokens being asked of each. The questionnaire was very imperfect in many respects with uneven coverage of past and present, regular and irregular verbs, person, and the various verbal classes. The results can only give a broad picture of rapid generational depletion of the subjunctive category. Speaker 20Cq
Developments, in particular since the 1960s

(with conservative usage here as in other categories; cp. 2sg -(-(e)i)ó, etc., 5.43) has almost categorically subjunctive in his responses and contrasts clearly with 31Mq who has only one definite subjunctive in her responses. Speakers 16Mq and 19Pq yield intermediary results with less dramatic subjunctive loss. All speakers used the future of the verb **bí** in subjunctive position and this verb is excluded from the results given in Table 5.86 below.

**Serial effect**

A serial effect was noticed in the responses to the subjunctive questionnaire. Speaker 19Pq, for example, began his responses with future forms but once he produced a subjunctive form he then continued his responses in the subjunctive until I interrupted the questionnaire to avoid further serial effect. A possible example of serial effect occurs in Máire’s responses 61–3 to the GEARR class questionnaire (5.149) where the implicationally stronger optative use of the subjunctive seems to trigger its use in temporal function:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{d'\text{in\'adh\text{ar}} d'h\text{hilleadar} 60, f\text{a\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{a}}} g\text{a v'\text{in\'a}} h\text{a f\text{a go bhfillthidh 61, g\text{a v'\text{in\'a}} (optative) go bhfille 62, f\text{a\text{a g\text{a v'\text{in\'a}} fan go bhfille 63 Mq.}}}}}}} &
\end{align*}
\]

5.397 Results

Table 5.86 and Figure 5.26 show consistent generational depletion of the subjunctive class in speakers 16M, 19P and 31M but 20C is seen to have the most conservative use with full subjunctive use in the questionnaire.

**Table 5.86** Subjunctive use in query; 16Mq, 20Cq, 19Pq, 31Mq

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Speaker</th>
<th>Total +Sbj</th>
<th>+Pres Sbj</th>
<th>+Pst Sbj</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20C</td>
<td>17/17</td>
<td>12/12</td>
<td>5/5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16M</td>
<td>8/17</td>
<td>7/10</td>
<td>1/7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19P</td>
<td>8/16</td>
<td>7/10</td>
<td>1/7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31M</td>
<td>5/16</td>
<td>4/9</td>
<td>1/7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 5.26** Subjunctive depletion; four speakers

Differences in the development of both tenses become apparent when the data are charted separately according to tense (Figure 5.27). The past subjunctive (‘pst +’ in the figure) is used as the main variant by only the most conservative speaker.
The present subjunctive ('pres+' in the figure) is the main variant for the three oldest speakers and is still quite strong in the youngest speaker 31Mq.

Figure 5.27 Past vs. Present Subjunctive depletion; four speakers

Speaker 31Mq’s only definite subjunctive form is a present subjunctive 2 Conjugation form. Her other forms, taken as subjunctive here, may well be equivalent to the future/conditional with h loss, especially given that she was found to have a relatively less frequent use of h in the future/conditional, in comparison, for instance, with Máire (16M) and Pádraig (19P). Speaker 31Mq’s score could therefore be actually as low as 6%. In conversation she uses the subjunctive quite frequently, in, for example, *go d’ain’ an ‘fin’ 31M dhá dtéinn ansin.*

Speaker 20C has been noted in conversation using future forms in the subjunctive environment, e.g. *is gearr go bhfuighidh mé glafar eile uait.* It is also worth noting that 20C, despite his high proportion of subjunctive forms, consistently uses future forms in the 1pl imperative (despite the fact that the more traditional imperative inflection is identical to the personal present subjunctive), e.g. *k’æŋglóma’d é, d’ir’omá’d é, ólhamá’d é 20Csbjq ceanglómuid é, díreomuid é, ólhamuid é!*

5.398 CAITH and BLIGH verbal classes

Speaker 66N shows an extension of the CAITH class, mostly to verbs from the traditional BLIGH class, but also to other vowel-final verbs (Table 5.87). The class marker h is used in the present, in the verbal adjective the long vowel becomes general.

Speaker 73Pq has: *nigh,* pres n’ihán 1–2, n’ix’án 3–4, n’í’én 5–7; *bligh,* pst v’i *fí:* Speaker 78P has *tráigh,* pres tráhán 78P.
Developments, in particular since the 1960s

Table 5.87 Extension of CAITH class, 66Nq, 66N

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>pres nonpers, q</th>
<th>1sg, 3sg pst, q</th>
<th>vad</th>
<th>conversation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bligh</td>
<td>+h</td>
<td>bl’i’han</td>
<td>i:</td>
<td>i:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>doigh</td>
<td>+h</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glaoigh</td>
<td>+h</td>
<td>gluán</td>
<td>i:</td>
<td>i:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leáigh</td>
<td>+h</td>
<td>lu’ghon, lu’ogn</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>léigh</td>
<td>+h</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ligh</td>
<td></td>
<td>lu’gh</td>
<td>i:</td>
<td>i:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>loigh</td>
<td>+h</td>
<td>lai’ghon, lai’ghan</td>
<td></td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nigh</td>
<td>+h</td>
<td>ni’ghan</td>
<td>i:</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suigh</td>
<td></td>
<td>si’ghan</td>
<td>i:</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cp. gabh</td>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The long vocoid tends to be generalised in the BLIGH class. Note the long vowels in nonpersonal past in 66Nq, Table 5.87 and the verbal adjectives, also with long vocoids (underlined) where traditional dialect generally has short vowels:

bligh: bl’i’han
ligh: lu’gh
nigh: ni’ghan

suiq: si’ghan

52P: l’i’t’a
55Sg: l’i’t’a
62Mg: l’i’t’a
66Nq: l’i’t’a
73Pq: l’i’t’a
77Cq: l’i’t’am

(3 plural) → <adar> <idis> <siad> <dar> <dur>

Verbal inflection is becoming almost fully analytic in young people’s dialect. In analytic 3 plural use there is a choice between inherited siad and innovative dur. The developments within the range of what is termed here the (3 plural) variable will be dealt with in greater detail than the other changes, analytic or otherwise, which are in progress in young people’s dialect.

5.399 Historical context of synthetic > analytic

Like the majority of languages in Europe, Irish has been drifting, for the past millennium at least, from a synthetic to an analytic state. In the Irish verb this has involved use of a nonpersonal form, based on the historical 3 singular, which acquires a pronoun to mark person. The dialect continuum of the Modern Irish verbal inflection resembles Western Romance in that northern dialects are mostly analytic and southern dialects more synthetic. The pronouns brought into service in the analytic system are generally the independent personal pronouns. The two main exceptions involve recent developments of the 1 and 3 plural pronouns from verbal affixes. The 1 plural from a suffix has developed in a wide buffer area between the analytic north and synthetic south. The new 3 plural is limited to present-day West Galway and nineteenth-century South-East Ulster.
In the 1 plural, instead of the independent pronoun *sinn*, the 1 plural present and future suffix *-amuid* was taken as the analogical pivot yielding the new pronoun *muid*. In dialectal terms it can be interpreted as an interstitial compromise: analytic, resembling dialects to the north, but segmentally resembling synthetic southern dialects. In West Galway the 1 plural suffixes and independent *sinn* were apparently still categorical at the beginning of the nineteenth century but were lost to this new pronoun *muid* by 1900. For traces of the older synthetic usage, see 5.93, and for pronominal by-forms from synthetic past *-amar* in higher register (possibly archaising or even reactionary), see 10.62.

At the time the pronoun *muid* was becoming categorical, the genesis of a new 3 plural pronoun began, based on the 3 plural past suffix *-adar*. All northern dialects of Gaelic, both Irish and Scottish, which have categorical analytic 3 plural morphology have taken the apparently obvious analogical pivot of the 3 plural pronoun (*siad*, e.g. *bheidís* → *bheadh siad* ‘would-be they’, i.e. ‘they would be’; *bhíodar* ‘were-they’ → *bhí siad* ‘were they’, i.e. ‘they were’). This ‘regular’ expansion of *siad* has nearly come to completion this century in the now almost defunct dialects of East Galway.¹ The dialects which are now peripheral in the West Galway Gaeltacht, however, are all levelling, at various rates of transition and internal embedding, with a different or additional pivot, namely the verbal inflection *(a)dar*, e.g. *bheidis* → *bheadh dur*, through analogy with *bhíodar* → *bhí dur*.

In these dialects the verbal variable (3 plural) can be taken to have five variants:

(3 plural) →  

suffixes:  
clitic:  
pronouns: 

In the most advanced systems there is a choice between three main variants: the affix *<idis>* in the conditional only, and *<siad>* and *<dur>* (and no *-adar*), both of which are possible in all tenses. The traditional (3pl past) variable has two variants: *<adar>* and *<siad>*; in innovative use there are four: *<adar>* and *<dur>*. In the past tense, for example, innovative *bhual dur* is common. I interpret the past tense use of 72N (and similar speakers) to involve analytic pronoun *<dur>* and a 3 plural conjunct form in *-Eþþ*. Thus, given his future *buailh dar* 72N *bhualthidh dur*, one can transcribe his past tense as *wuilh dar* 72N *bhualadar dur*. It can of course be difficult to distinguish phonetically, for example, between innovative *wuilh dar bhualadar* dur and traditional *wuilh dar* bhualadar dur. The conjunct use can be compared to traditional 1 plural imperative, e.g. *builh mid* *bhual muid*. Furthermore, the final fricative of the nonpersonal conditional ending, *x*, is sometimes absent, which yields the surface ending *-hadar*, e.g. *d etax dar d'fhéadadh dur*, but also *d etadar* 80CAI *d'fhéadhadh dar*, thus resembling the corresponding traditional form *d etad if d'fhéadhadhais*.

¹ The 3pl past forms in SIDtr q2 214, 689, 1015 have *siad* (and no *-adar*) in North and East Connacht, including East Galway; points 28–31 (32 no responses), 33–40, 50–62; on the other hand, *-adar* (in almost all points varying with *siad*) is found in South-East Galway, West Conamara and Árainn: points 25, (26 no responses), 27, and 41–6 (47 no responses, 48 one response = *siad*) and 49. For rare East Galway (Gleann na Madadh) *<dar>*; see p. 1237 n. 3.
5.400 Actuation, polygenesis

In this section we are concerned with the actuation and embedding problems concerning <dur>.\(^1\) There is some evidence that the dialects which are peripheral to the present Conamara Gaeltacht are innovating in parallel yet independently. This development in geographically and socially separate areas is, I propose, an example of independent, yet concurrent, language change, i.e. drift or polygenesis. There are five main points which support the hypothesised polygenesis:\(^2\)

1. The central area of the present-day West-Galway Gaeltacht (i.e. Cois Fharraige) shows almost no analogical <dur> but analytic use with <siad> is on the increase. The distribution of <dur> does not resemble the familiar pattern of diffusion from a geographically central point.

2. Interestingly, there is evidence of sporadic <dur> tendencies in a transplanted, originally central-Conamara dialect, spoken by a community which is now living on the periphery, i.e. in Ráth Cairn, County Meath. (Examples cited by Conchúr Ó Gíollágáin, personal communication.)

3. One male speaker from Lisín na hEilte, Gleann na Madadh in North-East Galway (where native Irish is apparently no longer spoken) has been noted with innovative <dur> from a recording made c. 1960, cp. Table 5.88.\(^3\)

4. There is historical evidence for a short-lived nineteenth-century development of -adar in the then marginal dialect of South-East Ulster (Williams 1967–8: 300).

5. Reanalysis of a verbal ending is always possible in Irish owing to its VSO (verb–subject–object) word order. For example, in the Middle Irish period (c. 900–1000 AD) a new 3 pl (<siad>) developed from a 3 pl suffix. In ‘pre-<dur>’

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\(^1\) I shall follow the approach to analysis of innovation set out in Weinrich et al. (1968).
\(^2\) For a doubtful instance of -dar in a prepositional pronoun, faoidar sin for regular fúthub / fúthú sin, see 7.98 (e).
\(^3\) The provisional and very limited evidence from Gleann na Madadh is based on three radio programmes from a series transmitted by Raidió na Gaeltachta. The series presented material which was recorded by M. Ó Cadhain between approximately 1957 and 1965. (The first programme of the series was broadcast on the 10\(^{th}\) of September, 2000. The programmes containing some material from Gleann na Madadh were the 13\(^{th}\), 14\(^{th}\) and 15\(^{th}\) in the weekly series.) In the 3 plural verb the four speakers in question have <siad> in the present and future, <siad> (x16) >> -dar (x1) in the past, -dis (x23) >> <siad> (x8) >> <dur> (x4) in the conditional and past habitual. The male speaker with innovative <dur> is named as Tomás Ó Mainchín by the radio presenter but as Máirtín Seoighe (aged c. 65, at the time of recording) in the catalogue of this material held by Roinn Bhéaloideas Éireann (both speakers were from the townland of Lisín na hEilte). If Máirtín Seoighe is in fact the speaker’s name, he would have been born c. 1900, giving the earliest date in apparent time for <dur> innovation in the conditional (in Connacht). This innovation occurs about 60 years earlier than it is found in Iorras Aithneach in the conditional and about 35 years earlier than in Bun a Cnoc. The speaker has:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Past</th>
<th>ni raibheadar, theoisigh siad, sheas siad, chaith siad, Bht — siad</th>
<th>dar (x1)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Past habitual</td>
<td>choinnóich dur, bhíoch dur, chuireach dur, d’iompraídis</td>
<td>-dis (x1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conditional</td>
<td>Bheach dur</td>
<td>dur (x1)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Most interestingly, his data, with <dur> in the conditional but not in the present or future, contravene the implicational scale of tense evidenced for Conamara (5.403). It seems, therefore, that, in this speaker from Gleann na Madadh, <dur> has replaced -dis without directly affecting analytic siad. We can compare here the skew distribution of speaker 73P (Mainis), 5.406, Table 5.91. (Point 34 (Caiséal, Gleann na Madadh) in SIDt is has 3 plural <siad> only, including past <siad> (x7) and conditional <siad> (x1).)
6. The parallel development of <dur> occurs in different areas despite these areas having differential facultative use of <adar> and <idis> in traditional usage.\(^1\) When one calculates averages of the usage of groups of speakers born c. 1890–1920 AD, as set out in Table 5.88, one finds that there is no simple correlation between traditional percentage <adar> use and <dur> innovation, although clearly frequent <adar> does weakly correlate with <dur> innovation.

1 Conditional here stands for conditional, past habitual and past subjunctive, rarely also imperative. 0% indicates exclusive use of siad; blank boxes indicate no information (currently collated). The sources on which these percentages are based are listed here (speakers dates of birth, often approximate only, in brackets; all speakers are male except for Mionlach (post-1910, both male and female)).

Tuar Mhic Éadaigh (two (or three) speakers): Mártan Ó Diarmada, Gleann Sál (1873; S. de Búrca female)). Approximate only, in brackets; all speakers are male except for Mionlach (post-1910, both male and female)).

Tuar Mhic Éadaigh (two (or three) speakers): Mártan Ó Diarmada, Gleann Sál (1873; S. de Búrca female)). Approximate only, in brackets; all speakers are male except for Mionlach (post-1910, both male and female)).

An Máimín (Ráth Cairn) (two speakers): recordings made by Conchúr Ó Giollagáin (cf. Ó Giollagáin 1958–61: 89–110; 1964–6: 39–49), ITM (cf. p. 198) §357, §403, (Aindriú de Búrca (before 1900)), §406 (M. Ó Diarmada, Gleann Sál (before 1900; this is possibly Mártan Ó Diarmada born in 1873).

Rinn Mhaoile (one speaker): Michael Faherty (1870; Larminie 1893: 239–41). Note: 3pl past dur ... ; bhiodh, (hesitation) dis i dur ... . These examples indicate the inherent possibility of reanalysis.

An Máimín (Ráth Cairn) (two speakers): recordings made by Conchúr Ó Giollagáin (cf. Ó Giollagáin 1958–61: 89–110; 1964–6: 39–49), ITM (cf. p. 198) §357, §403, (Aindriú de Búrca (before 1900)), §406 (M. Ó Diarmada, Gleann Sál (before 1900; this is possibly Mártan Ó Diarmada born in 1873).

Gleann na Madadh (four speakers; from radio broadcasts described above (p. 1237 n. 3): Máirtín Seoighe, Lisín na hÉile; Tomás Ó Mainchín, Lisín na hÉile; Liam Dónalláin, Baile na Creige (Gleann na Madadh); and SIDtii point 34. The speaker with innovative <dur> is excluded from conditional <idis> calculations. His single token of past <dur> roisdar raítheadar of the verb bi) accounts for the 4% of past <adar> in Table 5.88 (i.e. 1 out of a total of 24 from the four speakers and SIDtii point 34).
Developments, in particular since the 1960s

Table 5.88 Percentage synthetic -idís, -adar use; traditional South Connacht

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dialect area</th>
<th>Conditional % &lt;idís&gt;</th>
<th>Past % &lt;adar&gt;</th>
<th>&lt;dur&gt; innovation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tuar Mhic Éadaigh</td>
<td>100 ≈</td>
<td>90 +</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rinn Mhaoidil</td>
<td>100 ≈</td>
<td>27</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bun a Cnoc</td>
<td>100 ≈</td>
<td>(100) +</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An Clocháin</td>
<td>100 ≈</td>
<td>100 cp. srodur</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ros Muc</td>
<td>97 &gt;&gt;</td>
<td>65 +</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iorras Aithneach</td>
<td>97 ≈ 93</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An Máimín</td>
<td>92 &gt;&gt; 69</td>
<td></td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cois Fharrage</td>
<td>99 &gt;&gt; 54</td>
<td></td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bearna, Na Forbacha</td>
<td>53 &gt;&gt; 16</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maigh Cuilinn</td>
<td>90 &gt;&gt; 43</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Árainn (An tOileán Mór)</td>
<td>0 &lt;&lt; 74</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Innis Orr</td>
<td>86 ≈ 91</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baile Chláir (pre-1910)</td>
<td>42 &gt;&gt; 6</td>
<td></td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baile Chláir (post-1910)</td>
<td>0 ≈ 0</td>
<td></td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mionlach (post-1910)</td>
<td>0 ≈ 0</td>
<td></td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gleann na Madadh</td>
<td>71 &gt;&gt; 4</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For example, neighbouring Bun a Cnoc and Iorras Aithneach have similarly high proportions of <adar> but Iorras Aithneach does not develop <dur> to the same degree as the more isolated Bun a Cnoc; neighbouring Ros Muc and An Máimín have lower proportions of synthetic <adar> than Iorras Aithneach; nevertheless, Ros Muc develops <dur> usage even earlier than Iorras Aithneach. Bearna, with less percentage synthetic usage than Cois Fharrage, shows <dur> innovation in contrast with Cois Fharrage.

There is considerable diversity in West Galway with regard to this variable. Some areas are ahead in the development, e.g. in the north and in Ros Muc. Only one area seems to show a homogeneous development with <dur> replacing other variants, i.e. Bun a Cnoc. Certain areas, such as Iorras Aithneach, show much variation, with some younger speakers opting for <siad> in all tenses, others opting for <dur> in all tenses, and others retaining a more conservative range of variants, while others use all five <siad> <adar> <idís> <dar> and <dur>. The development cannot be simplistically attributed to a higher rate of contact with English in the periphery. A relatively isolated dialect, Ros Muc, which is, however, within the Irish-speaking area itself and probably, of all Conamara, least influenced by English, also shows strong <dur> use.

Norm-preserving centres and parallel innovatory peripheries have been frequently noted in the literature.\(^1\) It seems the centre of the present-day Gaeltacht in

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\(^1\) For example, by Andersen (1988: 56–61) for Polish, Ivić (1962: 43–4) with regard to Serbo-Croatian, and Ó Sé (2002) with regard to Irish. Clear examples of norm-enforcement within the traditional vernacular were noted by de Bhaldraithe (GCP §213 note 3), with regard to 2sg imperative *deir* for common *abair*, and S. Ó Murchú (1989: 27) with regard to general derision of a speaker’s lack of application of a synchronically opaque sandhi rule (verbal *-x* > *-d* / /f (pronominal), see ‘Sandhi’ 2.61). It is noteworthy that 875T did not apply this sandhi rule but that his family (11J, 20T).
Conamara is conservative in the case of innovative 〈dur〉, whereas the periphery shows parallel innovation of 〈dur〉.

**Linguistic embedding and transition**

### 5.401 Embedding in discourse

The patterning of the (3pl pst) variable, i.e. the use of synthetic 〈adar〉 and analytic 〈siad〉, in older speakers from Iorras Aithneach would seem to indicate the very early stages of the demise of 〈adar〉 in favour of 〈siad〉. Most examples of 〈siad〉 in the past tense from speakers born before the 1910s occur in limited domains, e.g. in 〈bi〉 (and other irregular verbs); in switch reference; in emphasis; in focus. For example, one speaker, **866E** (in a small sample from **866ESc**), has 〈adar〉 with the verb 〈bi〉 in only 14% of cases (〈bhioda r / bhí siad 3/21) but with other verbs he has 〈adar〉 in 89.5% of cases (85/95). In one long tale (**866ESemr**) his 〈adar〉 usage seems to scale as follows:

1Conj >> 2Conj >> other irregular verbs >> 〈bi〉.

As soon as innovative 〈dur〉 is available as an alternative in new contexts it can fulfil similar discourse distinctions to those found in the traditional past tense between 〈siad〉 and 〈adar〉, including switch reference. There is a possible phonological constraint: 〈dur〉 has been noted especially frequently before 〈sin〉, e.g.

- Well, nil aon ghráithe a’ m dhóibh sin! adeir sé. Tá 〈siad〉 ró-bhog, ró-uaibhreach le haghna na hÉireann! adeir sé. Chuaadar go dì an dárna páirc. -Nil aon ghráithe a’ m dhóibh sin! adeir sé. Tá 〈dar〉 ró-bhog, ró-uaibhreach le hí na hÉireann! adeir sé. **582SbTS130;**

**tudar fín’ id’ ar fe g’ e’ t’ xdt 892M: ‘tádar sin,’ a deir sé, ‘ag éisteacht’.

**future:** Ní bheidh 〈dur〉 istigh! **05S, dionthadar sin thu 69TCS.**

There is possibly a dissimilatory pressure of both 〈s〉-sounds in 〈siad sin〉 which may favour 〈dur〉 〈sin〉. The greater clitic nature of 〈dur〉 〈sin〉 in contrast with 〈siad〉 may also facilitate stress placement on 〈sin〉 and thus favour 〈dar fín’ dur 〈sin〉.

Many speakers from Iorras Aithneach, born before 1910 (and many post-1910), have c. 95% past 〈adar〉. There is, however, a small minority of older speakers who use 〈siad〉 very frequently in the past tense. In most areas in Galway conditional 〈idís〉 occurred in a slightly higher proportion than past 〈adar〉 (Table 5.88), that is to say the past tended to give way to analytic inflection before the conditional. A minority of speakers, however, in these areas, and possibly the majority of speakers in Árainn (the Aran Islands), reverse this trend and have more analytic inflection in the conditional than in the past tense.

### 5.402 Stages of evolution of 〈dur〉

Forms in traditional dialect where surface 〈-dar〉 occurs as an allomorph of 〈-adáir〉 are described above (5.75 ff.). These forms, where an interpretation ‘stem’#dar is
Developments, in particular since the 1960s

plausible, can be seen as possible origins in the historically correct past tense for the later development of <dur>. These forms and the further stages of evolution with their ‘termini post quos’ for Iorras Aithneach, based on the dates of birth of our first speakers using such forms, are set out in the following series:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stage</th>
<th>‘Terminus post quem’</th>
<th>Development</th>
<th>Replacing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>la</td>
<td>1852</td>
<td>tádar sin</td>
<td>tá siad sin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lb</td>
<td>1920</td>
<td>tádar</td>
<td>tá siad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lc</td>
<td>1920</td>
<td>níleadar, níldar</td>
<td>níl siad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2, 3</td>
<td>1945</td>
<td>bíonn, beidh</td>
<td>bíom siad, beidh siad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>1950</td>
<td>bheidheasdar</td>
<td>bheidheas siad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>1965</td>
<td>bheadhdar</td>
<td>bheidís, bheadh siad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>1965</td>
<td>dur</td>
<td>siad, -adar, -idís</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Stage 1 *tádar* tádar (in the general present of the irregular verb *bí*) is the first evidence of the spread of -dar to a historically incorrect tense. According to Mańczak (1957–8) and Wurzel (1989) the indicative mood and present tense are basic or unmarked (cited by McMahon 1994: 80, 98), which would imply that stage 1 is crucial, giving -dar a base from whence it could spread. This tádar is not generally heard from the oldest generations of speakers in Iorras Aithneach. Speakers 869P2–5, 870B1–2, for example, have tá siad (e.g. 869P2, 46.1131; 870B2); níl siad 46.1072. Speaker 16M (Máire) is on the threshold for this variable; only very few tokens of *tádar* (tádar M94, *... tádar imíthe* ... M94) were noted from her over the years, whereas 19P (Pádraig, her younger brother) uses it freely. There are, however, exceptions: one instance each of *tádar sin* from 852Sb130 (Loch Con Aortha) and 892M (Dunhaigh Ithir), cited above (5.401). These are considerably earlier in apparent time than the other evidence of tádar in Iorras Aithneach. In the eastern border of Iorras Aithneach (Lough Con Aortha and Doire Iorrais) tádar may have been current at an earlier stage than the rest of the peninsula; as indeed tádar was in neighbouring Ros Muc. One can also note that speaker 852Sb’s father’s people originally came from near Loch Measca in North Conamara (LL xv). It is probably significant that my earliest examples of *tádar* occur preceding sin. Cf. beidh *dur* sin 05M (5.407).

5.403 Implicational dispersion

Bun a Cnoc, to the north of Iorras Aithneach, shows a homogeneous development, with all but one variant being lost. Table 5.89 displays the spread of <dur> in the regular verb in Bun a Cnoc.¹

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¹ By c. 1950 Irish was no longer being acquired by infants in Bun a Cnoc and substantial code-switching was also reported (Nilsen 1983: 102–3). Rapid <dur> innovation may well be connected with language shift in Bun a Cnoc.
Table 5.89 Internal embedding of <em>dur</em> in Bun a Cnoc

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Speakers born</th>
<th>Past</th>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Future</th>
<th>Conditional</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>before 1930</td>
<td>-dar</td>
<td>siad</td>
<td>siad</td>
<td>-dis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930–5</td>
<td>dur</td>
<td>dur</td>
<td>dur</td>
<td>-dis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>after 1935</td>
<td>dur</td>
<td>dur</td>
<td>dur</td>
<td>dur</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As already stated, Iorras Aithneach shows greater diversity than Bun a Cnoc, with some younger speakers using <em>siad</em> only, others using <em>dur</em> only, and others retaining traditional variants, while others use all five <em>siad</em> <em>adar</em> <em>idís</em> <em>dar</em> and <em>dur</em>. Most speakers’ usage seems to follow an implicational scale reflecting a regular spread of <em>dur</em> through the verbal system. There is diversity, however, both between <em>dur</em> adoptors and non-adoptors, and also among <em>dur</em> adoptors with regard to which other variants are used and to what degree they are used. Table 5.90 presents examples of paradigms attested from <em>dur</em> speakers (<em>d</em> = <em>dur</em>, <em>s</em> = <em>siad</em>, <em>dis</em> = <em>idís</em>).

The implicational dispersion through verbal tense is quite robust. There are, for example, no speakers who have <em>bheadh dar</em> but only <em>beidh siad</em>. In apparent time, however, both limited <em>dur</em> expansion (in the range from speaker 48J to speaker 43M in Table 5.90) and full <em>dur</em> use are found in speakers born between c. 1940–90, although the former group (limited <em>dur</em> expansion) is fairly well chronologically ordered. One can compare these patterns to similar tables given, for example, in Bickerton’s work on the post-creole continuum (e.g. Bickerton 1973) and the tables which show slightly more systematic variation in the French of Montréal as presented by Sankoff (1980). When, however, all the independent variables of location, sex, age, family and peer group are taken into account, a fairly detailed account of a given speaker’s usage seems possible.
Some further morphophonological detail of four individual speakers’ usage follows.

71D1 has past 1Conj -adar >> -dar, 2Conj -adar (~ -idar perhaps); pres -dar >> fid; cond / pasthan -ad if i -/i -ad if i only; the single example of pst -dar is fosdar phósadar; the example of cond 2Conj -ad if i is ... dosad if j ... dosaidis. He also has been noted with cond / pasthan -dar in conversation.

72A has past, present and future -dar; she was also noted with present dar in k‘æapán dar ga wildar intáx 72A ceapann dar go bhfuiladar iointach, and with 2Conj pst '-dur in raun’dur skór 72A roghnadh scór.

72Nq provides examples of 3pl imperative: kau.haxdar, miux.haxdar [perhaps -ax dur] 72Nq cailltheadh dar, milltheadh dar.

77C has -dar spreading in cond / pasthan and in the present. In the past tense his (3 plural) ranges between -adar -idar and -dar with 2Conj -idar. In his GEARR class questionnaire results I have counted: -adar (x4), -idar (x4), -dar (x1), e.g. ju:radar, xu:idar, v’iu:dar 77Cq ghearadar, charleadar, milladar.

Table 5.90 <dur>, implicational dispersion in apparent time and verbal tense

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Speaker</th>
<th>Pst</th>
<th>Pres</th>
<th>Fut</th>
<th>Cond</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pst</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19P</td>
<td>s,d</td>
<td>s,d</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>s,d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20M</td>
<td>s,d</td>
<td></td>
<td>s</td>
<td>s,d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48J</td>
<td>s,d</td>
<td>s,d</td>
<td>s,d</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52J</td>
<td>s,d</td>
<td>s,d</td>
<td>s,d</td>
<td>s,d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53J</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>s,d</td>
<td>s,d</td>
<td>s,d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78R</td>
<td>s,d</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>s,d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78M</td>
<td>s,d</td>
<td>s,d</td>
<td>s,d</td>
<td>s,d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64M</td>
<td>s,d</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>s,d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69S</td>
<td>s,d</td>
<td>s,d</td>
<td>s,d</td>
<td>s,d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78PA</td>
<td>s,d</td>
<td>s,d</td>
<td>s,d</td>
<td>s,d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81C</td>
<td>s,d</td>
<td>s,d</td>
<td>s,d</td>
<td>s,d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84P</td>
<td>s,d</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43M</td>
<td>s,d</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>s,d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45N</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>s,d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53T</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71D</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>s,d</td>
<td>d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72A</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72N</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>s,d</td>
<td>d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73P</td>
<td>s,d</td>
<td>s,d</td>
<td>s,d</td>
<td>s,d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77C</td>
<td>s,d</td>
<td>s,d</td>
<td>s,d</td>
<td>s,d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78PC</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79M</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>s,d</td>
<td>s,d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79MI</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>s,d</td>
<td>s,d</td>
<td>s,d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80M</td>
<td>s,d</td>
<td>s,d</td>
<td>s,d</td>
<td>s,d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85M</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>88M</td>
<td>s,d</td>
<td>s,d</td>
<td>s,d</td>
<td>s,d</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Sociolinguistic embedding and evaluation

Under the heading of sociolinguistic embedding we can describe the social variables of speaker sex, location, peer groups and networks. McMahon (1994: 251) following J. and L. Milroy (1985: 370) stresses the difference between a true innovating group and early adopters. Early adopters are evident in <dur> expansion.

5.404 The sex variable

Males are apparently the leaders in the innovation. Figure 5.28 shows the abrupt fall of past <dar> in females born sometime before 1941. In the present tense of the verb bi (‘to be’) in the form tadar, innovative synthetic <dar> was a weak marker for males by the 1920s. As <adar> usage in the community as a whole decreased, males lagged behind females and increased tadar output to equal that of the past tense. This pattern may have been a catalyst for <dar> (and so <dur>) to become a male marker in all tenses. The female variant, siad, corresponds to the written standard and therefore complies with a familiar modern or ‘western’ pattern of more standardised female speech.

Figure 5.28 Percentage of <dar> (~ <dur>) use in present tá and past bhí according to speakers’ age and sex

By the 1970s and ’80s of apparent time <dur> had become a clear sex marker in all tenses in Iorras Aithneach. This is demonstrated in Figure 5.29 where the percentage use, by each sex, is given of speakers born between 1968 and 1988 (a total of 50 speakers).

(From recordings I have made of speakers from Ros Muc, born in the 1980s, it is apparent that young males in Ros Muc use as much (if not slightly) more <dur> than my cohort of Iorras Aithneach males and that young Ros Muc females use less than my cohort of Iorras Aithneach females. Ros Muc <dur>, then, seems even more polarised by sex.)

The three variants of the conditional pattern correspondingly. The most conservative variant, <idis>, takes a middle position (1960–88 cohort):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>male</th>
<th>female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dur</td>
<td>-idis</td>
<td>siad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>siad</td>
<td>-idis</td>
<td>dur</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Developments, in particular since the 1960s

Young females who do use a high proportion of <dur> are either members of strong <dur> networks and/or have strong ‘local’ ties of either social or cultural nature or both. The social patterning in <dur> usage is a significant discovery: <dur> is the first (segmental) sex marker which has been documented for any Irish dialect. The development since 1920 is one of increasing polarisation between the sexes, perhaps an indication of the ‘urbanisation’ of the society. A similar polarisation of previously under-differentiated rural languages has been noted in other studies, notably by Nichols (1983) for a rural black community in the United States and by Holmquist (1985) for a Spanish village.

Figure 5.29 Percentage of <dur> use by young men and women (1968–88)

5.405 Location and peer group

Innovating individuals and networks can be identified. These include important peer-group constraints on speakers, yielding differences and changes both within and across generations.

The earliest innovative areas within Iorras Aithneach are Cill Chiaráin in the east and the coast from Glinse to An Aird in the west. In these two areas some males born around 1950 use <dur> consistently. Cill Chiaráin and Glinse (and north of Glinse) are the two most anglicised areas in Iorras Aithneach. It is my suspicion that communication with (younger) semi-speakers, more prevalent in more anglicised areas, is an important factor in the initial development and spread of <dur>. At the eastern border with Ros Muc there may have been some innovation considerably earlier, cp. tódar sin from 852Sb (5.402).

The most conservative area with regard to <dur> within Iorras Aithneach is the island of Máinis, where children of primary-school age in the late 1990s used very little <dur>. In the 1970s, when no parents in Máinis used innovative <dur>, it was virtually non-existent in children’s speech. Since the late 1970s, however, many children from Máinis acquired <dur> at postprimary-school age. The secondary school in Carna (Roisín na Mainchloch) has a large catchment area and may have been a locus for <dur> adoption. Among primary school children recorded by me in 1998 in Máinis, <dur> is still relatively rare (with no immediately obvious sex differentiation). It is limited to those whose parents or older siblings use <dur>.
5.406 Adoption and acquisition across generations and sexes

Many families show clear age and sex constraints on <dur> use: younger brothers are the most likely family members to be <dur> users. We can take but one of the many interesting families for example: Table 5.91 displays the use of siblings 69S (brother), 72C (sister) and 73P (brother).

Table 5.91 (3 plural) in clann Thaidhg Jó Bhairbre Uí Mhaoil Chiaráin

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Speaker</th>
<th>Past</th>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Future</th>
<th>Conditional</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Seán</td>
<td>siad &gt;&gt; dur</td>
<td>siad &gt;&gt; dur</td>
<td>-idís</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caitlín</td>
<td>siad</td>
<td>siad</td>
<td>-idís</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pádraig</td>
<td>siad &gt;&gt; dur</td>
<td>siad &gt;&gt; dur</td>
<td>siad &gt;&gt; dur</td>
<td>dur</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Both the sex and age constraints are evident in this network despite the short span of only four years of apparent time. As expected, Pádraig resembles his older brother most but uses <dur> for his elders’ <idís>. Here his lack of quantitative consistency within the general implicational scale (which is: present >> future >> l = conditional) may be a result of this ‘replacement’ within his sibling group. Pádraig seems to have made a straight switch of frequent <dur> for the frequent <idís> of his older siblings thus eschewing quantitatively the implicational development. One of 73P’s closest neighbours, 72N, has almost categorical <dur> (Table 5.90); 72N also contrasts with his older brother, 64M, who has dominant <siad> in the past and <siad> in the present.

Few social constraints on <dur> innovation, however, seem absolute. <dur> is a minority innovation even among males. In contrast, however, to females, I have found no unaffected male within a <dur> network. Máirín de Brún (43M) and Ainí Bean Uí Cheannabháin (45N), both from Maínis, have picked up <dur> usage to varying degrees from the younger generation in An Aird Thoir; Máirín through work ties and Ainí through marriage into the area.

Table 5.92 presents speaker 43M’s slow development of <dar> in the (3 plural) variable as noted in many conversations with her over the years. Máirín was surprised (in 1998) when I told her she used faigheanndar and said ‘Do I use faigheanndar? Oh that’s terrible!’ (my translation). Her work network has changed since 1995 and she seems to have given up <dur>. (Before 1995 she worked in a managerial capacity in a fish processing factory in An Aird Thoir where she accomplished an egalitarian and collaborative working environment. One of her co-workers, speaker 46M, who is in Máirín’s age-group and a woman of self-confident and independent character, uses innovative <dur> and may have been a significant source or model for Máirín’s adoption of <dur>.) Máirín’s brother Jaicí (52J) was recorded in 1985 with present marab fhuiileadar and future be’dar (b e’dar) but he appears to avoid these forms since then. When discussing young speakers’ <dur> usage with 52J and his mother 16M, he said such forms were wrong (‘mícheart’); his mother was noncommittal, finding them strange (‘aisteach’). The rest of the family (45B, 47P, 54C, 56B) now live outside the

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1 From notes taken on paper slips. The regular implicational scale in real-time adoption is striking: present >> future >> conditional; although the environment of the present regular verb expanded only later.
Irish-speaking area and are not participating, or ‘dabbling’, in <dur> or <dar> expansion.

Table 5.92 Máirín’s (43M) ten-year adoption of <dur>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>→1985</td>
<td>Present</td>
<td>bi</td>
<td>tádar, bhfuiladar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>Present</td>
<td>faigh</td>
<td>faigheann dar (fandar in my notes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>Future</td>
<td>faigh</td>
<td>gheoiftheadar, bhuifheadar, bhfuigheadar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>Future</td>
<td>teara</td>
<td>mara díochtadhar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>Conditional</td>
<td>bi</td>
<td>bheadhdar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>Present</td>
<td>teara</td>
<td>a thaganndar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(regular)</td>
<td>ceap</td>
<td>ceapann dar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>breathnaigh bhreathainndar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cp. 2005</td>
<td>Present</td>
<td>bi</td>
<td>bíonn dur</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Speaker 45N is a widow and her sons are strong <dur> users. She now uses <dur> (even in the conditional) more consistently than her daughters. Perhaps the sex constraint on <dur> is stronger for her daughters. These women-adoptors 43M and 45N show the linguistic competence to acquire a new ‘hybrid’ morphological category. Such a change is ranked 3 or 4 out of a possible range of 9 by Kerswill (1996: 200) in a difficulty-of-acquisition hierarchy of second dialect features (where 1 = most difficult).

In the family of 12S and 16M, and in the community as a whole, the (3 plural) variable contrasts with the (Vx3) variable. The former divides by sex whereas the latter has no such division. Despite her temporary adoption of <dur>, 43M currently has past tense 3 plural <siad> >> <adar>, as do all her sisters, the typical female pattern. Their brother (52J) has, in contrast with his sisters, the (conservative) male pattern past tense 3 plural <adar>> <siad>.

5.407 Intergenerational miscomprehensions

The change involving <dur> is so rapid that miscomprehensions between speakers can occur; possible examples are:

-Ní bhristeach dar ort? 46C (Cill Chiarán)
-Hm? 23J (Finis)
-Ní bhristeach dor ort? 46C
-Ó! ‘no, no, no’, dá mbristhidís, a dheabhall ... 23J
-An mbíoch siad ... bhíoch dor ... 46C;

and
-Cá maireann dur, meas tú? 69A (Maoras)
-Hm? 05M (An Aird Thoir)
-Cá maireann na síogaí? Cá maireann siad? 69A
-Cé hiad? 05M
-Na síogaí. 69A
-Níl fhios a’m, a stór. 05M.

Generally, however, there is comprehension. (For example, in the same recording

1 For other women, in Brazilia, who are good adopters, cf. Bortoni-Ricardo (1985). Cp. 11.3.
of 69A and 05M shortly after the miscomprehension given above.) In fact, I have heard speaker 05M use innovative <dur> in concurring repetition (in 1994):

\[ \text{i v'edar af tr 4SN - Ní bhe’dar istigh.} \]
\[ \text{i v'eí dar fín’ af tr 05M - Ní bheidh dur sin istigh!} \]

I take this to be an instance of occasional adoption by 05M, significantly found in the context of a preceding <dur>. What seems to be a type of correction, where the older speaker echoes with the non-<dur> form (i.e. a traditional form), occurs twice in the recorded conversation between 46CCN and 23JF; once in the example given above and in:

\[ \ldots \text{ bhíochdar ag goil an t-am sin? 46C} \]
\[ \text{- Bhiodar ag goil an t-am sin \ldots 23J.} \]

In an interview with 892Mg(GE) recorded by the masterful folklore collector Proinsias de Búrca (a frequent tádar user from the North Conamara Gaeltacht), which was made in 1959 before <dur> had expanded in Iorras Aithneach, there is one example of a comprehension difficulty, perhaps caused by tádar (although another token caused no problem). Speaker 892M answers with tá siad:

\[ \text{-Tádar acúinneach leihí, a ghoil un farraige. Proinsias de Búrca} \]
\[ \text{-Ha? 892Mg} \]
\[ \text{- Tádar acúinneach le ghoil un farraige. Proinsias de Búrca} \]
\[ \text{-O’ tá siad ach tá fhios a’d ní báid an-mhór iad \ldots 892Mg.} \]

5.408 Linguistic constraints

The evolution of <dur> and other ex-affixal pronominals in Irish are counterexamples to the theory of unidirectionality. That is to say, ‘Today’s morphology is tomorrow’s syntax’ to reverse Givón’s famous claim concerning the development of morphology from syntax. Such counterexamples are not so rare in other languages.¹

Increase in a diachronically receding category can be, and is often, interpreted as hypercorrection both in the historical record and contemporary sociolinguistic investigations. As an example, one can mention the resurgence of 3sg present -th in place of innovative -s in sixteenth and seventeenth century English before its eventual demise; and the many examples of cross-over in the frequency counts of middle class usage of high status linguistic variables. It is therefore important to ascertain whether or not there is any evidence for hypercorrection or so-called adaptive rules (presumably most prominent in adult speech (Hopper and Traugott 1993: 128)) involved in <dur> innovation (cp. 73P and 43M, 5.406). Apart from the obvious sociolinguistic relevance of this question, there is also the theoretical significance of this counterexample to unidirectionality. If the change is due to an adaptive rule this particular instance might be judged to strengthen both the theory of unidirectionality and that of the ‘irregularity’ of hypercorrective change (e.g. Labov 1972: 244–8). Although there are counterexamples to unidirectionality which do not seem to involve hypercorrection, it is noteworthy that high <dur> use can be described as reactionary in contrast with innovative <siad>; males in particular appearing to be reactionary, whereas females appear to be more consistent in their innovation. There is a typologically marked, morpho-syntactic verbal innovation in the usage of young male speakers of an endangered

¹ Examples from Japanese (Matsumoto: 1988), Saame (also known as Lappish) (Nevis: 1986), etc. Cf. Langacker’s (1977: 75) rare type of reanalysis ‘boundary creation’.
Developments, in particular since the 1960s  1249

Walser dialect on the Swiss-Italian border, reported in Dal Negro (1998), which is in sociolinguistic terms strikingly similar to the 3 plural <dur> case.

5.409  Conclusion

Much more qualitative, quantitative and statistical work needs to be done on this minority morphosyntactic divergence in West Galway. One can draw the following conclusions from the present overview. The <dur> variant involves a parallel development of the two possibilities which have been known to occur in Irish as it drifts towards analytic verbal inflection, i.e. pronominalisation of the verbal ending <dar> and use of the pronoun <siad>. The linguistic constraints on <dur> include an implicational spread, initially, to the present of the verb bí (‘to be’, arguably the most basic tense and verb in the verbal system), and subsequently through the primary tenses to the secondary tenses. Its social function in Iorras Aithneach is, at least superficially, a young, male, localised marker. (One may even speculate that it involves a reactionary expansion of the receding synthetic variant perhaps in reacting against what was perceived as change lead by females, perhaps, in sociolinguistic terminology, against perceived change from above.)

Conjugation

5.410  General

The major conjugational development current in the dialect is depletion of 2 Conjugation inflection. Certain speakers born in the 1970s have regular 1 Conjugation endings only, e.g. 72N. On the other hand, there is also expansion of 2 Conjugation endings into the 1 Conjugation. In particular, use of present stem -iÉ- and future stem -oÉ-Ô expands. Speaker 60M, the oldest speaker with frequent present -iÉ- with traditional 1 Conjugation verbs, has an idiosyncratic system. Speaker 66N has three kinds of change:
(i) expansion of 2Conj -iÉ- and -oÉ-Ô,
(ii) (a) replacement of 2Conj -iÉ- and 2sg cond -aÉ by 1Conj -aÉ- and -hAÉþþ,
(b) reclassification of some verbs to the 1Conj,
(iii) fudged future stem -hoÉ-Ô (<h 1Conj + o: 2Conj) (5.417).

5.411  First Conjugation > Second Conjugation

There are only sporadic examples from the older generation of 1 Conjugation verbs developing 2 Conjugation inflection. For example, the verb trust is generally 1 Conjugation (e.g. conditional ν’i: hrUSTAÉ SM, hrUSTO: M, VN a hrUST SM, a hrUSTA 60M) but 2 Conjugation in future in ν’i: hrUSTO: fÉ: S; this might, however, be taken as a member of the typically denominal CÚL class of verbs (if not misheard for ν’i: hrUSTA gÉ: fÉ: cf. 14 trust'). There is also a mixed example of which I am not completely certain: conditional gÉ: 9ÉkEoÉif M85 dhá leaghthóidís. Although most of speaker 01P’s verbal forms are regular, he does, however, have noteworthy anomalous use of 2 Conjugation endings in:

pres  feicímse chuile fhear ... feicím iad a’ chaoi ... ;
fut  go dteannó’ sé amach;
cond  nach geleachtóidís é (all 01P).
Verbs

Only one other example was noted of unhistoric present -iÉ from the older generation (heard in 1993):

\[ \text{na rudí: fkr'iÉvin' fiad 19P na rudaí a scriobhaíonn siad.} \]

One sometimes gets the impression that those younger speakers who facultatively use 2 Conjugation endings with traditional 1 Conjugation verbs, use the 2 Conjugation inflection in this context as a more marked or ‘stronger’ form. For instance, 66N generally produces future lasoÉ but lasoÉ fëÉ fin' 66N lasoÉdhsí sin was noted once from her, meaning ‘that (fire) will definitely light’ (or perhaps the form was influenced by the verb dearg (future 2Conj) here). Compare

\[ \text{k'erd a x'Épox tusÉ ... 64Me céard a cheapthaí dh tusa ... ?} \]

5.412 Second Conjugation present -iÉonn

The Second Conjugation present endings, nonpersonal -iÉn -iÉonn and 1sg -iÉm -iÉm, spread in the speech of a small minority of the younger generation, e.g.

\[ \text{bíonn corrcneann ann a mbeiríonnns m'Ér'ins tú air ... 79S;} \]
\[ \text{t'aiÉm' a max 84P teighim amach.} \]

Speaker 60M is the oldest speaker noted with a strong tendency to use -iÉn with 1 Conjugation verbs. There is an example of intergenerational variation in both (-iÉonn) and the GEARR class in a conversation between 60M and 16M:

\[ \text{-d' aultí: nax g'Érin fe ... 60M Deabhaltaí nach ngearraíonn sÉ ...} \]
\[ \text{-n'í: jàran ... 16M Ní ghearrann ...} \]
\[ \text{- ... g'ar-f'í: ... nar jor fe 60M ... ngearrfsí ... nar ghearr sÉ.} \]

5.413 Present -iÉonn, future -óidh, conditional -ódh, -th(a)ínn

Future éisteoidh for traditional éistthidh is commonly heard on Raidió na Gaeltachta from younger speakers from East Conamara. This innovative eÉtÉvoÉ was noted in Iorras Aithneach from 63S (in 2002), speaker 21J’s youngest son. Cf. éistgiÉ SID41.418 (Innis Oírr) reported in B. Ó Catháin (1990: 307 n. 198) and facultative 2 Conjugation use further south, e.g. GCD §520.

Speaker 60M, Mainis

Speaker 60M has present -an ~ -iÉn in traditional 1 Conjugation verbs (including 1sg -iÉm’); his 2 Conjugation verbs have consistent present -iÉn. He also has 1sg conditional -hax’ ~ -hix’ with 1 Conjugation verbs; his 2 Conjugation verbs have consistent 1sg conditional -ox’. The nontraditional sections (in small capitals) of his verbal paradigm can be exemplified with creid and contrasted with ceannaigh:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1 Conjugation</th>
<th>2 Conjugation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>creideann ~ CREIDIONN</td>
<td>ceannaíonn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1sg Conditional</td>
<td>chréidhínn ~ CHREIDTHÍNN</td>
<td>cheannóinn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

His use of -iÉn for traditional -an in the present 1Conj may be a result of the same causes as found in speakers of six and more years his junior but his unique use of 1Conj 1sg conditional -hix’ suggests that there may be other reasons behind his individual nontraditional paradigm. It is tempting to see an explanation in 60M’s possible interpretation of his father’s dialect of East Cois Fhharraige (Doire an

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Lochán to be precise, 60M’s late mother was from Maínis). A major feature of his father’s dialect is the general loss of non-initial h, thus paternal b’ei beithí (noun plural) corresponds to local (and 60M’s) b’éhi:. By the same token extraneous 1sg conditional v’eix’ bheinn of the verb bí, more common in Cois Fharráige than in Iorras Aithneach, appears to have been reinterpreted by 60M to yield his v’éihix’, a form unique to him in my sample. Similar reinterpretation was possible for verbs of the CAITH, BRUITH and BLIGH classes but v’éihix’ may have been the most important pivot for his innovative usage. Traditional 2 Conjugation past habitual and past subjunctive -íÉn’, generally replaced by conditional -ox’ in 60M’s generation, could reinforce -hí Én’ as a bona fide conditional ending. I have found no pivot for present tense 1 Conjugation as striking as v’éihix’ in 60M’s recordings. The classes of verbs described in GCF §§183–7, which correspond to Iorras Aithneach BRUITH, BLIGH and CRUAIGH, BEATHAIGH classes, do seem possible bases for analogy, e.g. paternal brix Én bruithíonn corresponds to local brix’ an, GCF §187 mum Én mothaím corresponds to local muhi Én. From such variation 60M may have derived his brix’ Én bruithíonn. Cp. An Duirling Mhóir n durl Én’ wor 60M for general n durl’ Én’ wor.

Short extracts from his recording, with examples of present and 1sg conditional, follow here (relevant traditional forms are underlined, nontraditional forms are in small capitals; cf. 13.25).

BAINÍM le sleán í is mar sin. Athráim amach le píce í ...
CUIRÍM le clai í … sa ngeimhreadh a dhéanann tú é, Tá daoine ann, GEÁRRAÍONN siad suas le susúr iad is CUIRIONN siad … Ní ITHÍNN héin iad, ...
-An gcreideann tú … ? BóC
-CREIDIM, CREIDIM, … Ach dhá MBEITHÍNN liom héin anois árdraídh d’inseoinn níos mó …
... Bhuíle naíor a BHEITHÍNN réiti GHOTAÍNN ag snámh … go NGOthaíNN … ach ni theigheanna mé … d’fhéadthaíonn [d’fhéadthaíonn ?] … ach ni dhéanann an mór i… an dfreagáin [FGB tuig] tú frosin.

Speaker 60M’s usage would definitely repay further investigation.

5.414 Speaker 66N, An Aird Mhóir

Speaker 66N was noted quite often using 2 Conjugation inflection with traditional 1 Conjugation verbs. Her examples include instances of -in -ionn but her most consistent use of innovative 2 Conjugation is with the future stem in -ox-. Her most frequent usage, however, seems to be 1 Conjugation inflection. Tokens noted from her are presented in Table 5.93 (for bain > bainn 66N, see 1.144). All the examples with 2 Conjugation future stem have root-final voiceless consonant. Many common verbs with voiceless final consonant, however, have shown no 2 Conjugation inflection in the future stem. Recall that -ox -ódh functions for both conditional and past habitual for 66N, as for most of her generation.

Examples from an even younger speaker are:
má flúsáionn síad, má fhásálonn tú 78JMN.  

1 Cf. 5.170.
Table 5.93 2Conj -íonn, -óidh, ódh, etc., with 1Conj verbs, 66N

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>-an</th>
<th>-in</th>
<th>-ha</th>
<th>-ó</th>
<th>-hax, etc.</th>
<th>-óx, etc.</th>
<th>VN</th>
<th>VN-w</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>at</td>
<td>±</td>
<td>±</td>
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<td>±</td>
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<td>bainn</td>
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<td>croch</td>
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<td>stop</td>
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<td>±</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.415 Second Conjugation > First Conjugation

Past impersonal -íodh > -adh

Depletion of the 2 Conjugation endings is very evident in the impersonal past, where:

2Conj -iw -iu: -íodh > 1Conj -ú -adh.

Most traditional speakers retain conjugational opposition well in the past tense. There is one lexeme in particular where the opposition is sometimes not maintained, namely maraígh, which has a progressive past impersonal marú, identical to the adjective marú marbh (which often functions as a verbal adjective). In fact all three functions of marú: have similar perfective meaning, i.e. marú = maraíodh, maraíthe, marbh. The oldest speaker noted with this innovative usage is 888N, in:

Ní marú eín an chéithre ... 888N ní maraíodh aon cheann ....

Similarly, marú 04Br maraíodh, a speaker who has otherwise -iw -iu in the 2 Conjugation. This speaker’s sister, 15W, was recorded with marív (which 04Br also followed with marív).

Speaker 899N has a possible example in:

án anns banú iad a’ thig 899N iomann’s bánadh iad uilig,

but bánaigh has some (permissible) 1 Conjugation inflection (Mq). Speaker 12S was noted with:

Se chaoi hiumpri amnas e S85.

Speaker 16M has not uncommon -u: with 2Conj verbs, but still -iu: is more common than -u:. An example of variation occurs in the same verb in close sequence in:

Je xi: gortú m’ a yuln’ sa | fir’ òdor marx sax’ aosp’ a’ gáir b’ e xi: gortív m’ a yuln’ M Sé an chaoi a gortaíd mo ghlúinsa, fuairadear amach san easpáicil gurb é an chaoi a gortaíodh mo ghlúin.

Speaker 21Pt has common -íodh but also -adh, e.g.

ku:u: e | 21Pt caiseadh é.

Speaker 52J, the son of two speakers mentioned above (12S, 16M), has both variants frequently, e.g.

... tairníodh tarrí i’ v ... ’s doichte nach labhradh ar ... ’s doichte nach cuírmeadh ar ... 52J.

Younger speakers, e.g. 66N, were noted with -u: more often than -iu:.

gar k’a nnu’ m’ if à 66N gur ceannadh mile; d’iníu: 66N d’ inseadh; rarely krív iar 66N cruiníodh.
Speaker 66N sometimes has reduction of -u: in words in general to -a, e.g. pst imprs ... lása 66N lasadh. Other younger speakers, e.g. 72N, were noted with -u: only (i.e. without -iu): urdu: 72N aradh (< ardaigh). An example of intergenerational variation occurs in the exchange:
-k’ænniav iad fin’ 16M Ceannaidh iad sin.
-fod e: a k’ænu 66N Seod é a ceannadh.

Doubtful 1sg -an’ for -in’ -on’
Two doubtful examples of 1sg -an’ for -in’ or -on’ from the older generation are:
ceannaigh pstthab ?? x’æan’ S85;
fiathraigh cond d’iarhon’ ~ ? d’iarhon’ S87.

5.416 Present -íonn > -ann, reclassification to 1 Conjugation
Depletion and loss of 2 Conjugation -íonn and replacement with -ann is common for quite a few younger speakers. The following details of 2 Conjugation reclassification to 1 Conjugation inflection occur in 66N’s usage:
-íonn > -ann (also -im > -im), many examples: aireann, breathnann, ceannann, críochnann, éireann, gortann, imeann, marann, oibreann, taithneann, tosann, triomann, e.g.
    rud el’ a ær-an’ iad a ru: 66N rud eile a airim iad ag rá ...,
    br’æan’ fe ... 66N breathnann sé ... .
-á > -thá one example: cheannthá.
Some verbs are almost completely transferred to the 1 Conjugation in 66N’s conversation:
    séalaigh > séal: pres séalann, fut séalthaíd, vadj séalta; but VN séalthú. In query, however, she has 2 Conjugation forms, i.e. impv felhá na ... ,
    cond heilhán, vadj felhán 66N.
    cóirigh > cóir, e.g. pst xór’ mud’ i, fut kor’ha m’e ... , VN a xor’-a, 66N. Cp. VN níorbh fhéidir é a thriomú xór’uma [hr’-?] 66N.
    fiathraighn > fiarann (5.311).
    osculation > (o)sucleann, (o)sculionn, fut (o)sculthidh (1.380).

Speaker 72N is the oldest speaker noted with consistent loss of the 2 Conjugation inflection, e.g.

    present      air’-an, k’æ-nan      éirigh, ceannaigh;
    future       kin’ a m’e            coinnigh;
    conditional  go g’æ-nax m’e, hosax dar ceannaigh, tosaigh.

An example of -íonn > -ann from an even younger speaker is maran [x2] 80CAI marann for traditional maraíonn.

5.417 Mixed conjugation stem in future -ho(-)

The 1sg conditional -hin’ of speaker 60M is discussed above (5.413). The form resembles a fudge of 1Conj -hain’ and 2Conj -in’ but its primary origin, it is hypothesised, is in dialect mixing rather than direct morphological mixing. On the
other hand, a fudged future stem in -ho(-) was noted sporadically from speaker 66N. Her three 1 Conjugation tokens have radical final voiced stops, and her two other tokens have radical final r:

- -ho: 
  traditional 1 Conj 
  creid 
  kr’et’o: creidtheoidh, 
  fheid 
  (n’i) eto fe ni fhéathroidh sé, 
  tuig 
  tik’oi? [?] tuigtheoidh si,
- -hox: 
  irregular 
  abair 
  go n’erhox go ndéarthóidh,
- -hox: 
  traditional 2 Conj 
  marbhaigh 
  go marhoxi i dhá marthóinn i.

It is tempting to find an explanation for this sporadic usage in the lack of salience of 1 Conjugation -hE through coalescence with preceding stops; -ho could then be interpreted as a phonologically more robust marker (similar in fact to verbal adjective -hiÉÒhEÔ, for -hE following stops, 5.172). The tokens following r might be related to the frequent lack of h following r in the future stem, as a type of hypercorrection.

5.418 Impersonal

There may be a depletion in the range of tenses in, and hence forms of, the impersonal in younger speakers. There is an example of the present impersonal form with past habitual meaning from 66N (she regularly has conditional forms here): jínter 66NiSc7 dhéantar (traditional déantar). It is noteworthy that use of impersonal forms of bí is common in some younger speakers even though these are not generally used by many traditional speakers, e.g.

taur’ d’ina suas ... 79Ml tadh ag déanmh suas ....

There is quality juncture between -r- and -i- in the example:

’n: v’er tar orabh 79Ml ni bheirtar orthub,1

and this may be significant for younger speakers, indicating greater juncture than in traditional speech.

There is an instance of 1 Conjugation pst imprs -u: > -o in: am áit a lasadh lasó 66N ‘the place that was burnt’. This speaker also has occasional -o for 2 Conjugation traditional VN -u: (5.415).

Nonpersonal verb + impersonal suffix: analytic impersonal

One example of an impersonal ending with a nonpersonal form was noted from a member of the older generation, in the conditional:

go d’aeingox-fí: 48J dhá dteangadh-fí ‘if ... touched’

(originally transcribed as -xfi:).

This usage, which represents the most radical verbal innovation which I have encountered in the dialect, becomes prominent in the speech of some of the younger generation. A minority of the youngest speakers investigated attach impersonal endings to the nonpersonal verb for any given tense. (For other innovations in these impersonal forms, such as in the system of initial mutations, see ‘Functors’ 8.40 ff.) Table 5.94 presents examples of innovation in young people’s speech in the impersonal including migration of traditional future -fEar. Future tense marker -fEar migrates to (partly) analytic present and conditional forms in:

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1 One should perhaps read 79M (for 79Ml) in both these citations (there is a confusion of these speakers’ abbreviations in my notes here).
Developments, in particular since the 1960s

- *-nf* ar, *-ns-f* a* for traditional *-f* ar,
- *-if* ar for traditional *-if* ar,
- *-hax-f* ar for traditional *-f* i* , *-a*x-f* ar for traditional *-of* i*.

Table 5.94 Impersonal, some developments in speakers born since 1960

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present</th>
<th>-ntar</th>
<th>-artar</th>
<th>-(n)tar</th>
<th>-tar</th>
<th>-ntar</th>
<th>-ntar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>64Me</td>
<td>ceann-</td>
<td>n-aithn-</td>
<td>aithn-</td>
<td>aithn-</td>
<td>aithn-</td>
<td>aithn-</td>
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<tr>
<td>66N</td>
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<td>72N</td>
<td>dùine-</td>
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<td>78B</td>
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<td>thúra-</td>
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<td>79S</td>
<td>ndiri-</td>
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<tr>
<td>84Pq</td>
<td>caithe-</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Future</th>
<th>-thaifear</th>
<th>-haf* ar</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>72N</td>
<td>Øl- etc.,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80C</td>
<td>dìon- leig-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>95B</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conditional</th>
<th>-aif*</th>
<th>-chuchfear</th>
<th>-lichfear</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>aif*</td>
<td>-hax-f* ar</td>
<td>-a<em>x-f</em> ar</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 66N    | mar- |         |         |
| 72N    | Øl- etc., | aithn- |         |

5.419 Examples

Present

- *-ntar*  tEUR ... a d’imántar sa t’ax fo 64Me98
  tádh ... a déanamh tar sa teach seo.
- *-nf* ar  do’n a*F* ar 72Nq dùineannfear;
  *n* i húran*F* ar 78E ní th(í)úranfear.
  Speaker 84P in translation query has: ka*anf* ar 84Pq caitheannfear.
  In Echo context to traditional *-ar* he has:
  - *An ngloitear é sin ort?* Ruairí Mac Con Iomaire
    *-gl*ant*ar* [perhaps gloan*tor*] 84P Glaonntar.
- *-inf* ar  ce chaoi an ndirionfear *(i)*ir*inf* ar rothait baidhsai*ls? 79S (i.e.
  -*n* *F* -).
- *-if* ar  with 2Conj for 1Conj in cuir (traditional ‘n* ci(h).*uir(e)*ar):
  *n* i xir* if* ar *mo*un 78B ní chuirlife renown mórán.
- *-ns-f* ar  speaker 78EMR94 was recorded with regular present (chaitear,
  léitear) and future (im*orfe* ar) but present irregular *bí* (cp. more tradi-
  tional tálifeart) relative:
  nuir * an * chuaif* ar aq’ iao * oim ... 78E
  nuair a bhíons*f* ar ag iarraidh orm ... .

Future

- *-haf* ar  1Conj *(n)*id*haf* ar *(n)*ó*th*afe*a*
  - *ar* 2Conj *(n)*id*haf* ar *(n)*ó*th*afe*a*
  *(n)* thairfe*a*ar, *(n)*id*haf* ar *(n)*ó*th*afe*a*
  *(n)* a thairnfe*a*ar 72Nq.
Verbs

ní jínef ar taeá fi 80CAI ní dhéanthaifear tada faoi.
Also in the exchange:

Conditional

1 Conjugation
-häuser ní: yun'hañ-häuser ní dhúintheachfear. dohañ-häuser d'ólthachfear,
(ní) oíhañ-häuser (ní) ólthachfear 72Nq;
his 2Conj is no doubt -añ-häuser.

2 Conjugation
-afí: go marañ 'mud' 66N go maróiffi muid.
-ox-afí most likely in conditional function in:

ní aon mhaith dhuit a bheith tuic [thick, 'stupid'] mara n-aithn-
eochfear ort é marañ nann'ox-afí or n 66N.

Speaker 86R was queried aged eight (in 1994) about impersonal verb forms. For
the verb caill she produced in translation regular past kaàû 'uò and future kaàûf 'E¨
but had difficulty with the conditional and offered af gàûf 'E¨Ex and more doubt-
fully af gàûf 'u.
6 Pronouns and pronominals

Gender and number

6.1 Natural gender

Both grammatical (masculine) and natural (feminine) gender occur in pronominal reference to the female animal cat. Masculine reference is far more prevalent but feminine also occurs, for example, in an instance where cat was also referred to as máthair:

mAÉhEr ! ... haitþþ¢ SiÉ SiÉs ... orhE ... iÉ
MÁTHAIR ... théadh sl sios ... UIRTHI ... l.

A masculine pronominal is regular in reference to pisín. An anomalous example with lenited, apparently feminine, dependent adjective (dhílis) occurs in:

PISÍN ruadh-dheas DHÍLIS ... E ... 894C9.

Natural gender is used in:

Tá pétre cíoch ar A HUCHT ag a’ RÒN BUINEANN. 869PDT90.

Grammatical gender (priachán) and natural gender (baineann) alternate in:

an PRIACHÁN BAINÉANN bir´an nuair a bhí ubh AÏGE, loigh SÉ ar an ubh, ag tabhairt gur dhi. Agus ní raibh an priachán feireann ag tabhairt aon bhliais (< blas, sandhi] le n-iche CHÁIGE. Agus u-, bhí SÍ fáilt ucráis, agus ní dhearna SÍ héin ach éirí ’ goil ag soláthar dt héin ar deireadh, 894C1.

Similarly, feminine grammatical reference is general for the male animal stail but occasionally masculine pronominals occur, e.g.

ba bhreá an STAIL l, e: fín’ É sin (referring to ‘stail’) 46.169.

In circumstances where reference may be made to both genders, the masculine pronominal is usual, e.g.

‘más FEAR BEAN a ghabh an bealach ariamh chleacht SÉ rud maith ina shaol, níor luigh SÉ ...’ 866ESC55.21.

Cp. pronominals in the interrogative, cé leis, etc., (6.9).

Masculine pronoun for feminine noun

6.2 Grammatical gender

For most words reference is based on grammatical gender, e.g.

tá LOCH ... tá sl thiar i Manann agus tugann siad LOCH na NÍ ORTHA. 11C;
SÍ an MHOÍN is fhearr l S; deas an CHREATHNACH l M.

A masculine pronominal is, however, very common in reference to a feminine noun. Examples from traditional dialect are presented below; they are divided into three sections dealing with (a) simple pronouns, (b) prepositional pronouns and (c) possessive pronouns, although some examples of course contain more than one type. Examples are further classified under the following headings: (i) concrete nouns, (ii) general reference and nonconcrete nouns, (iii) abstract nouns, (iv) fronting, (v) other words. Nouns noted with facultative masculine pronominals are mostly inanimate or low in the animacy hierarchy. The animate nouns found in my notes with facultative masculine pronominals are: each luachra, ollphéist (simple pronoun); cearc, reference to a woman (prepositional pronoun);
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ciaróg (possessive pronoun).1 Gender is being lost in nontraditional use, exemplified by masculine reference to gaoithe, módín in the following section.

6.3 (a) Simple pronouns; (i) Concrete nouns

Concrete feminine nouns are generally referred to with feminine pronouns. Examples with masculine pronouns are listed here.

anáil Níl aon uair a tharrainn tú t'UNÁIL i gcatha na hoíche nár bhuail tú thuas faoin maide mulla' mé, is níl aon uair a chuir tú a mach Énach é an tuisceacht a bhí a' gheal tugta is anuas ... 852SBts126.

artha Ní raibh móran ARTHA, gá mb'héidir a char, nar raibh sé i ndan, É a char dho dhuine. ... cheidim gá mbadh i ARTHA AN GHIrá héin É ’s g’o raibh sé i ndan [É ?] a char. 06C.

baisc sè chaot mbiodh BAISC eile, curtha acú, ar an dorú, suas le scór, ná b’héidir deich go bhfuil fhichead dhe bhallaigh mhóra eile, agus É ceanglaíthe ar fhiaclaí an chléibh acú. 06C.

coirleach É [often] ... ANN ... go leor 01P.

creathnach ... Nach íontach an rud e, is maith leatsa ÉP.

each luachra An té bhéarthadh ar an EACH LUACHRA, 'gus chuimleodh dhá theanga É892M, (Both each and each luachra are feminine (3.4), although masculine in other lects (including earc (luachra) FGB).)

gaoi(th)e Tá AN GHAOITHI tág ag goil isteach ann tá SE goileamh an taobh eile S. (In Gaoth Dobhair, Donegal, the use of masculine reference with inanimates has in fact been generalised: ’In Gaoth Dobhair it is the norm to use a masculine pronoun when referring to an inanimate noun e.g. fuinneog (fem.) “window”, cos (fem.) “leg, foot” etc. are referred to as sé.’ (Ó Siadhail 1984: 177)).

gaoithe, leaba, in response to Seán’s repeated question:

-An bhfuil AN GHAOITHE SA LEABA? (inflatable mattress), Máire replied:

-... tAÉ Sé INTI, whereas 66N had:

-... tá SÉ INTI.

ginn Cheanná an láí aisti héin is chuireá feac ínti. Agu s chuirtheá, chuirtheá AN GHÍNN SEO ansin, síos, eadair an feac agus an láí. Bhualtheá síos go maith E. Agus, AIR SIN a chuireá do chois ansin. M.

gloine reference may be ambiguous, referring to gloine or its contents. Ghaibh siad ag réiteach PUNIS, GLOINE d’fhiún agus GLOINE do Phaddy ... AN GHIÓNE ... ’an n-olfaidh tú GLOINE?’ ... Thug si chuige E agus ar ndéile d’ol sé AN GHIÓNE. 866Es200.8–11.

glint tá MO GHLÚIN ag brúscaí nuair atá mé ag siúl aireoidh tú ag torann É M. 'Leag mo lámh féin,' ... breith lena leathláimh UIRTHI agus cur chuir sé iomaire agus seacht n-acra as an áit sin l. 866Es63.25–8.

gruaig agus a GRUAIG ag imeacht le gaoith, gan ciorrach gan blas ach mar a bhí sé 866Es79.3; Ná cuir siar tada MO GHRAUNGSA ach cuir trasna díreach e S.

leac 'AN LEAC a iompú.' 'Leag mo lámh féin AIR,' ... breith lena leathláimh UIRTHI agus cur chuir sé iomaire agus seacht n-acra as an áit sin l. 866Es63.25–8.

(leic oighre) an oiread seo AIRDE LEIC OIGHRE orthub ... Tháinis an bradain féarma agus bhris sé AN LIC OIGHRE, tháinis sé anois TRÍTB. 892M2131. Probably often masculine, perhaps due to (now obsolete) masculine oighhear.)

1 In Gaoth Dobhair, Donegal, the use of masculine reference with inanimates has in fact been generalised: ‘In Gaoth Dobhair it is the norm to use a masculine pronoun when referring to an inanimate noun e.g. fuinneog (fem.) “window”, cos (fem.) “leg, foot” etc. are referred to as sé.’ (Ó Siadhail 1984: 177).
Gender and number

maidhm

(maidhm is sometimes masculine, e.g. an maidhm 06C.)
-Creidim gur MAIDHM MHAITH leith gliochar É MAIDHM OILEÁN LACHAN? 11C
-MAIDHM MHAITH leith gliochar É MAIDHM OILEÁN LACHAN. 31P
-€ (S déictic) gurb ea. ‘ Bhfuil sé — tá sé mór go maidhm, nach bhfuil?’ 11C
-Ó! tá sé mór. Tá. 31P
-Agus tá sé scaitheach? 11C
-Tá sé mór, tá sí mile ar fad. 31P
-Mile ar fad. 11C

Sóima

(Tá sí go maith creidim. 11C
-Tá. 31P
-Cé na marcanna atá ORTHA SIÚD? 11C.

maidhm ... amach ó Cheann Mása, duáin siad CAMPANN AIR. Deir siad liom nar raibh blas súntais aige, seoladh amach TIRTHI SIN is i ag briseadh. 892M.

móin

£ ~ i 78B, e.g. bainean dar le slán É ... shar a gcuiríonn siad ar an mbóthar i 78B (slán for sleán).

ollphéist
generally referred to in the feminine, including by speaker 866E (e.g. B16.110), but tháinig OLLPHÉIST as a’ loch, agus chroch SÉ an pota LEIS, ... is i an ollphéist atá marú. 866EB16.110.

sail

an TASAIL mharúch ... INA CEÁNN ... GÁ CHEÁNN. ... ag tomhas NA SAILE SIN ... taois’ amuigh GÁ CHEÁNN. ... bhí sé toisti ó theoigh go troigh ... a’ cas’ isteach AR A CHLOREANN. ... 852Sb.67–8.

scoil

ag goil an na SCOILE, gur fhága mé É 899N t.

sleagh

breith ar A SHLEÁ agus dúirt sé go gcaithfeadh sé leis an mbhardal i 866E–Sc89.18.

sliseog

bhain sé SLISEOG gá chrann, dhe chrann, agus chaith amach ar an bhfarraige É, consistently in (run)869P.
bhuail sé buille gá chlaimhe ar an gcrann, agus bhain sé SLISEOG de agus chaith sé amach ar an bhfarraige É. Bhuail sé buille gá shlaitín draíocht agus gá phoithin iochshlaínt AIR agus rinne sé loing bhreá trí croinnte DHE. consistently in (run)11C.

Cp. Bhain sí SLISEOG ... A’ TSLISEOIGHN ... DI. 852Sb6.66.

6.4 (ii) Nonconcrete; (iii) Abstract

(ii) General reference and nonconcrete nouns

scail

agus is gearr go dtáinig aon SCAIL ghréine agus tháinig SÉ anuas air seó 894Cs (sunbeam shining on a spider).

The elements and weather are referred to with masculine pronouns, e.g.

ta fe re: glaon l’ e hiast ónuas ana waject ox M
tá SÉ réidh glan le thoicht anuas INA BHAISTEACH.

Feminine noun aimsir takes both masculine and feminine reference. Compare the examples with bhain in:

SI AN BHLÍAIN is múa a raibh féar AIR l M, but the following day Máire said:

SI AN BHLÍAIN is múa a bhfuil féar AIR E M.

Cp. also the examples with gao(i)th(e) (6.3).
(iii) Abstract nouns

Abstract feminine nouns take both feminine and masculine pronominals; masculine reference being more common than with concrete nouns. For example, abstract nouns in:

-acht  cén sórt FIDÍNTEACHT É sin air? FFG s.v. fidinteacht;
   BACÚLACHT É AN CHIPÍNTEACHT S.
-nax boxt a l’f’l’al’ i: na jíə fin’ S
   nach bocht AN FILEÁIL [< feeling] l’ina dhiaidh sin?
-í  aon IMPL a d’iarrfadh sé bhí SÈ le fáil aige 866ESc149.11.

Masculine reference is particularly common in nonspecific use, as in:

-... agus ní féidir, nuair nach ndedána mé ÉAGCÓIR oraibhse, go ndéanfaidh sílbhse ormsa È 582SbL199;
   AN FHÁILTE CHÉANNA a bhí ag an gcéad fhathach ruimhe is ag a’ dárna
   fhathach, is e a bhí ag a’ tríú fhathach ruimhe. 582StS126.

6.5 (iv) Fronting; (v) Other words

(iv) Fronting

In fronting with the copula, is é ... , etc., and following demonstrative pronouns, seo é ... , sin é ... , etc., the masculine pronoun is very common, as proleptic pronoun, whether referring directly to the feminine noun or to other elements. Examples are:

báisteach  Tá siad ag cheapadh go b’e AN BHÁISTEACH a rinne e M;
caint  Badh È CAINT an tsionbhuachaíl a bhí fior, 06C;
cornáil ... agus sin É AN CORNÁIL, ‘CORNAIL’ a thiarthas tú AIR SIN. 21Pt (having described the activity of cornáil bréidín);
gnotha  færn vruh É AN GNOTHÉ (very common);
ioimaire  fód e t’umára asa, fo we t’umar’ asa M (translation)
   seod È t’IOIMAIRESA, seobh È t’IOIMAIRESA;
méid  Ní hé an dath céanna atá air is ní HÉ AN MHÉID CHÉANNA atá ann. 35E;
páí  færn x ema ans m iʃg guñi 43M
   SÈ AN PHÁIL CHÉANNA a fhaighteann mise e gcónaí.;
pleain  færn af æaÉn ... 11C Ó SA PHLEAN Ó ... ;
ursainn  fír e t’ursañsa M (translation) sin É ÀURSAINNSA.

Both in prolepsis and position following the noun in:

fuinneog  ’S dóichí go b’e AN FHIUNNEOG t’áir a mhíonn glas AIR M;
iascach  SÈ AN IASCACH ur-, scéfanta iascach na mballach seo is níl mórán, badráil
   le fáil UADH. 31P;
oíche  ... go mbadh È AN OÍCHE oibrí farraige e is mú choinic sé i meabo a
   bheatha 04Bt.

It is my impression that Máire and others tend to translate ‘this is ... ’, ‘that is ... ’ with greater use of é than in actual conversation.

Note the switch in:

ola  Bhuil, SÈ OLA na lia, chuala mise seanbhuachaill ag rá, ’gus
   t’áir a básaihe anis, gurb È OLA na lia, bhí ag coinneal laidh-
   habhsachait na hÉireann ag imeacht, ní go dháinich, AN OLA SIN
   dtugann siad ÈN PEARAILFIN ORTHA. 892M.

When referring to the time of the year the masculine pronominal is used, e.g.

Cáisc  ò fiə as eg’ ə ga b: ə xuʃk ə tu an 52J
   an bhfuil fhíos aige gob È AN CHAISC atá ann?
When referring to ‘a (lovely) Easter’, etc., there is, traditionally, frequent grammatical gender concord between the noun and (proleptic) pronoun, e.g.

\[\text{badh \ AN \ NOLLAIG \ ba \ mheasa \ i \ ... \ ; \ cp. \ b'\dhhainn \ AN \ CHAISC \ i.}\]

The proleptic pronoun in the interrogative following \(\text{céard}\) tends also to be \(\text{é}\), e.g.

\[\text{Ní raibh fhios \ acub ... \ CÉARD \ É \ MÚIN \ SLEÁIN.}\]

(v) Other words

It is well known that certain feminine nouns regularly take masculine pronouns, including \(\text{áit}\) and \(\text{caoi}\); and, when fronted, \(\text{barúil}, \text{tuairim}, \text{etc.}\); compare also \(\text{mèid} \ '\text{size}', \text{gnotha} \text{and} \text{pleain} \ (\text{iv} \ '\text{Fronting}') \text{and} \text{éagóir} \ (\text{iii} \ '\text{Abstract}')\) above. (Cf. GCF §284.) Feminine place-names often take masculine reference (cp. \(\text{áit}\); \text{Fuaigh \ an \ Turlaigh, 6.3}), e.g.

\[\text{Sén \ áit \ i \ MÁINIS a \ rabh \ sé \ a' \ déanamh \ caisleáin \ i \ DTÓN \ RUISÍN, \ corra \ dheas \ talún \ atá \ ar \ a' \ taobh \ thiar \ DHE; B19.51 \ (where \ dhe \ refers \ to \ Maínis).}\]

6.6 (b) Prepositional pronouns; (i) Concrete

A masculine prepositional pronoun referring to a feminine noun is quite common. This is particularly prevalent in the prepositional relative (as illustrated in 8.67). The word \(\text{ann} \ (3m \ i)\), which is also an adverb meaning ‘there’ (common in existential function), is perhaps the prepositional pronoun found most frequently without strict concord (i.e. 11/21 lexemes listed: \text{cathaoir, clúid, cois, cúirt} \ (note \(\text{uirthi} x3 \ vs. \ \text{ann})\), \text{fuaigh}, \text{gabháil}, \text{gág}, \text{leaba}, \text{páirc}, \text{scoll}, \text{tir} \). It is twice as common as \(\text{air}\) the next most frequent prepositional pronoun in this list (i.e. 5/21: \text{aill, ceirtlín, leic, luibh, tom}).

\[\text{aill} \ bhí \ AILL \ ann \ agus \ bhí \ fraoch \ an-bhreá \ AIR, \ agus \ suas \ leis \ i \ mullach \ NA \ HAILLE \ 866E\Sc267.5.\]

\[\text{carraig} \ ... \ \text{tao' \ muigh} \ DHÓ ... \ \text{tao' \ istigh} \ DHÓ ... \ 20A. \ Contrast \text{CARRAIG} ... \ \text{agus \ sore} \ \text{aneas} \ \text{UAIH} \ \text{sin, \ sa \ gcuisle} \ 35E.\]

\[\text{cathaoir} \ \text{agus} \ \text{shuigh \ an} \ \text{inion} \ \text{is \ sine} \ \text{insa} \ \text{GCATHAOIR}. \ ... \ \text{Shuigh \ an} \ \text{dara} \ \text{hinion} \ \text{ANN.} \ 866E\Sc149.21–4.\]

\[\text{ceirtlín} \ \text{is} \ \text{gearr} \ \text{ghur} \ \text{thug} \ \text{sé, CEIRTLÍN MHÓR} \ \text{amach \ as \ an \ gcarr, \ \text{ag \ bhí \ súgán \ mAIR,} 894C.\]

\[\text{clúid} \ \text{cp.} \ \text{Gur} \ \text{sa} \ \text{GCLÚID} \ \text{le go} \ \text{meadhú \ mo \ ghrá} \ \text{ANN ...} \ 894C9; \ \text{Ach \ AN \ CHLÚID} \ \text{a \ meadhú \ mo \ stórsa \ ANN,} ... \ !(Abc1)\ 43Js.\]

\[\text{cois} \ \text{Tá} \ \text{tochas \ i \ MO \ CHOIS. \ Tá \ \text{an} \ \text{oiread} \ \text{tochas} \ \text{ANN.} \ \text{M.}\]

\[\text{cúirt} \ \text{pálás} \ \text{DE \ CHÚIRT} \ \text{ba \ bhreátha \ ar \ scal \ an \ ghaoth \ ná \ an \ ghrian \ riacht \ UIRTHI \ \text{... \ rinne} \ \text{UIRTHI} \ \text{... \ cé \ chaoi \ a \ ngabhfadh} \ \text{sé \ ANN.} \ 866E\Sc101.16–20.\]

\[\text{duirlinn} \ \text{ar \ AN \ DUIRLINN} \ \text{sin \ a \ dhuann \ siad \ DUIRLINN \ NA \ SPÁINNEACH \ anis \ AIR} \ 35E9360.\]

\[\text{farraige} \ \text{Gach \ a \ bhféadtha \ tú \ a \ bhaint \ as \ an \ BHFARRAIGE \ baon \ \text{as} \ \text{é,} \ \text{...} \ \text{gur} \ \text{dhén \ bhluochas \ a \ bainfear \ tada \ AISTI \ go \ minic.} \ 03S.\]

\[\text{fuaigh} \ \text{le \ FUAIGH \ a \ dhéanamh \ a \ gcuirfí \ an \ corp} \ \text{ANN.} \ 869P\dt39.\]

\[\text{gabháil} \ \text{s'ír \ hi \ fí \ r' \ íow \ a \ ma \ yod' \ ax \ siha \ mir' \ ed \ un} \ M \ \text{nior \ shuigh \ sí \ ariamh \ i \ MO \ GABHÁIL, \ ach \ saithidh \ Mairéad} \ \text{ANN.}\]

\[\text{góg} \ \text{Tá} \ \text{GÁG} \ \text{ormsa \ is \ chuirtheadh \ glaise \ fatai} \ \text{ANN \ M.}\]

\[\text{leaba} \ \text{Tá} \ \text{sí} \ \text{ANN! \ M (ann referring \ to \ leaba, \ as \ given \ in \ 6.3 \ s.v. \ gaoithe).}\]
Pronouns and pronominals

Animate nouns with both grammatical and natural feminine gender rarely take masculine reference with prepositional pronoun in traditional dialect. The two examples noted contain aige for regular aici:

cearc

k ærk nur v ex uv b îrgh eq â v ed fi: (l) grægâd ... ji ... l eha | P.3
cearc nuair a bheadh ubh beirthe aige, bheadh si ag grágail ... DHI ... LÉITHI.

There is masculine prepositional pronoun referring to a woman in:

(bhí) b an go vr ianax ga wâhar eq â M
bhi bean dhe Bhrianach dhe mhathair aige, 'her mother was an O’Brien’.

6.7 (ii) Nonconcrete; (iii) Abstract

(ii) Nonconcrete nouns

iascach Sé an iascach u-, scufánta iascach na mballach seo is níl mórán, badradhl le fáil UAIÐH, 31P (cp. 3.4).

ócáid é an ócáid a bhfuil tá air? 852Sbt149.

In existential function pertaining to the time of year masculine ann is normal, e.g.

Cáisc an bhfuil fhios aige gob ë an chaísc atá ann? 52J.

In the classificatory construction with the preposition i, generally with the verb bí, masculine ann often alternates with feminine inti:

ceird ba x aird’ an hean’ i 23J ba cheird ann leim i.

Nollaig

nolak’ wa v i: int’ a/an NOLLAIG MAITH a bhí INTI / ANN.

(iii) Abstract nouns

-acht -Níl aon seó faoin domhan ach an costas tá aí baint leis an nglioma-dòireacht. 31P
-Tá an iomarca costas ag baint LEÍS. 35E
-Tá costas an domhain ag baint LEÍS. 31P.

6.8 (c) Possessive pronouns; (i) Concrete nouns

Rare examples of masculine possessives for feminine nouns occur in:

ciaróg

-Níor casadh rud a bith liom, a dúirt, an feilméara, ach DHÁ CHIARÓG. Agus bí, déis chruthneacht, INA BHEAL ag achaon CHEANN acub. 869P.

grian... AN GHRIAN ag corrail DHÁ MAITHREACHAí FFG s.v. máthair 6.

Examples in active construction {dhá + Verbal Noun} are:

chruthneacht lán a gobháilCHRUTHNEACHT ... ar an ourlár l. Tháinig dhá
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cheann déag dhe choilm agus thosaíodar ‘Á PHIOCA 8528SB-
TS128.

d’fhiaithreach sé dhen táiliúr ‘Cé dhó,’ a deir se, ‘bhfúil tú ág
dionamh AN CHULAITH SHIÓDA?’ ‘Tá mé GÁ DHIÓNAMH,’ a deir
an táiliúr, ‘dh’inín an rí.’ ‘Diontha’ mise píosa DHE,’ a deir se.
... chuir an táiliúr scéala chaici go raibh AN CHULAITH SHIÓDA
réidh, agus duine a chuir GÁ CONNE. 11C.

(Contrast gá dhiónamh with gá coinne.) Similarly, in another
recording of this story:
‘Cé dhó a bhfuil tú ág dionamh AN CHULAITH SHIÓDA?’ a deir
Cearúlán. ‘Tá mé GÁ DHIÓNAMH,’ a deir sé, ‘dh’inín an rí.’

11C.

Perhaps the speaker was influenced either by the masculine
prepositional pronoun which is regular in cé dhó (regardless of
gender, cf. 6.9) or by common case an chulaith (triggered by
dependent shíoda) resembling masculine genitive an¹ (rather than
genitive na culaithe) or by both circumstances.

For innovative ina chodladh, etc., with feminine and plural reference, see 6.13.
For lack of concord in the impersonal verbal noun construction with dhá¹, see
6.37 ff.

6.9 Interrogative: cé leis, etc.

Pronominals in interrogative phrases following cé, i.e. prepositional and possessive
pronouns, are generally masculine, whether referring to feminine or plural
entities, e.g. Cé leis a bhfuil sé ag goil amach? However, feminine pronominals
do occur. In the examples containing [cé + feminine pronominal] the feminine
entity occurs before the interrogative in the discourse.

Possessive:
- ... er’ a sun ... AR A SON.
-’k’e er’ a sun M CÉAR A SON? also
-’x’u’l m’ e a x’i’a wair’ a BóC Shiúil mé i ndiaidh MHAIRE.
-’k’e r x’u’l tu no d’i’a Mq CÉR shiúil tú INA DIAIDH?

Prepositional:
-haosta woha ... Thastaigh UAITHI ...
-’k’e woha 37M CÉ UAITHI? also
- ... baast aef’t a ... baint AISTI.
-’k’e aef’t a P CÉ AISTI?

For mixed céard faoith? 19P, see ‘Prepositions’ (7.39).
For an instance of the plural possessive, compare the following examples from
query (cf. 8.64 ff.):
-’kha m’ e d’ina gu wer’ asa BóC Caithidh mé déanamh DHÁ BHFUIREASA.
-’k’e gu wir’ asa xahas tu d’ina Mq
CÉ DHÁ BHFUIREASA a chaithreas tú déanamh? and
-Si M[aire] atid i gcionn na MBEITHIÓCH BóC

-’k’e na g’i’n a wíl’ jì’ Mq CÉ INA GCIONN a bhfuil sí?

There is plural prepositional reference to cé in the old syntax of the set phrase
which refers to a person’s family or ancestry, e.g.
’k’e var d’iv hu CÉ DHAR DÍOBH thá?
6.10 Feminine pronoun for masculine noun

Several masculine nouns, denoting articles of clothing, script and equipment (implements and devices as well as means of transport and some furniture, all of which are artefacts), take a feminine pronoun. Many recent borrowings fall into these categories and therefore can take feminine reference (11.146). A handful of masculine nouns denoting animals can also take feminine reference. Speakers vary in usage and this variance can become an object of paralinguistic comment. While I was discussing the use of pronouns referring to the noun gabáiste with Máire and 14M speaker 14M commented:

Tugann cuide go na daoine — is feicthear domsas nach bhféadthainn e rá — ‘Sí’ ar CHÁRR. ‘Is deas a’ CARR E SIN,’ a déarthaíonnse 14M.

A list of relevant nouns with examples follows.

Cp. ancard ~ ancaird ~ ancair ~ ancarr, tancard FFG; speaker 20C has:

ancard ~ ancaird and feminine reference (sí ... ortha).

bád    i, ortha.
broimín    often é, but (of a talking broimín); g’oan chapall ... go’n BHRUIMIN údan thios. Is é cineál na héireann é, é ... A DRUM ... SÉ ... adeir sé ... D’fóilgh si ... rinne sí, etc., 852Bts131–2.
caipín    ag cur an tseantsriain ansin thall agus pébí BEITHIÓCH a chuireann LA CHEANN inte, téirigh thúsa ar a DRUIM agus fágfaidh sí thall thú. An RUD be a ghrámaí dá bhfaca sé ar ariamh, agus garbh é pictiúir CAPAIL É, chair sí LA CHEANN inte. Chuaídh sé ar a DRUIM dhe léim agus thug sí as Gleann an Uafás é. 1.1.15.
capall    generally í, but the young of the horse take é, e.g. bromach and searrach take é 869P5. Cp. gearrán below.

There is considerable ‘confusion’ in a passage where beithíoch and rud, both of which take regular masculine reference, are used to refer to a nag:

-Beir ar an tseantsriain ansin thall agus pébí BEITHIÓCH a chuireann LA CHEANN inte, téirigh thúsa ar a DRUIM agus fágfaidh sí thall thú. An RUD be a ghrámaí dá bhfaca sé ar ariamh, agus garbh é pictiúir CAPAIL É, chair sí LA CHEANN inte. Chuaídh sé ar a DRUIM dhe léim agus thug sí as Gleann an Uafás é. 1.1.15.

cárrí, etc. (of playing cards) fáth h é M falaigh í ‘cover it (card)’; ... an CÁRTA É 21Ptq (é only with cártá 21Ptq);

cártá meaning ‘postal (greeting) card’ or ‘identity card’ takes masculine reference (M, 21Pt, etc.).
carr    é 14M, SM, 43M, í very common.
cláimhe

generally í, e.g. CLAÍMHE maith agat. ... go bhféice mé é, .... Is breá é do CHLAIMHE, .... agus Á CHASADH agus Á THRÁIL ag féachtach cén mhaith a bhí ANN 866ESeR62; but ... ar an GCLAÍMHE solais. Agus tharrainn sé amach í. Agus, chriath sé l ... í ... ORTHA. (Smbb) 04B.

Some (younger) speakers have feminine cláimhe:

AN CHLAIMHE solais 35E (son of 04B), AN CHLAIMHE [x3] 71D.

cnáiste  cRAISTE mór ... a dhíonadh i, Bhíd sí ... 10B. Perhaps influenced by leaba.

Similarly, lampa and várdrób below.
colleach I have heard only masculine reference in traditional usage but I have noted the younger speaker 69S apply feminine reference (í, ortha, in one conversation), probably influenced by cearc.
colm    Tháinig dá cheann déag dhe CHOILM agus thosaidh ‘a phioca [an]’sin is gearr go ndeachaigh CEANN acub síos i ndia MULLA’ i bpoll a bhí ar an oírlaor is go dtug sí antus a’ tsráthad ina Béal 852Bts128.

fáinne    é often but; .... FAINNE 892M -Chuaígh sí síos leis. 21PÁ -Chuaígh sí síos leis. 892ML434–5.
fia    FIA ... LEITH ... a dhug a FIA A HAGHAIDH ... tháinig sí ... léim sí 875TL40 (later in the tale, this fia becomes a young woman; the deer in this motif is of course often referred to, by other storytellers, as feminine eilí).
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fód (is maith) an FÓD mána 1 sin S, influenced by feminine món. Without dependent món, the word fód regularly takes masculine reference.

Cp. ar FHÓD mór spairtí [sic leg. cf. 3.4] ... É ... sí from An Chlochán (Stenson 2003: 83, 137 n. 49).

geanait i SM consistently;

masculine in: tu snach adh’ an M tá snaíthe álaimh

gearrán e S, feminine initially in: An SEAN-GHIORRÁN BÁN ... A CUÍD oibre, bhí sí ... ORTHA ... [with a change to masculine] A DIROBM ... A CHEUASA ... A DIROIABALL ... chuasaigh sé ... é ... chaith sé ... 35Em. Cp. capall above.

geimhreadh i g’ívr’ a xam’ er’ a’ fhe’ ... É ... S (and Mperm) GEIMHREADH chomh meirib LEITHI ... l, as duna g’ívr’ a: Sq is dona an GEIMHREADH É, g’ívr’ a am’ er’ a’ vi: an / Éa’ a Sq GEIMHREADH an-mheiribh a bhí ANN I INTI (in fact ann may have existential reference or it may refer to geimhreadh).

Contrast Máire who does not permit: *geimhreadh an-mheiribh a bhí inti MΩperm.

gró i, sí M.

lamp’ in’, vi:n glob xam brokox orha P

LAIMPIN — bhí an glob chomh brocach ORTHA.

Cp. fem glob < ‘globe’ (11.146).

leabhar and various books and magazines regularly take feminine reference.

peann Cé thug dhuit í, bhfuil SÍ briste?

Déarthá... É... nú... LEIS Sq (of peann and pinsuil).

pionta p’inta mah i: fín 52J PRONTA maith l sin, kahan fe max i: xa f’abhaelt’ a 52J caitheann sé anach i chomh sleabáilte

Speaker 52Jg could not explain why he used í here and did not differentiate between í for golió. (Cp. fem deoch.) Compare (having mentioned p’inta pionta earlier in the conversation):

sír ma l’um’ ñ [sic] d’ef’u: f’ [sic] od, ma l’um’ um a hoig’aí’ f’ éh’ 61Pt ní maith liom a bheith ag deifriú le ÓL, maith liom am a thóigeáil LEITH.

rásáir sí ho wi: an rusurr ... 52P ní heobh i an RÁSÚR ... .

rotha wil: fí: got a f’áx a’tíg’, taraí fíar t’í: S an bhfuil sí ghabhte isteach uilg? Tarraing siar taileadh l, ... fí: ... i: P Sí ... É ... rotha mah e: fín... M ROTHÁ maith É sin.

sábh (SÁBh) ... a bhí sí 892M1285, i (perhaps Sq), ag geardadh LEITH 65C.

sicín SICÍN ... l ... DHI P (in culinary context).

soitheach sohax mor i: M SOTHEACH mór É; also ... INTI ... l Am2128–9.

tál an TÁL ... bhí sí sin 892M1356–8; níor thangaigh sí 17Mp.

várdróib ... l S.

The semantics of the masculine nouns which can take feminine reference is:

(a) clothing: caipín, (fáinne (cp. (c)), e.g. rotha), geansat;

(b) script: cárta, leabhar;

(c) implements: (claimhe), gró, lampa, peann, rásáir, sábh, tál;

(d) furniture: enaiste, várdróib;

(e) vessels: (ancard; bád (f)), pionta, soitheach; cf. 6.11;

(f) means of transport: bád, carr; cp. capall (g);

(g) animals: (bronach), capall, (coileach), fia, (gearrán), sicín;

(h) exceptional: fód móna, geimhreadh; cf. 6.11.
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Contrast other artefacts which take masculine reference:
(a) ceannchochall (é 866ESemr, 11C); sciorata (é, sciora beag dearg ... bhí s é gioratach M); seaicéad (é SM);
(b) cp. claimhe; criathar (thraid ... air 869P3); iarann (go dtí an t-iarann smiúdála bhíodh sé acu. 866ESc23.13);
(c) (d) drisiúr (é 10B);
(e) galún (galún taoscthaí (the) ... agus cos ánn. ... na baidhlearz mhóra sin ... agus cos as. 889P);
(f) cóiste (cóiste aige a raibh cheire cinn dho rothai 17M);
(g) gobáiste (é M, 14M; cp. feminine gender GCF §276).

6.11 Other usage

Speaker 23Ms has a remarkable usage of feminine pronominals. He uses consistent feminine reference to Tobar Muire (in Roisín na Mainchíoch), including the water in the holy well, and likewise in reference to teampall and ‘spout’ usice:
... tháinic an t-USICE anios ’gus, bhual sl sna súile é, ... an lá ar beannaobh l sin ... nuair bhí sé GÁ BEANNÚ, ... a beannaobh l [x2] 23Ms (context: origin and subsequent blessing of the well);
TEAMPALL ... l ... ORTHA ... INA TAOBH sin 23Ms;
cp. ‘SPOUT’ UISCE ... cuireann sl [i.e. an fharaige] ... l [i.e. ‘spout’] 23Ms.
This feminine reference to water and related words may be attributable either to feminine farraige (23Ms was born and reared on the tiny island of Bior) or to the feminine reference found with vessels (6.10(e)) or to a combination of both circumstances. (I have heard séipéal referred to in the feminine by a speaker (born c. 1960) from Ros Muc resident in Cois Fharraige. Cp. feminine eaglais.) I have also heard English ‘hall’ > hál referred to in the feminine by a speaker (born c. 1960) from Ros Muc resident in Cois Fharraige. Cp. feminine eaglais.) I have also heard English ‘hall’ > hál referred to in the feminine (by 55L) although masculine reference is prevalent (cp. hál bhréa ... i heard in 2005 from a speaker from East Cois Fharraige, born c. 1975). The feminine reference to buildings (teampall, séipéal, hál) may be based on obsolescent foirgint and on borrowed billeáil which generally ‘replaces’ foirgint, both of which are feminine, in striking contrast of course with teach.

Speaker 66N has anomalous apparent anaphoric reference of i to muic in the saying:
kid’ ga wik’ é an dr’ibal 66N cuid dhe mhuic l an DROBALL.
I recall Seán’s version of this proverb as cuide dhe mhuic a droball. Speaker 66N may be influenced by i in the similar proverb:
cuide dhén mháthadh l an CHÚTHAILEACHT 12S.
Another younger speaker, 84P, has several tokens of i referring to iasc but masculine possessive as a bhéal.

6.12 Number and other concord

The plural possessive pronoun with grammatical singular reference occurs often with chuile dhuiine, e.g.
Tá CHUILE DHUINE ’NA GCODLADH 43M.
Similarly:
gur shíl sé go raibh AN TEACH INA GCODLADH. LL76;
Is maith LEAS AN IASC féin roinnt de a char ar A GCUID bia. Clad86.
Gender and number

There are also examples of partitives taking plural pronominal reference:

d’fhan DUINE A’ INN INA GCÓNAÍ 01C6526 ‘one of us remained idle’;
chaith DUINE EICNT ansin a ghoil ’NA GCLANN Pheaidí a Búrc, déarthaidh mé. ARN7322 ‘someone else had to go as P. B.’s family’.

Similarly, in the following examples ceann is the grammatical antecedent to plural pronominal object of a verbal noun:

Choinic mé CUPLA CEANN acá faoi láthair ach sin é — ní fhaca mé, AON CHEANN acá DHA NDÍONAMH. 17Mp;
Tá an oiread ‘SAUSAGES AND RASHERS’ ansin sa bh’freezer’ is gan CEANN AR BITH DHA N-ITHE. M.

The plural nouns are referred to as a single entity in the following example:

Maidir le GEARRACHAÍ AGUS SCOLTEACHAÍ INA GCEANN bhíodh SÉ ann, 866Esc23.18.

An example of 1sg reference to the first and logical antecedent mise occurs in:

Águs MISE AN FEAR atá in ann é sin a chruthú agus a cheartú agus a chónait é, a raibh aithne agus eolas AGAM ar gach aon duine acu ag an doras agam féin. 866Es300.5.

6.13 **ina**, **agus acub**

**ina shuí, ina sheasamh, ina chodladh, ina chónait, static ina**

Note the occasional slip of the tongue for masculine for feminine, for example, in ina shuí:

Ví a wuchar a she: ... a she: P bhí A MHÁTHAIR INA SHUÍ ... INA SÚI.

Similarly, ina sheasamh with feminine reference in:

Águs bhí CLOCH MHÓR an t-am sin, INA SHEASAMH, ag ceann na céibhe mar déarthá, beag nar raibh SÍ chomh hard le fear. 897Pt.

So also feminine ina chónait ‘idle’ noted in:

Ní raibheadar sin [i.e. shoes] ag obair tú a ’cheapadh gur fearr dho chuile BHROÍ ag bheith ag obair ná INA CHÚNAÍ ag bheith fhios a’id?’ M.

For some of the youngest speakers, as well as some semi-speakers (e.g. 74S), the masculine possessive in ina chodladh is generalised, e.g. (3 plural)

iad v’e ana xola eg’... 80A IAD bheith INA CHODLADH ag ...

Similarly, ina shuí in:

ag coinneál MAIRE INA SHUÍ 66M.

There is an example of static ina with non-animate feminine reference (súi) in:

sé an súi ... bhéadh SÍ INA CHÁRNÁINN ... 73P.

For impersonal dhad + verbal noun, see 6.37 ff. Cp. nóthain generalised from a ndóthain (8.236).

**agus acub, syntactic and semantic note**

The third plural pronominal refers to ‘others’ (cf. héin, 6.64; cf. 5.13) in:

ro fe eg’ m’ar’ e s akab 52M an raibh sé ag Meairtin IS ACUB?

‘had Martin and the others got it?’

---

1 For examples from Donegal (including instances other than the third person) and further references, see Ó Siadhail (1979: 144).

2 Similarly, **agus iad** ‘and other people’ FFG27 s.v. iad, an idiomatic use which contrasts with the general use of a coordinator with another noun phrase (rather than with the unqualified simple pronoun): **agus iadsan, agus iad sin, agus iad héin** (cf. de Bhaldraithe 1986b: 157, McCloskey and Hale 1984: 503–4).
Personal pronouns

6.14 Paradigm

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<thead>
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<th>Simple</th>
<th>Emphatic</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>m’ēa</td>
<td>m’ifσα</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>tu, hu, u</td>
<td>tisα, hisα, isα, (also tusα, husα, usα)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 m</td>
<td>fe, e</td>
<td>fean (fifαn), efαn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>fif, i</td>
<td>fifσα, ifσα</td>
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<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>mid, mid’i, fin’</td>
<td>mid’α, min’α, fin’α, (mid’i)β</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>fif’</td>
<td>fifσα (fif α)</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>fiadsan, iadsan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>dur, iad</td>
<td>dursan, iadsan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

α Pronouns containing nasal consonants in the first syllable have regular nasalised vowels in older speakers’ usage: m’ē, m’ifσα, mid’, m’id’, fin’, etc. For nasalisation of thū, (s)ē, (s)é beside nasal vowels and consonants, see 1.283 ff.

β Speaker 71D uses mid’i: muide but his prepositional pronoun emphatic clitic is -σα, e.g. saε σα s’ainne. He has this usage from his mother, a native of An Mám, North Conamara.

For copula pro-form α: ea, see 8.101.

6.15 Morphology

The phonetic variation of each pronoun is dealt with below. The more reduced variants are found in, for example, unstressed position and more rapid speech and are particularly common among some younger speakers, who may have a tendency for analytic verbal inflection and cliticised pronouns, e.g. 64M.

There are two persons which have a basic formal contrast between subject and nonsubject function where t- and f- in subject position (termed conjunctive forms) contrast with their (respective) lenition or absence elsewhere (termed disjunctive forms). Second singular forms with initial t- (tu, tisα) are used as subject of the active verb except in the personal imperative (e.g. bi thusa). With the nonpersonal imperative tusa is used (e.g. biodh tusa). Otherwise, initial t-forms occur generally after as is of the copula and facultatively following other copula forms and demonstrative e’rd eard. Forms in t- are also facultative sentence-initially in coordination, i.e. t’ hēin agus , , and following the preposition gan and preposition and conjunction na: ná (including comparative ná, i.e. ná thū, ná thusa, ná tusa) and the various forms of the conjunction o’g σαs agus.

Examples in subject coordination, with h-, are:

1 Emphatic 2 person imperative is the only verbal category where the synthetic verb occurs grammatically with a pronoun which expresses the subject of the verb, e.g. 2sg cuir thusa, 2pl cuiri síbhs. In fact the 2sg imperative has no emphatic clitic and the emphatic clitic in the 2pl imperative is not widespread. Compare examples such as déan thú héin é! It is significant that 2sg thusa and thū héin are used, and not tusa or tū héin, the last two forms being, as stated, those which occur as verbal subject with the analytic verb. This exceptional property of the 2 person imperative is overlooked in McCloskey and Hale (1984: 490–1, 529). Compare Donegal: 2sg impv thū / thusa, 2pl Bígí síbhs / shibhs, and 2sg cond Dá mbuaifίθ thusa Ó Baoill (1996: 91). Doyle (2003: 83).
Elsewhere (his), (his), (his), (his), (his) are used. Nontraditional use of thusa as verbal subject is instanced below (6.17).

Simple third person subject pronouns of active verbs contain initial $S$-. Emphatic subjects of active verbs have facultative $S$- forms. In the masculine emphatic the $S$- forms are probably most common in the dialect as a whole, but some speakers use the emphatic forms with initial vowel most frequently. There are less examples of the emphatic feminine but the $S$- forms are probably most common. Third plural emphatic subjects have been noted with $S$- only except in (forme of the quotative defective verb arsa). In possessive function and as objects of otherwise generally inflected prepositions both $S$- and vowel-initial forms occur in all third person emphatic pronouns, e.g. (and / /). As objects of compound and other non-inflected prepositions both emphatic forms also occur, e.g. (and / and). Individuals noted with variation in use of $S$- in emphatic subject position of the active verb are (noted with / and ) and (noted with / /). In contrast Máire, ’s mother, was noted with / and only in this subject position.

Used nominally (in opposition to other third person pronominals) both $S$- and vowel-initial simple forms have been noted:

\[ \text{ma i } \text{nu i } \text{e } \text{nu } \text{e } \text{nu } \text{e} \ldots \]

Paralinguistic use was noted with regard to reference with masculine nouns (6.10), the $S$- variant is used in:

\[ \text{Tugann cuide go na daoine } \ldots \text{ 'Sl' ar chárr. } \text{14M.} \]

For forms such as / see 6.68. When subject of the active verb, pronouns follow the nonpersonal form. In the second person imperative thusa and thú hein in the singular and sibse in the plural are used with their corresponding second person verbal forms; also, sibse (following the nonpersonal imperative) alternates with clitic -se (following the 2pl imperative). Emphatic forms can further be used to qualify the noun (6.23) and also be qualified by a preposition which more commonly inflects for person (6.26). The $t$- form of the 2sg emphatic and the $S$- forms of third person emphatic pronouns are optional following the preposition marach:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{marach} & \quad \text{mé, mise} & \quad \text{muide(e)} \\
& \quad \text{thú, tusa, thusa} & \quad \text{sib(se)} \\
& \quad \text{é, seisean, eisean} & \quad \text{iad, (siadsan ?), iadsan (also iad sin)} \\
& \quad \text{(also é sin >> sé sin)} & \\
& \quad \text{i, sise, ise (also i sin)} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

Cp. go dtí mé, mise, thú, é, eisean, seisean, i, ise, muide(e), sib(se), iad, iadsan (also go dtí sise ~ ise SIDiii.40 q 45). Disjunctive pronouns tend to occur phrasefinally, e.g.

\[ \text{badh é AN TEACH POBAIL ba goire dhon mhuintir a bhí ina gcónaí sa mbaile sin } \ldots \text{ 869Pi;} \]

\[ \text{nuair a bhí mo dhóthain dhen phíopa caite a’m, a deir sé, LEAG MÉ ISTEACH} \]
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in almóir bheag mar sin, a deir sé, sa mbaile ế. 11C;

CHUIRTHEADH MUID in úit a mbeadh baráil a’inn dhóib IAD.

6.16 1 singular

1sg Simple
m'e: mé varies phonetically: m'e, mé, mé, mé, m'a, m'a, mé, the last three most reduced variants being least frequent in the dialect as a whole. Examples:

64M: mé >> m'e, e.g. v im Éi heÉn! bhí MÉ héin; m'I8 heÉn! MÉ héin; tAÉ m' kÏòpÉ tá MÉ ag ceapadh.

1sg Emphatic
m'išSE mise can also be reduced: m'sE, m'sE. It may become indistinguishable from the inflected ending with emphatic suffix: -m'sE, e.g. E d'er! m'sE a deir mise and E d'er!Em'sE a deirimse can be at times virtually indistinguishable.

6.17 2 singular

2sg Simple
tu É: tú and hu É vary phonetically: tu É, tu É, tu É, tu É, hu É, u., u., u. (The quality of the vowel remains high [u] = [u/]; it is not lowered to [o] = [o/].) Examples:

tu É: as tu ... 11Cta20 is TÚ ..., ferd tu É hen' bok P sáir TÚ héin boc, TÚ héin is do deaíd bred, deaíd búnneach M, mar beidh bean ag tiócht anseo ar maidin amáireach a'd, a deir sí, agus TÚ pósta, gas tu 'posta | 11C, gan tu: nan a yol' amax M gan TÚ i ndan a ghoil amach.

Following ná, e.g. níos fearr ná TÚA. Also in several instances in 866ESc (if transcription is accurate), e.g. 'tá an-drochiarraidh déanta agat ... cuid níos mó ná ba mhaith liom TÚ a dhéanamh,' 866ESc112.39.
The t may be deaspirated and partially voiced in sandhi, e.g. m' esdu meas TÚ, d'aíox du ... 66N d'eadh TÚ ... ;

u É: as object: na mór u: henÉ 46.147 ná maraigh THÚ héin! b'ear' gá 's'ik-f'i: u as oxt e ed' P B'fhéidir go n-lochí THÚ as ucht e a fháil; na: l'q É x'ed do: fíin' u v'æro P ná lig a chead dó sin THÚ a bheartadh; fad'or n lu: v'i: u xroxa S fadó an lá a bhí THÚ a chothraithe, leantaidhais go barr uisce THÚ a bharr ifk' u amantat 35E. In traditional prayer:

arim' u gas graim' u '05M adhraim THÚ agus gráim THÚ.

With copula: a s u ... 11Cta21 á is THÚ ... , k'er has u: 46.940 cérb as THÚ? gar màk ... es er'æ'n' u ... 11Cta16 gur mac ... as Éirinn THÚ ... , cp. fad'or mix' u: durtí fí: | 11C 'Fada amúigh THÚ,' a dúirt sí, cén sòrt

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fear THÚ u: héin 11C, b'ed'ar' u: hen' 11C1502 b'fhéidir THÚ héin, ní:
kulodar yums u S ní comhluaí dothas THÚ, s m'ása n'uw u n'én le M is measa inniu THÚ ná aon lá.

Following preposition:
wil' en nin' el a mar u: S an bhfuil aon nduine eile mar THÚ?

Subject:
– ®d! æ Én u)ò "h e)Én ®Ð! æ S iò d! erSe –

Déan THÚ héin anois í! a deir sé; t'fhear THÚ héin agus t'fhear; in apposition: go wak a tis u hen' e 35E7562 go bhfaca tusa THÚ héin é.

The examples with subject u(ò) all precede héin, which seems to condition the elision of the preceding h-. Note the variation in:

bAÉ uÉ heÉn ! ù bAÉ huÉ heÉn !
S báith THÚ héin, báith THÚ héin!

k!eò huò heÉn ! 11C
tcé THÚ héin?

2sg Emphatic

tusa tusa, tìs, tsa: thusa húsa, hisa, usa, isà. Examples:
tusa: ba haxt m'ár e nor tusa Mq (x3) ba sheacht mb'fhearr é ná TUSA.

tsa: an ait á wí ts u héin S88 an áit a bhuighidh TUSA thú héin, go wíx ts
omad ... ví ' tu k'aepi: ... 71D dhá bhuighheadh TUSA adhmad ... bhí tú
ceapthaí ... hún ak't s e 56N choimic TUSA é.

husa: go húsa ft'áeg á dorás 19P!0 gabh THUSA isteach ag an dorás; rugu:
husa n um K'áert 19P ragadh THUSA in am ceart; nax húsa ... nax tusa ... nax húsa 894C nach THUSA ... nach TUSA ... nach TUSA.

hísa: as 'buxaol 'fíon' hisa, 46.103 is buachaill fián THUSA; tagann sé níos
mínici ná THUSA nc hísa, 46.883; tor' hisa t'áet é: jín' 11C tabhair
THUSA leat é sin; nír' kasu his án | 21Pg7293 Nior casadh THUSA ann ... ?
There is an example of nontraditional use of thusa in verbal subject position, from a very innovative speaker:

köl' hisa go! Cáil THUSA ag goil? 66M (or her twin sister).

usa: agus lighidh mise oram péin ... go bhfui mé [ar?] seachrán, agus THUSA
usa froisin, 11C.

isa: 'tor' isa l'áet sup á vrain M tabhair THUSA leat súp, a Bhraidhean.

6.18 3 masculine

3m Simple

fe: sé varies phonetically fe:, fe', fe, fe', fa, s, the last two most reduced
variants being least frequent in the dialect as a whole. Examples:
fe:, fe', fe: d'im á fe: fe'l | (Suda)894Cs d'imigh sé seo.

fe: xahat fe 64M chaitheadh sé.

fa: kaeg' í: ft'ar sa 'tin'e d'er fa | 11C -Caithigh isteach sa tine é, a deir
sé.; kahan fa, n'id' tu g' iaró far a xír' on 64Mq caitheann SÉ, nil tú ag
irraidh 'sé' a chair ann? (said during the CATH class questionnaire, where
siad was to be avoided for inflected -(a)dar, here 64M confused whether sé
or siad was to be avoided); d'inax tus e d'ar fa, 64C 'Déanadh tusa é,' a
deir sé.

fa: kat' fa nax 64M chaitheadh sé nach; víi fa san em' ... 66N bhí sé san eim
[filler] ... .

f: speaker 17M has a tendency to elide utterance final -a, this also occurs to sé in

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the frequent *a deir sé* (initial stress): \( \text{id' ar } \text{f} \text{a } / \text{f} \text{a} / \text{f}, \text{a deir } \text{S} \text{e}. \\

e: é varies phonetically e., e', e, e, a, a, the last two most reduced variants being least frequent in the dialect as a whole. Examples:
\( \text{e: } \text{n'i huch' } \text{m' e e } 64 \text{M } \text{q ni sháithidh } \text{mé } \text{E}. \\
\text{e', e, e: } \text{uf } \text{fle l'am ad' ar } \text{e e xro' } \text{wa' } \text{a náh } \text{'n'enha' fe 'e } \text{e } \text{11C} \\
\text{Dáir sé liom, a deir sé, } \text{E chrochadh abhaile nach ndíonthad sé } \text{E.} \\
\text{trieu } \text{m'e e' } \text{fin' e' } \text{jina' } \text{11C triáilthaidh mé } \text{E } \text{sin a dhéanamh.} \\
\text{e: } \text{nuola m'e e' } \text{e'ar e' } \text{i'et' ar' ohu'r b'hána' x} \text{e: l'en' } \text{anam e 'b'ér'fí' o' guar' am' } \text{11C} \\
\text{chuala mé ag fear as Leitir Othard, beannacht D'é lena anam, } \text{E, Beairtle Ó Guairim; } \\
\text{níl sé móirín achar ó bhí daoíin ann a choinic go maith É } \text{má' he mar d'éar'fí' a } \text{E } \text{ina s e } \text{na sheanfhear 11C.} \\
\text{id' fí e 11C d'íth sé } \text{E.} \\
\text{à: fe jehal } \text{12J } \text{Sé a dheicheall } \text{E, g'ær'ax'x'an } \text{dun' } g'ær'ax'x'an'ín' suat' } \text{a } \\
\text{M gearrachán dona, gearracháinín suaithe } \text{E, sò- } \text{a 64 } \text{Mq sáigh É } \text{snag'í: } \text{a } \\
\text{64 } \text{Mq sáigí É!} \\
\text{à: fa hi hosa' m'ik' l'in' 'gair' i 64 } \text{M } \text{SÉ [i.e. is } \text{É] an chaoi a thosaigh Micilín ag gáirí.} \\
\text{à: as' bua'Sl' du'n a, 46.767 is buachaill dána } \text{E; k'en fu: e'f 'o } \text{m'et } \text{fe er' } \\
\text{ax a fin' 893P cén fáth eile a mbeadh sé air ach } \text{E sin? ax ãk'air'd a 21C } \\
\text{ach go Sceirde } \text{É; fed a hem' 64 } \text{M séard } \text{É héin (cp. ão durt' 64 } \text{M séard a } \\
\text{d'airigh ...); a ual' 79A } \text{É a fhúil.} \\
\text{I have noted one example of } \text{e sin } \text{in verbal subject position (similar to emphatic eisean), perhaps with a slight pause following the verb: } \\
\text{vi' (!) e'f'um' munt' eg' ã yin' 17Md bhi É sin múinte aige dhúinn ... .} \\
\text{3m Emphatic } \\
\text{fæfan: wær' fæfan M bhain SEISEAN; tu fæfan M tá SEISEAN; arsa SEISEAN 21Pt. } \\
\text{fæfan: gã dærn' i m'íf ort or fæfan ma wí't' a lin' 04} \\
\text{go daírmí mise ort, ar SEISEAN, mo bhhuille loinn (or or f)æfan.} \\
\text{fifon: to: ar'f'ru ffon | d'air'amad duen | ... 892} \\
\text{Tu, arsra SEISEAN, Diarmaid Donn, ...} \\
\text{efon: bhí EISEAN, choinic EISEAN iad 01C6782, dærn' efon 01C6952 d'airigh EISEAN, a muall é efon 20A dhá mbhuailleadh EISEAN, xur' efon 43} \\
\text{M chuair EISEAN; tu efon 43M tá EISEAN.} \\
\text{For examples of er fæfan >> ers efon 04B ar SEISEAN ~ arsa EISEAN, see the defective verb ar ~ arsa (5.330).} \\
\text{6.19 3 feminine } \\
\text{3f Simple } \\
\text{fi: sí varies phonetically fi; fi, fí; similarly, i i is phonetically i; i', i.} \\
\text{fi: to fi: go t'iar'a 11C tá sl dho t'iarraidh.} \\
\text{fi: (with high i) vi fí 'posta n' fin' | 11C bhí sl pósta ansin.} \\
\text{i, a: reduced in unstressed position ... a x'air'd 1 fin' 872P ... an cheird i sin; } \\
\text{speaker 872P also has frequent on, an for indefinite adjective aon} \\
\text{(commonly e an in the dialect). Also: skil'fu: i héin' a d'tr' er' ... 11C740 scaoilleadh l héin i dír ar ... .}
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3f Emphatic
$f³a : fuar $f³a 43M fuair SISE.
$i³a : ví : if³a wad ... 21Pt bhí ISE i bhfad ... ; 'ólan if³a 43M ólann ISE.

6.20 1 plural
1pl Simple
mid' muid, m'id' mid, fin' sinn.

mid' muid is the general pronoun, noted from my oldest speaker 852S, e.g. muid, muid héin 852S2 and all younger speakers (cf. ‘Verbs’ 5.93 ff.). Example:

ka mid' _mid' 'héin' ã 'xarfak'än | 894Cs
Caithidh MUID MUID héin a chaisreacan.

The palatal initial occurs in unstressed position, recorded as a by-form in 892M's speech (cf. 13.7, e.g. line 4), e.g.

ax n'ír _aka m'id' tr'i: 'k íng go ... 892M ach ní fhaca MID trí cinn dhe ...
fin' sinn is common only in a few set phrases, mostly as object, e.g.

sábhála d'ìa fin' (go) sábhála Dia SÍNN,
darrhai: d'ìa fin' (go) duarrtháit Dia SÍNN;

d'ìa ed' ar fin' ogas a tolk Dia eidir SÍNN agus an t-olc;

but also as verbal subject in:

| go mba seacht gcéad déag mile feárr a bheas SÍNN héin 7 a' cùlódar bliain ó anocht! 866EOC223. |

Otherwise there are rare examples of fin' sinn as object:

'Maróidh do bhlean SÍNN mara dtige tí ... ' 866ESc58.2;
Shocraí muid suas SÍNN héin, chuair muid ... 894C9;

| marax a doil nax gu#:i fin' S marach an deól nach gcailífi SÍNN. |

Although perhaps coincidental, there is a noteworthy similarity between this single productive attestation from Seán's (speaker S) conversation and the set phrase go duarrtháit Dia sinn, both containing C+eclps AÉ CC iÉ Ò...Ô.SíD.

Further examples of sinn as subject pronoun as well as object are from literary sources:

| sula seola SÍNN Clad; oicheanta a mbíodh SÍNN ag iascach Clad; |
| má castar le chéile arís go brách SÍNN 852Sb2; |
| ... ó thárla inár gcónaí féin SÍNN i gceann a chéile' 852SbL198. |

But muid is much more prevalent in all sources, e.g. théadh muid Clad.

1pl Emphatic
mid' ã (mid'i) muide, mix' a muidne, fin' a sinne.

fin' a sinne is used facultatively in possessive function only. Otherwise mid' a muide is general. The form mix' a was noted only once:

| tanáí ... a dtugann s-, a dtugann MUIDNE dugan 'mix' a Maidhm Fuaigh an Phriacháin air 892M4259. |

An exceptional form for our dialect is found in the mixed idiolect of speaker 71D.

His usual form is mid' i, which he has acquired from his mother who is a native of An Mám in North Conamara.

6.21 2 plural
2pl Simple
$fìb' sib, e.g. ka$ìf' $fìb' a gof' cá bhfuil SIB go agail?
2pl Emphatic
fiábha, e.g. fanag ‒ fiábha M fianagí SIBSE.
One speaker was noted with fiáb sa in:
*mad bheireann SIBSA orthub fiáb’s orhab 06C.*

6.22 3 plural

3pl Simple

3pl Simple

6.23 Emphatic pronouns with nominals in possessive

3sg and 1, 2, 3pl emphatic pronouns are used in possessive function following
nouns both (a) with and (b) without the article, and (c) following nouns qualified
by possessive pronouns. The 1 and 2sg are not used generally; instead emphatic
clitics are used, e.g. *mo cheannsa, do cheannsa,* but one example of the 1sg *mise*
has been noted in:

*nom m’iʃa 40S in am MISE.*

Speaker 40S used 1pl *nom mid’ a 40S in am muide* in the same discourse. One
example of the 2sg thusa in an idiomatic imperative construction has been noted:

da yulcin husa laur’ ... M do dhúshlán THUSA labhair ... !

which may be related to imperative use such as labhair thusa.

Examples

3m eisean:  
(c) ga d’in a ‘wu̇ar’  efan [x2] 13Jd  
go díonna mháthair eisean;  
(a) sa əarı: efan M sa ngarraí eisean.

seisean:  
(c) Lena linn seisean bhí saothrá thar cionn ... SÓC 1.85;  
go wák fə̃fə̃ 20Mi dhá mhac seisean;  
ə əarı: fə̃fə̃ Mperm a gharraí seisean.

3f ise:  
(c) a gəri: ifə Mq a garrá ise;  
(a) sa əarı: ifə M sa ngarraí ise.

sise:  
(c) er’ ə kə ed’ ə fi̇fə (MP, prose) 04B ar a creideamh sise;  
ə gəri: fi̇fə Mperm a garrá sise;  
(a) sa təəx fi̇fə M sa teach sise.

1pl sinne:  
852S, 866E, 869P, 892M, 896P, 04B, 12S, 16M, 18B, 18J:  
(c) dhá mbualadh sinne 852S2, ur n-athair sinne 852S4;  
a’ gcuid peacaí sinne, ar a’ son sinne! 869P6 (a’ = 1pl poss);  
DHÁ bhfeiceál sinne ag marí na mbraíin ... 892Mi;  
bhí siad gá mbualadh sinne le praghas i gCill Chiaráin 896P;  
ənə də’ ə fi̇n’ə (Suda) 04B ina dreo sinne;  
to gusam fi̇n’ ən’ fi̇n’ St1b tə a gcosán sinne ansin,  
ənə ən’ fi̇n’ə S. 18J7140 lena linn sinne;  
(a) sa əarı: fi̇n’ə M sa ngarraí sinne, (c) dhá mbualadh sinne Mq;  
(a) or (b) ... gəri: fi̇n’ə 18B, 21J ... garrá sinne.

muide:  
speakers noted: 894C, 72C, 89M:  
(c) A mbréagadh muide 894C9;  
(b) nuə mid’ə 40S in am muide: to fe g’i̇ərə kən’t 顺序 72C tə sé ag iarraidh caint muide, ‘he wants our speech’ (in reference to my fieldwork);  
an raibh tə ag teach muide? 89M (more traditionally an teach sin a’inne).

It may be that muide is used more often than sinne as object following dhá (1pl) + verbal noun. Note that sinne and muide are interchangeable for Máire (16M) in all possessive contexts (as listed below) except following sa + Noun, i.e. *sa ngarraí muide is not permitted by Máire, nor by her brother Pádraig (19P), in contrast with sa ngarraí sinne M. (The verbal noun type dhá mbualadh muide was not noted from M(q) but this is evidenced by 894C’s example above.) In position following a verbal noun (as genitive or direct object) as described further below, only muide is permissible by Máire, i.e. *ag bualadh sinne. This partial complementarity between sinne and muide reflects the earlier usage of sinne (previously the unmarked pronoun) in possessive function with nouns and the later usage of the synchronically unmarked muide as object of verbal nouns.\footnote{1 It is likely that demonstrative sin rather than pronominal sinn is present in Dia sin ghdh réiteach! 894C3 (as indicated by the spelling), given sin in a réiteach sin ar Dhía! 866E Semr166. Both sin and sinn are potentially ambiguous in sandhi before ghdh.}
There is an example of hesitance in Máire’s:

\[
\text{rin' a' m' e kæk’ in’ b’og l’en ai fin’ } | \ldots \text{ mid’ hein’ M}
\]

\[
\text{rinne mé cáicín beag lena n-aghaidh sinn — muid héin,}
\]
due to momentary confusion between 
lena n-aghaidh héin,
lena n-aghaidh sinne,
lena n-aghaidh muide and
le haghaidh muid héin and even perhaps
lena n-aghaidh sinne / muide muid héin.

There may also be a block on the use of *sinne héin.

2pl sibse:  (b) i ngarraí sibse Mq, (c) a ngarrai sibse.
3pl iadsan:  (b) nuair a bhí muide ina, in aois iadsan anois, 22M,
\(\text{a ngárri iadsan Mq}\ i [\text{sic}] \text{ ngarraí iadsan, ‘in their field’}.\)
siadsan: (c) \(\text{a mo: }\text{iadsan Mperm}\ a mbó siadsan.\)

6.24 Usage

Máire’s usage of emphatic forms was queried (Mq) and is given in the lists below. In the paradigm corresponding to English ‘this is MY one’, etc., for example, Máire produced in query:

| Sg | 1 | ... ma' x'aná | sin é mo cheannsa |
| 2 | ... da x'aná | sin é do cheannsa |
| 3m | ... a x'an ef'an ~ ef'fan | (c) sin é a cheann eisean ~ seisean |
| f | ... a k'an fíf'fá | (c) sin é a ceann sise |
| Pl | 1 | ... a g' am mid' á | (c) sin é a gceann muide |
| 2 | ... K'an' fífh'fá | (b) sin é ceann sibse |
| 3 | ... K'an iadsan | (b) sin é ceann iadsan |

with some further forms permitted. Unless otherwise indicated the source of the following is Mq (M stands for forms noted in conversation, Mperm for forms permitted in query):

\[
\begin{array}{|c|c|c|}
\hline
\text{Sg} & \text{(c) a Possessive pronoun} & \text{(c) i, le + Possessive pronoun} & \text{(b) i, le (Propositions)} \\
\hline
3m | a cheann eisean ~ seisean, a gharrai eisean & ina gharrai eisean & i ngarrai eisean \\
| a ceann sise, a garrai ise & & \\
| a gceann muide, a gceann sinne & ina ngarraí sinne ~ muide & i ngarrai sinne ~ muide, le corach muide Mperm \\
| a mbó sibse Mperm & ina ngarrai sibse & le corach sibse Mperm \\
| a gceann iadsan M(?)perm, tá a mbó siadsan caillte, tá a gceann iadsan brise Mperm, lena gcorach iadsan Mperm & *ina ngarraí (s)iadsan Mperm, lena gcorach siadsan Mperm & i ngarrai iadsan, le corach siadsan ~ iadsan \\
\hline
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{|c|c|}
\hline
\text{Sg} & \text{(b) Zero} & \text{(a) sa (i + article)} \\
\hline
3m | sa ngarrai eisean M, Mperm, sa ngarrai seisean M \\
| sa ngarraí ise Mq, M, sa teach sise M \\
\hline
\end{array}
\]

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### Personal pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>(b) Zero Mperm.</th>
<th>(a) <em>sa (i + article)</em> Mperm.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>garraí muide – sinne</td>
<td>tá bó muide caillte&lt;sup&gt;1&lt;/sup&gt; sa ngarraí sinne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ceann síse, garraí síse</td>
<td>tá bó síse caillte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ceann iadsan, garraí iadsan, ceann siadsan Mperm</td>
<td>tá ceann iadsan briste, tá bó iadsan caillte, tá corach siadsan dearg</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>(c) <em>dho + Poss Pron + VN</em> Cp. (V)N + enclitic</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3m</td>
<td>dhá bhualadh seisean – eisean</td>
<td>dhá bhualadh sibse Mperm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>dhá bhualadh sise (~ ise)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl</td>
<td>dhá mbualadh síne</td>
<td>dhá mbualadh síse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dhá mbualadh iadsan</td>
<td>a gceannsan Mperm, dhá mbualadh sibse</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Further examples:

- 3m (c) a ceann eisean 20Cperm, 20Myperm;
- (a) *sa ngarraí eisean 20C0perm, 20My0perm;
- (b) Gasúir eisean, tádar uilig ... 53M;
- 3f (c) a ceann sibse 20Cperm, a ceann ise, gá marú ise 20Cq, gá bhualadh sise 20Myq;
- 1pl (c) a gceann san 20Cq;
- (b) *sa ngarraí muide 20C0perm, 20My0perm.

One can extrapolate that the following pattern is at least permissible (for some speakers), using the 2pl for instance:

- a ngarraí / ina ngarraí / le garráil / garráil / sa ngarraí síse.<sup>2</sup>

Some syntagms are obviously more current than others and direct query will not equate with conversation nor produce completely consistent results. Note the switch in Mq’s listing from {a (possessive) + Noun + emphatic} to {∅ + Noun + emphatic} between the 1pl and 2pl above. Recall the inconsistency between Máire’s conversational *sa ngarraí eisean* and her not permitting this in query. Contrast also *ina ngarraí sibse* with *lena gcorach sibse* Mperm and compare *a gceann sibse* Mperm. This uncertainty in the 3pl may be due to the fact that the older use *a gceannsan* Mperm, permitted by Máire, has not been completely ousted. In the 1pl, in particular, there is further competition between this usage and *sin a’inne* (also *seo a’inne* for certain speakers). On another occasion when queried Máire produced *gA muElE SiÐ !E Mq dhá mbualadh sinne*, but with nouns preferred to use *sin a’inne*, the more frequent usage with definite nouns, e.g. *sa ngarraí eisean 20Cq, gá bhualadh sise 20Myq*.

This dependence of the article on prepositions may be based on the ambiguous status of the word following consonant-final prepositions (sg, chuig, ar, as, roimh, thor, thríd, un) in this construction. For example, older *ar a ngarraí sinne* can be reinterpreted as *ar an ngarraí sinne* (both *er a nari; fin a*)<sup>3</sup> and the article can be extended to vowel-final prepositions such as *sa ngarraí sinne* (which are not homophonous with older possessive-pronoun use, as in *ina ngarraí sinne*).

---

<sup>1</sup> Cp. 7 saol muide a mhile [mhilleadh] ... a [2pl] saol fhein. 43Mlt.
<sup>2</sup> McCloskey (1986, e.g. (19) b p. 252, n. 12(i) p. 264) discusses a subgroup of this set.
<sup>3</sup> Compare the transcription *ar an mbaille sinn-ne* ABg346 which could also have been transcribed *ar a [1pl] mbaille sinn-ne*. 

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6.25  *ag buàladh mise,* etc.

All persons and numbers of the emphatic pronouns are permitted by Máire (16M, Mq) as object of a verbal noun preceded by *ag* (progressive aspect, without possessive pronoun object):

**Singular**

\v \i fe / xu \o fe bu\a la m\i fa, husa (*tusa \emptyset perm), ef\o (preferred to alternative fe\o), if\o Mperm

*bhi s\e \l chaug\e s\e ag bu\aladh mise, thusa, eisean (~ seisean), ise.*

**Plural**

\v \i fe / xu \o fe bu\a la mid\a (*fin\a \emptyset perm), fi\hfa, iadsan >> fi\adsan Mperm

*bhi s\e \l chaug\e s\e ag bu\aladh muide, sibse, iadsan (~ siadsan).*

Examples in conversation were heard only from speakers younger than Máire’s generation:

1sg  
*Chuir se Deaidí soir AG IARRAIDH MISE 43M* (Máire’s daughter).

1pl  
*v\i d\i if fin\a g iaro \v e bu\a la mid\a 62J*

*bhíd\is sin ag iarraidh a bheith AG BUALADH MUIDE; munu mud\a 78Rb AG MUNADH MUIDE.*

Simple pronouns in this position are used by some of the youngest generation:

3m  
*tu m\i fa go\l ag ol e 85M t\a mise ag goil AG OL\E, ag iarraidh — CLOISINT E 86R;*

1pl  
*... a\a muna mid\a ... 76M ... atá AG MUNADH MUIDE ... ;*

3pl  
*hu m\i fa g\a iad iad 82BAO (x2) thá mise AG IARRAIDH IAD.*

Examples of simple pronouns with demonstrative adjectives used as genitives occur in:

3m  
*n\i chaithidh s\i AN TUS E SIN ar chor ar bith*

*for traditional n\i chaitidh s\i a th\as sin ‘she will not spend half of it’ (of large sum of money);*

3pl  
*ar tu: a\a\a h\o iug 40S ar t\a ATHAIR IAD SEO UILIUG?*

6.26  *uaimse ~ uaidh mise,* etc.

One example has been noted of a prepositional pronoun used with its corresponding emphatic pronoun. It was produced by Máire during a query into the possibility of emphatic second plural disyllabic -b\i forms in the prepositional pronoun. Máire (Mq) produced harab\jfa Mperm, haer\hja tharaibhse and (with a laugh) haer\hji \h\jfa tharaibh sibse! Compare SIDIII.40 q 45 which gives go d\i: fij\fe, (alt. if\fe) (or xuk\'e fij\fe) go d\i sise ~ ise, chuici sise; when queried Máire permitted neither *chuici sise nor *aici sise M\emptyset perm. No such forms are found in ICF or GCF (corresponding to SIDIII.40; both informants in SID contributed to ICF and GCF). One can therefore conclude that such usage is very marginal. Prepositions that otherwise generally inflect for person are occasionally used with emphatic pronouns as objects. This usage cannot be considered as marginal as the *tharaibh sibse* type but is nevertheless a grey area.\(^2\) (The preposition *eidir* which inflects facultatively in the plural often takes non-emphatic pronouns in all per-

---

1. See Ó Siadhail (1979: 145) for Donegal examples of innovative use of object pronouns following verbal nouns (confined to the syntagm {*ag goil d\i* + verbal noun}).

2. Cp. McCloskey (1986, e.g. 30(b), (d), p. 257).
sons.) Máire was queried as to the permissibility of simple prepositions with emphatic pronoun objects. Prepositions seem scaled according to the quantity of persons permitting this usage in Máire’s responses:

\[
\text{thar, thrí, ar, faoi, roimhe, uaidh (5, 4 persons) >>} \\
\text{dhe, i, le, chuig, dho (3–1 persons) >>} \\
\text{ag, ò (no person)}
\]

The contrast between the synonymous variants ò and uaidh (< 3m) reflects their respective conservative and progressive status.

The category person seems scaled according to which person more frequently permits this usage in Máire’s responses:

\[
3\text{pl (10 prps), 2pl (9 prps) >>} \\
3\text{sg (m) (7 prps), 1pl (5 prps) >>} \\
2\text{sg (2 prps) >>} \\
1\text{sg (no prp)}
\]

It is evident that this implicational scale of person corresponds at least partially to deictic space: the greater the distance from the first person the higher the analytic usage. This scale can be compared and contrasted with the historical development of the analytic flexion in the verb.

Table 6.1 presents Máire’s (Mq) responses, with the implicational scaling indicated by the diagonal internal border.\(^1\)

**Table 6.1 Analytic prepositions, e.g. that(i)r mise MØperm, th(i)ar tusa Mper**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pers</th>
<th>that(i)r</th>
<th>thrí</th>
<th>ar</th>
<th>faoi</th>
<th>roimhe</th>
<th>uaidh</th>
<th>dhe</th>
<th>i</th>
<th>le</th>
<th>chuig</th>
<th>dho</th>
<th>ag</th>
<th>ò</th>
<th>tot</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sg 2</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+ ?</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl 1</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>??</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sg 3m</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sg 3f</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl 2</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl 3</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
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<td>+</td>
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<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
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<tr>
<td>total</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples (from Mq unless otherwise indicated, M = from conversation):

\[
\text{thar} \quad \text{nì tharamsa xua fe} \ ax \ hær' \ efan \to \ hær \ efęan \ Mtrans \ nì \ tharamsa \ a \ chuagainh} \ seach \ \text{THAIR EISEAN \to SESEAN;}
\text{nì hær' \ efan} \ a \ xua \ fe \ ax \ haramsa \ Mtrans \ \text{THAIR EISEAN \ a \ chuagainh} \ seach \ tharamsa.
\]

\[
\text{thrí} \quad \text{hri: efan}; \ hri: \ fifa / ifa; \ hri: \ mid' a; \ hri: \ fifa; \ (hri; (h)usa 'perm).
\]

\[
\text{ar} \quad \text{er' efan}; \ er' ifa; \ er' fifa; \ or \ fifa; \ er' iadsan.
\]

\[
\text{faoi} \quad \text{fi: efan / fifa; fi: mid' a; fi: fifa; fi: iadsan / iadsan.
\]

\[
\text{roimhe} \quad \text{riv' efan}; \ riv' fifa; \ riv' iadsan; \ riv' iadsan, \ (riv' \ iadsan}
\text{???perm); ... mu \ vín \ ki: \ kurh \ eg' \ er' \ | \ riv' \ | \ riv' \ mid' a | M}
\text{... mé bhionn caoi curtha aige \ air \ roimhe — ROIMHE MU IDE.
\]

\[
\text{uaidh} \quad \text{wae \ efan \ to \ efan}; \ wae \ mid' a; \ wae \ fifa; \ wae \ iadsan / iadsan; \ m'æs \ tu}
\text{... dæstin \ wae \ m'ifa \ ma \ yrug' \ a \ n'ixan \ M}
\text{meas \ tú \ an \ diastaltonn \ UΑIDH MISE \ mo \ ghruaig \ a \ níochain?}
\]

‘Do you think I need to wash my hair / get my hair washed?’

\(^1\) In the table, + stands for Mq and Mperm, + ? for M’perm, Ø for MØperm, etc.
It is clear from the examples in *mise* 43M and *ó mise* 898P that forms not permitted by Máire in query do actually occur. There are, however, speakers who are far less ‘tolerant’, in response to query, of this innovation than Máire. Speakers 20C and 20My, for example, do not permit *thair eisean*, *thar muide*, *thrí eisean* Øperm (in the most analytic prepositions for Máire but note the example from conversation of *thar é sin* 20C cited below, 6.27). The scaling found in Máire’s data obviously indicate permissibility judgements rather than actual usage but the implicational relations may prove relevant for actual usage. Given the infrequency of this variable, however, it is difficult to document actual usage sufficiently.

Part of the explanation for the scaling of prepositions may lie in frequencies of usage: frequency and tendency towards analytic usage being in an inverse relation. The simple preposition *uaidh* is less frequent than *ó*, *chuig* less frequent than *ag*; both less frequent variants have more analytic usage. Similarly, *tha(i)r*, *thrí* and *róimh(e)* are, apart from obsolescent *chuig*, the least frequent simple prepositions and prepositional pronouns in material from the neighbouring area of Ros Muc (Table 6.2; based on Wigger (2004) adapted from the frequencies given in the Foclóir). These three prepositions are among those with greatest analytic tendency in Máire’s responses. In fact *tha(i)r*, the most analytic in Máire’s responses to query, is so infrequent that its synthetic use is no longer being acquired by nontraditional speakers (7.75). It is evident, however, that frequency is not the only factor. Prepositions *ar* and *faoi* occur in the Ros Muc material about as frequently as *ag* and *ó* respectively but *ar* and *faoi* have substantially greater analytic usage than *ag* and *ó* in Máire’s responses. Interestingly, Máire’s (Mq) *uaidh* corresponds closer to the frequency rank of *ó*. Perhaps the fact that the simple prepositions *ar* and *faoi* are equivalent to their respective 3m inflected prepositions sustains an independent status for these forms leading to greater analytic usage than expected from frequency of use alone. Table 6.2 compares Máire’s analytic permissibility with the inverse ranking of both the frequency of prepositional pronoun and simple prepositional usage in Ros Muc.

1 In December 2004 I heard *tríd é* [sic, unlenited] from a male native of Ros Cíde, Ros Muc, born c. 1995 (for traditional 3m *thríd*). (Cf. p. 1488 n. 1 for the same speaker.) After *tha(i)r*, and ignoring *chuig*, the preposition *thrí* is the least commonly occurring in Wigger’s Ros Muc material. Neither of the corresponding pre- or postpositions meaning ‘over’ or ‘through’ were considered by Johnston and Slobin (1979) in their investigation of locatives in four European languages produced by children between the ages of 2.1 and 4.8.
Table 6.2 Frequency of prepositional usage in comparison with {preposition + emphatic pronoun}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mq, descending</th>
<th>Ros Muc (Wigger 2004), ascending</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>+ emphatic pronoun</td>
<td>Prepositional pronoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tha(i)r</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thrí</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>faoi</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>roimh(e)</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uaidh</td>
<td>4+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ar</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhe</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>le</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chuig</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dho</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ag</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ó</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It may be significant that the closest match in the table is found between Mq’s ranking and the inverse frequency ranking of the prepositional pronoun usage of these prepositions. Note that Mq’s ranking of dhe before dho corresponds to prepositional pronoun ranking but not to simple preposition ranking. Recessive chuig seems to be ‘tracking’ its progressive equivalent ag in Mq and is the most aberrant feature of Table 6.2; chuig is more obsolescent in Ros Muc than Iorras Aithneach. Recall that Óg iEdsEn is formally equal to *ag iadsan but permissible only when meaning chuig iadsan.

Regarding third person forms with and without initial $S$: both efan and iadsan are more common than fefan and fiadsan. There is a striking contrast in:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>iadsan</th>
<th>siadsan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dhe +</td>
<td>Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dho Ø</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 6.27 Compound nominal prepositions

Emphatic pronouns, and simple pronouns with héin, as objects of compound nominal prepositions are not uncommon. This use is in fact general with ar nós and optional with i daoibh, e.g.

2sg  á díw ná gásuir’ ... á díw u: hén’ 56T
    i daoibh na ngásuir’ ... I DíOIBH THU HÉIN.

1pl  á díw mid’á d’ì’ì’ì 19B I DÍOIBH MUIDE an dtuigeann tá?

Innovative use as objects following nominal prepositions is common when the emphatic pronoun occurs in coordination, e.g.

1sg ... á n’ìa mì’ì ìg gás kolam só g’ìí ìg 56T
    ... I DÍOIBH MISE AGUS COLM sa ngleoiteog.

1 Its demise in Ros Muc may be quite recent. The Ros Muc informant in SIDIII.44 has inflected chuig in the two instances where it would be expected historically (questions 45, 341; as well as in seó chuigainn 900). In LFRM Réamhrá §18 there is only mention of the $h$- initial for historical ch-, but no mention of merger with inflected ag.
The simple preposition *mar* is generally used before the simple pronoun corresponding to *ar nós* before emphatic pronouns and simple pronouns with *héin*, e.g. 2sg *mar thú* but *ar nós thusa, ar nós thá héin*. For progressive examples such as *ar nós é 36ṣ* and *ar nós iad 60M* and also *le haghaidh é*, see 7.105, 7.118.

There are sporadic examples of *é sin* as object of a simple declinable preposition: *Is minic a chuimním air, FAOI É SIN 12S, ní cheapthainn go mbeadh, THAR É SIN*. ‘I do not think there would be, apart from that one’ (cp. 7.75).

Demonstrative pronouns are permitted as direct objects of these prepositions, e.g. *har !ES Sin ! SHEAR Mq thairis sin / seo, but also har Sin ! SHEAR Mperm thar sin / seo.*

The forms *fiÉ l !e Ér Sin ! SÓC are ambiguous as to whether they are simple *faoi / le ar sin / seo* or 3m *faoi / leis air sin / seo* and I have noted more than one informant use the spelling *le sin* in their own writing, as well as *ar sin* in:

*A chróthu AR SIN nach dtáinig ... SÓC 1.82.*

### 6.28 Possessive pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 ma, m, m', w</td>
<td>ga ma, ga m, ga m', e ma, m ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 da, t, t', d, h</td>
<td>ga da, ga t, ga t', ga d, ga d', da</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 a (m aI, f aI)</td>
<td>nə ga, yə, ə, də</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Plural**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 a, (ar, ər)</td>
<td>nə ga, yə, ə, də, gər, ar, dər, dər</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 a</td>
<td>nə ga, yə, ə, də</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 a</td>
<td>nə ga, yə, ə, də</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^a\) Also *yə, e.g. 852S, 866E, 869P, 894C, etc., and ə 894C; these speakers no doubt have corresponding possessive forms such as *yə ma, ə ma, *yə de, *ə de, etc., although some have not (yet) been noted.

### 6.29 1 singular (prevocalic)

1sg *m, m', w* and 2sg *t, t', d, h, also *ga d',* are prevocalic forms; *ma* and *da* also appear prevocally, rarely in the older generation, and frequently in the younger. Prevocalic *w* and *h* are petrified forms.

1sg *ma, m, m', w, mo, m', mh'* (lenites)

*w mh' is confined to three interjections:

1. **(a) wánam, (ə) wanam** *(a) mh’anam;*  
2. **(a) wán in’, (ə) wan in’** *(a) mh’ainin* (this is understood by Seán to be derived from *(a) mh’anam,n)*  
3. **(a) wafKə, (ə) wafKə** *(a) mh’aisce* (the 'aisce element is obscure to speakers but the initial element is to be interpreted as a mh’ (1.252)).

---

1 Similarly, with *seo* and *sin* as demonstrative pronouns in Ulster Irish, e.g. *de seo, ar seo, le sin*, etc., CGT §184–5; *fá sin* Ó Muirgheasa (1934: 193 (commentary)).
Example: v: a wæn’in’ 05M bhí a mh’ainín.

m and m’ are the regular prevocalic forms in traditional dialect. m’ is now rare; it occurs preceding front vowels and lenited palatal f, e.g.

\[ \text{Regular sandhi of vowels is often absent following m, yielding, for example, mæ- and even m* in m’airaidh; the initial vowel may be, with regular sandhi, low back, i.e. mæh* P, but often also front mæh* S (more narrowly mæh* ), or back with a preceding glide mæh* SM. So also mæs* 35E9259 m’hearsa.} \]

\[ \text{Examples of m + vowel:} \]

889P Bhuel bhí mise an t-ám sin ’ MO FHEAR mæ ’aër óg mhisniúil.

894Bl mæ m’in’ MO ININ.

01P mæ ’ac ’yllum’ 01P MO DHA ghlúin for common mæ ’ac ’yllum’;

\[ \text{similarly, 2sg, dæ ’ac ’vër’ 01P do dhá mhéir.} \]

Pronouns and pronominals

There are two possible examples of perhaps intrusive h in:

ná tabhair \( \text{MO HORDÓIGSA} \) anis leat!

Note the reduction of \( \text{mE w-} \) to syllabic \( \text{m} \) in:

ogos \( \text{v' a} \) m \( \text{MO HAINMSA} \).

There may also be reduction in:

bog \( \text{M} \) nach ndeachaigh mé \( \text{MO MHULLAIGH} \) [perhaps i ndiaidh mullaigh].

6.30 2 singular (prevocalic)

2sg \( \text{dE} \), \( \text{t} \), \( \text{d} \), also \( \text{gE d} \), \( \text{h} \), \( \text{do}, \text{t'}, \text{d'}, \text{th'} \) (lenites)

The regular prevocalic forms are \( \text{t'} \) before historically back vowels and non-palatal lenited \( \text{f} \) and \( \text{t'} \) before historically front vowels and palatal lenited \( \text{f} \), e.g.

hanam \( \text{a} \) daul ad e \( \text{S TH'ANAM ón deabhal a'd é (rare t in tanam a jaul} \) .. ARN7329 T'ANAM, a dheabhal),

dun \( \text{as hiarh: ort} \) SM \( \text{don is TH'FIATHRAÍ ort} \),

The first example with \( \text{d} \) it may be significant that the 2sg person has impersonal function ('one draws one’s ridge'). In the second example a serial effect of preceding preconsonantal \( \text{dE} \) is likely. In query Máire was asked to produce her own spontaneous \( \text{t} \) \( \text{t'} \) forms and also the voiced variant. She produced one of the few examples of \( \text{d} \) I have heard (also heard from speaker 69S; see below).

Noun:

\('\text{sin é t'ursainnsa} ' \) .. nó 'do ursainn', \'t'ursainn \).

Verbal nouns:

\( \text{dho t'} \)  \( \text{gE t} \)  \( \text{gE d} \)  \( \text{gE d} \)  \( \text{gE d} \)

\( \text{oibríú} \)  \( \text{t'aibrú} \)  \( \text{d'aibrú} \)  \( \text{d'aibrú} \)  \( \text{d'aibrú} \)

\( \text{ionpá} \)  \( \text{túmpu} \)  \( \text{túmpu} \)  \( \text{túmpu} \)  \( \text{dúntu} \)

\( \text{iontú} \)  \( \text{túntu} \)  \( \text{túntu} \)  \( \text{dúntu} \)
Personal pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>11C</th>
<th>12J</th>
<th>21Pg</th>
<th>1139d</th>
<th>43M</th>
<th>47L</th>
<th>51P</th>
<th>52J</th>
<th>54C</th>
<th>55Sg</th>
<th>56B</th>
<th>60Mq</th>
<th>64M</th>
<th>66N</th>
<th>66L</th>
<th>69S</th>
<th>71D</th>
<th>72Nq</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>t ~ d</td>
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<td>(for t)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

In contrast with the 1 (6.29) and 2sg possessive, Máire’s (Mq) eclipsing n- (in 1 and 3pl possessive) is palatal with all five lexemes given above.

Speaker 01P (Doire Iorrais) has consistent d for the numeral dhá, which is regularly ya in West Iorras Athairce. As with the 1sg, he has the preconsonantal form of the 2sg possessive before d: dhá:

\[
\text{do 'a; 'v'ear'} 01P \text{ do dhá mhéir for common do 'ya; 'v'ear'}. \\
\]

d becomes almost completely generalised before vowels by younger speakers, who also often use prevocalic do. Various speakers are listed here with the gamut of forms noted from them and the corresponding traditional form in brackets, e.g. 47L has er dedan ar d'éadan for traditional er t edan ar t'éadan. The list of variants for each speaker is not complete as my noting of these forms has been fortuitous in many cases.

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1286  Pronouns and pronominals

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>d (for t), 77Cq</td>
<td>t closet 77Cq do unga bríf a do longa briste, fo e dahar seo do athair, doxair d eochair.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>da ~ d (for t)</td>
<td>do am lon do am lon.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Speaker 66N seems to have prevocalic d >> da >> t(‘). She is the youngest speaker from whom t(‘) has been noted in this list.

6.31  3 person singular

3m a (lenites)
E.g.  n’i jorna fe ax aurdog’ a xur ana v’el 11C2229
n’lhearna sé ach A ORDÓIG a chur INA BHEAL.

The lack of elision seen in innovative 1sg and 2sg forms is evidenced in the 3m in:

a n’i chaoi a edan ... 52P ag níochán A ÉADAN ...

3f a a (prefixes h to vowels)
E.g.  hug a n’ an ’a’x | ?a hai’ | er’ a ’warag’á | (Suda)894Cs
thug an each A HAGHAIDH ar an bhfarráige.

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I’ar g fe aurdog’ er’ a tiav</td>
<td>11C2229 leag sé a ordóig ar A TAOBH.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ach bhí an saoart héin INA HAM pén IN A HAGHAIDH sin. ... nar raibh A BEALACH sin ro-mhaith ARN2525–30.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.32  Plural

1pl a, ar a, ar, ár (eclipses)
The general form is a a, e.g. ér’ a d’ax 46.1002 ar A DTEACH.
ar ar is obsolete (and higher register). A possible example of ar occurs in:

UR N-ATHAIR sinne 852S4 (also cuide dháir muintir sinne iad 852S2).
The 1pl possessive is regularly a’ in 869P2–5 but there is one example of ar ngotha 869P4 and a’ alternating with ar in formal context ar ~ a’ Slánaítheoir.

In:

cg’ ar m’arog a gog’ a glan 04B1 ag AR MBEAN agus ag A GCLANN
both ar and a are 1pl, this may be higher-register usage by 04B in the context of the recording of respected seanchas. Speaker 892M has general a but note gar dháir in a more formal quotation (cp. dháir gcionn, 6.36):

- ag troid ... ar shon ... ceart fháil DHÁR DÍIR ... gar d’ir’ ARN2505;
cp. cuide DHÁR MUNITIR sinne iad 852S2.

2pl a a (eclipses)
The vowel-final form occurs generally, e.g.

a gid’ brog aqui’ A GCUID bróga agaibh, go ‘muna 46.738 DHÁ MÜNADH.
Speaker 852S has 2pl examples a geuid often 852S2, but ar muintir 852S2 may be 2pl possessive.

3pl a a (eclipses)
E.g.  tæ nohan’ a’kab M Tá A NDÓTHAIN acub.
6.33 New possessive pronoun na (B)

The form na na, 3sg (na₁, na₂) and 1, 2, 3pl (na₃) possessive, is classified under B in the paradigm of possessive pronouns (6.28) to indicate its innovatory status. The oldest speaker noted with this usage is 66L (Mainis), one of her brothers 72N also has it regularly. Their elder brothers were noted in conversation (55S, 64M) and in query (55S) with traditional a a only. Speaker 79ML (Leitir Deiscirt) also has innovative na na. All users of na na (except 90P) have close family and friendship ties with An Aird Thoir or come from An Aird Thoir which is perhaps the place of origin of this very recent feature. Speakers noted, who were born before 1980, use both a and na na. Two very young speakers were recorded in 1998 (aged 8) with na na only (although not systematically analysed): 90M (niece of 66L and 72N), e.g. nÏòhEr ! n’athair, and 90P. (90P had generalised lenition in 1998: na ghadhar (3f), na bhásta (pl).) Examples are given below; from queries unless otherwise indicated. (The queries often involved translating, e.g. ‘he take off his clothes’ > bhain sé dhó na chuid éadaigh.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>na 66Lq, 66L</th>
<th>a 66L</th>
<th>na 72Nq</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3m</td>
<td>... yo: na xud’</td>
<td>yo: na xud’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dhó na chuid</td>
<td>dhó na chuid, ar na chloigeann</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3f</td>
<td>tu: na kud’</td>
<td>wif’ a koc ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tά NA cuid</td>
<td>bhfuil a cóta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 pl</td>
<td>... jen na kud’ ...</td>
<td>tu: nohán’ xén’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dhin na cuid</td>
<td>tά λ ndóthain a’im</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 pl</td>
<td>... d’eb’ na kud’ ...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dhíb NA cuid</td>
<td>NA gudid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 pl</td>
<td>... d’eb’ na kud’ ... tά na n’erchar’ 66L</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dhíb na cuid, tά NA ndreatháir</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The origin of possessive na can be found in a metanalysis of linking n, occurring between vowel final prepositions and possessive pronouns. For example, the prepositions i and le with traditional possessive a a (a n + a ina and a e + n + a lena) are reanalysed as a n and a e + na. ² I have insufficient data to establish whether innovative na has specific conditions of use, e.g. whether it is favoured in postvocalic position (thus retaining some of the function of linking n). All three possessives mo, do, na, then, have the same shape: Ca.

6.34 With gə dhe, dho (prepositions, verbal particle); 1, 2sg

The possessive pronouns form various combinations with the prepositions dhe, dho and with the particle dho (preceding verbal nouns), as listed in the paradigm above (6.28). In particular, the (-)ə of the 3 singular and all three plural forms is formally opaque.

---

¹ Note the lack of eclipsis on cuid in the plural in 66Lq. In conversation 66L was noted with the article in na chuid: er’ na xud’ e gə gan ... 66L ar na chuid eile dhén .... She may therefore have confused, in response to query, the article na cuid and na chuid with expected possessive na gudid (72N). Alternatively, she may use na cuid without a possessive pronoun where the possessive is found traditionally.

² Cp. possessive na in some Scottish Gaelic dialects (1 and 2pl in Wester Ross; Wentworth 2003: 626).
Pronouns and pronominals

**1sg** dho ma, a ma

g a ma precedes both nouns and verbal nouns; rarer a ma and m ma precede verbal nouns.

g a m(ə) is the most common form, e.g.

g a m wa la S DHO MO bhualadh, g a | mi a ra 25M DHO M’iarraidh.

g a m + VN has been noted preceding iarraidh, e.g.

g a m’ iar a ra 899N1, M DHO M’iarraidh.

a ma is quite rare, e.g.

| a ma human té 899N1 DHO MO thomáint; |
| b é a n a x o a ma v a é r a S bean a chuaigh DHO MO bheadhradh. |

But a ma, a m before vowels, is more usual for 66N (An Aird Mhóir), e.g.

| g a s a u r’ a tu | a m i k 66N na gasúr atd DHO M’loc. |

Recall that 66N’s mother is from An Cheathrú Rua east of Iorras Aithneach (cf. GCF §322).

Speaker 21Pt (An Aird Mhóir) has both g a m e and e m eþþ, e.g.

| v i fe g a m e ‘xraha – 21Pt bhí sé DHO MO chraitheadh; |
| v i m é a m a ‘lig an héin’ 21Pt bhí mé DHO MO ligean héin; |
| v i m é m a ‘yortu héin ri x t’ 21Pt bhí mé DHO MO ghortú héin roinnt; |
| perhaps also n’ id tu: m ma x ur a mú 21Pt níl tá DHO MO chur amú. |

The pronunciation m a probably also occurs, interpretable as a reduced form of (g a m a).

**2sg** dho do, da, ga d, g a d’

2sg g a d a dho do is the general form, e.g.

| g a d a l’ a é n a c t M DHO DO leanacht. |

Note the reduced form in g” d a x í r’ 60M dho do chi ar . . For rare g a d’ Mq, 69S, see 6.30. da has been noted regularly from 66N (cp. her 1sg a ma), e.g.

| t a f u n d a h o r i a x t 66N tá Seán DHO DO thóraíocht; |
| t u p e r é k d a h o r i a x t 66Nq tá Pádraig DHO DO thóraíocht. |

**6.35 3sg and 1, 2, 3pl dhá g a , ya:, a:, da:***

The combination of g a with a of 3sg and 1, 2, 3pl possessive pronouns yields g a r, with less frequent regressive variants in initial y-, d-, as well as absence of the initial consonant. (For limited 1pl gar, etc., see further below, 6.36.) A minority of older speakers show common alternation between the variants ga:, ya:, a:, da:. It seems that these oldest speakers have the vocalic-initial variant (a) following coronals (primarily), as with the prepositional pronouns of dho and dhe in sandhi (7.31 ff.). Other speakers were heard with a: following coronal stops (d/t) only. The vowel in all variants can be shortened, i.e. a ~ a ~ a. This variable is similar to g a dhe in combination with the relative pronoun a a”, i.e. dhá”, and the conjunction dhá” ‘if’, both of which also have variants g a r, ya:, a:, da.

Speaker 852S (Dumhaigh Líthir) has both ya: and ga: in his short recording, both postvocally:

| ya: m i f c e 8 ya: ‘dorr’ as ‘er’ a x’ | as ‘c e d k p r’ g a: | a a: g a n t’ i r’ f y | |

... ... nú: g a: g i r’ an ‘b a c f | 852S . . . . , dho Maoise, DHA (1pl) dta ba hait as
Éirinn, [selfcorrected to] as Éjipt dhon tír seo ... ... nó DHA (3pl) gcuir un bás ...

A rare example of dAÉ is:

-Ach tá muid ag goil ag tabhairt a dhá gcúl DÁ dAÉ chéile, a deir sé. 881Jn.

Speaker 894C (Glinsce) is remarkable in that he has very frequent VAÉ. This speaker also has v- in the corresponding simple prepositions ña dhe, dho, also remarkable in my sample (1.69).

Some of 894C’s examples of ña are:

Phrase-initially: | ña: skára | DHA scaradh;
\[N\]_ | viː naː mˈiɾ ə ñaː gaːr. ø bhiː naː mɪlə DHAː gcailleadh,  
\[1s\]_ | ugas yəː dˈænə ˈsuːs | ugas yəː gur ˈʃɪs |  
\[l\]_ | ˈfruʃən yəː ˈʃaɾə ˈdəɾən ˈfrọsɪn DHAː lɪəρ.

His lesser variant gAÉ has been noted (thus far) only in song (LCuīl):  
\[N\]_ | viː mˈe ɡəː haɡəs ː bɪ mɛ DHAː theəɡəsc;  
\[l\]_ | en yɪɾə hoː ɡər ˈʰɛdəɾ ˈdəɾə ɛɾ ː aon ɡɦəʊiθə DHAː ʃeɪd əs əɛər.

For the related form, the conjunction dHÁ ‘if’, 894C also has ña. e.g. ugas yəː gəɾˈdoːɾ ɡəɾˈɾɪɾɪɾɪdɪs, and note phrase-initial | gəɾˈdoːɾ ɡəɾˈdəɾ Ad fe 894C dHÁ dɪtɪeədəɾ sɛ. This phonetically intermediate initial also occurs with his conjunction ña go phrase-initially. In contrast with his actual recordings, the material in RBÉ generally has gə for 894C2–3, but note the possible emphatic use with initial ñ indicated in Dia sin ghá réiteach! 894C3. We can assume that in this example the articulation was clearer for the transcriber.

Of my sample, speakers 894Cs, 892M and 01J in particular have frequent recorded ña. For 892MARN1–2, Table 6.3 presents the preceding context of tokens which were noted (without any systematic search) in the verbal noun syntagm.

| Table 6.3 dHÁ + Verbal noun, ña: >> ña: >> gəɾ, 892M |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ña: | 1 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 8 |
| 892M | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 5 |
| gəɾ: | 1 | 1 | 2 |

These examples are:

ñ: mara mbeitheá ː cuir sin ortha 1427;  
ghoil ː n-ṁseacht 1198, ag goil ː gcuir in àit eíasc 1565,  
ag goil ː iseacht 2003, in dán a ghoil ː ghearradh 2074;  
chuadar ː diol 1103;  
níl siad ː cuir ag obair 1179;  
ché redistribution DHA ː cárdaíl 1111.

ñ:  b’fhearr leothub ansín, DHAː dhionamh sin 1114,  
bréidí ː dhía dhionamh 1015, trí ː cile DHAː fáil 1301,  
an deabhadh DHAː rá leis 2084, arbar DHAː sléiseáil 2092.

Note also in nominal usage:

N’ér həd ñ: gəɾ ː 892M1549 Níor thada DHAː gusaid ǔld.
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Obviously, further examples are needed from 892M, who has many other recordings, to investigate this variable. There is a unique example of loss of dha phrase-initially (ya ~ 0) in:

*bhí muintir Mhainse, bhi, DHA bhfeiceal | ya v ek ad sinne ag mar sin brain, ... *
*bhiodar seo, DHA bhfeiceal | v ek ad sinne ag mar na mbhrain ... 892Mt.

Examples from other speakers:

01J:  tu fisd a ' n ix a ' taid DHA n-ihe, goil ' a gar ag goil DHA gcur,
' eit fisd goil ' a jina fin' nil taid ag goil DHA dhéanamh sin, (01J often).
04Br: ya generally but wil / tu fisd a: ru ' fin bhfual l ' taid DHA ra sin.
08B:  tu fisd a: spas ' a reif ' taid DHA spáint aríst.
12S:  ya generally but a tair aon aon boxt u xha max St.
     Also (in rhyme): faisti: ya xur ' a g ' e: !S fatal DHA chuirt i ng ' e.
11P:  a: (x2), ya: (x3); e.g. iad a: na iad DHA ndiol ann;
y a: susha | a: susha DHA suathadh, DHA suathadh.

Speaker 852Sb LC has frequent transcribed 'a and 20ADO and his neighbour 01PDO have frequent recorded a for dha (in its various functions), a dialectal feature of North-East Iorras Aithneach, aligning it with dialects to the east where a is general.1

852Sb:  theosaladar 'A phioca TS12S; oicht' elle 'A ro' sè TS14S;
     'A ba bhreaca 'A ro' ts124.
20A:  ... hort a: ru an 20A ... short DHA raibh ann;
     an ' t a tain san gir in 20A an tseachtain DHA giconn;
     but also ya: ya: ... l: ex ed slat go v e kr iaxnicho 20A
     ... leithcheal slat DHA bheithe nrichoithe.
01P:  ... aegis, DHA DHA ya a: genomb, ... ansin DHA a: shniomh, ... isteach
     DHA ya: chàrdail 01P (examples adjacent in discourse).

The fricative initial variant (ya) is used more often in more emphatic and / or deliberate speech, e.g.

... ya ' vrix | ' i hoq ' an fe ... ya ' jina | 52P
  ... DHA bhráith. Ní thóiteann sè ... DHA dhéanamh.
  d 'i o ya: reft aon DHA réiteach!

6.36 Individual speakers' usage; 1pl dha(t) gcionn

ya: is regularly used by: SID.46,2 869P, 899N, 00T, 04B, 12S, 13P, 16M, 16P, 19P,
  20M, 21P, 23J, 24M, 30M, 31D, 79PCN. For example:
SID.46: ya: (dho: 7, 205, 930, 1109, cuirim; dha: 21, 139, 738, 738, 930, VIII)
ya: (dhe: 456)
ya: (dho: VI)

1 In 2003 in Ros Muc, east of Iorras Aithneach, I overheard one male speaker remark to another that Carna speakers say ya dhu.
2 Examples from older speakers, the oldest being 852S, disprove Tomás Ó Máille's (1927a: 102 §393) claim that ya did not occur in this use in Connacht and R. A. Breathnach's (1983–6: 142–3) similar claim for all of Ireland. The form ya: may reflect Early Modern Irish agh, and ya: reflect dha, the variant ya having now spread to constructions without the verbal noun, where dha is historical. In fact ya: (if historically derived from agh and thus corresponding to Scottish Gaelic ga) has spread to an even greater extent than the Scottish Gaelic examples cited by R. A. Breathnach (1983–6: 143). Recall the forms of the simple prepositions ya >> ya dhe / dho: go: also Gagnepain's (1963: 251, 257) description of agh - d(h)u (ag - do) as 'confusion phonétique' which is fitting for our dialect.
1pl dhá(r) gcionn ga:, ya, ã, ã, dar, gur, ar, dar, dar
Forms in final -ã only are general for dhá (in all three plural persons). Forms in (-)ar are now confined to the phrase dhár gcionn, e.g.

An exceptional pronunciation is 51N's (sister of 52P) usual form:

Apart from this collocation final -ã occurs:

6.37 Impersonal dhá + Verbal Noun: concord
In the impersonal construction with the verbal noun, e.g. tá na fataí dhá gcuir, both gender and number distinctions are often not made, yielding a single facultative form for all third person reference: dháL; the original 3m. Agreement is often maintained, e.g.

3 plural:

Non-agreement is of course the innovatory usage and examples are listed below. Plural dháL for expected dháL, e.g. gan ceann ar bith dhá n-ihe, is exemplified above (6.12).

6.38 dhá with feminine

dháL with feminine noun or noun which generally has feminine reference

Non-agreement is of course the innovatory usage and examples are listed below. Plural dháL for expected dháL, e.g. gan ceann ar bith dhá n-ihe, is exemplified above (6.12).
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04Br `n umarka ord' go hjurt' er' an iomarca aird DHA thabhairt air.
11C an raibh uasáid a bith GÁ dhíonamh dhen cheilp seo ... ?
16M mung' go jiol mín DHA dhíol.

With these examples contrast Máire's translations, both singular and plural:

n is' og go wuala ... an is' og go wuala M sé Seán a d'airigh an fhuanneog DHA bhualadh ... níor airigh mise an fhuanneog DHA bhualadh.

Examples in the relative:

866E dhen bhean a bhí GÁ cheapadh ar Jaic. 866Ex (Sc186.26).

6.39 dха with plural noun

869P bhí próiseanaí 'jectmentsachait (§ ejectments) GÁ tharrain agus dúthaí go bhfuil an chúirt seo gá díona mh? -Tá sí GÁ dhíonamh, a deir sé, [long pause] dhon rí.

Examples in the relative:

866E dhen bhean a bhí GÁ cheapadh ar Jaic.

There is a rare example of dха in active meaning with feminine referent in:

894C9 An fhéamainn ... bhí eascan DHA tharrain agus dúthacht.
Note also a rare counterexample (if not scribal err or, etc.) presumably due to the serial effect:

\[ \text{ní aireó tú an aimsir gá catha, } \text{gí aireómid an bóthar gá cur tharainn.} \]

*dhd* \(L\) with 3pl pronoun

\[ \text{níl siad curtha ach tú siad ditá chuir.} \]

*dhd* \(L\) with 2sg pronoun

\[ \text{Bhuailtheá bump cheana is bhí tú dhá chráitheadh.} \]

"... and you [impersonal] would be shaken" (in car on a bumpy road).

### 6.40 Discussion

We can see from the examples that the process of generalisation of *dhd* \(L\) or its grammaticalisation occurs primarily with non-animate subjects, i.e. categories low in the subject or animacy hierarchy.\(^1\) Almost all the singular feminine nouns are inanimate, with the notable exception of *dhen bhean a bhí gá cheapadh ar Jalc 866Ei* where *ceap* in this meaning generally takes the impersonal construction and where the use of *dhd* \(L\) in the relative clause may be of significance. The only other animate examples are (mass) plurals: *ronnachaí* and *an-chuímse scudán* and indefinite pronoun *daoine go leor gá thabhairt as 12S*.

It does not generally occur with personal pronouns, which are high on the animacy hierarchy. The single example with the third feminine pronoun refers to immediately preceding inanimate *cuírt*. The longer than usual pause in this utterance may be attributable to the aberrant use of *dhd* \(L\) in this instance. The final examples given above are the only examples of plural and 2sg pronominal use and they were heard from a younger speaker. They represent the final stage in the expansion of *dhd* \(L\) for (some of) the younger generation. As far as I remember, plural *siad* here refers to potatoes being sown. The use of the pronoun with *dhd* \(L\) in this example demonstrates the conflict that the impersonal interpretation has with animacy. The more unmarked interpretation of *tú siad dhá chuir* and *bhí tú dhá chráitheadh* is active. In the particular third plural example the interpretation is disambiguated by the first phrase of the sentence where *siad* is non-active. But there is no such disambiguation in the 2sg example, which, interestingly, has impersonal reference.

\(^1\) For an example of grammaticalisation through the animacy hierarchy in the opposite direction in an active construction, see Hopper and Traugott (1993: 100–3). See also Ó Siadhail (1989: 298) and Ó Siadhail (1994: VI §8.51) for Munster Irish where *dhd* \(L\) shows wider usage, particularly in Corca Dhúbhéin, e.g. *míse á chomáint chuin margaidh* (Tomás Ó Cronnkhain, Seán Ó Coileáin 2002: xxxviii, 76; cp. R. A. Breathnach 1983–6: 142–3), *bhíos Á chaitheamh anuas aigen ngaoth* (GCD §380) where 1sg is the highest item on the animacy hierarchy (cf. É. Ó hÓgain 1984 s.v. *á* \(L\) (f–k)). The greater use of *á* \(L\) in Munster is presumably connected with the far greater use of the construction and in particular of (the disambiguating) *ag* + agent, as seen in the last example quoted (*aigen ngaoth*).

Instances of the extension of impersonal *dhd* \(L\) with the verbal noun found in early eighteenth and nineteenth century Ulster texts are cited by M. McKenna (2001: 288, note 54.9). The examples contain abstract feminine and inanimate plural nouns. Cf. Hansson (2004) where the Munster–Connacht–Ulster cline in the usage of the passive progressive construction and the low topicality of its subject are ably demonstrated from a textual corpus. Hansson notes an instance of extended *dhd* \(L\) from a Donegal writer (2004: 133, n. 5): abstract subject *aigcleír*; and there are many instances of grammaticalised *dhd* \(L\) in her examples from Corca Dhúbhéin texts: plural inanimate noun + *dhd* \(L\) (76 §21, 84 §7, 91 §16, 93 §18, 94 §20); plural personal pronoun + *dhd* \(L\) (49 §12 *sinn á dhalladh leis an allas*); and feminine abstract noun + *dhd* \(L\) from a Mayo writer: (138 §15 *aithris á dhéanamh aige*).
The contrast between the feminine noun móin with dhá and 1 plural pronoun muid with dhá provides evidence of the process within one sentence:

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{beidh móin DHÁ dhó ansin nuair a bheidheas muide DHÁ ndó aróst} \\
&\text{‘turf will be burnt there while we will be burnt thereafter’ (i.e. ‘when we are dead’ in apparent reference to flames of hell).}
\end{align*}
\]

Finally, recall the contrast between Máire’s conversation where both concord and generalised dhá occur and her translations where concord only was found. This indicates an early stage of grammaticalisation.

We can compare the limited use of a with third person referents in verbal-noun constructions such as tá dhá gharraí beaga againne i ndan a ghearradh, which may be an extension in the use of possessive (3m) a and a fusion with verbal-noun conjunction a (6.46 ff.).

**Syntactical notes**

### 6.41 General

Various constructions with pronominals are considered briefly in this section:

(a) rare examples of the subject pronoun separated from the active verb;

(b) possessive a with indefinite pronouns, e.g. a bhlas;

(c) dhá in the idiom thug sé dhá shiúl é;

(d) cataphoric é with 1sg and 2sg pronouns;

(e) é meaning ‘amount’;

(f) optional é for elided verbal noun phrase; deabhal é;

(g) use of a mbraceadh ~ iad a braceadh and similar VN constructions;

(h) the adjective bocht qualifying pronominals;

(i) sin a’inne, etc., in possessive function.

### 6.42 (a) Verbal subject pronoun

In general the subject pronoun immediately follows the verb. In speaker 64M’s usage, however, the subject is often separated from its verb by quotative deir ..., e.g. (emphatic 2sg pronoun):

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{ku&darr; fii é (3m), deir sí, TUSA ag goil?} \\
&\text{t&rsquo;ras &agrave; d&rsquo;er m&rsquo;if&rsquo; a&rsquo;msa go maith e 19P} \\
&\text{t&rsquo;ras &agrave; d&rsquo;er m&rsquo;if&rsquo; a&rsquo;msa go maith e 19P}
\end{align*}
\]

Compare the example with fhios where the logical ‘subject’ (ag + pronoun + emphatic clitic) is also separated by a deir from its ‘verb’:

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{t&rsquo;fas &agrave; d&rsquo;er m&rsquo;if&rsquo; a&rsquo;msa go maith e 19P} \\
&\text{t&rsquo;fas &agrave; d&rsquo;er m&rsquo;if&rsquo; a&rsquo;msa go maith e 19P}
\end{align*}
\]

Other examples are similar to Echo usage (5.97 ff.), e.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{leaghdís pláitin fatair ar bord sa gcisteannach nó píosa dhe cháca, fáitias} \\
&\text{go mbeadh an duíne acub ag goil thart go mbeadh ocras orthub.} \\
&\text{Bhíodh, a mh’eanam, SIAD dhá dheánamh sin, bhíodh. 05M;}
\end{align*}
\]

resembling the type of additional pronoun found after Echo forms, e.g.

---

1 Chung and McCloskey (1987: 226–7) discuss the separation of the verb from its subject by parenthetical items and the general prohibition of such separation of finite subject pronouns. The few counterexamples I can cite from Iorras Aithneach suggest the prohibition is not categorical and that emphatic pronouns in particular may be more permissive of separation (which would not be unexpected given that they are notably more independent, both semantically and prosodically, than the simple pronouns).
6.43 (b) *a bhas*

The 3m possessive *a* in may be used, semantically weakened from a cataphoric function, with some indefinite pronouns. In this use 23B seems to elide *a* but retain lenition.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>beag</em> ... go leannann sé go 'BHÉAG ná 'MHÓR báistí a dhíana ...</td>
<td>869P4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>beagán</em></td>
<td><em>duine a dhí' A BHEAGÁN ná A MHÓRÁN diob</em> 869P2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>bit</em></td>
<td><em>jun o’ v’it mahasa yit’ an S dheimhan A BHTI maitheasa dhuit ann;</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>d’aul v’it</em> 23B <em>deabhal BHTI.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>blas</em></td>
<td><em>N’id’ a vlas a’r’iaw fukh ... M níl A BHLAS ariamh fáighair ... ;</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>d’aul vlas</em> 23B <em>deabhal BHLAS.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>dubh</em> ...</td>
<td>*i jerno m’ e *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>dath</em></td>
<td><em>ní dhearna mé A DHUBH ná A DHATH innir;</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>a yu no: va: a jína Mq A DHUBH ná A DHATH a dhéanamh. Maíre permits elision of <em>a</em> here but prefers and uses non-elision. Chinn sé amach agus amach ar an mbreitheamh A DHUBH ná A DHATH a dhéanamh den chúis Clad211–2.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>mór(án) Cl. <em>beag</em> and <em>beagán</em> above.</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For examples with numerals, see 3.82.

6.44 (c) *thug sé dhá shiúl é*

In the phrase which in the 3m is *hug fe: go x’ul e thug sé dhá shiúl é*, Maíre declines the possessive to uniquely agree with the verbal subject in the 3f only (i.e. ‘her walking’); this she did on two separate occasions. Otherwise *dhá* is used throughout (i.e. ‘its walking’ or ‘walking it’, in 3m possibly ‘his walking’). Her recorded examples are as follows (M, Mq):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 t’urha m’ e: go x’ul e</td>
<td>tiúrthaidh mé DHA SHIUL é</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 tor’ go x’ul e tabhair DHA SHIUL é</td>
<td>2 tugí: go x’ul e tugái DHA SHIUL é</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3m hug fe: go x’ul e thug sé DHA SHIUL é</td>
<td>3 hugadar go x’ul e thugádár DHA SHIUL é</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f huk fi: go xul e thug sé DHA SIUL é</td>
<td>thugádár DHA SHIUL é</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Compare also:

- *siúlaidís DÁ GCOIS 852Sb1L94 (3pl imperative);*
- ... *é a’ siúl DÁ CHOIS 875DTDT24;*
- *agus iad ag goil gá shiúl gá GCOIS go Gaillimh. 11C;*
- *bheodhatigh sé AR A CHOIS chomh maith agus d’fhéad sé. 875PDT10.*

Cp. the nonpossessive construction with similar meaning:

- *hug fe gana saili: e M thug sé DHE NA SÁLAI é.*

6.45 (d), (e), (f) *é*

(d) *cée hé thusa?*

Cataphoric *é* is optional with 1 and 2 singular emphatic pronouns in copula
predication, e.g.
... cé HÉ MISE. S;
Cé HÉ THUSA? 852S1, Séard é THUSA dailtín S; Cé thusa? S.

(e) é ‘amount’
With the copula and the article é can have indefinite pronominal reference meaning ‘amount’, e.g.

SÉ NA faochain a bhí ann, trí mhála dhéag.

Compare the related use of cé (8.51).

(f) é = elided verbal noun phrase; deabhal é
In relative clauses an optional ‘redundant’ pronoun é can take the place of a verbal noun phrase or the verbal noun phrase can be ‘elided’, e.g.

Ø féachaint le duine a fháil dhuit héin CHOMH TOIBEANN IN ÉIRINN 's FHÉADTHAS TÚ. 875P.

dé chuaigh Naomh Páraic síos INSAN ÁIT AR ÚIRT SÉ LEIS É 894Cs
'Saint Patrick went down to the place where he told him to go’;
gur bhain sé iad CHOMH DÚTHRACHTACH AGUS D’FHÉAD SÉ É 894C;
ial a char ag bréith CHOMH TRÉAN AGUS D’FHÉAD SÍ É 894C;
go mbeidh sé chomh rite a’d, CHOMH RITE AGUS IS FÉIDIR LEAT É. 894Cs;
Bhí sí gá thogáil 'na pheata CHOMH MAITH IS B’FHÉIDIR LÉITHE É. B19.52;
scriobh NUAIR A FHÉADTHAS TÚ É M.

é is also found in elliptical use with negative deabhal (8.116):
- Ar ól tú ‘Murphy’s’ ariamh? - Deabhal e. S (i.e. ‘No’);
- An ólthaidh tú tae? - Ní ólthaidh. Neó. Deabhal e. 64M.

6.46 (g) a mbriseadh vs. iad a bhriseadh; agus a bhriseadh
In the verbal noun syntax {Object + a³ + Verbal Noun}, when the object is a pronoun, e.g. ‘to break them’, there is a choice between two main constructions:

Possessive Pronoun + VN or Unmarked Pronoun + a³ + VN

A MBRISEADH ‘their breaking’ IAD A BHRISEADH ‘them to break’

The possessive construction is obsolescent. It is generally confined to third person objects, especially in the singular. For example, 3f, in coordination:

... chaithriú amach AN FHEAMAINN DEARG SIN, aríst, ar an gcéith. Agus u-, an fear a raibh an carr aige, bhí sé i ríocht a-, an carr a thabhairt FÚTHI, agus u-, a CUIR isteach ar an ngarradh. 894Cs.

Examples (from speaker 894Cs) of 3m occur in coordination:

breith ansin AIR agus A LIONATH i málra | ugas a tháinig mar | : 3m in subordination:

A ghis bhí daoibh ag baint ceart as. Is minic ariamh ó chuinn a chúimhrím, cén chaoi, a mhi-, a raibheadar i ndan A SCUABADH. 06C (referring to a rough floor).

1 This may be of importance for the interpretation and explication of the complex use of the pronominal augment in identificational sentences (Doherty 1997: 140–2, 145; cp. Ahlqvist 1978: 67). Cf. 5.382.
The youngest speaker noted with the possessive construction is 60M. It strikes one as a conservative feature in a speaker of his generation, (3f):

Cuírím le clai l nó le — isteach sa scioibol mar a dei=r an ceann eile. Ansin A Dó leithí an gheimhreadh, A Dó, leithí an gheimhreadh nach sa ngeimhreadh a dóann tú é. 60Mt.

A plural example with the pronoun is:

nó go bhfaighhead sé traíáil ar IAD lOC ... ní bhfuair sé aon tseans ar IAD lOC 11C.

Examples of plural possessive are more rare than the singular:

i ndan A N-AITHNEACTÁIL ... ... orthub, is A GCAITHEAMH isteach ar an tine 11Cn;

ní féidir A MARÚ ... gcaithidh tú ANGEARRADH.

Some speakers can be seen to be more progressive than others, including the usage of some older speakers recorded in folklore material in Roinn Bhéaloideas Éireann. The object pronoun occurs governed by a preposition, for example, in a local song:

tu m’é sáost er’ é a xir’ im | !(FCúil)894C

tá mé sásta ar ÉA CHUIR dhíom.

Of my field informants, most (including 12S) have little or no use of the possessive construction, but note 12S’s use of the older syntax in the saying:

mar a thastaigh ón ngadaí A CHROCHADH S.

The brothers 11J, 20T and 25M (clann Team Mhacaí, An Coillín) are conservative in their greater than usual use of the possessive (and they are conservative regarding quite a few other variables).

6.47 a bhriseadh, extension of {aL + Verbal Noun}

There are instances in coordination where aL before a verbal noun is ambiguous and can be interpreted either as the 3m possessive pronoun or as the verbal noun conjunction. For example, in the following passage:

... Ghoil, mbíodh dhá léí(i) [i.e. léine], dhá, chuid éadaigh, níochán i sruthán tóirthann, sruthán tóirthann ’eadh eirdh dhá bhala. ’Gus ansin, THABH-AIRT, agus A CHROCHADH leis an tine. ’S a ghoil, thuas i gcóirneal eicín ag faire. ’Gus píob rí ansin, bean a bheadh aige, ag an bhfear sin, bheadh pósta aige, thinochadh sí ’gus d’impoide sí an léine. 892M.

One would expect younger speakers to use an object pronoun here, i.e. é/l í a thabhairt agus é/l í a chrochadh. When a feminine referent (possessive aH) is followed (in coordination) by leniting aL, the particle is clearly not in possessive concord, e.g.

Bhí áiteachal, mbíodh AN CHOIRLEACH seo bhíodh áiteachal MBÍOD Sí BOG, ’GUS EASCÁIHRRAINT, éasca strachaitl dhen leic. 892M.1

The lack of concord is clearest where feminine pronominals are used elsewhere in the same section of discourse to refer to the item in question. A feminine noun, without explicit feminine pronominal reference, followed by leniting aL could be interpreted as having the masculine possessive (6.8). Absence of concord of this

1 Four similar examples of aL for expected aH before the verbal noun (in coordination and in a subordinate relative clause) are cited in P. Ó Súil leabháin (1953: xviii; reference in M. McKenna 2001: 288, note 54.9) from a manuscript written in 1716.
variety is not uncommon and may be a contributory factor in the partial generalisation of leniting $\ddot{a}$.\textsuperscript{1}
Similar to bhíodh sí ... éasca a tharraint one also finds $\ddot{a}$ with feminine reference where the adjective is connected to the verbal noun by ar (cf. 7.122):

Tá sí éasca ar a thriomú fíosin tharas an móin a bhainthear tú fút sios \textsuperscript{897P}.

The disjunctive intransitive subject pronoun í occurs following éasca ar in:

Ní raibh an scothach baol air chomh, CHOMH, HÉASCA AR I LOBHADH leis an gcoirleach. \textsuperscript{889P}.

There is an example of $\ddot{a}$ from Máire, who generally uses the progressive object pronoun construction, governed by a feminine noun in coordination in a fixed saying:

Ní ghathainn amach ann ach an oiread ’s chuirinn MO LÁIMH sa tine ’s A DHÓ suas go dí ag an ghualain m.

Note the alternation from é $\ddot{a}$ to $\ddot{a}$ in the more fixed or impersonal sayings in:

- Dúirt sé liom, a deir sé, É CHROCHADH abhaile nach ndíonthad sé é. ‘... take it (cloth) back ...’
- B’fhearr dhó héin A DHÍONAMH mais, a deir sé. \textsuperscript{11C} ‘it would be better for him to do it (i.e. to do so)’ (of tailor who refused to make a drawer, sending the cloth back);
- Ní dhíona’ se aon bháisteach. Ní fearr A DHÍONAMH M;
- Bhuel tá mise i ndan A DHÍONAMH, a deir Seán. \textsuperscript{11C} ‘I can do it / that / so’.

In the example with é (a) chrochadh the pronoun é has a definite concrete object reference, whereas in the examples cited with a dhíonamh the reference is to the whole action. In another example, from higher register, the 3m pronoun is also nonconcrete in the idiom (é) a thabhairt dhe na boinn:

is níorbh fhearr dhuit a bich é ná THABHAIRT dhe na boinn in am! \textsuperscript{11C}.

Similarly, $\ddot{a}$ occurs for (historically more regular) $\ddot{a}$ (possessive) or iad $\ddot{a}$, in impersonal constructions:

Tá dhá gharraí beaga againne i ndan A GHEARRADH Mlt
‘we have two small fields which are ready (able) to be cut’;\textsuperscript{2}
‘cainthéibh’, siufráil chainte, daoiní ag caint náthta dhíonn an gcoirleach Mlt.

Cp. the extension in the use of dhá $\ddot{a}$ in the main impersonal verbal-noun construction (6.37).

6.48 Summary

There is, therefore, a third verbal-noun-object construction of the format {a $\ddot{a}$ + Verbal Noun}. It is found with third person reference (in the examples) in coordination, in obsolescent use following an adjective and ar and in impersonal use, as well as with 3m nonconcrete reference in other constructions. Therefore, these types of objects can be expressed with, for example, ‘break’ as:

\textsuperscript{1} There is reference to an ubh (feminine) (a concealed egg which contains an t-anam (masculine) of an Chailleach Bhéarrach) as object of the verbal nouns in:

léna thóirit as ... i ndan a thóirit as ... an ubh ... é thóirit duit ... an ubh ... lena bhuala \textsuperscript{852B}TS145–6.

One could interpret all instances of leniting $\ddot{a}$ in this example as masculine possessives, particularly given the use of the masculine pronoun é. Nonetheless, instances such as this, with {feminine noun + $\ddot{a}$ + VN}, might weaken the historical association of leniting $\ddot{a}$ with masculine concord.

\textsuperscript{2} Spelt in original letter: ... aiginne indon a ghearra Mlt.
6.49 (h) **mise bocht**

The adjective *bocht* can qualify emphatic pronouns (subject and object) and emphatic prepositional pronouns:

*banné téis a dhéanamh* (term for ‘buttermilk’). For examples such as *an-ghar dhon é a ghortú*, see ‘Prepositions’ (7.29).

6.50 (i) **sin a’inne**

The demonstrative adjective combines with the emphatic prepositional pronoun in a possessive construction, particularly in the first and second persons plural: *sin a’inne, sin agaibhse*. This is commonly used of certain types of familiar possession and relations, e.g.

*Seo* a’inne; *

Also common is 2pl *sin agaibhse*, *sin a’inne,* e.g.

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a t' aín n'é agi:ʃa an teach SIN AGAIBHSE;
ʃa:n' fin' a:gi:ʃa Seán SIN AGAIBHSE.

Other persons occur less frequently but with the same function of familiar genitive relation, e.g.

1sg bardh é an t-aínm céanna bhí ar an bhfeaimilí SIN A’MSA is a bhí [ar] an [or a’] 3pl poss] bhfeaimilí siadsan 12SN,
b' e:bi: bøxt fin' amsa 56N bhéibí bocht SIN A’MSA.

2sg t' ax fin' ædsø an teach SIN A’DSA.

3m t' ax fin' e:gan 27Mdq an teach SIN AIGESEAN.

3f t' ax fin' ek øfa 27Mdq an teach SIN ACISE.

3pl şun fin' a:købæsan Seán SIN ACUBSAN.

As a rule the noun phrase qualified by sin a’inne (etc.) is syntactically definite, containing the definite article or a personal name. The example bhéibí bocht sin a’msa (cited above) is an idiomatic use of indefinite syntax with definite meaning. There is an example from a young speaker without the traditional definite article:

ʃis ø: hax fin’ æn' ø 76M sios ó theach SIN A’INNE.

Emphatic clitics with pronominals

6.51 Forms

Personal emphatic clitics can be added to nouns, including verbal nouns, qualified by possessive pronouns, to personal verbal endings and to prepositional pronouns. (A stands for older or obsolescent use. B stands for innovative use.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Noun</td>
<td>Verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1ns -sø, (-ʃø) -ʃø, (-sø) -sø, -ʃø</td>
<td>A -n’ø -ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 -sø -sø -sø, -ʃø</td>
<td>A -ʃø -ʃø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3m (-søn) -søn (-ʃøn) -søn, -ʃøn</td>
<td>-søn, -ʃøn -søn, B -ʃøn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f -ʃø, B -sø</td>
<td>-søn, -ʃøn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3 person (sg and pl) also nonclitic søn, sun

For the emphatic pronouns, which also contain these clitics, see 6.14 ff. Also discussed above is the partially optional use with nominals of emphatic pronouns and the obligatory use in emphasis of 2sg thusa with the 2sg imperative. The initial of clitics in s- is generally deleted or coalesced in combination with a preceding -ʃ. This occurs in some 3m prepositional pronoun forms and some 3pl verbal forms, e.g.

I' ef + søn > I' øfan leisÆAN;
wø:n ød i:ʃøn + søn > wø:n ød i:ʃøn bhaveidíSEAN.

Noncoalescence is, however, found, e.g.

| s' øna:xt I' øføn | 35E9106 in éineacht leissAN, |

---

1 This has been altered from the transcribed ... is a bhí a’ bhfeaimilí siadsan in my original note. One could read is a bhí i bhfeaimilí siadsan.
Personal pronouns

An example of non-elision but retrogressive sandhi is:

\[ \text{cp. l'ef ma wa}fsa 875P \text{ thar éis mo bháísa cited below (6.52).} \]

Máire, when queried and pressed as to her possible coalescence, offered both "san and "fin" with verbal forms not ending in palatal s but with "dis only "fin", i.e.

\[ \text{v'idar san bhiodars} \text{ N } \text{v'idar } \text{fin' bhiodar } \text{sin,} \]

The sibilant of these clitics often causes regular retrogressive sandhi effects as found between words:

\[ \text{-s' s- > -ns-: } \text{f' e } \text{t'ursansA Mtrans sin e t'ursainnSA; } \]

\[ \text{ma } \text{l' insa M mo linsA,} \]

\[ \text{-r s- > -rs-: } \text{mahErsA 892M} \text{2050 } \text{m'athairSA.} \]

3 person "san may take the stress of an independent word, e.g.

\[ \text{... } \text{a } \text{v' } \text{l' ensA } \text{Tef sun | 35E9106} \]

\[ \text{chuiile fleur ansin dhen tseachtar a bhí in éineacht leisSAN;} \]

\[ \text{g' e } \text{a } \text{'sun 53M go maith aigeSAN;} \]

\[ \text{durE fe } \text{t'ohu sun e yor' [sic] } \text{amux 897P } \]

\[ \text{dúirt sé leothúsañ a ghoil amach;} \]

\[ \text{v'idar san M bhiodars} \text{N with the same nonprimary stress as v'idar } \text{sin;} \]

\[ \text{x' i } \text{orhub'sun an arama}aR \text{ ... 36P ni orhub'san in Arramara ... } \]

Cp. \[ \text{du xud' b'ehi}xsa M } \text{Do chuid beithiochsa; } \]

\[ \text{no d' in u'su } \text{cu 'wai.' } \text{g' ... M Ná déan thusa aon mhoill go ... ;} \]

(both cited in 1.390).

\[ \text{6.52 Nouns} \]

1sg -sa, \[ \text{ma x'ansa mo cheannSA, ma xap in' sa mo chaipínSA,} \]

\[ \text{a maurod}g'sa 29N i m'ordóigSA.} \]

\[ \text{l'ef ma wa}fsa 875P \text{ thar éis mo bháísa.} \]

2sg -sa, e.g. \[ \text{da x'ansa do cheannSA.} \]

Following adjectives:

\[ \text{do chrága móra místuama gránna } \text{866ESc48.29;} \]

\[ \text{da wulan el asa } \text{43M do bhullán eileSA.} \]

3sg -san, \[ \text{na yaris}aR 20Cq ina gharraiSAN, \text{a x'ansan Mperm a cheannSA.} \]

3pl -san, \[ \text{a g' ansan Mperm a cheannSA.} \]

\[ \text{6.53 Verbs} \]

1sg -fa, \[ \text{d'er'amfa ... } \text{03V deirimSE ... . xir'anfa chairinnSE.} \]

-sa occurs sometimes in the speech of 23C:

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Xurhan’s er’ thiúrthainnSE air, d’er’am’sa ... deirimSE ... 
(These may be slips of the tongue, but 23C’s pronunciation is likely to be in some way attributable to his very slight lisp (involving s). For his 2sg wet’sa wailtsa and asta a’dsa, see 6.54.)

-sa also noted, alongside more regular -fə, in:

ax or qimm’insa ... wān’hafə ... lauronfə 892M2419
Ach dhá gcuimhniinSE ... bhainthinnSE ... labhróinmS ... .

2sg -sə, qa: m’ehasa dhá mbeitheasə, qa: gurt’osə dhá gcuirteasə,
v’ihusa bhithéasa.

In the 2sg imperative -sa does not occur; instead the emphatic pronoun thusa, also (thú) héin, are used.

1pl A-nə, in: ’n’i: gkamor’nə 46.401 ní fhacamarNE (for expected -ar’ə, i.e. nonpalatal r in [ar-’ə]).
This clitic is now obsolete, as is the ending with which it was recorded. Cp. verbal subject munúd min’ə 892M2459 (6.20).

2pl A-fə, foq’i:fa gr’im’ ... S faighgíšE greim’ ... ;
skrawq’i:fa am portax 69Ssq scraitghíšE an portach.
This 2pl -fə is common but may perhaps be used by a minority of speakers; it is, for example, not used by Máire (or accepted as local despite being used by her husband, Seán). Máire commented:

as d’efə fanag’i ... fanag’i fihbfa Mq is deise ‘fanag’i ... ‘fanag’i sibse’.
Cp. abraig’issan 45N abraigÍsan where the speaker seemed to pause slightly following the utterance, perhaps realising a mistake had been made.

3pl -sǝn, v’i:dursan bhíodarSAN, ‘d’im’i:dorfan d’imiodarSAN;
v’idar san bhíodarSAN. ‘v’i:’d is sún bhíodSAN;
| aqs dabrí’d’ifan na r èg ’xi: er’ | 11C
agus d’abraídÍSANN air raidh aon chara air;
|xahad’ifan a vol’ax iaxtar arift’ | [sic] 18J9113
chaithúdÍSANN a ghoil in iochtar aris.

These verbal clitics are not permitted with the specific synthetic Echo forms, e.g. 1sg *v’i:ssa MZperm bhíosas! Instead Máire permits v’is’fin’ Mperm bhíos sin! with similarly emphatic function, although sin is syntactically adverbial here. In emphatic Echo contexts, for example in 1sg past, bhí mé! is general.

6.54 Prepositional pronouns

1sg -sʃa, a(qamSA a(q)a)mSA, dumbsa domSA; -fə following palatals, e.g. wemʃə uaimSE (rare wom uam > womsa uamsa).
There is frequently no stress directly on the prepositional pronoun in tabhair dhomsa, e.g. ‘toromSA k’an ... P tabhair dhomsSA ceann ... .

2sg -sʃa, ortsa ortSA; -fə following palatals, e.g. ’n’i: he: yufʃa S Ní hé dhuitSE. Sometimes t’ + f > f’, e.g. yufʃa 21Pt dhuitse.
Speaker 23C has -sə only: yut’sa 23Cq dhuitsa, wet’sə 23Cq wailtsa. Speaker 23C also optionally metathesises final broad t/d and clitic s. Metathesis was noted following stressed æ; his examples are:
Other pronominals

Metathesised tokens were heard in conversation and query; non-metathesised, in query. He does not metathesise 1sg forms, e.g. amis, ãsEsMis, harEmsE 23C a’m, asam, tharam.

A far younger speaker was also noted with -s following base palatal t, in ùts [sic] 86R duitsa (in 1994 aged eight).

3m -s/fan, onsan annSAN, waisan uaidhSAN, jesan dheSAN, eg’asan aigeSAN; coalesces with preceding f, e.g. l’esan leiSEAN.

There are two 3m prepositional pronouns which have optional irregular forms here:

hãr’af > hãr’afan Mperm thairiSAN and harSAN Mperm THARSAN; hriÉd ! > hriÉdsEn Mq thrídSAN and hriÉsEn Mq THRÍSAN.

Following er’ air both -san and -fan occur: orfan 05M, orsan.

Only one sporadic example of -fan following a vowel was noted:

... en sas eg’afon | ána hiil M ... aon sásamh aigeSAN ina shaol.

B -sEn, òrheSEn 70M mamó ... uirthiSAN; an innovation from the 3m.

1pl -s/-, jíx’ó M dhínhEn, òran’ó oraiM.

2pl -s/-, hãríSfó M, harábófó Mq tharaibhS, agíSfó M agaibhS, l’íhó libSE.

3pl -sOn, akabsan acubsAN; l’óhabsan leothubsAN.

B -fín’ -fín’ appears to be the clitic in yóhfin’ 47Pd dóibhisIn (similar to the demonstrative adjective sin).

Other pronominals

6.55 Cataphoric impersonal pronoun (an) té, (an) cé

The cataphoric impersonal pronoun (an) té, (an) cé functions as antecedent to relative clauses (‘he / she who . . . ’, ‘the / a person who . . . ’ or ‘those / people who . . . ’). It can be difficult to know whether or not the article is grammatically ‘present’ in cases where it is phonetically absent.

té There is no article audible before té in:
Sé chaoi raibh sé acú ansin, TÉ an’fin’ t’Ée; nar raibh aon teideal ÁIGE dhon fheamainn, sé chaoi ghotad sé, ... 06C.

ba je: t’Ée: b’or, anfÓr’ an’fin’ a xol’ám’ | xir’ax á | ‘runax er’ á ‘mada | j’f’ax g’ann roead | 899D6357 badh é TÉ ab fhéadf URCHAR ansin, a ChoilM, a chuireadh an ronnach ar an mball a isteach dhen ród.

níl sé ar an talamh TÉ a mbeadh beann a’m AIR.

There is plural reference in:

ní raibheadar ag goil ... ach TÉ a mbeadh brógaí ACUB 899N.

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an té Chluineadh muid ansin, scéal eile. Níl fhios a'm an raibh sé ceart nú cóntráile. AN TÉ | an’ té: thírthaidh isteach an aon a hairt, ní an aont [sic] a spéireata i deach an phobail, ... go mbead SE i ndan cártáid a dhathú, an chuid eile DHA shaol. 892M. SÉ AN TÉ tá thios a siúilhídh siad AIR.
- ... tiúrthaidh mé chuig fhunt amaireach, a deir sé, DHON TÉ inseos dom cé is measa lear 892M 2024. There is plural reference in: cén fáth go gceapann daoine go seasann siad DHON TÉ gurb iad héin a chuirt ar a geosa IAD? St.

cé k'e: d'éir' ox er mgd' an' ... SID.46.IV.1e-f
CÉ d'éreodh ar maidin le éiri na gréine.
k'e ug yut' an' oxar' hug fe lef ... P
CÉ thug dhuit an eochair thug SÉ leis ...

k'e haesax l' e dru: na hi: [sic] !(Acl)21Pt
CÉ sheastadh le drúcht na hoíche.
... ar dhúmaí mar sin. Gan aon fhocal a bheiri’ aige. Ach CÉ thoictas ax
k'e: hukos isteach is an chaint agus an spraoi agus an ghreann a bheith AIR, is brea an rud é. 45N.

an cé Bhuel A’ CÉ raibh aon mheabhair ANN, a bhí ag plé leis an talmhaíocht, ...
... 01Pt.
... er' a k'e: v ex ... 45N ... AR AN CÉ a bheadh ...
(note the absence of eclipsis).

6.56 Cataphoric nonpersonal pronoun éard

The cataphoric nonpersonal pronoun is éard éard, also érd, ed, sometimes further weakened to ard, ad. Rarer are férdos, férdod, also séar sórt. Cp. the interrogatives céard (8.54), céardós (8.60). Examples:

erd férd e: hen’ ... M SÉARD é héin ... .
erd ago férd a v i’ án amax | sa sávra n tu fo 11C
gagus SÉARD a bhí ann amach sa samhradh an lá seo.
ed féd a hen’ ... 64M SÉARD é héin ... .

ard tu m'e x'æpa go b' ard e m' vú: go m' et' fe wad wet' S
tá mé ag cheapadh gob ÉARD é an ‘viú’ go mbeadh sé i bhfad uait.
ad fo durt' ... 64M SÉARD a dúirt ... .

férdos séardós is not generally known or used. Speaker 21J (Roisín na Mainchíoch), for example, claimed it does not exist (in the area), sé an sórt being general. It is, however, used by a small minority, e.g. speaker 35E who also uses interrogative céardós.

férdod was noted only once, from 00T in:
férdod obar' a tu ... 00T SÉARDÓD obair atá ... .
(This speaker was 21JRM’s neighbour.)
Note also séar sórt:
SÉR [sic] SÓRT beatha a bhí acub rán coirce 7 maírthfeoil OC197.
There is an example of reduced sé an sórt, or sé an seort, in:
en fort | rud a v i: sán ághard | rud a ro | a v é: mórúin | er' jina
Other pronominals

iaxtar kis'og' a ... 894Cs SE AN SEORT rud a bhí san ancard, rud a bhí mórán ar dhéanamh 'fochtar cuinneoga ... .

Speaker 894Cs normally has fein in sort. His brother, 881J, has:

a fein fort fiol | ... 881J IS EAN SEORT síol ... .

There is loss of initial f and further reduction in lax articulation of séard in:

od i: 'uan t'arx pobal' 'b'og 17M SÉARD a bhí ann teach pobail beag.

The palatalised final (jerd’) seems to be a slip of the tongue in:

aj jerd’ a v'i: jkr'ítra fi'ih 'uan 17M
agus SÉARD a bhí scriobhtha istigh ann.

The same speaker has:

jerd a huig m'fao m' b'ælax fo 17M SÉARD a thug mise an bealach seo, as well as od i: 'uan ... 17M SÉARD a bhí ann ... , noted above.

There is an example of séard used causally in:

SÉARD a tháinig sé a bhí ann ... SÉARD a tháinig sé a dhéanamh, ag ... , or sé an áit a dtáinig sé, ag déanamh ...

6.57 Reflexive and emphatic héin (féin)

The reflexive and emphatic particle is héin (féin). The general form is hen.1 Obsolescent f'én’ was heard only twice in vernacular use, both instances in the same lexical and discourse context:

ú fhios a'd FÉIN tAÉs > (i) peén ~ (ii) p'én also (i') p'hen ~ (ii') p'hen preceded by:

1. /b, b'/ of 2pl and 3pl prepositional pronouns,
2. /m, m/ (a) of 1sg inflectional endings (prepositional pronoun and verb),
(b) of a small class of nouns, i.e. am, anam, tuairim.

The sandhi is found unhistorically following final -n in higher register gom’ stóirin péin 894C9 (perhaps influenced by a by-form with féin through labial sandhi, i.e. *stóir'im f'én’ stóirin féin, perhaps also by the -m in preceding gom’ similar to historical dhom péin). Cp. (anomalous second token) agus dhá easna ann héin ... agus easna ann péin 852Sh1S121, 148. For 3 plural prepositional pronoun -uÉ + hen’ > -aÉ + hen’, see 7.99. Note the example where héin is separated from its sandhi trigger (2(b)) by an interjection but where the sandhi is nonetheless realised:

o m'anam mufa p'én’ gao ra ... 898P ó m'anam mufa héin go raibh ...

Reduced forms of the plosive, including one voiced token, have been noted from

1 Speaker 25Mn reports the form héineach, e.g. m'e hen'x é héineacht, from An t'Oileán larbach, Ros Muc. Cp. GCF §328 where héineacht(t) is reported following a prepositional pronoun dhom héineacht (12Sperm).
speaker 892M (also perhaps 07P): m₇ h, m₅ h, m₄ fi. There is furthermore an example of b’héin’ in:

\[\text{x’i’dás ám b’héin’ 11C níl fhios a’m héin.}\]

The broad initial variant, p(h)en’, i.e. (i) and (i’), is found categorically following broad b (3pl); the palatal variant p(h)en’, i.e. (ii) and (ii’), is categorical following lexically palatal b’ and m’ and commonest following broad m (1sg and nominal), where it frequently palatalises m; i.e.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variant</th>
<th>Takes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lexical b</td>
<td>p(h)en’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lexical m</td>
<td>p(h)en’ &gt;&gt; p(h)en’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lexical b’ and m’</td>
<td>p(h)en’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are individual differences in usage. Some speakers, for example, Máire, have p(h)en’ frequently, whilst others have p(h)en’ only (following lexical m), for example, 11C, 04B.

Examples are given below following the subrules 1, 2(a) and 2(b) and forms (i), (i’), (ii) and (ii’).

### 6.59 1. \(1/\text{b}\)

1. \(1/\text{b}\), \(\text{b’}\) of the 2pl and 3pl prepositional pronoun. This part of the rule can often be taken as a case of regular sandhi devoicing, i.e. \(\text{b} > \text{p}/\text{h}\), where there is a simple surface-consonant realisation, but examples with surface -b p-, -b ph- and -b’ p’- show grammaticalisation.

#### 2pl

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variant</th>
<th>Takes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(ii) p’en’</td>
<td>d’i: p’en’ M dib héin.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 3pl

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variant</th>
<th>Takes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(i) pen’</td>
<td>ji: pen’ S dhóib héin, akh pen’ M, f’ah pen’ S. In slow deliberate speech, Máire produced f’ahob pen’ Mq (x3) leothúb héin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(i’) phen’</td>
<td>akap héin’ 00T acub héin; orha phen’ 03V orthub héin; eatarab phen’ 04B1 eatarub héin; a’kab ph’en’ 15P acub héin;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ii) p’en’</td>
<td>yob’ p’en’ P dhóib héin.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other speakers tend not to apply this sandhi (which implies that it is perhaps less lexicalised and more phonetically based), e.g.

akob fhein’, ... f’oob fhein’ Pe3 acub héin ... leothúb héin.

### 6.60 2(a) \(1/\text{m}\)

2(a) \(1/\text{m}\), \(\text{m’}\) of the 1sg inflectional endings (prepositional pronoun and verb).

#### (i) pen’:

\[\text{/m’:/ ... a bh’i’m pen’ oram pen’ M ... ar bith a’m héin oram héin.}\]

#### (i’) phen’:

\[\text{/m’:/} \quad \text{892M l’um’ héin’ ARN1759 dreacháir liom héin.} \]

07P perhaps am’ héin’.

#### (ii) p’en’:

With the verb:

\[\text{892M mu wuaxam’ p’en’ má bhuachaim héin.} \]

04B x’apam’ p’en’ (Acs) cheapaim héin.

08B n’héa’ héin’ p’en’ ní théim héin.

12S x’i:a’i héin’ p’en’ m’e héin’ ní aithním héin mé héin, \(\text{mu jinam’ / yu’fím’ p’en’ S má dhéanaim i duisim héin.}\)

13J maraim’ p’en’ iad maraíom héin iad.
Other pronominals

With the prepositional pronoun:

- 893P: liam héin
- 894N: dom héin.
- 00T: dum' p' en' dom héin; wem' p' en' uaim héin.
- 03V: dum / 'um / orm / fum' / jiÉm' p' en'.
- 04B: am' p' en' 10; l'im' p' en' 10. (Smds), orám' p' én' !!(Aár), huám' p' en' !(Asp), yun' p' en' (Smds)
  a'm / liom / orm / chugam / dhom héin.
- 04Br: l'um / l'im' p' en' liom héin.
- 07M: l'um p' en' liom héin; dim' p' en' dom héin.
- 07P: l'um [x4] / orm / am' p' en'.
- 11Ct: l'im' p' en' liom héin.
- 12S: toram' p' en' tabhair dhom héin.
- 13P: am' p' en' a'm héin.
- 18J: am' p' en' a'm héin.
- 19P: fum / l'um / l'im' / am / dum p' en' Pt
  fúm, liom, a'm, dom héin.
- 36P: áesam / l'um p' en'.

(ii') p' hen':

- With prepositional pronoun and one instance of the verb:
  - 898P: orám' p' hen' ~ orám' p' fhéin'; yun' p' fhéin' orm / dhom héin.
  - Note that 898P also uses (ii) -m p'-, e.g.
    - manam' p' en' m'anam héin.
- 04B: orám' p' hen' orm héin, áesam' p' hen' asam héin.
- 11C: m'iÉf' a goÉr' am' 'hen' agas 'gafram' sk' u
  mile goirim héin agus coisricim thú!
  am' p' hen' a'm héin.

This sandhi with p(')en' (primarily type 2, i.e. following m) is lost in the younger generation. As can be seen from Table 6.4, and from the speakers listed in the examples above, where the youngest speaker shown was born in 1936, the change-over from the use of -m p- to -m h- is quite abrupt, occurring in the generations born in the 1930s and later. Speakers born before this period, including 892M, do show variation but it is perhaps significant that the cohort of the 1930s, apparently the locus of the change, shows alternation in the table.

1 Although anam héin p(')en' has only been heard in conversation in interjections, these examples from query show that anam can apparently trigger the sandhi in other contexts.
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### Table 6.4 Sandhi depletion in -m héin

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of -m p- tokens</th>
<th>Number of -m h- tokens (some examples)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1890-99</td>
<td>'oram hein’ 892M2090</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900-09</td>
<td>00T 2 (3?), 03V 4 (5?), 04B 9, 04Br 2, 07M 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910-19</td>
<td>11P 6, 13J 1, 13P 1, 15P 2, 15W 1, 18T 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920-29</td>
<td>25Mb 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930-39</td>
<td>36P 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940-49</td>
<td>43J 1 a’m heen’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950-59</td>
<td>51P 1 2, oorám, am heen’; 56T 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960-69</td>
<td>60M 1 5; 64M &gt;&gt;; 66L 1, yum heen’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970-79</td>
<td>70S 1 1, f’e’or um heen’; 72N 1, yurn heen’; 77C 3, e.g. um heen’; 79M 1; 79J 1; 79S 1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

My impression is that the sandhi is lost earlier following nominals (the minor subclass 2(b)). Coordination (with another token of héin, not triggered by the sandhi) may well favour suspension of the sandhi p-form and lead to use of heen’. This is implied by the sequence -m héin ... héin in an example from 866ESemr who otherwise regularly applies the sandhi rule:

\[ní bhím PÉIN ag a’ teach ... ... má bhím HEIN ná thá HEIN beo Semr84.\]

### 6.62 Reflexive use

Examples of reflexive hein are:

**Personal verb:**
- **synthetic**
  - bháithinnse mé HEIN le dinglis P
  - Díon sa mbaile thá HEIN! S, Ná maraigh thá HEIN
  - Fainic sib HEIN ar na gloineochta sin M
- **analytic**
  - Choinic me hein me HEIN nuair nach bhfaca aon-nduine eile me S
  - bhioraigh sé e HEIN 11C
  - Caithdhiu maiud maiud HEIN a chaisreachan 894Cs
  - Shocrai maiud suas sin, chaith maiud ... 894C9
  - Heilpeálthaidh sib hein sib HEIN M
  - ní bhfaighdhuid siad in ait ar bith iad HEIN S
  - iad hein a reiceanns iad HEIN ag caint S
  - d’injáidadh duine e HEIN 43M

**Prepositional pronoun**
- fuair mise balthadh bréan orm HEIN S,
- Cuir síos roinnach doibh HEIN M
- fan a chois na tine doibh HEIN P, cuirte hú héin a’id HEIN e S
- bheadh se cionnál gá choineadh aige HEIN 27Md
tá sé an-bródach as HEIN M
duine dhéach, bheadh ag iarraidh rad a dhionannadh do nó HEIN S
- Thug sé an bòthar síos dó HEIN 11C
- thosaigh sí ag cuíomhruithe hein, go mb’fhéidir go raibh cantal air 11C
- Caithdhiud éadan eicínneacht chuir orainn HEIN
- Tá siad an-mhóir tontúb HEIN M
- bhu mhe liom HEIN, thá bheith fáthaithe leat HEIN 875P
- narbh athásach ... an píosa oibre a bhí dionta leis HEIN aige ARN3234
- Cheanná an lái aisi HEIN M, chuiridhs astub HEIN iad M

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Other pronominals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Other pronominals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Refl ex. héin is optional in phrases such as:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Níor bhain sé éadach a bith dhi [3m] M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d'imigh (m) liom; d'imigh sé leis roinhe go dtúinig sé ag dí ... 864Mdt3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is absent in adverbial use such as:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chuir me héin romham i cheannacht ach níor cheannaigh me i. P.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.63 Analeptic and emphatic use

Adjectival, analeptic (GGBC §284 (§13.42)) héin can qualify pronominals and nominals. There is an important appositional use of {simple pronoun + héin} with pronominals and definite nominals.

Simple pronoun:

- verbal subject: Bhí mé HÉIN agus mo dhreithiúr, ... agus an fear ... agus m'athair, bhí ní thuig ... 05M
  aireoidh tú HÉIN éirí M
  Cail sé HÉIN?
  bhí Micil Mhac Suibhne mo dhuine bocht, bhí sé HÉIN bhí sé ar seachrán, 11C
  ní dhearnaithe HÉIN ach éirí ag goil ag soláthar di hein 894C
  Bhí ní thuig HÉIN ag spleanraíil le chéile S
  Bhí an tréa pínn aige ann, mar a deir siad HÉIN S
  seobh é anuas mé HÉIN un an chlaidh 10B
- copula subject: maithe an fear thá HÉIN
  na leáids a bheith gan orá 's thá HÉIN a bheith glan 52J
  Is móir an tseansmóir i HÉIN is na beithi S
  is fada an lá é sin HÉIN 01P
  nach iad HÉIN atá dhá dhéanamh orthub hein S
  + sin: is fada an lá é sin HÉIN 01P
- small clause subject: go mbeinn ag éisteacht le ceol anois agus iad HÉIN básaithe
- verbal noun subject: ar chuntar, é HÉIN dhá thóigeal nó duine eicínt, ARN4435
  agus go mba mhaith leis e é HÉIN togha ... na mbád a bheith aige 872P
- object: Cuirteann siad me HÉIN sios sa talamh S
  Cuirteann se me HÉIN suas an balla tá se chomh, rud 43M
  scrídíonn sé HÉIN i dtr ar ... ARN4704
- object of: cé thithachaidh isteach ... go dí m' é HÉIN S
- preposition: le haghaidh nuad HÉIN
  i d' thána sa ngassúir ... i d' tigh a HÉIN 56T
  Gan aon fhearr ar charraigh Sceitithe acht é HÉIN 892M
- + sin: dhá dteagadh aimsir le haghaidh é sin HÉIN 36S
- apposition: Déan thú HÉIN anois i' a deir sé 872P
  tearraí thu HÉIN agus i fheair 881J
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apposition (nominal)
personal
  bhí an deabhal ar Jaicí é HÉIN S
name
go raibh láimh ag Mac Dara é HÉIN ann. ARN7595
  bhí ealaín go leor in Peadar Mór é HÉIN ARN3634
article
  Tá Neain i HÉIN dóite ag suighearoits M
  tásaigh an mhúthair i HÉIN ag gearán 11C
  Cén marú a rinne na brocamiúna iad HÉIN? M
  na Fianna Fáil iad HÉIN S

apposition (pronoun)
separate
  rinne sé an bád é HÉIN 11C
  tá seo amach roimhe le sacbhád é HÉIN 06C
pron + seo
  Chua’ sé amach roimhe le sacbhád é HÉIN 06C
pron + sin
  tá sé sin é HÉIN ag imeacht is a mhéir ina bhéal aige M
emphatic
  bhí mise mé HÉIN ann S
  bhí sé a'fhuchar suas thú HÉIN é ARN7562, bhí tusa thú HÉIN ann

apposition (prepositional pronoun)
separate
  séard tá ionaib buachaillí báire sib HÉIN (rhyme)
  tá an mháthair i HÉIN ag tógáil 11C
  Jó Shíle, Con Fhaola a bhí ansin é HÉIN (or in apposition with Jó Shíle)
emphatic
  bhí a'msa mé HÉIN ann 01P

emphatic pronoun
  'S roinn mise HÉIN leóthub clog a' phléiseáin!' 894C6

pronoun + sin
  sé an chaoi bhfuil sé sin HÉIN, dho léar, mar a bheitheá ag 31P

prepositional pronoun
  b'fhearr liom HÉIN an t-airgead a bheith taobh thiar dhitom S 11C
  Chugad HÉIN ab ea? S
  a'd HÉIN is bheith atá fhios 11C
  's a'fheadh HÉIN a leag sé an billead an dtigeanann tá gho mbadh e héin 11C
  an gdaith 894C
  ... nach bhfuil siad in aon áit ach aici HÉIN M
  is agat HÉIN atá fhios ach uladh shórt S

personal verb
  cuir HÉIN síos é!, ól HÉIN ceann! 11C
  ní atá inniu PÉIN m'é HÉIN S (further 1sg examples, 6.58)
  bhíonn HÉIN ag maithiú òidh fhios 11C
  nach gcóireoinn HÉIN a leaba dhó 21Pt

noun:
  baidh HÉIN ní bhfuair sé S
  nó d'fhéadfadh sé e HÉIN é 869P2
  roinnearmar HÉIN le chéile an tathbaimh 881J
  Agus d'áitíodar HÉIN ag sárthú ar a chéile. 11C
  ní raibh aon súgáin ann ... ach léar mar líndis HÉIN. 11C

place-name
  chreidim go bhfuil Uachtar Ard HÉIN, go bhfuil sé i gComamara S

article
  níl sé i ndan an lá HÉIN a thabhairt uaidh

1 Use of {emphatic pronominal + simple pronoun + héin} is found in my examples in the 1sg and 2sg: mise mé héin, a'msa mé héin, tusa thú héin. It is common in these persons in Iorras Aithneach. GCF §331 has examples in 1sg, 2sg and 1pl (maide maid héin is the only 1pl example). Doyle (2003: 84) claims that this use is found frequently (go minic) in Conamara, citing examples from GCF §331, where, however, it is described as occurring seldom (corruair).
6.64 **Emphatic and other use**

It is sometimes difficult to decide whether héin is being used as an adverb or an adjective, e.g. (first token of héin)

\[
\text{Ní beag dhuit breathú ar na beithí HÉIN, tá siad ag iarraidh 'gcionál héin}
\]

Appositional use with pronouns, as exemplified above, can disambiguate some such instances. Note the variation in na naoimh (iad) héin in:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ar nós a raibh na naoimh iad HÉIN, ag goil i mbreithiúin as a chéile. ... ar} \\
\text{nós an chaoi a raibh na naoimh HÉIN, a mba mhaith leothub ... fearas} \\
\text{barr, fháil dóib HÉIN. 881J}.
\end{align*}
\]

Examples of emphatic repetition of emphatic héin are:

\[
\text{Ní hea, é HÉIN HÉIN. ‘him (and nobody else)’;}
\]

\[
\text{Níl gob HÉIN HÉIN amach ag na fátaí S;}
\]

\[
\text{m'ainm héin HÉIN HÉIN;}
\]

\[
\text{mhuise a m'ainn HÉIN HÉIN S.}
\]

Use of héin with simple pronouns is general in identificatory questions such as:

\[
\text{céard é HÉIN? ‘what is it?’, céard sib HÉIN?}
\]

It is usual in identificatory use with séard, e.g. séard thá héin bitse.

Absence of héin occurs, e.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{... , coirleach, tá si leathan; leathan, sleamhain, agus nuair a bheidheas sí} \\
\text{teirim séard i salann uilig. 889P;} \\
\text{‘déarfaimn.’ a deir sé, ‘gurb éard é sagart.’ 866ESc211.15;} \\
\text{Séard e camalóid S; ba jeard e: dumi: S badh éard é diumaí.}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Cp. Badh éard é sin speireadóir ceart 14M.}
\end{align*}
\]

héin is common with simple pronominals in coordinating use, e.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Aon aois amháin mé HÉIN is Diormait 32C;} \\
\text{D’fhán Jaic agus i HÉIN agus iad an-chompóirteach is i an-bhródáil as;} \\
\text{comhaois mé HÉIN is é HÉIN M;} \\
\text{Bhí báí mhór eidir mé HÉIN is é HÉIN S;} \\
\text{tú HÉIN is do deaidí d¢Éd¢iÉ: breá, deaidí d¢Éd¢iÉ buinneach M;} \\
\text{Tháinic se HÉIN agus meall an uisce ar thaobh amháin 01J.}
\end{align*}
\]

---

1 Doyle (2003: 84 (99)) should have added that *Níl an fear seo cliste féin* is permissible (in Conamara) in the adverbial function.
Pronouns and pronominals

má bhím HÉIN ná thá HÉIN beo 866ESemr84:
Níor 'úirt mé HÉIN ná é HÉIN 'Drochrath ort!' le chéile ariamh. 05M;
Garla creachthach ort HÉIN is ortha HÉIN! M;
go mba seacht gcéad déag mile faér a behas sinn HÉIN γ a’ cùlódar ...

Examples without conjunctive héin are rather rare in phrases such as:

amach idir THÚ AGUS Oileán Lachan Clad52;
ar kol k’aebar b’eb’ úargra thugas i 52P

6.65 Reciprocal a chéile

The reciprocal pronoun is a xélf to a chéile. The initial element is treated as the 3m possessive pronoun and combines regularly with prepositions, except in regard to linking n, where, for example, as well as regular fraena chéile one also finds frae chéile (9.148). E.g.
tá siad ag bualadh A CHÉILE; ag mara A CHÉILE;
aithneoidh siad héin A CHÉILE; siad cré A CHÉILE iad 66N:
vánidar gar’ xélf 11C bheannaíodar DHA CHÉILE; 1
nil aon ghean a’inn ... ar aon fhear ná ar aon ríocht as a’ domhan — in aon
áit ach an oiread le CHÉILE. 866ESemr54–6.

It can refer to parts of a whole, e.g.
tá sé tití ó CHÉILE; tití isteach un A CHÉILE; é a choinneál INA CHÉILE.

Demonstratives

6.66 Paradigm

Demonstratives occur in three series according to phonological form: a vowel-initial series which occurs basically following copula forms, a core series in initial f which has the widest range of use, and a h-initial series with the most limited use. The f- series combines with (the 3m of the prepositional pronoun) i in pronominal and adverbial functions forming an’ f- (also a’f-, etc., see 8.195).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowel-initial</th>
<th>f-</th>
<th>with i, an’f-</th>
<th>h-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>eo-</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>fo, fa, f</td>
<td>an’fo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eobh</td>
<td>ow, ou</td>
<td>fow, fou</td>
<td>an’fow, an’fou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eod</td>
<td>od</td>
<td>fod</td>
<td>(an’fod)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iud</td>
<td>ud, id</td>
<td>jud, fid</td>
<td>an’jud, an’fid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in</td>
<td>in’</td>
<td>in’, inon’</td>
<td>an’in’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tdi, tiad</td>
<td>ud</td>
<td>jud</td>
<td>an’jud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tdi(i)n</td>
<td>udan, udan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 The vowel o is sometimes realised as e, e.g. fe, fèd, gar b’ed, bojed, se, seod, gurb eod, badh eod. The vowel i is sometimes realised as u, e.g. fun’ sin. There is also reduction: fo, foan’ Cfr. ó shoín o: hin’ / xun’, etc., (6.75, 8.208).

1 Another token, vánidar go’ xélf 11C bheannaíodar dhá céile, can be taken as a slip of the tongue.
6.67 Contrasts

There is a four-way contrast (from deictically closest to most distant):

(1) seó(bh), seót; (2) sin; (3) siúd; (4) siúd, úda(i)n.¹

The distinction between (3) and (4) is minimal and will be discussed further below.

The series with h-initial is used syntactically parallel to f-initial forms with copula is, i.e. as demonstrative pronouns only. This h-series is stylistically somewhat more informal or more casual than the f-series and can be taken as derived from the latter (perhaps through initial weakening of f and l or metanalysis of, for example, *hod ni heod or even of fod seod as *f hod). Its common usage in parenthesis, similar to a discourse marker, is perhaps linked to initial weakening. Note the absence of a form *hud. In fact examples were noted of a vowel-initial form, in, phrase initially. Two tokens were noted from speaker 11C, one of these in a parenthetic remark. This speaker has a definite tendency to weaken phrase-initial sounds as a casual stylistic marker. The derivational path proposed for these phrase-initial forms, then, is, for example, fin’ (> hin’) > in’.

One can compare directly here the forms of initial (i)is ea: a fe, fa, ha, ae. An alternative analysis, but one not adopted here, would be to take this phrase-initial in as simply belonging to the vowel-initial series. The h-series seems to be used by some speakers (and families) more than others. There are perhaps speakers who do not use it at all. A separate context occurs following the preposition mar mar, where hin’ and ho are found in some younger people’s speech. There is some later spreading of these forms hin’ and ho to other contexts including adjectival usage.

These demonstratives are variously used as adjectives (I) and as pronouns (II). Semantically and productively, proximate (s)eo(bh) and nonproximate (s)in form the main contrast as do the corresponding adverbs anseo(bh) and ansin (and limited adverbial seo and sin). The three proximate variants seo, seobh and seót are deictically equivalent and are differentiated primarily in function and syntax. Less central to the system than seo and sin but nevertheless common are proximate (s)eót and proximate nonpresent (s)siúd. As for the corresponding pronominal combinations with the preposition i, anseo is systemic but has not been heard in conversation, ansiúd is common. Most peripheral deictically and productively are distant (s)siúd and distant nonpresent úda(i)n. They are in the process of becoming obsolete and marked for higher register. Máire was queried (Mq) with con-

¹ Neither demonstrative údaí (GCF §355, –6, –9; IEM §566), nor údaí (EM in Skerrett 1975–6: 391 (adapted to my transcriptional system udí) have been heard in vernacular speech. For Máire údaí M∅perm is impermissible but it does occur in local song (10.78). Cp. IEM where I have noted only fid §404.1 from the index. Neither has sineacht (GCF §351) been recorded but it was recognised by Sean who replied Tigim ‘sineacht’ áilraidht Sq. For innovative hov, see 6.76. For Ulster CGT has, in a cline of increasing distance, adjectives seo, sin, uđaidh §§133–6, and pronouns seo, sin, siúd §§181, 184–8, 313.
crete examples as to which of the two, *siud* or *siúd*, she felt to be ‘closer’ deictically, she answered ... [tá ?] ‘*siud* níos goire ná *siúd* is dóicht.

In pronominal use singular, inanimate reference is most common with (*s*)eo and (*s*)in, whereas (*s*)iud and (*s*)iúd often have personal reference. Both plural and personal reference are, however, common with pronominal *sin*; for example, in anaphoric and cataphoric use (6.75).¹

In conversation *siud* is often used in disparaging or derogatory reference to a person or persons already mentioned but not present. It is also used without such connotations, e.g.

*Tá Jaicí anseo ní hé bhí ANSIUD M*

‘Jackie is here, he was not that other person (I was talking about)’.

Adjectival *úd* (*uin*) does not have this ironic connotation in use and can often be translated as ‘aforementioned’. The following example contains both *siud* (with a pronoun) and *úd* (with a noun):

*Bhuil tá sé sin ráite go bhfeiceann an capall is go n-aireoidh sí é, níos luaithe ná an duine. Ach d’airigh sí SIUD rud eicint ar chuma ar bith, an oíche ÚD. 889P.*

Note the syntax and semantics of *sin* in:

*Bhfuil Caitiliceachaí sa bhFrainc SIN?* S
‘Are there Catholics in (that aforementioned country) France?’

or more loosely ‘Are those French people Catholic?’ Cp. 6.70.

### 6.68 Emphasis

These demonstratives form a series with emphatic forms. There is also an emphatic use with *héin* but this is formally clearly distinct. A third person pronoun followed by a demonstrative adjective, e.g. (*s*)iad *sin*, can function similarly to the corresponding demonstrative pronoun, e.g. *sin*, emphatic personal pronoun, e.g. (*s*)iadsan, the inflected verb or prepositional pronoun with emphatic clitic, e.g. *bhíodarsan*, and the inflected verb with demonstrative adjective, e.g. *bhíodar sin*. For example, the following patterns of verbal subjects are found:

*bhí sé sin, bhí sin, bhí seisean;*
*bhí iad sin, bhí sin, bhí iadsan, bhíodarsan, (*bhíodar sun*), bhíodar sin.*

In fact, pronoun + demonstrative adjective can be analysed as analytic demonstrative pronouns (cf. GCD §731–2). There is an example of the common alternation of *seisean* and *sé sin* in:

[jefan ... n'ir hoin'ak' fe:jun sf æ:x xor a b' i 21Pt]

*SEISEAN ... nior tháinig SÉ SIN isteach ar chor ar bith.*

Given the series just illustrated and the fact that emphatic ‘clitics’ can be stressed and that the demonstrative adjective can be completely unstressed there is a certain, at least formal, overlap between categories. In general, there can be an encroachment of the analytic *sé sin* into the range of emphatic *seisean*. In the following examples *é siud* is formally parallel with *eisean*:

*gus ar 'efud 'ikas a 'ker an 'fin' ... eg'asan ikas ... 21Pt*

*aíghse a fochtas an carr ansin? ... AIGESEAN a fochtas ... ;*

and *siad sin* is parallel with *siadsan*:

¹ McCloskey and Hale’s (1984: 496) statement of the inherent singular, inanimate property of pronominal *seo* and *sin* (as verbal objects in their example (16)) needs therefore to be qualified.
In reply to query, speaker 47P gave *you*fin* dheibs*in as her emphatic form. This is given as innovative B *-fin* in the emphatic clitic paradigm for older -san (6.51). Recall that Mq supplied *bhiodarsan*, *bhiodar sin*, *bhídís sin*, but no *bhídíssan*.

### 6.69 Summary of use

Cf. 14 *eod*, *seo*, *sin*, *siiu*.

#### I As adjectives

- *fo*, *fou*, *fow*, *fod*, *fid*, *fin*, *fud*, *ud* occur:
  - (a) with definite nouns and proper nouns.
  - (b) with adjectives in collocation with *chomh*, with *iomai*, etc.

Also *fo*, *fou*, *fow*, *fod*, *fid*, *fin*, *fud* (with lexical nouns perhaps *ud*, *udán*, *udan*) occur:

- (c) with nouns and verbal nouns and nominal prepositions governed by possessive pronouns.

Further as adjectives *fo*, *fou*, *fow*, *fod*, *fid*, *fin*, *fud* occur:

- (d) with 3 person pronouns, 3 person prepositional pronouns, and 3pl inflected verbs.

For use of the *h*-series adjectivally in nontraditional speech, see 6.81 below.

#### II As pronouns:

- (a) the vowel-initial forms follow all copula forms, but only rarely the present *af* is. The vowel has the effect of a front vowel in clitic sandhi taking palatalised final consonants of the copula. (Only rarely are these forms found in contexts analysable as (b), with zero copula, or (c), with loss of *h*. In my notes, demonstrative vowel-initial *udan* occurs as a pronoun in higher register.)

- (b) *f*-initial forms occur with present *is* of the copula (where *f*, in *fow* e: *seobh é* for example, can be taken as a blend of copula and demonstrative *f*) and in all other contexts, including with prepositions that do not inflect for person.

- (c) *h*-initial forms occur phrase-initially and, for many younger speakers, following *mar*, most recently there is some spreading to other positions.

### 6.70 I Adjectives; I (a)

- (a) With definite nouns and proper nouns. The demonstrative adjective typically occurs with the definite article, e.g. *an + Noun + seo*. The article is generally absent preceding *seo* with the preposition *go* which has time reference *go + Time Noun + seo*, e.g. *bliain go ham / taca seo*, rare ... *su taca seo* (7.41).

- *fo* occurs only in the possessive construction with *aes* a’inne, e.g. *mar a faen* a 18B Máire se’ainne.

- Less commonly, *fo* *seo* occurs here. Cp. *fo* *hugan* *seo* *chugainn*, sometimes reduced to *fugan* 43M.

- *fin* *aes* a’inne is by far the most prevalent form (6.50).
1316 Pronouns and pronominals

s occurs in speaker 71D’s idiolect only, in this collocation, which he has
from his mother (from north Conamara), e.g.

as a ma’ a sean a as an mbaile s’a’inne,

kun sean a 71Dt.1 an cuan s’a’nne.

seo q’ k’ean fo an ceann seo.

l ef a li. jo | (Lam)04B leis an laoi seo.

ansa t’ir fa | (MP, prose) 04B insa tir seo.

Peige Sheáin ... Bhí seanchas cuid mhaith ag imeacht le muintir Pheige
Sheáin seo, mar go raibh ... SÓC2.279.

seobh ... a gift: an fow | 0V3 ... an gcaisleán seobh.

... ma’d a fou | 25T ... mbaile seo.

seod an fear seod 12Sperm, Mperm. (Cf. GCF §§355 n. 2, 356. It is possible
that the example na cinéalaí seod, also in FFG s.v. seod, might have
been misheard for ... siud, given the absence of the latter in GCF, but I
have not heard siud with nouns in conversation.)

sin ‘fin’ generally.

an uair fun’ (Smré)04B an uair sin.

so gar’ ian’ M sa ngarradh sin.

siúd ‘fin’ t’ek’ wor fud hul 11Ct faoin leic mhor siúd thall.

an fear siúd 27Mdperm.

a’ lá siúd !894C CAB1 §151(b) v. 2 corresponds to an oich’ úd !00M (a)
v. 4.

úd an bhliain sin. ... an bhliain úd. an ‘v’ian’ úd | [both sin and úd referring
to the same year] ... ar an oileán úd. 889P.

an fear úd 27Mdperm.

údain san um udat’ 894N san am údain.

an uair’ udat’ muf | 05M an uair údaim mis.

... tá deabhal eicint ar an deabhal údain, a deir sé, a lig é isteach 11C.

-Tá lao, a deir sé, ag an mbodóig údain, a deir sé, a dhoir an tarbh, a
deer sé, a tháinig amach as an aill. 11C.

kir’ ha m’ a n taer’ ag ud aídat’ ugoad M
cuirthidh mé an t-airgead údain chugad.

a straip’ udat’ M an straidhp údain.

an fear údain a lean an liabhán ... SÓC1.81, Is fuithi a rinneadh an
raithéoide údain — “Cailleach an Airgíd.” SÓC1.82. Cén tráth mhair
Triobóid’ ac Conraoi údain? SÓC2.284. (There is no instance of údan in
SÓC1–2.)

údan (an fear) udat’ 46 s.v. údat; a fær udat’ Mq an fear údat.

Thiar san áit údat’ Mq, a straip’ udat’ Mperm an straidhp údat.

6.71 I (b–c)

I (b) With adjectives in collocation with chomh, e.g. chomh mór seó / sin / siud /
siúd, etc. Contrast chomh mór seó with chomh mór leis seó (similar to Eng-
lish ‘this big’ and ‘as big as this’). Also, sin is used idiomatically with iomaí / iomá in petrified cataphoric usage, e.g. nach iomaí sin duine ... ; nach
iomáin sin súrth caoi ... Claid164.
I (c) With lexical nouns governed by possessive pronouns.

Mq: ə gak / xak fo, jod, fid, fin’, jud, ud, uðan’ Mperm
    a gcac / chac seo ... but cp.
    ə mo: fo, jod, fid, fin’, jud Mperm (ud, uðan’ M?perm,
    43M’perm) a mbó seo ... .

With nominal prepositions and verbal nouns governed by possessive pronouns.

Mq: as ə gur fo, jod, fid, fin’, jud Mperm (ud, uðan’ M?perm,
    43M’perm) as a gcomhair seó ... .
    er’ ə nai fo, jod, fid, fin’, jud Mperm (ud, uðan’ M?perm,
    43M’perm) ar a n-aghaidh seó ...
    go: waúə fo, jod, fid, fin’, jud Mperm (ud, uðan’ M?perm,
    43M’perm) dhá bhualadh seó ...

Further examples:

seo  və’ dr’ehur fo | mar ə | və’ p’isi: mor ek’ə 11C
    bhí a dreithiúr seó — Máire — bhí píosaí móra aici.
    wil tu: go: iarə fo M an bhfuil tú dhá iarraidh seó?

sin  Bhí a athair agus a sheanathair sin ann 46C.
    an bhfuil a hathair agus a máthair sin beo? 11C.
    ro fe gc: infaxt fin’ it’ 19P10 an raibh sé dhá inseacht sin dhuit?
    go: x’ix ə fin’ 19P10 dhá n-íthe sin.

6.72 I (d)

I (d) With 3 person pronouns, 3 person prepositional pronouns and 3pl verbs.

seo  iad fo iad seó, eg ə fo S aige seó, akab fo S acub seó.
    seobh er fou | 25T air seobh.
    seod  aed ə jod M aisti seod.

sin  toram skunan d’i fan’ M tabhair dhom scúnaí di sin.
    v’idər fin’ əm’thə ... M bhiodar sin imithe ... .

siud 3 person pronouns:

e: jad Mq é siúd; k’e: as i: jíd, 46 (s.v. as) cé as i siúd?
    v’i fe jad trefən’ ə kahə ... 04Br bhí sé siúd frosin ag caiteamh ... .
    k’e he: fid ə v’i: g eft’ əd Mq cé hé siúd a bhí i gceist a’d?
    dur jə fid gar b’in’ ... 01J dáirt sí siud gurb in ... .
    br’æho: jəd fid ə max’ yo: P breathóidh siad siúd amach dhó.

3 person prepositional pronoun:

v’im’é kant’ fuho jad Mq bhí mé ag caint fúithi siúd.
    v’im’é kant’ fuhab jad Mq bhí mé ag caint fathub siúd.
    v’im kanunt’ jaæor er fid M bhí canánt dhearg air siúd.
    eg ə jíd 16B aige siud; akab jíd M acub siud.

siúd -Mise m’anam, a deir sé, go bhfuil sé siúd amhlaidh, 866ESc184.31.
    -Cé na marccanna atá ortha siúd? 11C (Maidhm Mhóir Innis Múscraí).

anseo The 3m prepositional pronoun of i in pronominal and adverbial function
    is suitably classified here, i.e. an’fo, on’fow, an’fin’, etc.

ansiud Pronominal:

1 As mentioned above (6.69), ãd and ãdain are marginal here and have been permitted to a limited
degree in query. They are not found in this position in GCF §357(a).
1318  Pronouns and pronominals

Tá Jaicí anseo ní hé bhí ansiud M, an’ fid 43M;
... d’iarr sí luach a masla nu athair a lini[bb] a chuí amach chuici.
-Creedim gur mise a bhí ansid, a deir an fear ba sine ...
-Creedim gur mise, a deir a’ dárna fear, a bhí ansid, ...
-Creedim, a deir a’ ceáin is őige, gur mise a bhí ánn, ... 852Sb.76–7
(presumably one should read ansiud, i.e. an’ fid, for ansid here).
Adverbial:

**huas an’ fid huas 14M thaos ansiud thida**
- Bhíodh na muca istich! 892M
- Bhídís ansiud sa gcúinne acú agus má bhíodh héin, bhídís ag at ann.
06C.

6.73  II Pronouns; II (a)

II (a) With non-is forms of the copula (generally).

eo Permissible but no token noted.
eobh S’i ho wí: an rasúr ... 52P ní heobh í an ráisúr ...
eod ‘Nach sheod ceathrú lon dubh ... agus nach sheod ... billeog eibheann ...
- agus nach sheod barr crann caorthann ... ?’ 866ESc66.34.
á’od e 852Sb. 13.
Cp. ach b’fhéidir gurb shioid fear nach bhfuil aon ghealltan a póst air.

**iud b’ud e’ her’ àén’ her’ er’ an àrd’ wor’ S**
Ab iud e theoir a’inne, theoir ar an Aird Mhóir?
... go b’id e’ í làr’ ... 14M d’fiadhithá a rá go b’id e an fear ...
S’i thud e Mq ní hiud e; a b’id e’ e’ e’ Mq ab iud e e’? bá jid e’ e’ e’ Mq
- badh iud e e’; S’i rd vi’id e Mq niobh iud e.
á xi’id i ... 27Cb An iud i ...
in bá jin’e e’ S badh i in e; nach in e a bhí i gcéist a’m S.
- baig go f’or ... 66N B’ in go leor ...
- bín go f’or 52M B’ in go leor.
For phrase-initial in’, see h- forms below, 6.76.
iúd b’ud amax a t’im’ S b’úid amach an t-im (in rhyme).
iúdan Cp. Cé húdan siar a bhfuil a gruaig le fánaí? ! CAB1 §379(a) v. 1.

Least often with copula is. Forms such as a fow is, a jin’ are best interpreted as is eo,
is in although the instance of mu-c’s jin’ más sin in (6.74 s.v. sin) implies possible
is seo, is sin.
eobh a fow iad na huaxa ... (MP)04B Is eobh iad na huacha ...
in agus na daoíní, a bhí beo ann insan am sin is in iad iad anois | á jin’
iúd iad a’n’t hí | sin e an t-anam a bhí iomh t sin, anois, ... 852S1n.
Is in e, | a jin’e | sin e an obair is mó, sin e is mó atá ag díonamh na
bacsáil. 892M1237.
iúd Perhaps in: oga a’fud a’f áex f’aer go n’ænur ... an’juf a
fkr’æd giO an og (Lam)04B agus is iúd [or ansiúd with absent n]
isteach le fear gon bheanná | ansiúd a scréad Guilean Og.
The context of a fow (MP)04B (and perhaps a’fud (Lam)04B) indicate the
higher-register association of forms with a j- forms which are grammatically

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more explicit, similar to copula a f- with pronouns in, for example, a fæ 09B Is ea.

6.74 II (b)

II (b) With is f of the copula.

seo  
Jo: n'ir'as a ylan 07P seo i an fhirinne ghlan, more commonly fod  
i... >> fow i: ... . Cp. fo e 77Cq (11.127) and the cited speaker’s alternate:  
fou [perhaps fow]: n'ir'as a ylan 07P, and discussion in 6.77 ff., as  
well as regular adverbial fo e fo seo é seo (6.75).

seobh  
fow e 52P seobh é, fow i: n'æn M seobh i an bhean,  
fow e: nuas m'e hen' ana xldra s fow e: nuas a kut a ma jia 10B  
seobh é anuas mé héin un an chladaigh is seobh é anuas an cat i mo  
dhiadh.

In parenthesis:  
ú leagadh sé a lámh ar an gcupóg gheal ghlan, bheadh, seobh fear óg |  
fow | f'ær og |, bheadh, bean bhred é aige má b'hfíor 869Pt.

seod  
foil e smiaskan seod é is measa acub.  
In parenthesis or interjection (cp. h-series), e.g.

feard durt ... | foil æmar' wotela s xu' a hort | ... 20C  
'seard dúirt ... , seod aimsir vótala is chuile shórt, ... ,  
'what ... said was, and this (happened) during elections, ...'.

ta aparachan le fad d' e kedtin' orha durt fe | foil e mar'æx M  
tá aparasean le ghoi DÉ Ceadaoín uirthi dúirt sé, seod é amaireach.

... foil e n'if àngax runax 01C6330-1  
... ní raibh sé curtha ... Seod é anois eangach roinnach.

'... púirt dhe mo shnú mé ar easpa ball.' — seod bhí sé buach. foil v'i:  
fe 'báckax | Labhair sí leis: ... 11C (reciting the song Lochna Nia  
(AIn) with gloss).

... seod é bhí sé lucaí, 17Mp '... that is to say he was lucky'.

sin  
foil e g' k'an ... S sin é an ceann ... ; sin i Máire Mhicil S.

Rare mo's fin' e: n'if a b'ælax e: 892M máis sin é anois an bealach é.

in'  
The form in' occurs phrase-initially in parallel function to fin' and hin'  
in speaker 11C's usage. See hin below (6.76).

siud  
foil e: v'i: g'eft' am M siud é a bhí i gceist a'm.

siud  

6.75 Other contexts

seo  
With adverbial function:

eidir seo agus an clat;  
'seo ní fhágfadh tú go brach.' 866ESc270.2; fo fo fág seo!  
'níl mé ag dul ag fágáil seo nó go mbéidh t'anam agam' Sc285.32.  
Cp. also ('voici'): fo fo seó!

fo e fo yit' M seo é seo dhuit, loosely translated 'here take this!'  
Object of verb:

kahu: max fo gas foil oga foil oga fo on 14J  
Caitheadh amach seo agus síúd agus síúd agus seo ann.
1320 Pronouns and pronominals

**seobh** Seou [superscript (á) over -u] do shláinte 894C9.

**seod** Cp. *fach a' bhaith* sc tuc. l cf. 04B1 seod an ciall atá leis;
- 'Well', *siod thall solaisín, adeir sé*, 852Sb, 140, 141.

**sin** Subject of verb, e.g.
- bhí sin maith go leor;
  (anaphoric) agus gach a raibh de shoithí insa teach bhí sin lán ag bainne na bó tráthnóin. 866ESc95.2;
- (cataphoric) Bhí sin inti istigh scológ liath ina shuí agus d'éirigh sé ...
  866ESc22.

Speaker 11C has cataphoric use quite frequently. In anaphoric and cataphoric use, *sin* often occurs with stylistic marking or in higher register, e.g.
- mar bhí sin rí agus bantiarna fadh in Éirinn agus phós siad. 866E-
  Sc44.3 (sin refers to rí agus bantiarna);
- mar bhí sin fear anseo fadh a dtugadh Tadhg an Mhargaidh air — de leaid ég. Sc259.4 (sin refers to fear).

Object of verb:
- *is d'iarr sé obair orm*. Thug mise sin dó 11C.
  With conjunction nó:
  - *ba 'v'as na 'fin' i*: 19P10 ba mheasa nó sin í.

Object of verbal noun (rare):
- *Ach, nil aon girutha a'inn ag iarraidh sin. ag' iara 'jun' | 03C.

Object of comparative:
- *Ba mheasa nó siúd é*. 27Mdperm.
  With prepositions that do not inflect for person; e.g.
- mar seo i sin i síud; cp. *eidir seo agus an balla*;
  cp. *Doir seo agus doir siúd gob é an fuarscéal é síud ná ...!* (Asc'n) 11C.

Exception: *uaidh sin* is the unmarked form for 'from that', *ó shoin* is a petrified adverbial meaning 'since': *o xin' 03C, o xun' 20My, o hon' M88, 01J, o xon' S87, M87, o: hin'.

6.76 II (c)

**II (c) Forms in h-.

- heo** Possible but not noted in this context.

There is an innovative form *hov' from a younger speaker in:
- heo v'e: dhin' a'd'max 84P heobh é an duine deireanach.

This can be interpreted as a blend of forms such as *how e: heobh é* and
- ba v'e: babh é.

- heobh ax how *| mar hosa ...* 02V ach heobh, mar thosaigh ... (in introduction to song).

Example in parenthesis:
- nó go bhfathadh amach, cheapaidís, cén sóirt fear a bheadh acub, na,
  heobh iad how iad na cailíní óga 869Pt.

- heod** With copula before pronouns é, í, iad:

- hod e: v'i: zed 03C heod é a bhí a'd?;
- hod e: gn xi: ... 13P heod é an chara ... .

- haesadur max hod e fiar a kur | a loxran fiar tráesna kun
Demonstratives

raun’df on S2a Sheasadar amach; heod é siar an carr, an lóchrann siar trasna Cuan ‘Roundstone’.

hod i kař’in’ a tiří aň’if M heod i caill an Taoisigh anois.

It is particularly common in parenthesis, e.g.

... a wédhar’ wór ek’el | hod i ma wédhar’ aň’if | ãgas ... 04Br
... a mháthair mhór a fheiceádl — heod i mo mháthair anois — ãgas ... .

Before other elements:

hod aň’if, 13P heod anois; hod mar ... 13P heod mar ...

hin hin é anois a’d é S.

hiud hid e SiEr E kAř’E lořEn S

hin é siar an carr, an lóchrann.

Sometimes he is absent, for example, in 11C’s speech.

in’ Nonparenthetically: In iad in’ iad na trí cinn a bhí ann ... 11C1717.

In parenthesis:

... bhí na nábaíos, bhí sin san áit seo — in báid mhóra in’ wóra a bhí le haghaidh iascach ar an domhain mór amach — bhíodh geallaí acub sin. 11C1676–8.

For mar sin > mar hin’, etc., see 6.81.

6.77 (s)eo, (s)eod, (s)eobh

The use of the variants (s)eo, (s)eod, (s)eobh will be considered in this section. Many speakers use only (s)eo and (s)eod, with contexts illustrated in, e.g. seod é an ceann seo. Other speakers (e.g. Máire) have (s)eobh fairly rarely. Máire’s use of (s)eobh is limited to contexts preceding 3 person pronouns é, í, iad. This nominally conditioned use is the rule for most speakers who have (s)eobh. This minority variant (s)eobh has been recorded from speakers born before 1952. It is probably recessive in most of Iorras Aithneach. Many speakers have a clearly audible but merely phonetic glide, denoted here by *, between (s)eo and a following vowel-initial pronominal, e.g.

woha fo * e 19P10 uaithe seo é.

Given the further option of filling the hiatus following seó with intrusive h, there are, in all, five variants: (a) (f)o, (b) (f)od, (c) (f)o *, (d) (f)ow, (e) (f)oh. A substantial part of the range of variants with (s)eod, (s)eobh can be summarised under four contexts:

1. (demonstrative pronoun) with copula before 3 person pronoun;
2. (adjective) before (i) 3 person pronoun, (ii) other vowel-initial (primarily clitic) elements;
3. (adjective) finally (or before consonants);
4. (demonstrative pronoun) before noun phrase or subordinate verbal phrase.

For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Context</th>
<th>(a) (f)o</th>
<th>(b) (f)od</th>
<th>(c) (f)o *</th>
<th>(d) (f)ow</th>
<th>(e) (f)oh</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. seo i Máire</td>
<td>fó i ... (rare)</td>
<td>fód i ...</td>
<td>fó * i ...</td>
<td>fów i ...</td>
<td>fohton i ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2(i) si an bhó seo i</td>
<td>... an fu i</td>
<td>+perm</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ii) tá si anseo a’ m</td>
<td>... an fu am</td>
<td>+perm</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. an bhó seo</td>
<td>... fu</td>
<td>+perm</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tá an bhó anseo</td>
<td>... fu</td>
<td>+perm</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. seo bó eile</td>
<td>fu</td>
<td>+perm</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
These contexts are listed hierarchically with regard to (s)eodbh, that is to say (s)eodbh is commonest in context 1; whereas contexts 3 and 4 are the least common for seobh. I do not know if the difference between context 2(i) and 2(ii) is (formally) significant in usage but it seems likely that anseo a’m, anseo ann, anseo inné will have less and less (s)eodbh respectively. Neither can I tell whether a vowel-initial phrase is more likely to take fod in context 4, i.e. whether fod or fen is more prevalent than fo or fen seod(d) amhrán (in comparison with fod or fo in seo(d) carr, for example). The envelope of variation for this proximate demonstrative is therefore, in my analysis, morphosyntactically complex.

All variants are strictly speaking synonymous. In context 4, i.e. demonstrative pronoun without following é, í, iad, however, there is a semantic and syntactic distinction possible between seo on the one hand and seod / seobh on the other (although seobh is so relatively rare that its status is not certain). This is illustrated by the strongly adverbial context in:

Seo dhuit (é) or simply Seo!

where neither seod nor seobh has been heard. Similarly, one can think of a gloss to distinguish the typical meanings in the pair:

Seo ceann eile ‘Here’s another one (take it)’ and

Seod ceann eile ‘This is another one’

although either of the pair may have either meaning. The adverbial use of the seo variant is best seen in its quasi-verbal usage, rarely evidenced by the verbal ending, but seen in:

Feig i: uigí: e M seoigí chugaí é.

It is clear that

fod é fod yit’ M seo é seo dhuit loosely translated ‘here, take this!’

is semantically and syntactically different to:

fod e t’umar’ asa, fo we t’umar’ asa Mq seodbh é t’iomairesa.

There may be a similar contrast in speaker 04B’s seod scéal ... and seobh é scéal ... where the former example can be translated as ‘here is ...’ and the latter as ‘this is ...’. Similarly, non-adverbial use is typical for past tense usage so that it is my impression that badh eod ceann eile is unmarked in contrast with badh eo ceann eile (both examples devised by me). In fact, past badh eod é and badh eobh é and negative ní heod / heobh é occur but neither badh eo nor ní heo have been noted, although they are doubtless permissible.

Each speaker can be classified according to their usage in the contextual range (i.e. 1–4). As already noted, many speakers have no (s)eodbh usage, i.e. no (d), and most speakers have no 3(d) and no 4(d). It may be that 1(d) and 2(d), i.e. (s)eodbh é, etc., are more common in East Iorras Aithneach; they are certainly more common in Ros Muc, directly to the east. My notes are not comprehensive enough to be certain whether there are speakers who have (s)eodbh ceann, i.e. 4(b), but do not have (s)eodbh é, i.e. 1(b). The latter is strikingly absent in speaker 04B’s material below. It is not clear whether all instances of [fou] (also [au]) should or could be taken as [fow]. The diphthong has been heard clearly from only two speakers, both of whom alternate [fou] with [fow]. In the discussion [fow] is used as a cover term for these two variants unless otherwise stated.

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6.78 Individual speakers; 852S — 03V

852S, Dúinachtí Ithir

The data for speaker 852S, one of my two oldest speakers, are limited. His examples show seobh é, (seo é), seod, i.e. 1(d), 3(a). For example, Ba sheo (ba shogha) é, Seo é scéal, gur b’sheo é an lá 852S4; the gloss on the initial token may well indicate a similar pronunciation for the unglossed following tokens. The spelling shogha indicates ouþþ, but one should recall that the transcriber, folklore collector Brian Mac Lochlainn, was often influenced by his own South-Mayo dialect which in this instance has common (f)ou.

SID.46, 869P, An Coillín

From material in SID.46, supplemented by material in RBÉ and audio recordings, the following system can be established for speaker 869P. He has seo, seod é, seobh é, anseo, anseo hé, i.e.

1(b) ged (i do mháthair) 46 s.v. siod,
(d) fow i: (an bhean?) 46 s.v. seo,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(b)</td>
<td>e.g. ar o: m’e m’bhuí fó r, 46.423 aireoidh mé amach anseo é,</td>
<td>(a) e.g. ní fí: ‘cé:nb’gentanas n’fo her’, 46.297b nil aon ghanntanas anseo air;</td>
<td>(a) e.g. ní fó 46.1072, so also 944;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This speaker’s brother (875T1) also has 1(b) and 4(b): Seod i, gur b’sheod i; Seod bránnantas 875T1.

894C, Glinsce

Speaker 894C has seobh é, (seo é), seobh, seod é, i.e.

1(b) seod é ... 2, seod i 2,
4(b) Seod boc mór ... 2, seod scéal ... gur b’sheod scéal 3,

The seou spelling and superscript ú may indicate fou. Both tokens of seou occur in song register.

00C, Doire Iorrais

Speaker 00C’s recorded examples, although limited, are important, given that she is a native of East Iorrais Aithneach. She has:

2(ii)(a) Cp. an’fo ag’ iaskax anseo ag lascach, an’fo an’ce: anseo inné,
(d) an’fo wax’ anseobh a’inn, riv’a fo wiad roimhe seobh iad;
3(a) riv’a fo | (x2) roimhe seo, a b a:nax fo nu ... an bealach seo ná ..., an’fo | (x2), an’fo nu ... anseo ná ... .

03V An Bháinach Ard

Speaker 03V has seobh, seobh é, anseo, i.e.

1(d) fo we: ... seobh é ... ;
2(ii)(a) cp. an’fo n’er’ án’! anseo in Éirinn;
3(a) an’fo | anseo,
Pronouns and pronominals

(d) ... a gift an fow | ! ... an gcaisteán seobh, t'ir fow | (x2) ! t'ir seobh,
er' a maif a fow | (x2) ! ar an mbaille seobh;
also note kurtta fow l'ínte! cártta seobh liona;

4(d) ax how * (l) mar ... ach heobh mar ...

Speaker 03V is the only person noted with exclusive seobh.

6.79 04B — 25T

04B, An Aird Thoir

Speaker 04B's recorded material is extensive and some gaps in my notes for him could no doubt be filled with further listening. Recall that his father came from Maigh Cuilinn, to the northeast of Iorras Aithneach, where (s)eo bh is more common than in our dialect. His noted pattern is as follows:

1(d) fo we mar ... seobh é mar ...; fow e: n'if ... seobh é anois,
2(ii)(a) cp. an'fow er bel anseo ar ball,
(c) an'fow am | anseo a'm,
(d) a’es fo wiead as seobh iad, an’fow wam | anseo a’m;
also note bene ogas fo' wágad e agus seobh agad é,
fo waqi's'if | ti: ... seobh aqabh anois Laoi ... ,
... fíad fow aqad ... ... siad seobh agad ... ;
also an'fow ax m'ífa anseo bhagh aich mise;
3(d) n’fow î e' ti’as ... anseo bhagh le tuilleadh is ... ;
4(b) fed aq k’iol tu! f’ef seod an ciatl atá leis, fod f’k’el ef a seod scéal eile.

Thus, 04B was noted with (s)eo d in 4(b) only; in 1, 2(i) he has (s)eo bh only; in 2(ii) he has (s)eo bh in 3 (probably also (s)e). He also has (s)eo bh in 3 (probably also (s)e).

11C, Maoras

1(b) Ach seod é ’chaoi ’gcualta mise tosaíthe é. Heod é dhuit an bainne,
1(d) Seobh é anis an méid dhen amhrán atá agamsa ... ,
Agus seobh é do leigheas;
2(i)(a) hokra je fo e | shocraigh sé seo é (slightly unclear),
tor' hurgansa n'fo e | tachtair chugamsa anseo é,
cp. bhuaill olc é seo fo ar deireadh,
(i)(i) wel'bréin wíxtar ax'ji fo wí | a | f’o ma' v'èen an'fó | Bhual bean mhuintreach dhi se ó, le mo bhean anseo,
Ga má nu m'é n’fo we | go nádó mé anseo é,
(ii)(a) cp. sa teach ... a raibh an cailín beag seó ann. fo arn |,
cp. an'fó a m'tlana anseo i mhlíana;
3(a) air seó;
(d) bheth ag sibpólab seo ach fow | ax trí cinn;
4(b) Seod anis, dhúthfhích- ceithre scóir bhlianta sálár leagadh ... ,
— seod bhí sé bacach;
(d) Agus, seobh fow scéilín beag atá mé ghoil inseacht ...

16M Mainsí

I have enough experience with Máire to establish her general system. Where appropriate I use ‘>>’ to indicate most common variants and ‘≈’ to indicate common variants. Her usage is as follows:

1(b) >> fod e: seod é,
(c) (>>?) seó é an fó * e: n tuille a bhfuil baladh ceann suas air,
Demonstratives

(d) *fod e t’umár’sa*, *fo we t’umár’sa* Mq *seodbh é t’iomairesa*;

2(a) *b’e ñ k’un fo e* Ab é an ceann seo é?

(e) >> *an’ fo he anseo é*,

(c) >> *... an’ fo e* e anseo é,

(d) ... *an’ fo we* | ... *an’ fo e* | anseo(bh) é (latter token = 2(a));

3(a) e: fo | é seo,

(b) *aft’ a fod aisti seod*;

4(a) fo k’un ... seo ceann ... ,

(b) *fod k’un* ... *seod ceann* ...

*This example comes from a query aimed at her 2sg possessive pronoun usage and the *fod ~ fow* alternation can be taken as genuine; *fo ~ fow* is found in another example from conversation.*

25T Maínis

Speaker 25T is the only person from Maínis noted with prepausa *fow*, which he realises mostly as *fou*. His recorded usage and pattern is therefore given in full.

2(ii)(a) cp. *m’ ed fo an* {méid seo ann},

(ii)(d) *an’ fo was’* (x2) anseo bh’ a’inn;

3(a) *an’ fo* | anseo, cp. *an’ fo go min’ af* anseo go 3(a) anseo# # x11

Maínis, skol’ fo her’ scoil seo thoir;

(d) *er fou* ... *mal’f fou* | *air seobh*, ... *mheal* seobh, ... *mheal* seobh, *seobh*, *an’ fou* | (x6), *an’ fow* | (x1) anseo(h). anseo## x2

6.80 Other speakers

Other speakers who use the minority variant (*fow* but for whom relatively little of their overall system has been observed include:

07P Maoras

1(a) *fo i: s’ir’ øn ø ylan* seo i an fhírinne ghlan,

(d) *fou [perhaps fow]* i: s’ir’ øn ø ylan

seobh i an fhírinne ghlan.

10B Maínis

2(i)(d) *an’ fo we* anseo é.

20A Doire Iorrais

2 or 3(d) *an’ fo sau s* ... *an’ fow áwaf ø* anseo(h) is ... anseo(h) abhaile.

27J Loch Con Aortha

2(d) ... *fo we* ... *seobh* é.

36P1 Coill Sáile

1(d) *fo we* | *seobh* é,

*fo we: mil’ an* seobh é m’oiseán;

3(a) ... *fo* | *seo*.

39M Doire Iorrais

2(ii)(d) cp. *an’ fo wer’ ø rud* anseo(h) ar an rud.

44P Loch Con Aortha

2(i)(d) ... v’ ix *an’ fo we* bhiodh anseo(h) é.

49J Aill na Brón

1(d) *fow e fun ... seobh* é Seán ... Seobh mar a chuir sé sós ... ,

4(d) *fow | mar ø xur fe fis ...*

52P Caladh Fhínse

(mother from An Cheathrú Rua)

1(d) *fow e seobh* é,

*n’i ho we ... ni heobh* é ... ,

*n’i ho wi: an rusur ... ni heobh i an rásur ... .

Older speakers, who have not been noted with the minority variant (*fow* but for whom very little of their system is known, include:

893P Aill na Brón

1(b), 3(a) *fod i: m pam* seod i an pám; *fo* seo.

894N Coill Sáile

3(a) *seo, anseo.*
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894Bl Gabhla 2 or 3(a) an’ fo a djím’ ek’ plaen’

anseo i Jiméice Plaein,
an’ fo ra’æda anseo ro-fhada, etc.

13J Ros Dugáin 1(b) seod é.

13P An Aird Mhóir 1(b) fod e: ... seod é ... ;
                   2(a) ... fo e | ... seó é,
                   cp. a m’ed fo o: hen’ an méid seo dhó héin;
                   4(b) fod orúin seod amhrán,
                        hod mar ... hoed mar ... .

17M Leitir Deiscirt 1(b), 3(a) seod é, seó.

Other older speakers noted with only (s)eod in context 1, e.g. seod é, are: 01CRM, 03CF, 04BrCO. For 12SC seod é is (at least) most common.

Table 6.5 summarises our knowledge of the use of (s)eobh with regard to its contextual range and its distribution in time and space.

Table 6.5 Summary of (s)eobh use, 1852–1952

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Speaker born</th>
<th>West Centre</th>
<th>East Centre</th>
<th>East</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1852–852</td>
<td>1(d)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–1889</td>
<td>1(d)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890–9</td>
<td>1(d), 4(d)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900–9</td>
<td>1(d), 2(d), 3(d)</td>
<td>03VBA 1(d), 3(d), 4(d)</td>
<td>00CD0 2(d)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–1920</td>
<td>2(d)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921–9</td>
<td>2(d), 3(d)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930–49</td>
<td></td>
<td>49JAB1 1(d), 4(d)</td>
<td>36PCS 1(d)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–1952</td>
<td>52PCF 1(d)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.5 shows that:
(i) usage seems to be, at least weakly, implicational within the contextual range, e.g. a speaker who has 4(d) also has 1(d);
(ii) apart from 49J, only two (older) speakers have 4(d), whereas four have 3(d), and eight have 2(d);
(iii) given the numerical bias of my sample of speakers in West Iorras Aithneach, there is clearly a higher occurrence of (s)eobh in the east;
(iv) among speakers born since 1930, (s)eobh is absent in this sample in the area west of Caladh Fhínse and is virtually confined to East Iorras Aithneach between Coill Sáile and Doire Iorrais;
(v) even within this eastern area which has (s)eobh, its post-1920 contextual

1 It may be significant that 49J’s mother is from Ros Muc where seobh is more common than in (West) Iorras Aithneach.

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range has narrowed to (at most) 2(d) (except for 49J).

With regard to (seod, we should recall speaker 04B (whose father was from Maigh Cuilinn), the only speaker noted with a contrast between exclusive 1(d), i.e. seobh é 04B, and exclusive 4(b), i.e. seod scéal 04B.

### 6.81 mar sin, mar seo > mar hin, mar heo; 1960s

Demonstrative pronouns in initial h- following mar develop among younger speakers. The vast majority of older speakers and many younger speakers regularly use mar fin’ mar sin and mar fo mar seo. In older speakers mar ho mar heo is very uncommon; it has been noted from 20Ml only. However, mar hin is very common among speakers born in the (mid-)1960s and later. On the other hand, mar heo is rare and seemingly used only by speakers born at least a decade after the first generation of mar hin users. With loss of h, rarer mar in’ also occurs, and with loss of r, ma hin’, and further reduced ma hin’. mar sin > mar hin was perhaps influenced by o: hin’ ó shin (contrast synchronically more systematic wai fin’ uaidh sin) but the change r f > r h can be seen as a phonetic reduction in line with other reductions witnessed among younger speakers in this frequent adverbial mar sin, and comparable with nontraditional reductions in functors anseo, ansin, mar gheall. The optional change rf > rh is found in Co. Mayo: parts of Acaill (AIM §1541, including across word boundaries, e.g. fuEr#hÓ fuair sé, §1191 mou#hin ! mar sin) and Iorras (IEM §419, in two common words, tuirseach and fuair sé). (Lenition of sin is not involved in Iorras Aithneach since mar meaning ‘similar to, like’ is usually followed by the radical.)

#### 6.82 Speakers and examples

mar hin’ mar hin: 57JCS, 66NAM, also a male semi-speaker from Carna born c. 1970 (heard in 1998), 78BAO, 79SMN. (Speakers from outside Iorras Aithneach noted with this usage are: a male (Peadar) from south of Maigh Cuilinn, born c. 1950; and Micil Chanrai, An Másmin and Ráth Cairn, born 1919; young children in Ros Muc (including dus ma hin’ Jus [< just] mar hin, e ho é heo, an’ho [an’ho ?] anheo) heard in 2002–5.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Speaker</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>69SPLA</td>
<td>mar fin’ / fin’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78EMR</td>
<td>mar fin’ (x1); mar hin’ (x4), e.g.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79JMN</td>
<td>xul a yin’ a mar fin’ (x3) chuille dhuine mar sin, rudí: mar fin’ (x5) rudai mar sin; (rudí) mar hin’ (x13) (including mar in’ (x1))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79SMN1</td>
<td>mar hin’ (x4).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Final r is lost in mu hin’ 79St, which is parallel to his mu aí 79St mar gheall; similarly ma hin’ 76Mt. The vowel of the demonstrative is unclear in mar baín’ [≈ huín’] 79M. The generally later development mar heo was noted in mar ho 20Ml mar heo; mar ho aku 77C mar heo acuí. (Note the reduced vowel in mar, also heard in mar fin’ 80PRD.)

Speaker 57JCS, as well as mar hin, also has fi: hin’ faoi hin. Innovative hin’ and ho spread to adjectival environments following pronominals in certain speakers born in the mid-1970s and later. This includes prepositional pronoun + hin. There
is also one noted example following a verbal noun (80M) and one simple post-nominal example from a speaker born in 1981 (81A). The examples of this latest spread of *hin* and *ho* were noted from a brother and his two sisters in An Aird Thoir, 79Jg, 76N and 82B and their cousin 84P (grandchildren of Maire an Ghabha Uí Cheannabháin, 05M) and from siblings 80M and 81A (78P above, is their brother), further west, in Leitir hArd (grandchildren of Seán Cheoinín, 18S).

76N mar *hin*, mə *hin*, mar *ho* mar *hin* / *heo*;
   k’er’d *e hin* céard é *hin*, abor e *hin* abair é *hin*;
79Jg er’ *ho* ... solas dearg *heo*;
80M mar *hin* for’ dar *hin* fuair dur *hin*, v’i: fe *hin* bhí sé *hin*,
   v’i: dar go l’in *hin* bhíodh dur dhá lionadh *hin*;
81A ma *hin* (x1), mar *fin* (often) mar s(h)in,
   am b’aelexin’ an bealach *hin*;
82B k’er’d e *ho* céard é *heo*? k’er’d e *hin* céard é *hin*?
84P mar *hin* mar *hin*, mə yohan’ Yo: *hin* mo dhóthain dhó *hin*.

The following exchange was heard between an approximately ten year old girl and an elderly shopkeeper in Carna in 1994:
- (Ce méid) tá orthú *hin*?
- Hu? (shopkeeper)
- (Ce méid) tá orthú *sin*?

Speaker 80M also has slight voicing of *f* in *sin*: fe *fin* sé *sin*, f1 *fin*’ sí *sin*.

A summary of the frequency of *hin* and *heo*, noted thus far, is given in Table 6.6. ‘+’ indicates the form was heard from a speaker; digits indicate the number of tokens counted in a speaker’s recording; ‘↓’ indicates all other speakers (noted) whose date of birth falls between those above and below the arrow.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Speaker</th>
<th>20MILH</th>
<th>57JCS</th>
<th>66NAM</th>
<th>68KMN</th>
<th>69SMN</th>
<th>72CMN</th>
<th>73PMN</th>
<th>76NAO</th>
<th>77CMN</th>
<th>78BAO</th>
<th>78EMR</th>
<th>78PbLC</th>
<th>78RhMN</th>
<th>78UCO</th>
<th>79JMN</th>
<th>79JgAO</th>
<th>79MAB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>↓</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>faoi hin</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>air heo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.6 mar s(h)in, mar s(h)eo
Given that the innovation is vigorous only since the late 1960s or early 1970s it would be essential that a wider speaker base than mine be investigated if one were to attempt to pinpoint the geographic and network origins of developments led by mar hin' mar hin.

### The article

6.83 Forms

The paradigm of the regular article is presented here, along with its initial mutations.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Speaker</th>
<th>mar fin'</th>
<th>mar fo</th>
<th>mar hin'</th>
<th>mar ho</th>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>79MILD</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79PCN</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79SMN</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79SIMN</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80PRD</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>18+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>sé hin, etc..</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80MLA</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>é hin, é heo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82BAO</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>dhó hin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84PAO</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total number of speakers with h- 15 4 6

Anomalous usage:

(a) *chupla, chorr-
(b) singular before vowels
(c) plural with singular word with some numerals, etc.,
(d) feminine genitive with masc
(e) prevocalic with *ran arán
(f) nom masc before vowels
(g) metanalysed t, gen etc.,

Alveolar t with borrowed ‘only’, n’ fon fí an t-‘only’ (11.169).

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## Pronouns and pronominals

### Regular paradigm

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>MASCULINE</th>
<th>FEMININE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nom</td>
<td>bád</td>
<td>asal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen</td>
<td>(n) bad</td>
<td>(n) tasal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prp</td>
<td>(n) mod</td>
<td>(n) asal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dho</td>
<td>(n) wod</td>
<td>(n) fol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>npl</td>
<td>na bzd</td>
<td>na foI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gpl</td>
<td>na mud</td>
<td>na foIta</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 6.84 Phonetics and morphophonetics

The canonical form of the nominative singular article, an, varies phonetically. The three contexts where the nasal is realised are:

(a) regularly directly following vowels, e.g. `nax eÉ n tÎÉsEl e

(b) optionally in initial position, e.g. `a' kÉn ~ `a' kÉn ~ `kÉn AN ceann.

(c) categorically preceding fhl- and fhr- (an¹ in nominative feminine and genitive masculine), e.g. `an ræŋk' AN Fhraînc;

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ga wac</td>
<td>an' `fOxÈn' Mq dhe bharr AN fhiucháin,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kapÈn' `an ræŋkÈ Mq caipÈn AN Fhrancaigh,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>klox an ri: 21J Cloch AN Fhraoigh.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The categorical use in (c) differentiates an fhl- / fhr- from an l- / r-, e.g. Cloch an ri: 21J (Cp. *an tsn-, 6.89.)*

The context where the nasal is absent, i.e. an, is:

(d) most regularly between consonants, e.g. `bun an saI ar AN staighre, er' an saI ar AN staighre, saI staighre.

However, an does rarely occur between consonants in two contexts. The first context I take to be a possibly conservative usage where the deletion rule effecting the nasal has not yet become categorical before continuants. E.g. before s: `nu ar an saI ar 892M1273 ná ar AN sá-mhil [< sawmill].

This speaker shows little or no cues that the formality of the recording context has influenced his pronunciation.

On the other hand, the second context appears to be stylistic or one of higher register. For example, speaker 01P at the very beginning of his recorded interview, a typically 'self-monitoring' context, has interconsonantal an (also before a continuant, i.e. l'):

Nuair a thosaIonn siad a' fá-, ar AN a leasú, ' fáilt an leasú, | feoil' S'

1 There is non-application of (c) from a Ros Muc speaker (born c. 1937) in the example: `bon a rix 6-05-18 T barr AN fhrach (Wigger 2004: I 310).
There are quite a few examples of interconsonantal *an* in speaker 01CARN. This is perhaps due to the formality of the recording context. This formality is evident in 01CARN’s clear avoidance of English borrowings. Certainly interconsonantal *an* is common in formal contexts in younger speakers, corresponding to written *an*. (For *san* *san* for traditional *sa* *sa* in *i* + *article*, see 7.59.) Another instance of *an* for expected *a* may be related to the specific phrase or may be corrective (by 05M) of the elision of *an* by her collocutor (69A):

- *áb' in' e i x'in da: lu: 'jeg ... 69A
- *Ab in é Oíche chin' AN dá lá dhéag? ...
- *san iho 'mar' ax iho x'in' an da: lu: 'jeg 05M

-San oíche amáireach Oíche chin' AN dá lá dhéag.

Other instances of interconsonantal *an*, cited below (6.87), may be related to phrase boundaries.

### 6.85 Variation phrase-initially

Examples of variation in context (b), i.e. phrase initially, are:

*an*  

- *AN té | an’ té*; thiúrthadh isteach an aon a hairt, ná an aont a spéireata i dheach an phobail, ... go mbead sé i ndan cáirte a dhaithi, *AN* chúid eile dhá shaol. | ?an xid’ el @ uy: hitl | 892M;
- *áx an’ xu: fo | in | duír fe’ f'or | 11C  
  *Ach AN lá seo, ur, díúrt sé seo* ... (slightly hesitantly);
- *A! muise, a deir an *a* fear a deir sé, *AN* gadar | *a# gadi:*, a deir sé. 11Ctn;  
  Shocraidís amach *e* ar bhealach nach ndiontar anis. *AN* chéad rud | *an’ x’ed’ rud* a dhionaidís, nuair a shocraidís isteach sa leaba *e*, shocraidís, rud a dtugaidís cárbán air. 11C;
- *Agus sé an sórt súgáin, a bhí ag goil ar an geann tuí agus cibe seo, súgáin, a ligidís le tuí choirce. *AN* chéad rud | *an’ x’ed’ rud* a dhíomhaideas leis an dornán coirce, bheiridís air ... 11C;
- oscailthe amach ar aghaidh, *AN* chriathraigh mhór. | *a# xu’ča:ru’ wor* | 11C.

In discourse introductory function ‘this’, e.g.

*Agus e-, choinic sé, *AN* bhean | *an V’æ'n ag teacht ar chapall. (Suda)894Cs*

Note the stressed article in explanation:

... go bhfuil an *a* gabha seo ag tóchta. ’Is as an bhfocal ’AN gabha seo,’ | *uN’ gau’ fo* is as sin, tháinig an *‘goucher’. 11C3134.

*ə*  

-Agles tá sé chomh maith dhuit, a deir sé, *AN* | *a* chrú a chuir ina thosach, 875P;
- *vi fe k’ent: orhab | a xlo: | a raumel* | (Suda)894Cs
  bhi sé cinti orthub, *AN* chloch, a rabhnáidh;
  go ndíolthaidís an t-iasc níos fearr ann, *AN* | *a* beagán a bhí acub. 11C;
- *d’er fiad gar f’ur a | a pota | ‘f’raunqax fo ... 31P deir siad gur fearr *AN* pota Francach seo ... .

Ø cuíthidh sé spabhait uisce suas suas aer. ... suas díreach as a dhroim. ... Sé tá a ag tabhairt an isíilil dhó. Sé. Sí. AN t-uscse | *tfk ’a chrúrthreas sé suas thrína dhroim. Sé 896P;  
- ó theosós daíne caínt ar, *AN* ngliomadóireachta seo e’r³ | *qi' umaddr’ axt fo*  
  héin ní go mbi sé réidh 11C;
6.86 Absence of n postvocally

Regular sandhi rules apply to the article: loss of schwa, nasal coalescence, and so on. For the various realisations before vowels, i.e. n, ŋ, (less often n'), see ‘Sandhi’ (2.73 ff.). In below-average speech rate and hesitant speech sandhi may not be applied; the description here is based on normal fluent speech.

Following vowels, with regular sandhi rule application, the form is n (context (a)). There is an uncommon example of retention of schwa in:

\[ \text{fe: an \ ffi \ ae\'n' ... 11Ct S\ é AN phleain ...} \]

(in more deliberate articulation, a stylistic cue).

Less systematically with regard to the general sandhi rules, the nasal consonant of the article (and of course schwa) may be lost when preceded by vowels. This happens especially in:

(i) set phrases: k\'e xi, \ f e xi, n\'i: he xi: ... CÉN l s é AN l ní hé AN chaoi ... ;

\[ \text{tu \ y\ 'm \ am ... 66N l\ á AN ghráin a\'m ... ;} \]

k\'e\'e fa: 79S CÉN fáth é sin?

Note fod e xi' gua\'la m\'i: fo tosi\'h e a\'x ... ax fod e \ ã xi' gua\'la m\'i: fo

\[ \text{eg\' na \ fi\'e\'n\'e 11C seod \ é AN chaoi a gcuala mise tosaithé \ é} \]

ach ... ach seod \ é AN chaoi a gcuala mise ag na sean-ndaoine é.

Cp. gíra d\'i\'o to: ort 11C Go gcuire Dia AN t-áth ort; also ... n to: ...

11C and other speakers;

\[ \text{fí\'e \ rud \ as \ f\ uar \ it\' \ a \ véh \ x\ \ ae\'d 11C} \]

Síin é AN rud is fearr duit a bheith a\'d.

\[ \text{fe\' x\'e\'d \ a\'er \ na \ bód\'e \ e \ f\ ro\'f\ an' \ | 896P} \]

Sé AN chéad fhear a fuair na báid é frosin.

(ii) an chloig, common in uar\' \ a xleq' uair AN chloig, is lexicalised to a xleq' so that the article is phonetically absent following vowels, e.g. uar\'antí:

\[ \text{xleq' 21Pg6930 uaireantáin AN chloig. Cp. historical dhe chlog \ > a chlog} \]

'o'clock'.

(iii) place-names, e.g. kara jur\' \ S Cara AN Ghearrain, \ a rof\'an' \ bád \ a

rof\'an' St An Roisín, Baile AN Roisín, ba\'la f\'er\'k\'in' M Balla AN Pheircín.

Cp. galhá \ w \ x\ leq' \ 892M gCaladh AN Bháid (13.7, line 6, cf. 1.309).

(iv) feast day: \x\'e\'s\'ta, 46.802 Aoine AN Chéasta (DIL a\'n\', Dinn s.v.


(v) some personal names. For example, Máire AN Ghabha (my 05M) is for most speakers mar\' \ yau, but consistently mar\' \ ã \ yau for (conservative) sisters 04Br and 15W.

For definite sé dtit followed by a relative clause, and possible gob é bealach, see 6.100.

There are collocations where postvocalic a occurs for expected n, despite the
The article

general sandhi rule of deletion of schwa when preceded by vowels. This reflects the general postconsonantal origin of a in these phrases:

(vi) optionally following -u:, when this -u: derives from base -a in sandhi (historically -aw a, 2.52, 2.90), e.g.

\[ \text{le br'æku: a le 21Pt le breacadh AN lae.} \]

(vii) consistently in some personal names, e.g. d̂umi a x̂e'da ..., maor' a x̂e'da M Diumaí AN Chléirigh ... Máire AN Chléirigh, d̂yo: a tir' M Jó AN iSaoir. These forms are parallel to regular postconsonantal usage, e.g. p̂'ae: a x̂e'da Peait AN Chléirigh (also known as Diumaí an Chléirigh), m̂'ik'af' a x̂e'da M Micil AN Chléirigh, f̂'un a tir' Seán AN iSaoir (final example devised by me). Cp. maor' a yau >> maor' a ã yau Máire AN Ghabha. The spelling of the article as a' in proper names sometimes contrasts with the spelling an in common names. For instance, Labhrás a' Ghréasaí SÓC 2.281, in a text where the spelling an is regular in common names. This spelling a' indicates the lexicalisation of a in proper names.

(viii) in idiomatic use of an ghadhair functioning as a negativiser (in contrast with literal use, see 14 gadhaf 2.(c)). For example, séo an ghadhair has nonliteral meaning, i.e. 'no treatment, bad treatment', in:

\[ \text{xî' wuar fì' fo: a yair' an S ní bhfuair sí séo AN ghadhair ann,} \]

which one can conjecture would optionally contrast with literal fo: ã yair' 'the treatment of the dog'. The process seems to be similar to (ii) and (vii) above, i.e. one of lexicalisation. The regular use after a consonant, a yair' 'an ghadhair', is extended in the idiom based presumably on its more common occurrence postconsonantally, e.g. uird' a yair' aird an ghadhair 'no heed', etc.

(ix) other instances:

\[ \text{as 'br' o: a rud e | 45N Is breaí AN rud é.} \]

Cp. l'e' fad a 'lo: 01P le fada AN lá, is fada AN lá fad a 'lo: é sin héin 01P; compare his le fada bliantaí 01P.

Place-name: kün'de a xlear' | 892Mg Condae AN Chláir.

Cp. dhe + an in: tì hiar a 'xa'fìl thiar DHEN Chaiseal (7.15).

Examples such as the common ma buaxar' maith an buachaill 'good boy', 'well done' can be analysed as having underlying final h which is optionally elided, i.e. ma buaxar' ~ ma a buaxar'.

6.87 Phrase boundaries and phonology

Phrase boundaries (or lexicalisation similar to cases instanced above) may also be indicated by interconsonantal an and postvocalic a, the latter can then be further elided. Examples where phrase boundaries or other phenomena may be involved in phonologically anomalous forms of the article are listed here.

\[ \text{an for a} | \text{xur se' er' ã o'xh xed} | 866E chair sé air AN chulaith éadaigh; \]
\[ \text{is an rud K'ært Mq 'is' AN rud ceart;} \]
\[ \text{an út' a midh an 'wên' go' 'toq ad | 18J8972} \]
\[ \text{an òit a mbóidh AN mhón gá tóigeál.} \]
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Preconsonantal an san insan for an sa insa is rare, cf. 7.43 ff.

an for n Ach faoi AN tumba; | ax² | fi: an tumba | cuireadh an tumba sin air, tugann siad tumba Haimitean i gcónaí ortha. 892M3430–6 ‘But as for the tomb ...’.

Ø for n Common before velar fricative x, e.g.

ø kir’ orha xris’ wox’ ar iSf 18J7014
ag cuir airthi AN chroinn mhóir arís (cp. air an aq chulaith above):

bhiodar sin aq faire AN chósta far’ a xosta 35E8302.

Sometimes the preceding vowel or following consonant is nasalised (cp. 6.88 ð and n. 1 further below), e.g.

bádín deas, bhí isith ar an Oileán Măisean raibh AN Chruach ro xuax Páraic ortha. ... raibh AN Chruach rõ xuax ortha 18J8250–3;

d’fiathraigh sé DHEN chailín aimsire ga xal’ in’ ãemfar’ a | 35E8938.

Also before velar fricative v, e.g.

Chaitheá AN ghabháil xahu: yol’ fháil ansin agus, an ghabháil | aq yol’ a chaitheamh air sin 35E8460.

Also before other continuants:

ggha jnv’ t’ 46 (s.v. geimhreadh) i gcaitheamh AN gheimhreadh;

Nach aisheach an mhóin i AN mhóin a wun’ k: wun’ Mháidhcil Beag sin (speaker either S or M);

v’idar bræ her’ e: warw’ | fis’ tr’ublo | fi: fukal’ fin’ a re ... 892M2275 bhiodar ag brath ar é a mharaí, faoin trioblo-, faoi AN focal sin a rá agus ... (more regularly: faoin bhfocal a dáirí sé 892M2283);

dí’ mi ifu la’ e: rud fa de fe | 18J7325

-Dismisedíthaidh [< dismiss] mé AN rud seo, a deir sé;

an chéad mí and an lá cheana are independent adverbial phrases:

| go d’i: x ed v’i: el’a | 896P go dí AN chéad mí eile (cp. an chéad fhear, 6.86(i), an chéad rud, 6.88);

nach rapóirtedíthaidh [< report] AN lá cheana é! rəpʰoɾ.tɛdíθu: lu: han e M.

6.88 Other instances

As is clear from the examples, both immediately above and in the more systematic instances in 6.86 (i)–(v), (viii), (ix), the ‘anomalous’ elision of the nasal of the article occurs most frequently before continuants (x‘), y, j, l, r, f‘), w). Pre-continuant position is therefore a major phonological factor in n-elision through the process of cluster simplification. Cp. ba diùn i a’ chrupóg gá seasat sí leis 894C2.

An example before a stop is:

ach go deimhin ni raibh AN crabhaid ro krauŚ a bhí ag obair dho chlann Pheadlì a Bùre ... 18J7325.

Other realisations are:
In the two last examples an following agus may be treated as if it were phrase-initial and so elidable.

There is an unusual realisation in:

er Vaun Òn ÒrÉn E xroSþ æ Én !

where er Vaun Òn ÒrÉn E xroSþ æ Én ! would be expected (or er Vaun ÒrÉn E xroSþ æ Én ! ar dhomhain an chroísín). The lack of depalatalisation here is similar to the general pronunciation of the place-name (2.91):

rofín’ æ man’ híox(t) Rosín NA Mainchloich, also rufín’ æ ...

6.89 Morphophonology: an (f)s-; (a) Anomalous an1, na1

an ts- ~ an s-

Quite often an s-, including dhén / dhon s-, occurs for expected an ts- (etc.). Most frequent is dhén / dhon s- with masculine nouns. For these nouns, ts- becomes rare for the younger generation, who have frequent examples of an s- in all contexts for more traditional an ts-. Cf. 9.161, 9.179. There may be a tendency to realise interconsonantal an an before tsn- (9.160); this is evident in query from Máire and there is an instance from conversation:

a lár an anh naха Mq i lár an tsnáithe, a lár an hnuÈd Mq i lár an tsnáda;
bhí tú ag coinneál an tsnáithe ansin kín’ cÉl an trÉchà n’fín’ 892Mg

(a) Anomalous an1, na1

The minority group of speakers, who have lexicalised lenition in the indefinite pronoun chupla and prefix chorr-, retain lenition following the article, e.g.

NA chupla beithioch; AN chupla mí seo 00C;

... xupla ... a / na xupla 45N ... chupla ... AN / NA chupla ...

(thugann) a ‘xaur’áfÈrk er’ P AN chorrhamharc air.

1 Tomás Ó Máille’s (1927a: 99–100 §387.1–12) exposition of the phonology of the article, although incomplete, is descriptively accurate except for his confusing description in §11 where he claims that following long vowels and preceding s the article is realised as nasalisation on the long vowel. This elision and nasalisation, however, cannot be taken as a general rule. His example K: xi: cÉn chaoi (adapted to modern transcription and k: corrected from erroneous k: (cp. correct k: xi: Tomás Ó Máille 1927a: 73 §299.8)) is a particularly common set phrase and thus undergoes greater than usual reduction, including, in fact, frequent loss of nasalisation. The nasalisation in his two other examples, place-names spelt Áth an Chláir and Áth an Choirce and transcribed as 6h x- (but 6h x- Tomás Ó Máille 1927a: 73 §299.5(a)), cannot be explained simply in terms of the article, although its presence may be one contributory factor to nasalisation. Other relevant points concerning nasalisation are that (i) áth is attested nasalised or raised through nasalisation, in Áth Cinn, where in Áth Cinn could produce perseverative nasalisation, and (ii) áth is often nasalised (e.g. SID Mp 263; cf. p. 264 n. 1 above). (The transcription 6h x- is further confusing as it gives the false impression that the article is strictly speaking not preceded by a long vowel but by h. The th would, however, be absent before x and even before vowels (when preceded by a long vowel, 2.42). Thus Tomás Ó Máille’s alternative transcription 6h x- seems preferable.)
Cp. numerals (6.92), e.g. AN / NA cheithre / chúig and innovative AN dhá; and na chloinne / choinfirt / chuid (6.91).

6.90 (b) Anomalous an t-

With aon, aonú, ocht, ochtú, an- (indefinite adjective, ordinal, cardinal, ordinal, prefix, respectively) the form an t- can be used in extended contexts, e.g.

nom (regular): an t-aon cheann amháin;
nom (irregular): an ocht mbliana 07P;
genitive (irregular): deireadh an t-an-oíche Sq;
nom plural (regular): na han-oícheantaí Sq; na ocht gcinn;
nom plural (irregular): na t-an-oícheantail Sq; na ocht slata dé(ag) 892M.

The use with vowel-initial ordinal numbers of an t- following eclipsing prepositions is not uncommon, e.g.

AR AN T-aonú lá déag; DHEN T-aonú mí déag 36T;
tá mé trí — aon bhliain déag ’gus trí fichid, seachtú ’gus a haon, caite, ON T-ochtú lá déag dhe Mháirta. 05M;
agus DHEN T-ochtú léig bhi sé héin istigh ina ceartlár (run)04B.

For common thor éis a’ hocht, the young speaker 82B (05M’s grandchild) has:
LÉIS A’ T-ocht 82B.

There are sporadic examples of an t- following eclipsing prepositions in other contexts:

’ Caint AR A’ T-ám fadó M ‘talking about the old days’;
ach bhuaist ansin na Flathartai mar gheall AR A’ T-ám a chuir sean-Mhac Uí Laidhe a lámh i nead a’ tseabhaic bhaisteadar Laidhe ar Salachar air.
OC196 (conjunctional use; mar gheall ... nead a’ tseabhaic is a parenthetic comment);
... ag maraí na saoight san âm sin. Bí na saoighe dha maraí SA T-ám sin.
03Ct;

nuos eg’ a târd mor [sic] M anuas AG AN T-ard móir;
fi’i sa t’i oan’ fin’ S istigh SA T-oileán sin;
and in the masculine genitive:
 ere’ f’ne n taxar | 898P AR FEADH AN T-achar;
and following a prefix in:
Is dóich gob in é AN SEAN-T-aímn a bhí air S.

These examples can be taken as very marginal or slips of the tongue and are not permissible (some were queried of M∅perm). They can, however, indicate syntactic divisions. For example, the obvious phrasal analysis of the first example quoted from speech is [ag caint ar [an t-am fadó]]. With the regular form of the article the analysis can be the same or alternatively [ag caint ar an am [fadó]].
The noun am shows further anomalies. Although am is regularly masculine (e.g. sin é an t-am céanna), there are some instances of an am. Speaker 892M sometimes has an am k’éanna an am céanna and speaker 10B was also heard with an am. E.g.

Bhuel AN AM CÉANNA bhí mac an tseanfhear ghlíc, ’g obair ag an rí, ar a pháil. 892M2008; also ARN2702;
ba je n am é ... 10B badh é AN AM é ... Speaker 892M’s use is perhaps a mixture of ag / san am c(h)éanna and an t-am céanna. Cp. bhí saoíte eile thiar sa gClochán ina ham céanna, 892M2631 (introducing story about Cailleach na Lúibhe). Cf. arán, Aonmhac, Stionann (6.94).
6.91 (c) Plural na with singular nouns

Collective nouns such as dream and the indefinite pronouns cuid and cupla most commonly take the singular article. Plural na is, however, quite common. (Recall the optionally plural adjective found with such phrases, 3.58.) In the few examples with feminine nouns, and with the indefinite pronoun cuid, plural na is optionally followed by lenition, i.e. nEØ/H ~ nEL. In genitive position there is one noted example of na dream (i.e. na:\nO\n) and one written example of na:\n with cupla.

6.92 Numerals

Cardinal numerals take the plural article na as a rule (for an / na dá, see further below; cf. also 9.101), e.g.

3 Cé na trí bhread nach mbéarthaidh ar aon bhaoite? P;
4 as na `x`er`a hin`a | 11C as na cheithre shine; INSNA cheithre cosa 11C;
4½ ar na cheithre horlaí ... go dtí na cheithre horlaí go leith 35E;
5 NA chuíg phunt 894C1; mheáigh sí NA chuíg céad. 896P;
6 cp. aon chuíg phunt an hindín agus tabharfadh mé duit iad 866ESC280;
8 NA hocht gcinn;

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13 na trí: wasa jeg 05M NA trí mhála dhéag; NA trí phánta dhéag 866E;
cuireadh amach NA cheithre thonna dhéag 889P;
15 NA chaúgh phunta dhéag sin 11C:
  Tá sé ag goil isteach SNA chaúgh bliana déag S;
níor chroítnaigh an geall ach NA trí cinn as NA chaúgh cinn déag.
  ARN7099;
18 NA hocht grinn déag;
rare na9 in Ocht slata déag ... NA ocht slata dé(ág) 892M1487.
20 ag breith ar an meáchan, ar NA fiche tonna meáchain, agus gá chaih-
  eamh. 866ESemr118

50 NA leithchéad corach 18J; NA leithchéad acub 18J.
There are plural examples before aon ... déag, i.e. naH:
11 Bhí sé a’ sine a ceann héin ag achaon cheann go NA haon cheann déag
  852SbTS127 (sic recte for a cheann héin ag chaon TS127);
  NA haon bhean déag amu(igh) 866ESemr46.

Singular article an, however, is not uncommon (note rare an ocht), e.g.
3 go raibh trí rud eicínt ann. Deabhal u-, Bhí AN trí rud eicínt — 05M;
8 ‘n i ra m’é a n oxt mi’ ana hér 07P ní raibh mé AN ocht mbliana héin;
1,000 ‘ch’ d’e g’ ed púnt 866E AN deich gcéad púnt.

A physical unit in particular can take singular an. For example, an chaúgh phunt
(‘the fiver’), when functionally equivalent to púparagus chaúgh phunt, can typically
contrast with (singulative) na chaúgh phunt. Also considered as a unit:
10 thugad sé deich scilleacha air. ... fuair sé AN deich scilleacha air. Agus
  chuir sé go ceannúil síos ina phóca é. ... níor ólad ar
  ARN7250–61.

The dual numeral d(h)á takes both an (including innovative anL) and na, e.g.
2  a dú xlo fin‘ M AN dá chloich sin; AN dhá ghadhar eile 79A;
  NA dá gheata 894C2 (sic in MS), NA dá chaora 894C;
40 NA dá scór slat seo 899D6015;
1’2 AN dá chéad bhad ariamh a tháinic anseo 18J7128.

With one unit of céad and mile, singular an is used. There are some phrases
which contain na mile, e.g.
1,000 NA mile mordair / NA mile mordars, NA mile gáire.
These are exceptional with regard to both na and plural mordair / mordars.
The ordinals regularly take singular an. The ordinal an chéad often has an, in-
cluding with singular nouns which have plural reference through qualification by
another numeral, e.g.
  ar feadh AN chéad trí lá ARN8451; AN dá chéad ‘the first two’ above (1’2 2).
In plural reference, however, na chéad is regular, e.g.
  AN chéad duoine; AN chéad titheabhair;
  AN chéad áttechach 20A1 ‘the first places’ (in races).
There is also an instance of na with the ordinal qualifying a collective noun, in
this case a personal numeral:
  leis NA chéad bheit é 898P1.
6.93 Personal numerals; 894C

Personal numerals most commonly take an but na also occurs:
cp. beirt: l’ef na x ed v’ert 898P! leis NA chéad bheirt ‘with the first two (people)’ (more regularly leis an gcéad bheirt).

triúr: NA triúr driothár ~ AN triúr driothár 894C,
NA triúr mac 892M2737,
NA trí ghasúr ... AN tríúr gasúr ... AN tríúr gasúr 21Jq.
There appears to be plural inflection of tríúr in:
na tríúr ‘gasúr’ 54C NA tríúr gasúr.

triúr, ochtar, naonúr, aon ... déag:
NA triúr driotár (sic) gheata 2,
NA naonbhar eile ... triúr gasúir.

In the following example the syntactic status of the ordinal phrase is ambiguous: it may be in the genitive or used adverbially in the nominative:
Ar maidin A’ ceathrú lá chuadh sé i gcránn féachaint a’ bhfeicfeat sé aon tala’ ... 869P Bl6.117.

If the usage is genitive, then the lack of lenition can be attributed to the blocking of mutation by the ordinal. Cf. 9.140.

Speaker 894C, Colm Ó Caoidheáin

Speakers show tendencies concerning the choice of singular an or plural na in these contexts where grammatical and logical number can be in conflict. For example, speaker 894C1, 2, 9, t shows a propensity for plural na:

dá: na dAÉ t, NA dAÉ (sic) gheata 2, NA dAÉ ... , i.e. na dAÉ only (noted);
chúig: NA chúig phunt 1;
cupla: NA cupla ceathrú, NA cupla slínn t;
scata: go NA scata fear óg 9;
triúr: NA tríúr driotár, AN tríúr driotár.

In contrast, Máire has singular an in all these cases (except na l an chúig), whereas her brother, 19P, shows some na: na l an dr’ am oga P na l an dream óga. Cp. {na l an + personal numeral} from 866E cited above.

6.94 Other anomalies (d)–(g)

(d) Anomalous naH

Two examples were noted of naH feminine genitive for regular masculine genitives an chailín, an chaupall:

thaicin máthair NA caillín beag amuas 894C4;
as cheithre cinn dhe chruthiúl NA capall 892M2132.

Both nouns take regular feminine pronominals. Cp. a noun with mixed gender according to case: an talamh maith (masc) but barr na talamh(a) (fem) (3.7).

(e) Prevocalic an (t-) with ran arán

The noun ran arán is generally treated as if vowel-initial (as it was historically, 1.47, 1.378):
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- **Nominative**: an tráan an t-arán, genitive an run’ an arán.

  - Following a preposition: er’ an run’ ar an arán; leis an rán 869P.3.482.

  Less frequently, consonant initial treatment occurs:

  - Nominative: ná an rán 869P.3.482, following a preposition: er’ E rAÉn 36B ar an arán.

One example of initial vowel, a, with second syllable stress was noted:

d’iórjc | s’arun er’ 00T d’iarr sé arán air.

(f) **Preconsonantal an with am, uisce fíor < fioruisce**

For an am, see 6.90. There is an instance of preconsonantal usage before a vowel in innovative uisce fíor (perhaps a slip of the tongue) for traditional fioruisce:

g gari: ro n ifk a’ f’iar an 60M an garral a raibh AN uisce fíor ann.

Speaker 60M otherwise has regular an t-uisce, etc.

(g) **Historical metanalysis of original t-**

There are examples of metanalysis of original t- of the article in:

- **Masculine**: Gus a [vocative] mhaighdean chumhachtach A’ TÉANMHIC, \(894C9\), \(\gamma t\) ag lámpar A’ T-ÉIN-MHIC (sic) \(894C2\), perhaps 2sg possessive ‘t’ might also be of relevance with Éanmhac;

- **Feminine**: lasc NA TSIONNAINN \(852S2\).

The reason for these examples being included here, rather than simply noting them in the ‘Historical Phonology’ (1.225, 1.227), is that they are synchronically related to bases Aomhac and Sionnáin. For similar limited use found in speaker 01P’s tsluasad, tsráid, see 9.161.

6.95 **Developments**

There are instances of nontraditional an t- (masc gen, fem nom) and an V- (masc nom, inflected fem gen). With depletion of the genitive in the youngest generation, leniting masculine genitive an can be replaced by an t- before vowels:

- a maru: n’ t’iask 76N ag marú AN T-iasc;

- f’oxa n ifk a, 78Rb ag fiuchadh AN T-uisce;

- ag’ iara n ifk a 78Rb ag iarraidh AN T-uisce.

With, among other things, depletion of gender, masculine an t- before vowels can be replaced by an in the youngest generation:

- an arhu: 78Rb AN athrú;

- an muchar nu: n ahar’ 78Rb an máthair nó AN athair;

- an’ (f) e’ ananx 78S AN Éireannach, an an’ach a moir 79S AN ancaire mór.

Also traditional feminine an can be replaced by an t- before vowels:

- a tunar a jina | 78P AN T-imaire a dhéanamh;

- a t’i’n’ AN T-inin spoken in 2006 by a son of 45M, aged c. 12.

There are instances of replacement of the traditional feminine genitive article na with the nominative an but retention of the genitive of the noun:

- \(\ve’ d’n\) an aibr’ a 73P bheit ag déanamh AN OIBRE;

- t’á céadu acá titl le fána AN AILLE l’e fán AN aca’ 79S.

The phrase le fána na haille is often used, as in the example, in a figurative sense as an intensive form of le fána.

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1 In traditional dialect imaire is rarely masculine. It is unlikely that the instance from 78P exemplifies such traditional use (3.6).
Semi-speakers are further from traditional use, e.g. 48R:

an aerfan **AN Aifreamn** (perhaps generalised from the common phrase *ag an Aifreamn*);

a teimfear **AN T-aimeir**.

For further examples, including depletion of mutations following the article, see 9.173, 9.176 ff.

**Syntactical notes**

Examples of the double article and other double definite noun phrases in genitive constructions are common in both higher register and vernacular. There is often a slight pause before the second definite phrase. Some set phrases, which are syntactically definite, can be semantically indefinite and may then take the double article construction. Double article use appears to be less common in younger speakers. In contrast, semantically definite constructions without the article are discussed in 6.100.

6.96 **Double article (vernacular)**

In examples from Roinn Bhéaloideas Éireann the second noun phrase is often written in parenthesis or separated by a comma:

\[
\text{an} + \text{an} \quad \text{AN t-árdmháistir (NA Spáinne) [x2] 852S2.}
\]

... INSA dorais, teach A’ ri, 869P2.

\[
\text{Bhain A’ fear (NA firinne), bhain sé ... 894C9.}
\]

\[
\text{a} + \text{a} \quad \text{LENA sháil — A bhróige — insa talitha, 869P2.}
\]

In speech the second noun phrase is often added to the initial phrase, frequently after a slight pause:

\[
\text{an} + \text{an} \quad \text{I bhfad uainn AN orchóid ’s AN anachain ... na bhliana S.}
\]

\[
\text{an} + \text{adverb} + \text{an} \quad \text{xísa} \text{ fe na blú: kærds wai (!) na m’chíais xul’o hort M}
\]

\[
\text{an} + \text{PIN} \quad \text{ag ceann AN bhóthair, DHOThALa S.}
\]

\[
\text{an} + \text{name} \quad \text{t’ef a } \text{gr’ed a niv pærak’ 25M2 leis AN, gcreideamh NAOiH PĐRAkG.}
\]

\[
\text{PIN (an) +} \quad \text{gón yob} \quad \text{xora na [n’s?] run 25M2}
\]

\[
\text{PIN (an)} \quad \text{DIHON Ghob, CHORs NA RON.}
\]

\[
\text{a} + \text{name} \quad \text{Dreatháir GÁ mháthair(,) MHEARTIN, thug an áit dóib M.}
\]

---

1 Suggested to me by Nicholas Williams.

2 The examples from Iorras Aithneach supplement those cited by Ó Gealbháin (1991: especially 140–1) from Modern Irish in his discussion of this construction (his Type C) and related usage in Old Irish and Middle Welsh.

3 Similarly, the adjective is added as an afterthought, but with regular lenition, in:

an bhó sin — bhán — tá si’g iúmpar lao M (9.54).
There is sometimes no pause:

- **an + adverb + proper name**
  - **tom a bhí sa ngarrai taobh amuigh** — Mhóran — tá sí i gcónaí ann, (the name of the field in question is Garraí Mhóran and in the instance cited Mhóran was added as an afterthought).

### 6.97 Fluent examples

There are many examples where no addition or afterthought is apparent (although one can be sure of examples from primary sources only):

- **an + proper name**
  - **tom a bhí sa ngarraí taobh amuigh** — MÓRAN — tá sí i gcónaí ann, (the name of the field in question is Garraí Mhóran and in the instance cited Mhóran was added as an afterthought).

### 6.98 Set phrases

Grammatically definite *teach an phobail* is often used for both definite and indefinite 'church'. It can thereby bring about the double article syntax:

- **v i’ b’el’ er’ hax a fobal’ xarna** S bhí bheil ar theach an phobail Charna;
- **tort tóraf’ go’ t’áex a fobal’ kurna** S ag tabhairt tórais go teach an phobail Charna;
- **ag teacht go teach an phobail CHILL CHARNÁIN T’áex a fobal’ x’i’ir’ x’i’arann’ M.**

(Indefinite *teach pobail* occurs but in Seán and Máire’s speech it is, at least, not frequent; one also hears *teach phobail*.)
Similarly:

bean an tí: d’éirigh an bhéan an tí féin.

fear an phosta: m’fao xur an bhast a f’ae a f’ae a f’ost a f’ostin’ M mise a chuaigh un baiste leis an fear an phosta sin, note the lack of eclipsis on fear showing the independence of the phrase fear an phosta syntactically.

teach an phosta: sa teach an phosta 20A; often also teach posta S.

oíche Fhéil: proper name (saint):

Compare the syntactically definite possessive noun phrase in indefinite classificatory syntax in:

... iarrfas tú bheith DO LEOMHAN UASAL NA COILLE LÉITHE, DO SHEABHAC UASAL NA COILLE LÉITHE, etc., 894C1.

6.99 Higher register

In higher register the double definite is common, especially in the contexts of titles of characters and names of places:

nuair a thiocach A’ rí Gréige isteach 875T1;

go dí AN rí Chonnachtach agus ... 866ES42; ar A’ bhfslú Rí Seoirse ’894C9;

ar shon cathair na gaisce ... ar shon cathair NA gaisce NA hÉireann 866ES43;

xir fe: f’ ar f’easgh g’r vruantanas heig’ rí na trr 46.1.47–8

chuir sé fear léithi dhe bhromntanas chuig AN Rí NA Traí (SID transcribes the final phrase here as chuige rí na Traoi, probably erroneously1);

eig’ a rí: na kahor’ a d’er’ ag’ a 11C ag AN Rí NA Cathaire Deirge.

Cp. aois na Caillí Béarra M, an Chailleach Bhéartha S.

Wigger (1970: 131) is suspicious of the status of this construction, but the examples above and the 23 examples he counted in his own material indicate that the use of the double article is genuine, if marginal in the system as a whole. Further examples in Airneán II p. 69 §111. Note the frequency of place-names in our examples. Compare the examples from Cois Fharráige cited by de Bhaldraithe (1956–7c: 244 §6, e.g. Garral an Chladaigh na Micils) where a proper name qualifies a definite place-name; and the examples from Lewis in the Outer Hebrides cited by Cox (2002: 28) ‘Irregularities’ §3.6(i), e.g. Loch a’ Bhaile na Dùine.

6.100 Absence of the article

Certain common nouns can be definite without the article, e.g. farráighe (síos go farráighe, thit sé i bhfarráighe), grian (go raibh grian ina suí go hard 866ESemr60) and talnah (gur i bhfastú i dtalainn a bhí an dubhán 01C6423). The noun cuan, and for some speakers also pobal, can be used in definite function following the preposition dhe without the article, e.g.

taobh thall dhe CHUAN ‘across the bay’;

sa gceann thiar dhe PHOBAL ... muíntir an cheann thiar dhe PHOBAL 21Pt, cuma cén taobh dhe PHOBAL ... 66N (vs., ... dhen phobal M).

(21Pt and 66N are close neighbours in An Aird Mhóir.)

1 There is also the possibility that phrasal epenthesis between -g- and r- is involved here.
Absence of the article with a semantically definite noun qualified by a relative clause is a rare conservative feature. It occurs in one of my two oldest speaker’s material in sé áit a ...

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Sé áit a bhfuil sé in Araebia;} \\
\text{Sé áit a ro sib ... 852S4.}
\end{align*}
\]

From other speakers:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{agus dúirt sé gurb é ÁIT a raibh sé, ag obair ar bhád 35E8041;} \\
\text{go fé: sórt `toran a v.ie eg` a d`er fe tiidl` tiidl` 18J8006} \\
\text{agus sé SÓRT torann a bhí aige, a deir sé, tidl, tidl, tidl, also ARN8023;} \\
\text{go b`e: b`aelax a v`ix æ`n`a | ... 20Pá gob é BEALACH a bhúdhl a`inne ... .}
\end{align*}
\]

Note the lack of the article but its syntactic (and mutational) presence in:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Sé AN CHÉAD ÁIT fe `x`ed `út` ariamh ar chuir sé faoi, anseo amuich ag tigh, Janai Sheáin `ac Dhoneach. 18J8083;} \\
\text{fin`e t`ainm `hugax ... ARN8894 Sin é AN t-a`inn a thugadh ... .}
\end{align*}
\]

There are also instances in this relative syntax where the article appears to be present but phonetically very weak, e.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{agus badh é ÁN SÓRT maidin ba `je: `n s`or `mad`æ`n` a bhí ann maidin} \\
\text{chaim. 18J8126.}
\end{align*}
\]